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COVER—This drawing of gunboats approaching Winton was made in July, 1862, by a member of the Hawkins Zouaves, Pvt. Charles F. Johnson, and may be found in his published diary, *The Long Roll*. For an article on the burning of Winton, see pages 18-31.

The North Carolina Historical Review

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SAGA OF A BURKE COUNTY FAMILY

By EDWARD W. PHIFER*

PART I

THE GRANDPARENTS

On the eighteenth day of January, 1769, a small boat put out from Accomack on the Eastern Shore. Braving a cold, stiff wind, it rolled awkwardly across the icy waters of Chesapeake Bay in a southwesterly direction and finally crunched into the landing at Hampton on the tip of the Virginia Peninsula. Two passengers stepped ashore and upon inquiry were directed to the tavern of William Armistead, which was located nearby. One of these visitors was a Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Charles J. Smith. The other was in his late twenties and wore the dress of a colonial gentlemen but his speech had a sharp New England flavor. His name was Waightstill Avery and he had recently finished a legal preceptorship under Littleton Dennis, a prominent attorney of the State of Maryland.¹ Dennis was an extraordinarily successful man and in addition to his law practice, owned and operated extensive plantations in both Somerset and Worcester counties. His house, "Beverly," faced the winding, sluggish Pocomoke River five or six miles from its estuary and was a landmark for the river boats that plied this stream.² Avery had studied there for almost eighteen months and during this time he learned to love the free and easy ways of the tidewater aristocracy and quite likely aspired to emulate them.

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¹ "Biographical Sketch of Waightstill Avery with Illustrative Manuscripts," *The North Carolina University Magazine*, IV (August, 1855), 242, hereinafter cited as *University Magazine*; North Carolina Papers, Draper Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, hereinafter cited as Draper Collection. These papers contain Waightstill Avery's diary and a biographical sketch by his son, Isaac T. Avery; microfilm copy on file, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, and also in the possession of the writer.

² George N. Mackenzie (ed.), *Colonial Families of the United States of America* (Baltimore, Maryland: 1914), 128; John Upshur Dennis, "Genealogical Tables of the Paternal Line of the Dennis family prepared prior to June, 1890" (place and date unknown).

Groton, Connecticut, was Avery's birthplace. The date of his birth was May 10, 1741. His paternal ancestor, great great grandfather Christopher, had reached Massachusetts Bay Colony in the "Great Puritan Migration" of the 1630's. Christopher, a middle-aged kersey weaver from the parish of Ipplepen in Devonshire, England, had brought his son with him when he migrated, but for some mysterious reason had failed to bring his wife. This omission subsequently got him into difficulties with the strict Puritan courts but he pleaded poverty and old age and his actions were excused. He likewise was hailed into court on several occasions for making derogatory statements about several ministers of the gospel but seems to have extricated himself without suffering excessive punishment. Drifting from Gloucester to Boston and then on to Groton, he never acclimated himself to this strange, primitive land.³ Great grandfather James was more aggressive. He acquired large tracts of land around Groton, largely through grants, and served both church and state in various official capacities, particularly distinguishing himself in the horrible war with the Indian Chief-tain King Phillip in 1675-1676 and in his dealings with Indian problems in general. He acquired the title "Captain" from his military career and retained it throughout his life.⁴ Grandfather Samuel followed the same pattern; his wife, Susannah Palmes, supposedly, could trace her lineage back to the early British kings.⁵ Waightstill's father was named Humphrey and his mother's maiden name was Jerusha Morgan. Humphrey also took an active part in municipal affairs, styled himself a carpenter, but in the main, was a land speculator who met with desultory success. Waightstill was the tenth child born to this union.⁶ As a boy, with his brothers, he roved the hills and marshes of New London County, ate the delicious wild berries of various types that abounded, and boated or swam in the Thames or its tributaries. Periodically, he sailed down Long Island Sound to attend a school for boys conducted by the Reverend Samuel Seabury at Hempstead, Long Island. Originally a Congregational minister in Groton, Seabury had switched to the Church of England and was serving an Anglican parish at Hemp-

³ Elroy M. Avery and C. H. Avery, *The Groton Avery Clan* (Cleveland, Ohio: 2 volumes, 1912), I, 29-42, hereinafter cited as Avery and Avery, *The Groton Avery Clan; Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), April 17, 1821, in an obituary of Waightstill Avery gives the date of birth as May 3, 1745, hereinafter cited as *Western Carolinian*; and a biographical sketch, Draper Collection, says he was "supposed to have been born about 1745."

⁴ Avery and Avery, *The Groton Avery Clan*, I, 43-78.

⁵ Avery and Avery, *The Groton Avery Clan*, I, 114, 115.

⁶ Avery and Avery, *The Groton Avery Clan*, I, 156-158; see also Homer D. L. Sweet, *The Averys of Groton* (Syracuse, New York: 1894), 1-15, 598. Actually, as pointed out by the genealogist, Allen L. Poe, Waightstill Avery's parents were first cousins, once removed. Consequently, he was descended from Captain James Avery, Sr., on both the paternal and maternal sides.

stead at the time he operated the school. Although none of his brothers had received the benefits of a higher education, Waightstill was determined to go to college. In 1763 his mother died and shortly after, his father remarried. Nevertheless, Waightstill managed to enroll at Princeton the following year after attending Yale for a short time. In 1764 the school was in its infancy. Except for the President's house and a few dependent outbuildings Nassau Hall was the sole building on the campus. This structure contained the college dining hall, recitation rooms, chapel, library, and student living quarters. Avery roomed with Oliver Ellsworth, who was destined to become Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. In 1765 he became a member of Clio Hall, one of the two highly influential secret literary and forensic societies founded at Princeton in that year. Waightstill Avery graduated in the illustrious class of 1766, was awarded first honors, and at graduation was Latin Salutatorian.⁷ Imbued with the New Englander's feeling that an educated individual should choose between law, teaching, or the ministry, and also running short of money, he remained at Princeton for a year as an instructor at Nassau Hall Grammar School. It was after this stint that he decided to study law and left for "Beverly" on the Pocomoke.

After staying a day or so with William Armistead at Hampton, Avery moved up the peninsula to Williamsburg. There he had dinner with John Tazewell, first clerk of the general court of Williamsburg, and called upon Peyton Randolph, speaker of the House of Burgesses, but the great man had little time for him. Avery felt ill at ease with Tazewell and Randolph but felt at home when with the Reverend Mr. Smith or when engaged in a philosophical discussion with John Camm, a clergyman of the Established Church who was Professor of Divinity at The College of William and Mary.⁸ "His journal shows that he rarely omitted an opportunity to attend Divine worship on any occasion, especially upon Sunday, and that he was not merely attentive to religious ordinances, but studiously polite and kind in his intercourse with ministers of the gospel."⁹

⁷ A personal communication from L. H. Savage, Archivist of Princeton University, including a memorandum from Walter H. Everts, Jr., Office of the Secretary, Princeton University, dated December 3, 1954. See also Selina Lenoir to W. A. Lenoir, June 20, 1837 (data on the Avery family), Isaac T. Avery to Selina Lenoir, August 15, 1832 (data on Waightstill Avery), Lenoir Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Lenoir Family Papers.

⁸ A personal communication from Mr. James A. Servies, Reference Librarian, The College of William and Mary, January 7, 1957, and citing Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff, *Virginia Gazette Index* (Williamsburg, Virginia: 2 volumes, 1950), *passim*; and Lyon Gardiner Tyler (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography* (New York: 5 volumes, 1915), IV, 510.

⁹ *University Magazine*, August, 1855, 243.

Colonial Williamsburg was a pleasant and cultured community and Avery was naturally reluctant to leave but he felt it to his best interest to seek his fortune elsewhere—perhaps in the Carolina back country where there was a paucity of legal talent, only a handful of educated men, and personal wealth was almost nonexistent. At Princeton one of his classmates was Hezekiah J. Balch and he also had known Ephraim Brevard and Adlai Osborne of the class of 1768. These men enjoyed positions of prominence in the Carolina Piedmont and it seems to be a reasonable inference that they stimulated Avery to explore the region.¹⁰

In spite of a lame horse, he managed to reach Edenton on February 5 and among others became acquainted with Samuel Johnston, the clerk of the court and Joseph Hewes, later one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. On leaving Edenton he continued on through Northampton to Halifax where he entered upon a scene of elegant and refined festivities. "Puritan that he was, he lingered amidst these dalliances during three entire days."¹¹ Here he made the acquaintance of John Stokes and several members of the local bar. He then traveled to Salisbury by way of Hillsboro. This harrowing journey, during which he barely escaped drowning while fording a stream on horseback and endured many hardships and tests of endurance, he seems to have taken in stride.

His description of a night at a North Carolina inn follows:

February 22—Wednesday, From Halifax 100 M. west of Edenton I set out for Hillsborough 100 still more west, rode 30 M., came late up with one Powels, and found him and one of his neighbors with two travellers at supper. I soon perceived the neighbor drunk; and there being but one room in the house, he reel'd and staggered from side to side thro' it, tumbling over, not chairs, for there were none in the House, but stools and tables etc. He was soon accompanied in the staggering scheme, by the Landlord and Travellers, first one and then both, who all blunder'd, bald'd, spew'd and curs'd, broke one anothers Heads and their own shins, with stools and brused their Hips and Ribs with sticks of the Couch Pens, pulled hair, lugg'd, hallo'd, swore, fought, and kept up the Roar Rororum till morning. Thus I watched carefully all night, to keep them from falling over and spewing upon me.¹²

While in Hillsboro, he spent the evening with Ralph McNair, a wealthy Scotch merchant, and made the acquaintance of various court

¹⁰ C. S. Wooten, "The Avery Family," *Charlotte Observer*, undated clipping, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as Wooten, "Avery Family."

¹¹ *University Magazine*, August, 1855, 243.

¹² *University Magazine*, August, 1855, 249; Draper Collection.

officials. He reached Salisbury on March 2 and spent the evening with Colonel Edmund Fanning and Colonel John Frohock. Fanning was a man of great charm, a scholar of unusual attainment, and a native of the same section of Connecticut as Avery. Frohock's plantation home was the finest within a hundred miles. These artful men easily captivated the young stranger. At Salisbury he also enjoyed the company of Superior Court Judge Richard Henderson and William Hooper, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. There he also met Samuel Spencer, later a judge, John Dunn,¹³ and Alexander Martin, later the Governor of North Carolina. On March 16 he left for Hillsboro with Judge Henderson, Fanning, and Hooper. While there he spent an evening in a large crowd of lawyers and "narrowly escaped being intoxicated."¹⁴ Here he also met Chief Justice Martin Howard. At the close of the term, he proceeded to Brunswick and there received his license to practice law from Governor Tryon; he returned by way of Cross Creek, now Fayetteville, and Anson Court House, where he made his debut at the bar. On April 18 he arrived at Charlotte and engaged living quarters in the home of Hezekiah Alexander. In three months he had visited every important place in the Province, with the exception of New Bern District, and had made the acquaintance of the most prominent persons at all the places he had been. However these influential men whom young Avery had so sedulously courted, at this very instant were engaged in a violent struggle for their political lives. They personified the political officeholders—the perennial courthouse crowd who controlled the local and county governments, reaped the benefits therefrom, and maintained their positions through the indulgence of the colonial governor and the support of the legal profession, clergy, wealthy merchants, and others of the colonial aristocracy. They were opposed, as usual, by the low income group who in this instance called themselves Regulators and the struggle which ensued is referred to as the North Carolina War of the Regulation. The Regulators felt that the officeholders were corrupt, and that their tax levies and fees were exorbitant. Avery's natural tendencies, his profession, and his religious affiliations, as well as his admiration for Fanning and Frohock, prejudiced him against the Regulators and he unquestionably opposed them throughout the entire affair. On March 6, 1771, he was arrested by a group of Regulators near Salisbury, was taken to a Regulator camp and held there for four or five hours, but was not harmed. While there he heard threats of violence made against

¹³ John Dunn was one of the founders of the Town of Salisbury and a leading citizen. He was later noted for his loyalist tendencies.

¹⁴ *University Magazine*, August, 1855, 250.

Henderson, Fanning, and other officers of Rowan County as well as criticism of Governor Tryon. All this information was conveyed to the government in a deposition which he made after his release.¹⁵

Several months later, after Governor Tryon's victory at the Battle of Alamance, the Regulator movement collapsed without effecting many of the reforms which had been sought. This much must be said about the Regulation in order to explain Avery's subsequent behavior: briefly, it was a popular revolt against the agents of government at the county level and not an effort to change the form of government. It was not a precursor of the Revolution, but a disorganized effort to "throw the rascals out." The targets of the Regulation were the men who later became leaders of the Revolution in North Carolina and Avery was one of them.¹⁶

Following his arrival in Charlotte he applied himself to the general practice of law in the courtrooms of Mecklenburg, Rowan, Tryon, and Anson. Like any young lawyer beginning his legal career, he participated in many minor cases, and in addition frequently served as King's Attorney when the permanent prosecutor was absent from court. When he found himself without work, he spent his days in reading and in study. Voltaire's *History of Europe*, Tobias Smollett's *History of England*, and Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans* were among the books he read during this period. He had access to the library of Lawyer Forsythe and here he "read the statutes at large." Sundays found him at church with mention in his diary of the minister's name and often some comment on the sermon. The Reverend George Micklejohn, an Anglican clergyman of Hillsboro, the Reverend Joseph Alexander of Sugaw Creek, the Reverend Mr. Halsey of Hopewell, the Reverend Little Balch, the Reverend Mr. Tate of Salisbury, and others were heard by him during the year 1769. In December of that year he accompanied the Reverend James Caldwell¹⁷ on a preaching mission to Charleston, South Carolina, and returned to Charlotte, North Carolina, on Christmas day.

Wedded as he was to those "who delighted in the stern creed of Calvin" and fully embracing this creed himself, it was no quirk of des-

¹⁵ William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1895), X, 518-521, 548, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*; Elmer D. Johnson, "The War of the Regulation: Its Place in History," 74, M.A. thesis, 1942, University of North Carolina Library.

¹⁶ J. S. Bassett, "The Regulators of North Carolina," *Annual Report*, 1894, American Historical Association, 141-212.

¹⁷ Probably this reference is to the Reverend James Caldwell of Connecticut Farms, a settlement near Springfield, New Jersey, and about 40 miles from Princeton. During the Revolution his wife was killed and his home burned by British soldiers. John R. Alden (ed.), *The War of the Revolution* by Christopher Ward (New York: 2 volumes, 1952), II, 621.

tiny that found him in the vanguard when the necessity for American independence became evident. The passage of the Marriage and Vestry Acts in 1769, together with the repeal of the charter of Queens College, sowed the seeds of revolution in Mecklenburg. These acts discouraged marriage by ministers other than those of the Established Church, levied taxes to pay the salaries of the Anglican clergy, and discriminated in favor of the Church of England generally. "We think it as reasonable that those who hold to the Episcopal Church should pay their own clergy without our assistance as that we, who hold to the Church of Scotland should pay our clergy without their assistance,"¹⁸ said forthright Waightstill Avery in the Mecklenburg Petition which he prepared for presentation to Governor Tryon requesting the repeal of these acts. In the same document, he said, "We would inform that there are about one thousand freemen of us, who hold to the established church of Scotland able to bear arms, within the County of Mecklenburg."¹⁹

For the next seven years he continued to make his home in Charlotte and was actively engaged in the practice of law in that region. Inherently a scholarly man, he took an active part in the religious, educational, and cultural affairs of this community. He was particularly interested in maintaining Queens College, or Liberty Hall as it was also called, and he became a trustee of that institution of higher learning in January, 1771. The tides of politics engulfed him, however, and he became a zealous vigilante in the struggle for liberty. In the early fall of 1774 he made public the loyalist pledge of Major John Dunn,²⁰ Attorney for the Crown at Salisbury, by reading the document to the whole Presbyterian congregation at their meeting in Mecklenburg and, several months later, took part in the *coup d'état* that spirited away this unfortunate man to a Charleston, South Carolina, prison.²¹

He was not a delegate to the First Provincial Congress which met in New Bern in August, 1774, to elect delegates to the First Continental Congress, and he apparently was not present at the Second Provincial Congress which met again at New Bern on April 3, 1775, for a similar purpose. However, he was one of the strong men in that

¹⁸ *University Magazine*, August, 1855, 257.

¹⁹ *University Magazine*, August, 1855, 257.

²⁰ This is the same John Dunn whom Avery met on his first visit to Salisbury, see note 13 above.

²¹ Walter Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *State Records and Colonial Records*], 1895-1914), XIX, 899, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*; John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851* (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock [2 volumes in one], reprint of the original, 1925), I, 378, hereinafter cited as Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*.

turbulent band of patriots residing in Mecklenburg who began to hold meetings and agitate for independence in the spring of 1775. Out of these meetings came the spirit, if not the actual document, for the somewhat poorly-authenticated "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" of May 20, and out of them also came the inspiration for the well-authenticated Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31, 1775. This document was drafted either by William Kennon, a young Salisbury lawyer, or by Waightstill Avery.²² On August 1, 1775, Avery was seated for the day as a member of the Rowan County Committee of Safety.²³ By this time, he was in it all the way.

On August 20, 1775, the Third Provincial Congress assembled at Hillsboro. Waightstill Avery was a delegate to this congress from Mecklenburg and was selected together with Samuel Spencer as member of the Provincial Council from Salisbury District.²⁴ This Council was to be the chief executive and administrative authority of the province.²⁵ Plans were made to place the province in a state of military organization. Avery served as its agent in January, 1776, when he made a trip to Charleston to wangle a supply of gunpowder²⁶ and lead and in April, 1776, he was appointed on a commission to build a salt works but this project never materialized.²⁷ On April 4, 1776, the Provincial Congress again assembled at Halifax with Avery as a delegate from Mecklenburg. This Congress attempted to frame a constitution but was unsuccessful. The Council of Safety continued to rule the State. On November 12, about seven months later, they reconvened and appointed a committee, of which Avery was a member, to form a Bill of Rights and Constitution for the State.²⁸ This was accomplished within a month. The Instructions of the Delegates from Mecklenburg to this Provincial Congress were in the handwriting of Waightstill Avery and served as one source of ideas for the Constitution and Bill of Rights.²⁹ It is known that he favored the division of the legislative branch of the State government into two bodies, with the election of members in a democratic fashion. The members of the judicial branch,

²² Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina: The Old North State and the New* (Chicago, Illinois: Lewis Publishing Company, 2 volumes, 1941), I, 591.

²³ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 135.

²⁴ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 214.

²⁵ Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 195, 196, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*.

²⁶ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 271; Draper Collection.

²⁷ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 538. Avery apparently was not able to utilize his franchise to establish a salt works because he was occupied with other duties. R. L. Hilldrup, "The Salt Supply of North Carolina during the American Revolution," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (October, 1945), 403.

²⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, 85, 86.

²⁹ Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 211.

he felt however, should serve as long as they demonstrated good behavior. During his subsequent years in the legislature he consistently championed the cause of the underprivileged West against the more prosperous East. He took pains to protect those who occupied the land and looked on government land agents with cold suspicion.³⁰ He led a vigorous and persistent attack against a real estate tax based on acreage, arguing effectively that tax should be based on the actual value of the land rather than on the number of acres.³¹ Whether he was able to introduce all of his ideas on State government into the new constitution, is certainly open to doubt. On the subject of higher learning, however, his was a dominant influence. After having worked so diligently in an effort to establish a college in Mecklenburg, he now successfully sponsored Article Forty-one in the Constitution of North Carolina providing for the establishment of a State University. "The torch of higher learning in North Carolina, lit by Waightstill Avery, carried by Dr. McCorkle, and unsuccessfully offered by William Sharpe to an unresponsive legislature in 1784 passed as we have seen into the hands of William Richardson Davie."³²

During the summer of 1776, Avery was kept busy in the service of the new State. In the successful campaign that was waged at that time against the Cherokee Indians by forces from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia he served as liaison between General Griffith Rutherford in his home State and Colonel Andrew Williamson, who was operating in the vicinity of Keowee and Tugaloe in South Carolina.³³

In April, 1777, at the first General Assembly of the newly independent State, he served as a member of a commission which codified and rationalized the body of law inherited from the colonial courts. In June, 1777, about two months later, Governor Caswell appointed him a commissioner with three others, one of whom was William Sharpe, to act in conjunction with commissioners from Virginia, and obtain a treaty with the Cherokee Indians. They met at Fort Henry near the Long Island of the main Holston River and on July 20, 1777, the treaty was completed.³⁴

³⁰ Clark, *State Records*, XIX, 345.

³¹ Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 410; XIX, 811.

³² Archibald Henderson, *The Campus of the First State University* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 29. To indicate that Avery was the only sponsor of this far-reaching article is perhaps misleading. For a detailed treatment of the subject, see R. D. W. Connor, "The Genesis of Higher Education in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (January, 1951), 1. From 1795 to 1804 Avery served the University as a trustee.

³³ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 651, 830.

³⁴ "So prominent was his leadership in negotiating the Treaty . . . that it was afterwards commonly called Avery's Treaty." Archibald Henderson, "The Treaty of Long

On January 12, 1778, he received his commission as Attorney General—the first to hold this office in the newly independent State.³⁵ The duties of his office took him much to New Bern where he met the young widow, Leah Probart Franks. He was over thirty years of age at this time, a man intellectually and emotionally mature, and he doubtless found in Mrs. Franks those attributes that he had applauded a decade before in his diary: “Beauty, Wit, Prudence and Money.”³⁶ She was the daughter of a British “mariner,” a Welshman named William Probart of Accomack County, Virginia, who had married a young lady of Worcester County, Maryland, named Leah Lane. Later Leah’s mother married a certain Collier and this union brought the family to New Bern, North Carolina. After her initial marriage, Leah and her husband settled at “White Rock” on the Trent River, ten miles from New Bern. She was said to be possessed of “large landed interests”³⁷ and was a “lady of great intelligence and amiability.”³⁸ Within the year, Leah and Waightstill were married. Avery resigned his State office and moved to his wife’s plantation in Jones County where he was appointed Colonel of the Jones County regiment of militia by Governor Caswell on July 3, 1779.³⁹ He fulfilled this duty until the termination of the war in October, 1781, but his command was not in active service except on occasional brushes with the Tories until it was called out when Cornwallis invaded North Carolina.⁴⁰ On the whole, he did not distinguish himself as a regimental commander and his military career was marred by a controversy which gradually developed between him and Brigadier General Alexander Lillington and reached a denouement in July, 1781, when Lillington wrote Governor Burke roundly criticizing Avery’s handling of his troops in a tactical situation and accusing him of failure to co-operate with the high command.⁴¹ Meanwhile, in retaliation for his Revolutionary activities, Avery’s law office in Charlotte was burned with all his books and

Island of Holston, July, 1777,” *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII (January, 1931), 60n, hereinafter cited as Henderson, “Treaty of Holston.” An abstract of the report of the commissioners is reproduced in this article. In one of his recorded addresses to the Cherokee chieftains, Colonel Avery said, “Brothers; we are now about to fix a line that is to remain through all generations, and be kept by our children’s children; and we hope that both Nations will hereafter never have anymore disputes.” Henderson, “Treaty of Holston,” 89.

³⁵ Draper Collection.

³⁶ *University Magazine*, August, 1855, 249.

³⁷ Wooten, “Avery Family”; Draper Collection.

³⁸ *University Magazine*, August, 1855, 246.

³⁹ Draper Collection.

⁴⁰ In a withdrawal from a skirmish with British troops under Major Craig, Colonel Avery commandeered a horse from a civilian to pull an artillery piece. The horse evidently vanished and the civilian sued Avery for the property loss. Avery’s deposition regarding this matter is in the Princeton University Library.

⁴¹ Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 345.

papers when that town was occupied by Cornwallis in the fall of 1780.⁴²

In an attempt to escape the wretchedness of malaria, he acquired a tract of land in the valley of the Catawba River from "Hunting John" McDowell and removed his family from Jones County after his retirement from military service. Here in the newborn County of Burke he found an equable climate, palatable spring water, and insects which tended to be less harmful; the stately trees were loaded with nuts and mast while verdant wild grasses and wild pea vines waved in the open forests; rolling hills looked down on spacious river valleys and majestic mountains tinted the skyline to the north and south where the Appalachians jagged the Piedmont plateau; in short, like most of this westward country, the place he was to call "Swan Ponds" was not heaven, but it was attractive real estate.⁴³

Here he resumed the private practice of law and again began to travel the western circuit. He plunged immediately into public affairs and in 1782, although he could not have been a Burke County resident for more than a year, he represented that county in the legislature, as he did in 1783, 1784, and 1785. His legislative career stretched over the years of the Continental Congress during the period between the Declaration of Independence and the ratification of the Constitution and before the States had delegated any important powers to the central government. States made treaties, issued their own currency, levied import and export duties, and otherwise considered themselves sovereign. He became an early member of the Quaker Meadows Presbyterian Church where he listened to the lengthy discourses of the Reverend James Templeton, a Princeton man himself. In the Legislature of 1783 he was instrumental in obtaining a charter for Morgan Academy, the first institution for formal education in Burke County and, together with other leading members of old Quaker Meadows Church, was designated as one of its trustees.⁴⁴ During the legislative session of 1784 he was appointed on a five-man commission to select a site and acquire land for the purpose of constructing a courthouse in Burke County. Two hundred and forty acres were purchased. A portion of this was set aside for public buildings and the residual sur-

⁴² Letter from Isaac T. Avery, August 19, 1821, to Archibald D. Murphey, William Henry Hoyt (ed.), *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1914), I, 233-236, hereinafter cited as Hoyt, *Murphey Papers*.

⁴³ Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, Ohio: 32 volumes, 1904-1907), III, 206-301, hereinafter cited as Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*.

⁴⁴ S. J. Ervin, Jr., "The Genesis of the First Presbyterian Church of Morganton, North Carolina," published in a privately printed pamphlet commemorating the sesquicentennial of the First Presbyterian Church, Morganton, October, 1947, 11-19.

rounding acreage was retained for the establishment of a county seat which was eventually called Morganton.⁴⁵ Thus in a very short time, he had ingrained himself into the religious, educational, and political life of the western frontier.

A man of culture and great dignity, he wore the powdered wig, knee breeches, and full dress of the colonial gentleman and continued to do so until the day of his death. Endowed with a keen sense of humor, he was a courtroom favorite, particularly at Jonesboro. There he was held in high esteem because of his work on the Holston Treaty and his achievements in the North Carolina Legislature. Nor did he entirely ignore opportunities for pecuniary gain. In 1785 he took out "hundred of grants" covering almost the entire valley of the North Toe River and its tributaries, the lower valley of the South Toe and Linville rivers, and the upper valleys of Pigeon and Mills rivers.⁴⁶

In the late summer of 1788, as was his wont, he stowed his equipment in his saddlebags and made the jouncing journey along the leafy trails and over the rhododendron-shaded paths to the trans-Appalachian town of Jonesboro to attend the August term of court. Here, amidst a cluster of huts and cabins in a huge wild land, stood the log courthouse of Washington County, North Carolina—later to become a county of the State of Tennessee. Ribboned and bewigged, his sturdy figure attired in broadcloth coat, knee breeches, and silver-buckled shoes, Avery had long been recognized in this frontier settlement as a person of stature and significance. At forty-seven, he was at the zenith of his professional career and his name dotted the court calendar wherever he appeared.

On a warm afternoon in the stuffy little courtroom, he found himself confronted by the brash young lawyer, Andrew Jackson, who had come out to Jonesboro a few months before from Salisbury where he had studied law under Spruce McCay. Jackson had just turned twenty-one and in this particular instance was laboring under insurmountable handicaps. Not least of these was the fact that he had asked Avery to serve as his law instructor before he went to McCay but the older man had not seen fit to accommodate him, supposedly because of the limited housing facilities at "Swan Ponds." As the case dragged on, Jackson realized that he was losing it; yet Avery twitted him in a

⁴⁵ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 604.

⁴⁶ John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina: A History from 1730 to 1913* (Asheville: the Edward Buncombe Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1914), 140, hereinafter cited as Arthur, *Western North Carolina*. According to records in the office of the Secretary of State, Avery filed 153 entries for 33,535 acres of land between 1778 and 1818; approximately 30 of these grants were never issued. In the main, his grants were located on the French Broad, Pigeon, Toe, Cane, Linville, and Catawba rivers and on many tributaries of these streams.

manner which lacked prudence and in ways which were most galling; doting on Jackson's untenable legal position, repeatedly lifting the beautifully preserved volume of his favorite legal authority—Matthew Bacon's *Abridgement*—from his green bag, quoting endlessly from its pedestrian paragraphs, and rolling out the long sententious sentences. Finally Jackson could brook his strictures no longer. "I may not know as much law as there is in Bacon's Abridgment, but I know enough not to take illegal fees," he blurted. Avery turned incredulously toward him and asked whether Jackson was accusing him of unethical practice. "I do make that accusation, sir," said Jackson. "It's as false as hell," retorted Avery wrathfully. For the proud and sensitive Jackson, this was too much. He tore off a scrap of paper, scribbled a challenge on it and after presenting it to Avery, stiffly left the courtroom. Soon Avery also stalked out and sent his written acceptance to Jackson by his second, John Adair, the entry-taker of neighboring Sullivan County and a powerful man on the frontier. It is believed that Jackson chose as his second Superior Court Judge John McNairy who had accompanied him to the West. Be that as it may, the choice of seconds was fortunate for through their mediations it was soon learned that Jackson did not wish to kill Colonel Avery and had intended to qualify his courtroom remarks by explaining that Avery was not familiar with the lawyer's fee schedule which had been most recently established by statute. Avery's impetuous reply carrying the accusation of falsehood had cut him short and he felt that his challenge was unavoidable; he had been insulted in public and had resorted to the customary method of righting such a wrong. As for Colonel Avery, he was no duelist, and was opposed to dueling on principle; middle-aged, scholarly, a man of order in a turbulent country, with a Puritan background and clerical associations, nothing could have been more distasteful to him than this "affair of honor." Nevertheless, after the sun had set and the air had cooled as well as their tempers, they faced each other on the high, wooded hill that dominates the little town on the south. A shot fired from each pistol well above the heads of the respective adversaries settled the matter and put everyone in a jocular mood.⁴⁷

In spite of the fact that there are no contemporary accounts of this incident, the various reports that have been written show few inconsistencies. The Olds report was obtained from a member of the Avery family; the Allison report was most painstakingly obtained from older citizens of Jonesboro who were veterans of the War of 1812 and gave identical accounts of the duel story; the source of the Henderson report

⁴⁷ John Allison, *Drop Stitches in Tennessee History* (Nashville, 1897), 110-118, hereinafter cited as Allison, *Tennessee History*.

is not given but it differs little, if at all, from the Olds account. The major difference in the two authoritative accounts hinges around Bacon's *Abridgment*. Olds says that Jackson used it as his favorite authority and Allison contends that it was Avery who used it repeatedly as a courtroom reference.⁴⁸ A humorous legend exists regarding the aftermath of the duel, and is reported by both Olds and Allison but apparently was never mentioned by either Avery, Jackson, or Adair. Allison's version fits in with his contention that Avery was the admirer of Bacon's *Abridgment*. He states that after the two principals had shaken hands, Jackson produced a package the size and shape of Bacon's *Abridgment*, saying, "Colonel Avery, I knew that if I hit you and did not kill you immediately, the greatest comfort you could have in your last moments would be to have Bacon's *Abridgment* near you; and so I had my friend bring it to the ground." Whereupon, Jackson's second stepped forward and presented Avery with the package, which when opened, proved to be a slab of cured bacon cut to suitable size. Olds and Henderson tell the story in a way which make Avery the prankster and Jackson the butt of the joke.⁴⁹ The entire incident, both duel and aftermath, was an empty farce which might have ended tragically and does not add to the stature of either man.

As the years rolled by Colonel Avery eschewed public office though he never lost his flare for politics. He made his last appearance in the legislature in 1793 and served one term in the State Senate in 1796, just fourteen years before his son Isaac appeared in the legislature. He continued the practice of law until 1801 when he was thrown from his horse, injuring his right lower extremity so severely that he was never again able to walk and this obviously restricted his professional activities, though he often served as a judge of the county court.⁵⁰

The later years of his life were spent largely at home in Burke County where he is said to have enjoyed peace and plenty and the love and regard of his neighbors. A transient promoter and land speculator who visited the area in 1795, scribbled in his diary as follows:

Out and on the 3rd I continu'd at my draughts to make the Returns in the after Noon Col Avery an attorney at Law who liv'd four miles out of Town waited on me to wride home with him and as we ware just setting out

⁴⁸ Allison, *Tennessee History*, 110-118; Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, 357-359, quoting Colonel Fred Olds in *Harper's Weekly*, December 31, 1904.

⁴⁹ Archibald Henderson, a newspaper clipping of November 7, 1926, on the Avery-Jackson duel, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

⁵⁰ Waightstill Avery to Dr. William Cathcart, December 15, 1804, Waightstill Avery Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Avery Papers; Selina Lenoir to W. A. Lenoir, June 20, 1837, Lenoir Family Papers; Minutes of the Burke County Court of Pleas and Quarter Session, 1807-1820, *passim*, State Department of Archives and History.

Mr. Devinport who was making the survey for Mr. Hugh Tate and myself arrived and Col. insisted on his going with us accordingly he did we Rode out Mr. Avery has one of the finest Country seats I have ever seen in this State and live very well his wife is a very well Bred woman and appear much like a Lady the have a fine famly of Children and a daughter well Bred with a handsom fortune on the fourth We continu'd to Breckfast & I got the Col to take a list of his lands Enter'd within my surveys after Breckfust I held a Confab with his who I foun'd to be a Verey well bred Young woman.⁵¹

In the arrangement of all his affairs, both public and private, he was methodical and systematic. His library was the most extensive and well selected in the western part of the State. When the State House was destroyed by fire in 1831, the Governor was able to draw from the Avery library the only complete collection of printed copies of the Acts and Journals of the General Assembly known to be extant.⁵² Even when earlier in life he had been enmeshed in public affairs, his family stood foremost and his relations with his wife and children had been characterized by devotion, warmth, and affection; as the years rolled by, these tendencies were accentuated and he became the gentle patriarch—contented, wordy, and perhaps a little self-satisfied. He is said to have been unusually fond of sweets, particularly honey, and although he stoutly protested that butter did not agree with him, he was known to eat foods containing this delectable ingredient with the greatest avidity. He remained volubly religious and his moral and ethical concepts harkened back to the puritanism of his childhood. His last will and testament, which was drawn several years before his death, provided adequate land and slave holdings for each of his three daughters⁵³ and a dower for his wife but a major portion of his estate, including "Swan Ponds" plantation, went to Isaac Thomas Avery,⁵⁴ his only son; it also provided posterity with a lengthy instruc-

⁵¹ A. R. Newsome (ed.), "John Brown's Journal of Travel in Western North Carolina in 1795," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XI (October, 1934), 309, 310.

⁵² *University Magazine*, August, 1855, 245.

⁵³ His daughters were Polly Mira, who first married Caleb Poore and later Jacob Summey of Asheville; Elizabeth or Betsy, who married William B. Lenoir and migrated to Tennessee; and Selina Louisa, who married Thomas Lenoir. Both William and Thomas Lenoir were sons of General William Lenoir of Fort Defiance in Happy Valley, now Caldwell County. In addition to their own children, the Averys took into their home and were instrumental in rearing the Lavender children, orphans of Leah's (Mrs. Avery) sister; several of the children of Waightstill's deceased brother Isaac also lived with them for a time. The seven minor children of their daughter, Polly Mira Poore were largely their responsibility, as she was divorced from Poore in 1813. *Laws of North-Carolina Enacted by a General Assembly . . .*, 1813, c. XCV; Minutes of the Burke County Court, April and July sessions, 1813, State Department of Archives and History.

⁵⁴ Two years before his death, Colonel Avery listed his property subject to taxation in Burke County essentially as reproduced in Table I. Property owned in other counties is, of course, not included.

tive discourse on Christian ethics and the joys of redemption. The following excerpts are from this instrument:

And I now will address a few words to those who may be interested in this my Testament after my decease. All may be assured that no part of what is here devised was acquired by horse racing, gambling or betting of any kind, but by sober, honest industry and full of cheerful hope and assurance that the same will not be squandered or desecrated by idleness and extravagance of any kind. . . . Let me entreat you that when I am laid in the silent grave you may not contend one with another about this property. I entreat you to aid and assist each other, do good to each other, let no one envy or covet the lot of another but each one receive the part here given as the bounty of Heaven. . . . Consider that the good things of the world are the gifts of God. . . . Drawing near to taking a lasting rest, let me address a few words to you, Leah, who have been the dear wife of my bosom, and to my dear children, and call upon you all in the first place to bless, to praise and to give thanks to God, the author of all good, that it has pleased Him in His kind and worshipfull providence to preserve our lives and spare us to each other. . . . This consideration ought to lead you to read and examine the scriptures, the divine creeds of truth, and may God grant that you may therein discover every duty.⁵⁵

On the morning of September 30, 1819, while in earnest conversation with Judge Archibald D. Murphey, regarding education and internal improvements, in the judges' chambers at the courthouse in Morganton, he developed a cerebral accident which rendered him paralyzed on the right side. He never recovered from this attack. After a lingering illness, death came to this old Nassovian at three o'clock in the morning, March 15, 1821.⁵⁶ His wife Leah survived him almost eleven years and died on January 13, 1832. Both were buried in the family burying ground at "Swan Ponds."

⁵⁵ A document purported to be the last will and testament of Waightstill Avery, written in longhand and dated February 20, 1819, is housed in the office of the Clerk of Court, Burke County. A certified copy is also in Burke County Wills, State Department of Archives and History.

⁵⁶ Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, October 7, 1819, Isaac T. Avery to Thomas Lenoir, March 29, 1821, Lenoir Family Papers; *Western Carolinian*, April 17, 1821; Draper Collection gives March 16, 1821, as the date of death of Colonel Avery and January 20, 1832, as the date of death of his wife, Leah.

TABLE I

A LIST OF THE TAXABLE PROPERTY OF WAIGHTSTILL AVERY IN
BURKE COUNTY, 1818*

2,402½	Acres of land including the "Swan Ponds" of the Cataba [sic] River on the North Side and on both sides Canoe Creek and lands adjoining assessed by James Murphy Esqr. in 1817	8,105
105	Acres in a new grant adjoining Greenberry Wilson's old place and [illegible]	100
589	Acres of land on the South Side of Cataba [sic] River part thereof in South Mountain	
100	Acres in a new grant adjoining Brandon's Meadow	550
1,080	Acres in the Sugar Cove of little Rock Creek, and on the sides and spurs of the surrounding mountains assessed by Daniel Brown, Esqr. to 1,280	1,280
3,340	Acres including the Crabb Orchard of Toe River and dispersed [sic] in the mountains and up and down the River	2,572
2,130	Acres on Linville and dispersed [sic] on the mountains assessed by Daniel Brown Esqr. at 980	500
595	Acres in the North Cove	650
2,614	Acres on the waters of Linville and Toe River entered for the Range, of the value of 103	103
<hr/>		
13,001½	Acres of the value of	13,300
	Two town lotts [sic] in Morganton of the value of 200 ..	200
	25 taxable slaves between the age of 12 years and 50 years	
	No stud horse No store	

W. Avery

* From Burke County Tax Lists, State Department of Archives and History.

[To be continued]

North Carolina State Library
Raleigh

THE BURNING OF WINTON IN 1862

By THOMAS C. PARRAMORE*

On February 20, 1862, between eleven o'clock in the morning and 2:00 P.M., the village of Winton on the Chowan River was burned by Union troops. The first burning of a town during the Civil War resulted in an entire regiment's failure to receive medals it had earned for earlier heroism and brought disgrace to the man who led the opposition. The story is an object lesson of the futility of war.

Although North Carolina cast in her fortunes with those of the Southern Confederacy on May 20, 1861, it was not until early February, 1862, when Roanoke Island fell to Federal forces, that the Civil War made itself seriously felt in the eastern regions of the Tar Heel State. Overnight the sounds and rivers of the Albemarle-Pamlico region were exposed to the imminent possibility of being overrun and decimated under the heel of enemy armies. Terror and dismay fell upon the Coastal Plain population while the legions of the young Confederacy, busy with heavy fighting in other areas, looked back to discover themselves vulnerable far down along their own coast line. Their consternation was not unwarranted. Within a few days after the fall of Roanoke Island, Federal troops crushed the Confederate naval element bottled up at Elizabeth City and occupied that town and Edenton, opening up the Chowan River with all the prospering towns and villages along its winding shores.

Faced with the need for an immediate policy-decision as to the drastic situation along the Outer Banks, the military leadership of the Confederacy decided that it could not spare the large numbers of troops it would require to oust General Ambrose E. Burnside from his hard-won points of vantage. There being no indication that the Union strategists sought to create a large-scale front there, the Coastal Plain would, for the time being at least, be allowed to become a "no-man's-land," lacking the full protection of Confederate armies, deprived of the civil guardianship of the State government, helpless before lightning raids by both sides, and prey to the hordes of deserters and felons

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known as "buffaloes" who were to pillage and plunder the region for the next three and a half years.

Among the token units hastened in to discourage Federal occupation of key river towns were the First Battalion of North Carolina Volunteers from a camp near Suffolk, Virginia, and Company A of the Virginia Mounted Artillery from the Portsmouth area, both of which proceeded in early February to Winton, a shipping point about forty miles up the Chowan from Edenton. It seemed likely that Union gunboats might at any moment strike in the vicinity of Winton, from which base the Federals could then move upon Norfolk or the vital rail junction at Weldon. At best, these southern units constituted but slight interference with whatever plans the enemy was to prosecute. The North Carolina Volunteers, under Lt. Col. William T. Williams of Nash County, numbered about four hundred raw soldiers, while Capt. J. N. Nichols' Southampton Artillery brought four pieces of light artillery having less aggregate fire-power than a single Union gunboat. Col. William J. Clarke, area Commandant whose headquarters were ten miles away at Murfreesboro, pled with Confederate Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin that "these forces are wholly inadequate to the important services required of them, and [I] respectfully, but most urgently, request that an additional force of cavalry and artillery may be immediately placed at my disposal."¹ Clarke went on to point out that the Roanoke-Chowan region contained enough provisions to supply the entire Confederate Army for at least six months and ought to be stoutly defended. But the die was cast; no help was forthcoming. Winton was a small town, prospering modestly by virtue of its fisheries and a traffic in naval stores spearheaded by the far-reaching enterprises of the late John A. Anderson. The main part of town comprised only about twenty houses, with a few others scattered about the outlying vicinity. Probably there were less than three hundred inhabitants within its corporate limits. So small was the town that the arriving Confederate soldiers under Williams and Nichols found it necessary to occupy nearly every building. Three office buildings and two stores of the wealthy widow Anderson were requisitioned by the soldiers as quarters, along with two buildings belonging to James Northcott, the office of Dr. R. H. Shield, a building owned by a Mrs. Halsey, four owned by Col. Pleasant Jordan (including his spacious hotel), James H. Gat-

¹R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, IX, 439-440, hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.

ling's old store, and the courthouse and jail.² Numbers of horses, mules, and wagons belonging to local people were also hired by Capt. J. L. Frinsley, the battalion quartermaster. Room was at length found for the Confederate defenders, including several companies of militia which raised the total number of soldiers at Winton above seven hundred, and the town entered upon a period of ominous anticipation. "I can tell you," wrote Hiram Freeman's colored servant Mariah Bowens to a friend at New Bern on February 19, "old Winton is coming out, she is in a stir from morning until night. The people of this place are expecting an attack here almost all the time. . . . Every house, room, and everything else that was vacant is full now. Mrs. Jordan moved all of her things out of town and they have got possession of every room in her house except one."³ Winton did not have long to wait. Early that same afternoon, Yankee gunboats were reported to be only a few miles down the Chowan, steaming toward the town.

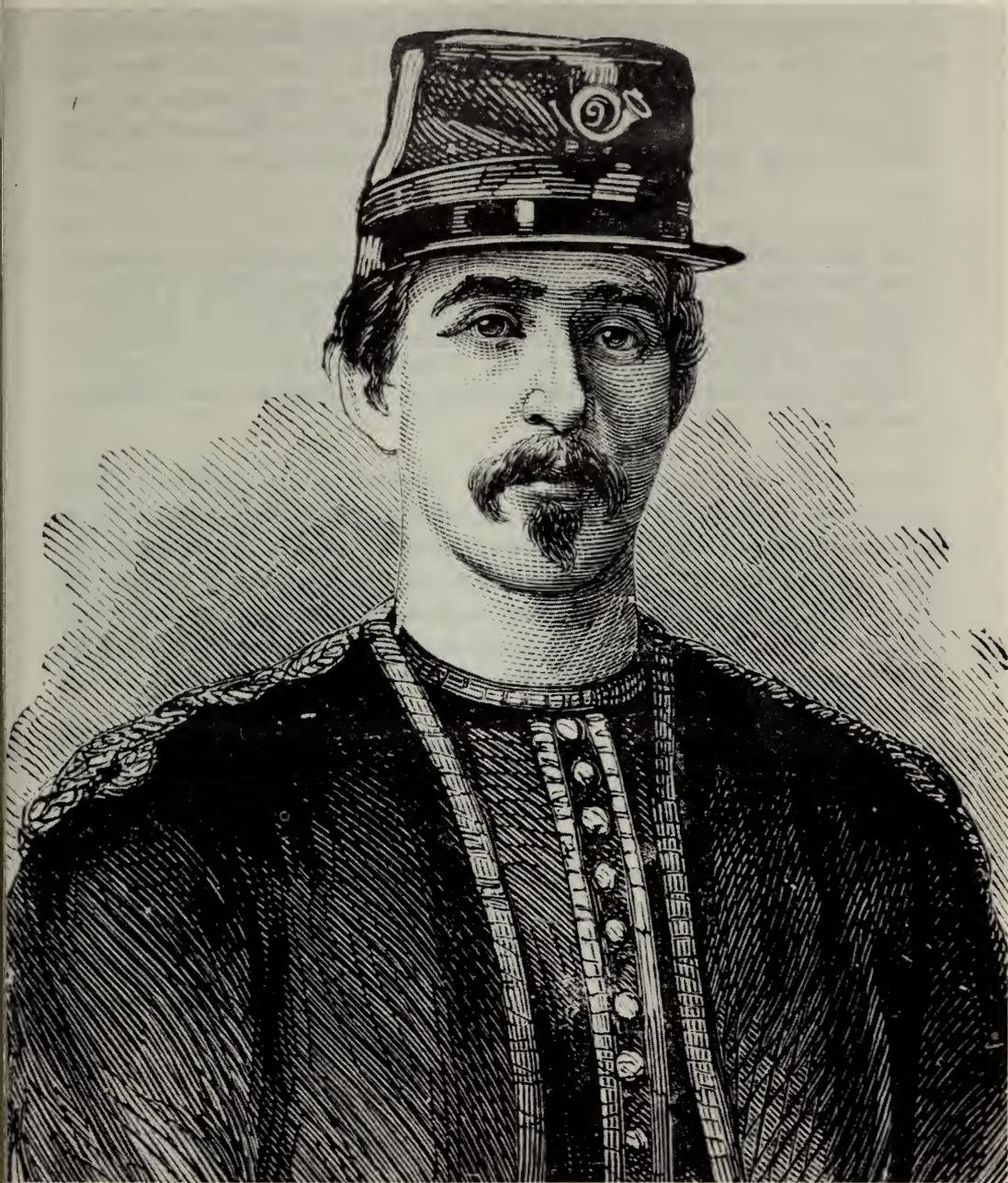
Col. Williams laid his plans carefully, deploying his riflemen behind the bushes and oak trees along the top of the forty-foot high bluff behind which the town was situated, while Nichols directed the manning of his artillery, already in position on the bluff. With luck, an approaching gunboat might be lured so close to the bluff that her cannon could not be brought to bear, leaving her helpless under the southern muskets and artillery. To insure the effectiveness of his ambush, Williams hired a thirty-year-old mulatto woman named Martha Keen, if one may credit the testimony of tradition, to go down to the shore and signal to the approaching gunboats that it was safe to come in to the wharf. All eyes turned toward the bend in the river below Barfield's landing, a mile downstream, as the first sound of steam engines drifted across the woods beyond.

The Federal expedition consisted of eight gunboats: the Flagship "Delaware" in the lead, trailed by the "Commodore Perry" about a mile farther down the river, with the "Louisiana," "Morse," "Hunchback," "Whitehead," "Barney," and "Lockwood" following some seven miles behind.⁴ On board were the Ninth New York Volunteers, known as the "Hawkins Zouaves" after their colorful leader, Col. Rush C. Hawkins, a group fresh from having tasted blood in the first

² "Exhibit A," which was originally attached to the report of Colonel Rush C. Hawkins. See *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 195-196. This exhibit, a letter found by the Union commander in the Winton Post Office, was omitted from the *Official Records*, but may be seen in the Civil War Division, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

³ "Exhibit B," originally attached to the report of Hawkins, *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 195-196, was also omitted from the printed report.

⁴ Charles F. Johnson, *The Long Roll; Being a Journal of the Civil War, as set down during the Years 1861-1863 by Charles F. Johnson, Sometime of the Hawkins Zouaves* (East Aurora, New York: Roycrofters Printers [Duluth edition], 1911), 102, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *The Long Roll*.



RUSH C. HAWKINS

bayonet charge of the war two weeks before on Roanoke Island. In addition to the eight hundred or more men of this regiment, there were several companies of the Fourth Rhode Island Infantry aboard. But besides these army units, the gunboats could boast of an imposing array of heavy artillery, including boat howitzers, 32-pounder cannon, and 9-inch guns. The flotilla had left anchorage at Plymouth shortly after daybreak that morning. A member of the Zouaves wrote in his diary:

Our fleet headed by the Flagship made a lively display as we entered the river, and a novel one for these peaceful-looking waters, I'll warrant, composed as it was of vessels of the utmost contrast in purpose, build, and appearance. The old ferry-boats, painted black as the ace of spades, are the most strange to see as gunboats, but as such are excellent, being sturdily built and capable of operating in very shallow waters.⁵

When the "Delaware" entered the Chowan early in the morning, Col. Hawkins took the precaution of climbing up to the crosstrees as volunteer lookout. His orders from Burnside were to investigate certain reports that five hundred Union sympathizers had raised the American flag at Winton and were awaiting the protection of Federal troops, and to destroy the bridges of the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad across the Nottaway and Blackwater rivers above Winton.⁶ At two o'clock in the afternoon, Colerain was passed, its wharf ablaze by act of retreating Confederates.⁷ About 4:00 P.M. the town of Winton came dimly into sight through the evening mist and the crew of the "Delaware" was piped to the messroom for supper. Minutes later the wharf at Winton was discerned and Lt. Quackenbush ordered the engines of his vessel slowed. Pilot Nassa Williams, a North Carolinian and familiar with these waters, turned the ship in toward the landing, unaware of the Confederate infantry crouching on the ridge above him. As they neared the wharf, flotilla-commander Stephen Rowan on the hurricane deck and Col. Hawkins in the crosstrees were cheered to see a Negro woman standing back of the landing motioning the vessel to approach by waving a piece of cloth. At this precarious moment,

⁵ Johnson, *The Long Roll*, 104.

⁶ Rush Christopher Hawkins, "Early Coast Operations in North Carolina," Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* . . . (New York: The Century Company, 4 volumes, 1887-1888), I, 646. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Hawkins, "Coast Operations in North Carolina."

⁷ Thomas E. Quayle (on watch), "Remarks for February 19, 1862," Log of the United States Steamer "Whitehead," November 19, 1861-November 23, 1862, Naval Records Section, National Archives, Washington, hereinafter cited as Quayle, "Remarks . . ." Log of the "Whitehead."

when less than fifty yards from shore, the eagle eye of Hawkins was arrested by the glint of the evening sun upon cold steel. Surveying the top of the bluff at a glance, Hawkins saw the Confederate troops behind their cover and stared into the yawning barrels of four cannon. Let him describe the next desperate instant: "I shouted to the astonished native pilot at the helm, 'Ring on, sheer off, rebels on shore!' fully half a dozen times before he could comprehend my meaning. At last he rang on full speed, changed his course, and cleared the wharf by about ten feet."⁸ At the moment Hawkins began his scrambling retreat from the crosstrees, Col. Williams on shore gave the order to fire and instantly the evening air was thick with the thunderclap of musket-fire unleashed by the southern soldiery. The ratlines were shot out of Hawkins' hands as he slid down, and he plummeted the rest of the way. The men in the messroom raced up and threw themselves face-down on the deck; Signal Officer Gabaudan felt a tug at his side and looked down to see his sleeve shot away from an uninjured arm. Soldiers and sailors dived left and right for whatever cover the exposed deck would afford, as the "Delaware," her wheelhouse, sides, and superstructure peppered with shot, drew agonizingly off from shore and up past the town. Notwithstanding the torrent of bullets and buckshot, the vessel was not struck by any of the larger shells poured down by Nichols' artillery and escaped crippling injury. As soon as she was beyond musket-range, the "Delaware" was brought around in the narrow stream and her authoritative Dahlgren and Parrott guns trained on the bluff. Some of the Federal shells struck their mark while others flew on past to drop aimlessly into the woods and fields beyond Winton. As the "Delaware" opened fire, the "Commodore Perry," approaching the scene from below, opened upon the Confederates with more heavy artillery. Captain Nichols, directing his battery from the saddle, suddenly found himself thrown to earth, his mount shot from under him.⁹ A piece of shrapnel struck the cartridge belt of a Confederate soldier and the bursting cartridges brought him down also with painful injuries.¹⁰ Overcome by the Federal artillery, the southerners broke and dashed for whatever protection they could find. Another man and a horse were injured in the melee but no one was killed. Having temporarily silenced her adversary, the "Delaware" ran back down past the town, receiving only a scattering of shot as she passed, and joined the "Perry" in hasty departure from the scene of so inhospitable a wel-

⁸ Hawkins, "Coast Operations in North Carolina," 647.

⁹ *Daily Express* (Petersburg, Virginia), February 22, 1862, hereinafter cited as *Daily Express*.

¹⁰ *Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register*, March 1, 1862.

come. Despite all the bombardment of shell, shrapnel, and rifle-fire, the Union men were amazed to find that the only injury they had sustained was to the battered ramparts of the "Delaware."

At Winton the Confederates were jubilant. Years later a Negro recalled them going past her home shouting: "We gave them hell, didn't we?" As the soldiers emerged from cover they could justly pride themselves that the town remained unharmed and the enemy gunboats retreated headlong in the direction whence they had come. Doubtless, as it seemed then, the Federals had suffered numerous casualties. That evening a celebration was held in Winton in honor of this fine victory in the name of secession.¹¹ News went forward to Norfolk that the Yankees "were promptly repulsed and compelled to retire, their boats being in a damaged condition."¹² The *Raleigh Register* received a similar encouraging report, and Samuel Smith of Gates County, just across the Chowan from Winton, arrived in Suffolk next day to calm the fears of that anxious city.¹³

Meanwhile, the fleeing "Delaware" and "Perry" met the six other gunboats advancing up-river and Commander Rowan signalled for them to come around and follow him. Continuing some six or seven miles below Winton, the flotilla came to anchor for the night while the army and naval officers met aboard the Flagship "Delaware" to decide upon a course of action. Their decision was to return to Winton next morning and fight it out with the rebels. A member of the Ninth New York recalled later that:

The guns were kept manned during the night, and we, of course, were ready. The wildest kind of conjectures prevailed as to the probable events of the morrow. Some said artillery as well as musketry had been used in the attack on the "Delaware," and that our landing would be desperately resisted; but we had an excellent night's sleep, the better because all unnecessary noise was prohibited.¹⁴

At 6:32 A.M. the sun rose out of the swamp on the right bank, casting its rays over a scene of vigorous activity. While still at anchor, the work-crews put up bulletproof casement around their ships, and quantities of cutlasses and navy revolvers were piled on deck for use by the crews if necessary.¹⁵ Packets of oakum and kindling were distributed

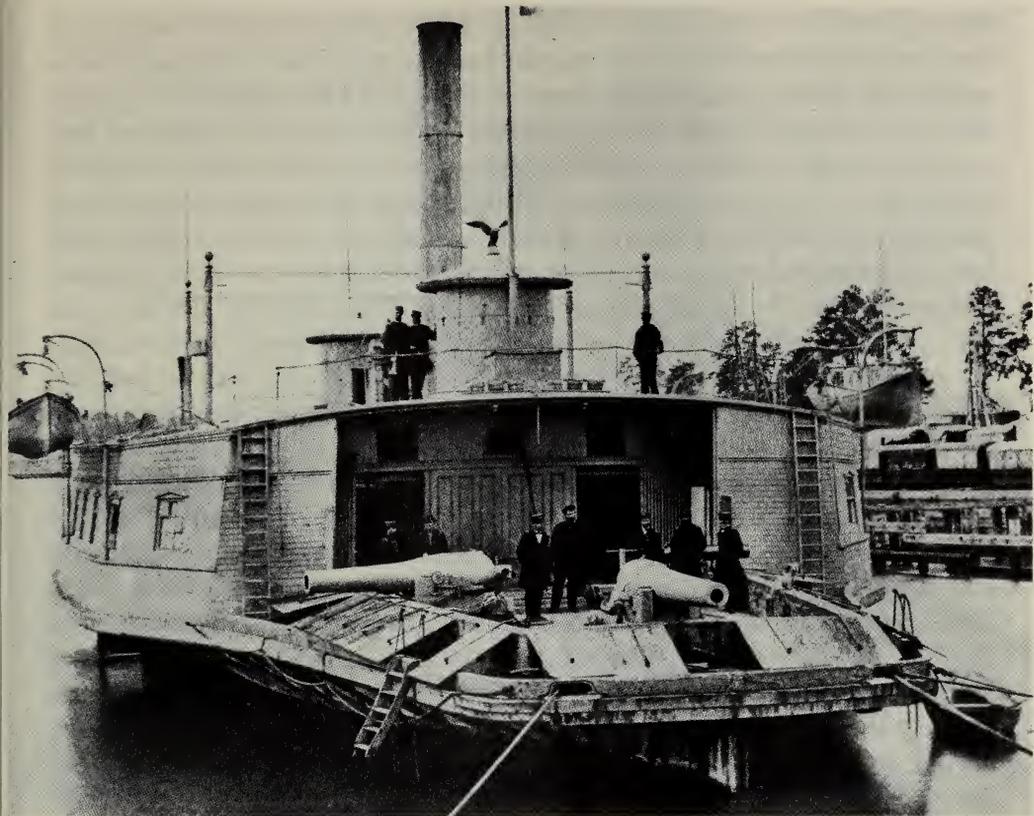
¹¹ Johnson, *The Long Roll*, 104. This Zouave wrote, "There had been a 'ball' or something in the way of rejoicing the night before on account of our repulse. But it turned out anything but brilliantly, as the village was miserably burned and plundered."

¹² *The Daily Journal* (Wilmington), February 22, 1862, hereinafter cited *The Daily Journal*.

¹³ *The Daily Journal*, February 22, 1862.

¹⁴ Johnson, *The Long Roll*, 104.

¹⁵ Johnson, *The Long Roll*, 104.



THE GUNBOAT "PERRY"

to each man, to serve as incendiary material if any burning was needed.¹⁶ Hammocks were lashed around the pilot houses and bags and mattresses were placed inside the bulwarks.¹⁷ The "Delaware," despite her 185 bulletholes, gathered steam at last and at 8:00 A.M., under blue morning skies flaked with white clouds, the Union fleet weighed anchor and moved once more upon Winton, just then rising from her first restful night in weeks.

Many residents were still at breakfast when the news was brought in that the Federals, in flotilla strength, were returning rapidly up the river. Col. Williams, realizing that the small fire-power at his command could not deter a raid of these proportions, ordered his forces to the new breastworks at Mount Tabor Church, four miles out on the Murfreesboro road at Potecasi Creek.¹⁸ Shocked civilians snatched whatever they could carry and rushed out of town along the wooded paths

¹⁶ John H. E. Whitney, *The Hawkins Zouaves: Their Battles and Marches* (New York: Privately printed, 1866), 86.

¹⁷ Quayle, "Remarks for February 20, 1862," Log of the "Whitehead."

¹⁸ *Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register*, March 1, 1862.

through Folly Branch. Mrs. Anderson, loath to leave to the fortunes of war her rich estate, had to be placed bodily onto a cart, filled with valuables, by her son and rushed out of danger to the Valentine plantation, two miles beyond Winton. Some of the fourteen Anderson servants are said to have carried the piano to the woods and buried it, wrapped in quilts and blankets. Sgt. Watkins on a visit, according to tradition, with Miss Freeman that morning, ran outside to find that his compatriots had cut loose his mount, forcing him to make his own escape on foot.¹⁹ A member of Nichols' artillery, named Moffat, was lost in the woods in the confusion and feared dead until he showed up later, tired but unharmed.²⁰ The last civilians had scarcely cleared the town when at 10:20 A.M. several of the Federal vessels began bombarding the woods between Barfields and Winton. Only a few shells were expended before it became clear to Commander Rowan that his assault was not to be contested and the shelling was broken off. As the vessels came to anchor, some above, some below, and some abreast of the town, several small boats were loaded with members of the Hawkins Zouaves, headed by Hawkins himself and Lt. Charles Williamson Flusser, skipper of the "Perry," who later would die a hero's death under the guns of the Ram "Albemarle." Charging past the ferryhouse and up the steep hill, the Zouaves ran into town to find it nearly deserted, evidently abandoned in great haste to judge from the appearance of the streets and roads, which were strewn with knapsacks, arms, blankets, and similar things. Six companies of Union soldiers took possession of the village; observation parties were dispatched in several directions; and three boat howitzers were placed by Lt. Flusser in position to command the main approaches to the town.²¹ A few inhabitants of Winton were found to be left behind, including a Negro woman who was sick with a newborn child in a house by the river, an aged and wrinkled old woman, and several Negroes.²² Col. Hawkins succeeded in locating Martha Keen, the mulatto who had almost been his ruination on the previous afternoon, and questioned her closely as to her part in the ambush. The wily wife of a brickmason, her safety hinging on her reply, rose superbly to the occasion by explaining to a sympathetic Hawkins that she was the slave of one of the rebel officers and drawling out that "Dey said dat dey wan't going' to let anybody lib

¹⁹ Louise Vann Boone, "Historical Review of Winton," in Roy J. Parker (ed.), *The Ahoskie Era of Hertford County, 1889-1939* (Ahoskie: Parker Brothers, Inc. [Copyright, 1939], 1956), 138.

²⁰ *Wilmington Journal*, February 27, 1862.

²¹ *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 195.

²² George H. Allen, *Forty-Six Months with the Fourth Rhode Island Volunteers, in the War of 1861-1865, Comprising a History of Its Marches and Battles and Camp Life* (Providence, Rhode Island: J. A. and R. A. Reid, 1887), 86, hereinafter cited as Allen, *The Fourth Rhode Island*.

at all, but was goin' to kill ebery one of 'em." (*i.e.*, the Yankees), a bit of skulduggery that is preserved for posterity in Hawkins' official report.²³ While these few inhabitants were being transported out of danger to the gunboats, Col. Hawkins made a personal inspection of the buildings in the main portion of town to determine which ones had been impressed into use by the troops of the Confederacy. Having found that nearly every structure appeared to have been used as quarters or storage by the military, the Union commander placed guards, as he claimed, in the buildings not indicating such use and proceeded to have his men apply the torch to all the rest. Tar barrels, of which large numbers stood in the storage area at the foot of Main Street, were rolled into the courthouse, a structure that had cost the county \$30,000 in 1853, burst in, and set ablaze.²⁴ Evidently, the destruction of the town was not accomplished with the dispatch and orderly efficiency which Hawkins intended, for several buildings which had not been destined for the flames, including the stately Anderson residence, were fired, and a general ransacking developed.²⁵ A soldier who stayed on his ship later remarked that "of course the boys found plenty of everything, and soon came flocking back to the boats loaded with household goods, books, articles of food, and anything that suited their fancy."²⁶ Ladies' and childrens' clothing and bedclothes were carried off, while featherbeds were pulled into the streets, split open, searched for hidden valuables, and finally burned.²⁷ Furniture was broken up; pigs and poultry slaughtered and carried away. While the contents of the post office were being rifled, the county records smoldered sadly to ashes in the vaults of the courthouse. At the height of the conflagration, two men were discovered to be locked in jail and a sailor from the "Barney" mercifully chopped them free, whereupon they took to their heels as much from southern justice as from Union armies.²⁸ A storehouse of bacon, possibly the smokehouse of the Anderson household, went up in aromatic flames. Military stores consisting of powder, mess-pans, camp-kettles, corn-meal, flour, sugar, haversacks, and canteens, estimated by Hawkins to be worth "not less than \$10,000" were also destroyed.²⁹ In addition to the Anderson home and buildings, the old Franklin Hotel building, the homes of Mrs. Halsey, Dr. Shield, and a man named Northcott,

²³ *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 196.

²⁴ *Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register*, March 1, 1862.

²⁵ *Daily Express*, March 7, 1862.

²⁶ Allen, *The Fourth Rhode Island*, 86.

²⁷ *Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), March 12, 1862.

²⁸ Johnson, *The Long Roll*, 105.

²⁹ *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 195-196.

and Col. Jordan's hotel and buildings, were decimated.³⁰ Col. Hawkins kept his men on shore until the fire was well under way and then marched them back down to the wharf and the waiting boats. While the regiment was embarking, a certain Overton, having arrived in town to find his clothing stolen, had the pluck to go down and board one of the gunboats and demand the return of his possessions. The *Wilmington Daily Journal*, duly reporting the incident, explained that "A search was ostensibly made, when the clothes could not be found, whereupon the Yankee captain offered to remunerate poor Overton in money; the promise, however, has not been redeemed."³¹ Before leaving Winton, the Federals were informed that the railroad bridges over the Blackwater and Nottoway rivers could not be approached, the Confederates having previously taken the precautions of sinking vessels and felling trees near the mouths of both rivers and running chains from bank to bank.³² "So with a miserable village burned," as one Union chronicler ironically expressed it, "a couple of felons liberated from jail, and no particular harm done to an old lady, the fleet steamed down the Chowan again, quite bravely."³³

While his foe was engaged in plundering Winton, Col. Williams had inexplicably concluded from the Yankee's failure to come out and meet him on his own terms at Mt. Tabor Church that his services were no longer required in eastern North Carolina. A charitable historian would conclude that he intended to cover the railroad bridges. At any rate, he led his battalion through Murfreesboro and was across the Virginia State line at Newsoms before General A. G. Blanchard could get word to him to return forthwith to Winton. Blanchard promptly received Williams' report of his movements but could find "no reason or excuse for his retreat."³⁴ Capt. Nichols was at the same time moving his artillery rapidly in the direction of Suffolk, where he arrived on the night of February 21 to announce that his men had engaged 4,000 of the enemy at Winton, killing several.³⁵

Newspaper presses creaked into action, the Norfolk (Va.) *Day Book* of February 21 proclaiming the perpetration of a "vile incendiary" at Winton, a sentiment endorsed by the *Hillsborough Recorder* on March 5th.³⁶ The *New York Times* gave prominent display to the affair on the front page of the February 25 issue but James Gordon Bennett,

³⁰ *Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register*, March 1, 1862.

³¹ *Wilmington Journal*, February 27, 1862.

³² *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 194.

³³ Johnson, *The Long Roll*, 105.

³⁴ *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 439. Williams' report was not found by the compilers of the *Official Records*.

³⁵ *Daily Express*, February 22, 1862.

³⁶ *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 5, 1862.

fiery editor of the *New York Herald*, preferred to ascribe the "act of vandalism" to the Confederates themselves.³⁷ Newspaper reporters, of whom several accompanied the gunboats to Winton, were careful to put the Federal actions in a favorable light but the first hints of discredit were following apace. While rumors spread that the Zouaves had conducted themselves as barbarians at Winton, friends hastened to make assurance that the town had been burned only by order of the commander and that no soldier could be blamed for "plucking a few articles from a roaring conflagration," an interpretation coined by George Wilkes in his *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times* on March 8.³⁸ On February 22, two days before news of the Winton Expedition reached New York, Editor Wilkes had initiated a fund drive in that city to raise \$1,000 to buy medals for the Zouaves in honor of their gallant charge at Roanoke Island.³⁹ His \$50 was quickly raised to around \$300 by patriotic Gothamites but when the first ugly rumors arrived the contributions dramatically ceased. The influential *Times* on March 1 passed along a charge that the fund was "premature," the Zouaves having "defied all restraint of their officers, and when they had stripped the peaceful inhabitants of their property, they fired the houses over their heads."⁴⁰ A few days later Wilkes turned over his embarrassing fund to Judge James R. Whiting. For the next fourteen months the money lay in Whiting's hands, growing no larger, while the Hawkins Zouaves established for themselves a creditable record in fighting on several fronts. Wilkes' paper sounded one more faint appeal in early May, 1863, when the Zouaves, their term of service ended, returned to New York to be mustered out of ranks.⁴¹ At length, the original contributions were used to purchase a sword for Col. Hawkins, in appreciation for his brilliant services on behalf of the Union cause.⁴²

The charges and countercharges in the newspapers were not reflected at higher levels. General Burnside stood by the intrepid Colonel he had recently placed in command of Roanoke Island and reported to the Adjutant-General the helpful advice that "The winds shifting after the fire was started caused the destruction of some few houses not occupied by the soldiers."⁴³ (An examination of the logs of the participating gunboats would have shown that the winds were steady from

³⁷ *New York Times*, February 25, 1862, and the *New York Herald*, February 25, 1862.

³⁸ *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times* (New York), March 8, 1862, hereinafter cited as *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times*.

³⁹ *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times*, February 22, 1862.

⁴⁰ *New York Times*, March 1, 1862.

⁴¹ *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times*, May 9, 1863.

⁴² *New York Times*, May 21, 1863.

⁴³ *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 194.

the west and southwest at two miles per hour.)⁴⁴ Col. Hawkins' own report made no mention of winds and admitted that this appeared to be "the first instance during the war . . . where fire has accompanied the sword," seeking to justify the action by alluding to the attempted ambush and by the use of the town as quarters for rebel troops.⁴⁵ The War Department reviewed these reports for several days and concluded that the action was in order.⁴⁶

Early southern newspaper accounts told of the Confederates at Winton having killed as many as twenty-seven of the enemy aboard the gunboats, including "a man dressed in the uniform of a major; he was in the rigging of the gunboat, making observations at the time of being shot; if not fatally wounded by the shot he must have been killed by the fall."⁴⁷ Col. Hawkins himself was of the opinion that it was "one of the everyday miracles of war" that he had escaped injury in his pell-mell descent.⁴⁸ Other newspaper reports passed along a rumor that "humbug C. H. Foster" was among those killed on board the Federal vessels.⁴⁹ Charles Henry Foster was a former newspaper editor from Murfreesboro, North Carolina, who had been run out of that town for his Union sympathies the year before and who at the time of the Winton expedition was at Cape Hatteras preparing one of his four unsuccessful efforts to persuade the United States Congress to seat him as representative from the First or Second District.⁵⁰ Seventeen months later he was to show up in Murfreesboro in the company of a Federal raiding party to witness the destruction, among other things, of the grist mill of Perry Carter, his own father-in-law.⁵¹

Lt. Col. Williams, a pall cast over his reputation by the affair at Winton, remained in the army until the summer of 1863 at which time he resigned. Major Edmund C. Brabble had already been elevated over Williams to command the battalion and had been given a full colonelcy.⁵² Rush Hawkins survived to acquire a reputation as one of the most daring and insubordinate officers in the Union Army. Twice thrown into prison for his unmilitary individualism, Hawkins outlasted all his trials to become a general soon after the war. He was run down by an

⁴⁴ The log of the "Hunchback" states that the wind was WSW to 2MPH; the log of the "Delaware" makes it W at 2MPH; the "Commodore Perry" reports it SW at 2MPH; "Whitehead" says it was WSW at 2MPH.

⁴⁵ *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 196.

⁴⁶ *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 368.

⁴⁷ *Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register*, March 1, 1862.

⁴⁸ Hawkins, "Coast Operations in North Carolina," 647.

⁴⁹ *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 5, 1862.

⁵⁰ *Report on the Memorial of Charles Henry Foster*, House Report 118 (Committee of Elections), Thirty-seventh Congress, Second Session, 1862.

⁵¹ *Weekly State Journal* (Raleigh), August 12, 1863.

⁵² John Wheeler Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States* (Raleigh: Ashe and Gatling, 4 volumes, 1882), II, 570.

automobile in New York in 1920 at the age of 89, having accumulated a fortune of \$800,000 which he bequeathed, with characteristic eccentricity, largely to the S.P.C.A.⁵³

When her fatal hour had passed, Winton lay a smoking ruin, only the Methodist Church and one or two other structures, possibly including Hiram Freeman's home, having withstood the calamity.⁵⁴ A visitor to the town in 1864 remarked that he found "nothing but here and there a wall, a chimney, or foundation wall standing."⁵⁵ A correspondent who signed his name "Revoir" wrote on March 2, 1862, to the Petersburg *Express* that "the ladies [of Murfreesboro] nearly all evacuated town after they had sent off their valuables, the merchants spirited away their goods, and thus our once lively town became a very desolate place."⁵⁶ A few days after the burning of Winton, Col. Williams' battalion made its belated appearance and the Twenty-fourth North Carolina Regiment pitched camp in Murfreesboro, made a show of force, and eased the panic of the remaining inhabitants.⁵⁷ Yet the character of the military situation in this area was correctly forecast for the remainder of the war by the raid upon Winton. Federal gunboats roved the Chowan virtually at will during the following three and a half years and frequent raids, coupled with the depredations of the "buffaloes," caused once-flourishing farms to grow up in weeds and brambles and suspended most of the normal activities of the business and social life of Hertford and neighboring counties. After the war, Winton rose slowly again from the ashes and continued to function as Hertford's county seat, though she never afterward could boast of the prosperity of ante-bellum days. A historical marker in front of the courthouse is the single evidence today of Winton's sacrifice to the gods of war.

⁵³ *New York Times*, November 18, 1920.

⁵⁴ (Anon.), "Destruction of Winton, N. C.," Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events . . .* (New York: 11 volumes, G. P. Putnam, 1861-1863; D. Van Nostrand, 1864-1868), IV, 196.

⁵⁵ John Mullen Batten, *Two Years in the United States Navy* (Lancaster, Penna.: Inquirer Printing and Publishing Company, 1881), 32.

⁵⁶ *Daily Express*, March 5, 1862.

⁵⁷ See report of Col. William J. Clarke, *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 439-440.

THE ROMANCE OF WOODROW WILSON AND ELLEN AXSON

By George Osborn*

In north Georgia in mid-April the peachblossoms give off their pleasing fragrance, pearblossoms larger than those of the peach entice bees with their sweet aroma, appleblossoms are in their fullest stage, and dogwood trees stand in woodlands, and along the banks of streams like silent ghosts in their white-crossed blossoms. Yellow jonquils and daffodils, mallow violets and dainty forget-me-nots—all these—give of themselves to make north Georgia a land of enchantment during the month of April. It was during just such a season, 1883, that a tall young man, “with a silky moustache and short side-whiskers,” went from Atlanta northward some seventy miles to Rome. This young man, Woodrow Wilson, was the younger member of the law firm of Renick and Wilson of Atlanta. He carried himself with a definite dignity and an obvious assurance which certainly were not justified by any prominent position of legal leadership at the Georgia bar. In fact, this youthful barrister, after striving at law for nearly a year and hardly earning his salt, was giving up in defeat.

Wilson went to Rome to confer with an uncle, James W. Bones, about some legal matters pertaining to his mother's business. It was delightful to be in the home of the family of relatives. Although legal business for his mother, who incidentally was her son's chief client, brought Woodrow to Rome, he was in the frame of mind for fun while visiting among his kinsmen. Several times during the late 1870's, while a student at Princeton College, Tommy, as Wilson was called by his relatives and close chums during his youth, had visited in Rome in the home of his Aunt Marian W. Bones. In many instances, he was renewing acquaintances among the friends of his relatives. Among the friends of young Wilson's Cousin Jessie Bones, who recently had married A. T. H. Brower, and who lived in another part of Rome, was Ellen Louise Axson.

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Ellen Axson, like Wilson, was a product of a Presbyterian manse. Ellen's father, the Reverend Edward Axson, began a pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church at Rome when only thirty years of age. By the spring of 1883, he had lived in Rome for sixteen years.¹ Some two years earlier, his wife Margaret, had died from complications which followed the birth of her fourth child.² Ellen, the oldest of the four children, was mistress of her father's household.

Now nearing her twenty-third birthday, Ellen Axson's hair was a golden bronze. She usually wore it parted in the middle, softly waved at the sides, and hanging in shoulder-length curls at the back. Large, deep-brown eyes looked straight at one from beneath wide, heavy eyebrows. Her nose was well-shaped; her rather thin lips formed a somewhat wide mouth. Rounded, full cheeks beckoned one's gaze towards slightly oversized ears which frequently were almost encircled by golden wavy hair done in miniature curls.³ With flower-like appearance, intelligent, demure Ellen must have been very attractive in April, 1883, when Woodrow Wilson first took note of her.

On Sunday morning Wilson accompanied his Aunt Marian, his Uncle James Bones, and his Cousin Helen Bones to the First Presbyterian Church in which James Bones was an elder and of which the Reverend Edward Axson was pastor. Located just off Rome's wide main street, the church stood among stately oak trees and large antebellum homes. The edifice was a dignified old building of red brick, constructed in the accepted style of southern church architecture.⁴ It was on that morning, at some time during the service, that Wilson, as he later wrote to Ellen, "saw your face to note it. . . . You wore a heavy crepe veil and I remember thinking 'what a bright, pretty face; what splendid, mischievous, laughing eyes! I'll lay a wager that this little lady has lots of life and fun in her!'" After the service, a communion service, as Wilson remembered it, Ellen as she was leaving the church, spoke to a number of people including Mrs. Bones. At that moment, the slender Wilson, "with the silky moustache and short side-whiskers," took another good look at the minister's daughter and apparently concluded that it would be a very clever plan to inquire her name and to seek an introduction.

¹ Memorandum, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, hereinafter cited as Baker Papers.

² Ellen Axson was born May 15, 1860, Stockton in 1867, Edward in 1876, and Margaret in 1881. Upon the mother's death, the baby, Margaret, was taken into the family of Aunt Louisa of Gainesville, Georgia.

³ See picture of Ellen Axson taken in 1883, reproduced in Ray S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* (Garden City, New York: 8 volumes, 1927-1939), I, 160. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*.

⁴ Memorandum, Baker Papers.

When the youthful Woodrow learned, doubtless from his hostess, that the attractive girl, with the mischievous, laughing eyes, was Ellen Louise (often shortened to Ellie Lou) Axson of whom he had heard so frequently in such glowing language, he made a resolution to meet her. Within the next day or so he took an early opportunity of calling on the Reverend Mr. Axson at the Manse. Vividly, Wilson recalled the meeting: "That dear gentleman," he informed Ellen, "received me with unsuspecting cordiality and sat down to entertain me under the impression that I had come to see only him. I *had* gone to see him, for I love and respect him and would have gone to see him with alacrity if he had never had a daughter; but I had not gone to see him *alone*." The truth of the matter was that ever since Wilson had taken note of Ellen's face, though heavily veiled, he could not remove it from his mind. He "wanted very much to see it again," so he asked rather pointedly of the preacher about his daughter's health. The minister, in apparent surprise, got up, walked out of the room into another part of the Manse, and summoned Ellen to the parlor.

Within the next few days Woodrow sought diligently to make engagements with Ellen. There were buggy rides along the picturesque, meandering country roads that led to Rome. Afternoons were spent in long walks northward along the shaded banks of the Oostanaula River near its confluence with the Etowah to form the Coosa River. Boat rides furnished a romantic setting for their conversations as they became acquainted.

Immediately Mrs. Jessie Brower became aware of Woodrow's determination to see Ellen daily and she, hoping to do her cousin from Atlanta a good turn, arranged a picnic. It was held near a spring east of Lindale. The distance, eight or nine miles, was covered in two rigs. "The more attractive of the two for the young folks was Colonel Brower's wagon with side seats, in the body of which plenty of wheat straw had been piled." Naturally, perhaps, Woodrow and Ellen, the honored ones for the occasion, chose to sit on the straw in the back of the wagon so that they could dangle their feet as they went merrily along the winding dirt road. "After bumping along country roads for an hour and a half," they arrived jolted but gay at the spring where the picnic was to be held. Shortly, lunchtime came. Heavily laden baskets awaited them. Everyone, except two, had been playing vigorous games, or wading in the nearby brook. The missing two, who were rapidly falling in love, were industriously searching for four-leaf clovers on the pasture greensward, playing "Love me; love me not" with flower petals and blowing the downy tops off dandelion stems.

"I wonder where Ellie Lou and Woodrow can be?" asked Mrs. Brower, as if aware of nothing.

"I know," piped one of the children; he's over there cutting a heart on a beech tree!"⁵ When summoned by an obliging child, Ellen and Woodrow came. When told of Mrs. Brower's question and the quick retort, one can easily imagine that a Georgia belle blushed and a tall young Virginian laughed heartily as he stole side-glances at the latest object of his affection.

And so it was "a fast and furious courtship." The Presbyterian clergyman's son daily sought to woo the Presbyterian preacher's daughter. "Certainly he set to the task of making love to Ellen Axson, according to the Roman legend, in a business-like way." Woodrow might even be called red-blooded in this enterprise. A youth of exceptional culture, he was as "wise as the canny Scotch blood of him would make him. And with wisdom, he had charm; the bit of the Blarney Stone was on his tongue. And to top it all, he was handsome—tall, straight, agile, and flaxen fair; with his father's merry eye and his mother's gentle voice, both speaking in the persuasive fashion of the Celt when he had his say."⁶ What young lady could resist such charm, such culture, such Celtic persuasion when flames of romance burned brightly?

If Woodrow spent his youthful years in a manse surrounded by books and religion, so did Ellen. If he had high ideas and noble aspirations, so did she. Woodrow's education was more formal than Ellen's but her intellectual interests were not narrowed by specialization as were his. Consequently, Ellen acquainted Woodrow with the literary world of William Wordsworth, or the exquisite imagery of Sidney Lanier's poetry, or the love sonnets of Robert and Elizabeth Browning. Moreover, gifted with an unusual artistic talent, Ellen introduced Woodrow to the world of art in which he had made no previous acquaintance.

In the meantime, Wilson withdrew to Atlanta to resign from the law firm of which he was a member. By the middle of June he had taken down his professional shingle, had disposed of his share of the meager office equipment, had shipped his books and bookcase to Wilmington, North Carolina, where his father, Dr. Joseph Wilson, was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and had said good-by to his friends. Woodrow did not go immediately to Wilmington but spent the

⁵ George M. Battey, *A History of Rome and Floyd County, 1540-1922* (Atlanta, Georgia: 1922), 290 ff.

⁶ William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), 97, hereinafter cited as White, *Woodrow Wilson*.

latter half of June in Rome with his relatives and in the company of Ellen Axson.

Wilson decided upon a persistent courtship. A young man of quick decisions, he moved swiftly to carry out those decisions. To one of his dearest chums, Woodrow, with disarming frankness, wrote: "You will smile to learn I . . . am falling in love with a charming brown-eyed lassie who is attractive not only because of her unusual beauty, but also because of her unusual accomplishments. She belongs to that class which has contributed so much both to the literature and to the pleasures of social life. She is a clergyman's daughter. The conditions of her life and her natural inclination have led her into extensive reading of the best sort, and the dear lassie has become learned without knowing it, and without losing one particle of freshness or natural feminine charm. But I can't describe her. If Fortune favors me, you shall know her some day and find her out for yourself for I've made up my mind to win her if I can."⁷

In August Wilson escorted his mother, who only recently had been desperately ill with typhoid fever, and his sister Anne to North Carolina.⁸ While these three members of the Wilson family were at Arden Park, Arden, North Carolina, Ellen Axson visited them. Immediately, she endeared herself to Woodrow's sister and mother as she had to him. To the mother, Ellen seemed "so sweet, so bright and intelligent—that it was impossible not to love her."⁹

Shortly, Ellen went to visit other friends vacationing in the nearby mountains, and Woodrow departed for Wilmington to get ready to go to Baltimore, where he was to enter the Graduate School of The Johns Hopkins University. Stopping off in Asheville, North Carolina, Wilson was strolling up the street when he noted a girl silhouetted against a window in a nearby hotel. Recognizing instantly the peculiar braid of her hat, he sprang up the steps to meet her. Ellen had been summoned home by the serious illness of her father. She had gone to Asheville to catch a train, had to wait several hours, and was whiling away the time by reading a book. With Ellen's train due to arrive shortly, Woodrow lost not a moment in pressing his affections. Only five months had elapsed since that afternoon when Woodrow asked, rather pointedly of the Reverend Axson, about the health of his daughter. "It needed just

⁷ Woodrow Wilson to Robert Bridges, July 26, 1883, Karl A. Meyer Collection of the Correspondence of Woodrow Wilson and Robert Bridges, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Meyer Collection.

⁸ Wilson to Bridges, August 10, September 12, 1883, Meyer Collection.

⁹ Mother (Jessie Woodrow Wilson) to Wilson, September 19, 1883, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Wilson Papers.

the unexpected encounter in the North Carolina mountains to show them what life meant for each and for both of them."¹⁰

Ellen rushed home to her ailing father. On the evening of her arrival she made her father comfortable and when he had fallen asleep, Ellen joined her younger brother, Stockton, in the small sitting room of the Manse. With flushed face and bright eyes, she spoke softly. "Can you keep a secret?" Upon his assurance that he could, she confided to him the joyful news of her engagement to be married. "He is the greatest man in the world and the best," Stockton remembered being told by his happy sister.¹¹ To Anna Harris, a long-time friend, Ellen wrote that she accepted Woodrow knowing that she "was *willing* to be his wife *some time*."¹²

After his arrival in Wilmington, Woodrow penned a note to his mother and told her of his happiness.¹³ Although "very, very glad to hear the good news," the mother replied, "I was not very much surprised for I thought I could discover that she cared for you when she was here . . . and now that she is my precious boy's promised wife, I shall love her very dearly." In thinking of Woodrow's entrance into the Graduate School at The Johns Hopkins University in the near future, his mother added: "And now that your heart is at rest you will be able to give yourself to the work before you with all of your heart—and I have no fear for the result."¹⁴

To Heath Dabney, a fraternity brother and dear friend at the University of Virginia, Woodrow explained his emotional reactions: "I'm bagged! Indeed, having been engaged already five months, I am beginning to feel quite staid and settled! It is wonderful how literally exact the saying is that one *falls* in love. I met a certain Miss Ellen Louise Axson in Rome, Georgia, in April, 1883, and by the middle of the following September I was engaged to her! That's decisive enough action for you! Of course, it goes without the saying that I am the most complacently happy man in the 'Yew Nighted States.' If you care to listen a moment, I will tell you what the unfortunate lady is like. She . . . grew up in that best of all schools—for manners, purity and cultivation—a country parsonage. She has devoted the greater part of her time to art—having relieved her father's slender salary of the burden of her own support by portrait drawing and painting which have given her quite

¹⁰ Stockton Axson, "The Private Life of Woodrow Wilson," *New York Times Magazine*, October 8, 1916, hereinafter cited as Axson, "Private Life of Wilson."

¹¹ Axson, "Private Life of Wilson." The date of the engagement was September 16, 1883.

¹² Ellen Axson to Anna Harris, March 8, 1885, Ellen Axson—Anna Harris Correspondence, Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey, hereinafter cited as Axson-Harris Correspondence.

¹³ Apparently this letter was lost but the date must have been September 17, 1883.

¹⁴ Jessie W. Wilson to Wilson, September 19, 1883, Wilson Papers.

a reputation among the best people of Georgia—but she is also devoted to reading of the best sort, so that, without any pretense to learning and without the slightest tinge of pedantry she has acquired a very remarkable acquaintance with the best literature. If you add to this the fact that she is, in her tastes, the most *domestic* of maidens, you will see how well fitted she is to become a *student's* wife.”¹⁵

Not even to his dearest friend at Charlottesville could the serenely happy Wilson claim that he had the wisdom to fall in love with Ellen because he was justified “after a philosophical and dispassionate consideration of her taste and attainments, in concluding that she would be a proper help-meet for a professor.” Quite the contrary, Tommy wrote: “I fell in love with her . . . because she was irresistibly lovable. But why did Ellen fall in love with him? Let Woodrow answer: “Why she fell in love with *me* must always remain an impenetrable mystery. I look upon my wonderful success as one of those apparently fortuitous and certainly inestimable blessings which one must content himself with being thankful for and trying to deserve *ex post facto*, as it were, without seeking to understand it—as something sent to strengthen and ennoble me.”¹⁶ Never did Woodrow deviate from his complete faith that Ellen's love was something sent to strengthen and ennoble him. It was a chivalrous southern gentleman's idealization of the lady he loved, and she reciprocated his innermost affection.

Immediate marriage was out of the question. The plans for more formal education which Woodrow had made must be carried out as pre-arranged. But now the young Wilson, having won the heart of the lady of his affections, was a different student from the one who, four years earlier, had entered the law school at the University of Virginia. Gone was any doubt of failure in the adventure of romantic pursuit. As Tommy's mother, with full understanding, had written him, his heart was completely at ease and he could apply himself without emotional obstacles or mental obstructions to his work.

Apparently, from the day Ellen accepted Woodrow's proposal, he resolved to relate to her the emotional feelings of his heart, the deepest thoughts of his mind. From the environs of The Johns Hopkins University campus, he confessed to Ellen that he was a proud and wilful man beyond all measure; that he used to think, as did many other young men, that he would never pay any homage, except that which came entirely voluntarily, to any woman. Now, however, he realized how utterly foolish such thoughts were. He had even dared to think he

¹⁵ Wilson to Robert Heath Dabney, February 17, 1884, Robert Heath Dabney Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, hereinafter cited as Dabney Papers.

¹⁶ Wilson to Dabney, February 17, 1884, Dabney Papers.

might be able to live happily with a wife "as a leisure-moment companion, dispensing with intellectual sympathy." He knew that he wanted such sympathy; indeed, there would always be a dismal, dreary side of his life without it. Did he deep down somewhere have a mental reservation that women, generally speaking, were unable, mentally or emotionally, to extend such sympathy or that his wife would be intellectually his inferior? If Woodrow ever held such thoughts he now knew they were erroneous. Now he believed "it would be unreasonable to expect" his wife to go with him, "even in spirit, into all the so-esteemed dry paths" into which his graduate studies in economics, history, and political science were inevitably compelling him.¹⁷

Ellen herself had tactfully sown the seed that bore fruit in Woodrow's opinion about his future wife's intellectual sympathy with the dry paths of his continued studies. It was probably during Ellen's visit with Woodrow, his mother and his sister that, as he and Ellen were returning from a "certain walk up a hill," she discussed at some length the character of Lydgate's *Middlemarch*. Not having read the play, Woodrow interrupted with an occasional question which she answered with impressive understanding. Not only was he impressed with Ellen's explanation of the plot of the drama but from that conversation he made a discovery that, he remembered, thrilled him. In Woodrow's own words the discovery was that Ellen "knew what sort of wife I needed—though you were not applying the moral to my case, and did not know how directly the story came home to my experience."¹⁸

Wilson did not intend, he said, to place himself in a class with Lydgate. With modesty, he stated that he had not given proof of any unusual talents. Moreover, he could not, in truth, claim that he was an exception intellectually, until he rid himself of all discursive habits and focused what mental faculties he possessed into concentrated efforts towards goals worthy of attainment. Having contrasted himself with Lydgate, Woodrow, with confidence, pointed out the "very distinct parallel between Lydgate's aspirations" and his own, between the conditions of home life "necessary to my ultimate success and those which might have ensured his." Wilson did not believe that any man who had a heart molded for domestic relations, as he did, and who was not "merely a student, simply a thinking machine, could wish to marry a woman—who expels sentiment from life." John Stuart Mill, the brilliant English thinker and writer, bragged that his wife knew as much as he about matters of his professional study and that she gave him expert

¹⁷ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 18, 1883, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 165-166. Only Baker, Wilson's official biographer, has seen the Wilson-Axson letters. All quotations from these letters will be from Baker, *Woodrow Wilson* (see note 3, above).

¹⁸ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 18, 1883, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 165-166.

opinions and thus encouraged his logical faculties. This was not for Wilson, he confided to Ellen. He wanted a wife to administer to his compelling need for love.¹⁹

Having assured Ellen of his complete emotional satisfaction in their pledged agreement for their future together, Woodrow took his wife-to-be into his confidence in regard to his own reading habits. Never a widely read person, Wilson was aware of his narrow intellectual horizon and explained his reasons for retaining it. "The man who reads everything," he informed Ellen, "is like the man who eats everything: he can digest nothing; and the penalty for cramming one's mind with other men's thoughts is to have no thoughts of one's own." Only that which was valuable in aiding one to do his own thinking, Wilson contended, should be permitted. That other men had formed habits of restrictive reading was one explanation of history's revealing "so many great thinkers and great leaders who did little reading of books—if you reckon reading by volumes—but much reading of men and of their own times."²⁰

Ellen appreciably broadened Wilson's horizons in literature, in art, and in architecture. Frequently, she received from her "passionate lover," as Ellen confidentially began to refer to Woodrow, tokens of his increasing interest in the fields of knowledge in which she was most conversant. Once Wilson sent her a "clumsy volume" of John Ruskin and commented that he read only enough of the Englishman to realize the fascination of his wonderful prose. These two southern lovers agreed that Ruskin possessed greater gentleness and tolerance in his later judgments. As Wilson put it, age mellowed Ruskin—"made him broader and more catholic in his sympathies."²¹ Woodrow copied a few passages from Swinburne's "Tristram of Lyonesse" for Ellen to enjoy with him.²² Ellen was advised to read Harnerton's *Intellectual Life*, and she learned of Wilson's fascination for Augustine Birrell's *Obiter Dicta* and of his enthusiasm for Richard Doddridge Blackmore's *Lorna Doone*. Wilson never shared Ellen's great enthusiasm for Robert Browning and he denounced Matthew Arnold's literary and theological criticism.²³

¹⁹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 18, 1883, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 165-166.

²⁰ Wilson to Ellen Axson, April 22, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 201-202. This letter is also found in Donald Day (ed.), *Woodrow Wilson's Own Story* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1952), 25, hereinafter cited as Day, *Woodrow Wilson's Own Story*.

²¹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, March 11, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 201.

²² Wilson to Ellen Axson, April 22, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 201-202.

²³ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 22, 1884, and January 10, 1885, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 202-203.

Ellen Axson brought to Woodrow Wilson her experiences of wide reading, her taste for poetry, and her enthusiasm for fiction. The two of them began months before they were married to supplement each other's reading. As Wilson put it: "We will purvey for each other in separate literary fields." He had thought through "several very simple, feasible and delightful plans" by which she could give to him "the best possible aid merely by doing, as my proxy and for my benefit (you see how selfish I am!), such reading as you delight in doing." Time would not permit him to read many things which he really wanted to know about; he must labor unceasingly in one or two rigid fields of specialization. Ellen could ascertain for him what was going on in the world of literature and what subjects were currently being discussed in the periodicals. Having gathered this information, she could recite to him the plots and read to him "the choice parts of the best novels of the day, and fill my too prosy brain with the sweetest words of the poets; can, in short, keep mind from dry rot by exposing it to an atmosphere of fact and entertainment and imaginative suggestion."²⁴

When Woodrow fell in love with Ellen he had no interest whatever in art and his knowledge of architecture was negligible. Within a short time after their engagement, Wilson began to show a neophyte's interest in art. On occasion he visited art galleries and looked into some of the books on art. Early in December, 1883, he went to see a collection of Whistler's etchings and wrote Ellen in detail of his reactions which, by no means, were enthusiastic. As he entered Peabody Library in Baltimore where the collection was on display he was "constrained by a handsome young woman to buy a catalogue which I did not want. I set myself to as critical an examination of Mr. Whistler's productions as my ignorance of artistic canons would allow. Well, I must confess that, in my unenlightened soul, I was disgusted, and more than ever indifferent to the possession of the catalogue, except that *it* was much more interesting as a curiosity than the etchings are as pictures." Some of Whistler's critics, wrote Wilson, objected to the artist's later productions on the basis that they were mere *suggestions*. He thought the critics would have been more truthful if they had denounced the paintings as suggesting *nothing*—"a few lines, a possible face, a conjectural group, a hazy beginning of something—one cannot tell certainly what the picture might have been, had it been completed; though here and there one does find a sketch suggestive of life and beauty."²⁵ Although Wilson never became an enthusiastic devotee, he did develop into a passive admirer of art.

²⁴ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 23, 1885, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 204.

²⁵ Wilson to Ellen Axson, December 18, 1883, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 204-205.

In the fall of 1884, when Ellen went to New York to study at the Art Students' League, Woodrow confessed his own ignorance as he wrote encouragingly to her: "I have the sincerest sympathy with your present studies," he wrote, "and for various reasons. First and foremost, of course, because they are yours; but scarcely less," he admitted, "because I have always had, and been conscious of having a great store of potential enthusiasms for just such occupations and accomplishments." Never had he suspected himself of possessing artistic talents, but he had always known himself "capable of entering into the artists's feeling and of understanding his delights." As between artistic creation and poetic creation, he had "always revered the power of artistic creation above the power of poetic creation." Moreover, Wilson visualized a kinship of creativeness between the artist and the orator. "I suppose that it would be idle for me to hope ever to be an orator if I did *not* have these artistic sympathies." In fact, one of his few grave misfortunes was that he had known least of the two things that moved him most deeply—painting and poetry. "My sensibilities in those directions," he concluded, "seem to me like a musical instrument seldom touched, like a harp disused."²⁶

If Ellen created in Woodrow a respect for art, if she won from him attention to the reading of poetry, if she conveyed to him much of literature, if she informed him of current discussions in magazines, certainly Woodrow confirmed Ellen's religious faith. Ellen could, and did, pore over the writings of philosophers like Immanuel Kant, and works which dealt with the conflict between religion and science. The reading of such authors sometimes pulled at the anchor of Ellen's religious faith. Although she, as Woodrow, was the product of a Presbyterian manse, for Woodrow there was never any doubt about his faith, nor would he ever argue religion. He *knew* that he was among the Calvinistic elect and that his future, whatever it might be, was predestined. In this belief he was as steadfast as an Old Testament prophet.

At times, however, Wilson, in writing to Ellen about his attendance at religious services, veered greatly from the stern theological terminology used by John Calvin: "I recently made a great 'find,'" he once wrote, "namely a Presbyterian Church where there is first-rate preaching—first rate by the Baltimore standard, which is not very high or exacting—and plenty of pretty girls." He was a regular attendant at its services. Seldom did one find attractive orthodoxy in a Presbyterian pulpit and beauty in the pews, so that he added, "I am specifically

²⁶ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 23, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 205-206.

gratified because of this discovery." There was for Woodrow a decided advantage in having a strict training in the Calvinistic doctrine. "No amount of beauty," he continued, "in the damsels of an Episcopalian or Methodist or Baptist Church could have led me off; but beauty in one's own church may be admired weekly with a conscience void of offense." Apparently, nothing could shake Woodrow from complete loyalty to his Presbyterian faith. Indeed, he boastfully informed Ellen that his orthodox faith had successfully stood another test recently. Extended a cordial invitation to sing in the "finest choir in town," he declined because "it was a Methodist choir." The controlling motive, as he himself stated to Ellen, was the question of religious doctrine.²⁷

No one could be close to Woodrow Wilson very long without learning of his vaulting ambition. Ellen Axson, and naturally so, was Wilson's complete confidant about his professional ambition. Within weeks after their engagement Woodrow was making Ellen acquainted with his aspirations for the future. "I want to contribute to our literature," he wrote shortly after he entered the graduate school at Johns Hopkins, "what no American has ever contributed, studies in the philosophy of our institutions, not the abstract and occult, *but the practical and suggestive*, philosophy which is at the core of our governmental methods; their use, their meaning, 'the spirit that makes them workable.' I want to divest them of the theory that obscures them and present their weakness and their strength without disguise, and with such skill and such plentitude of proof that it shall be seen that I have succeeded and that I have added something to the resources of knowledge upon which statecraft must depend."²⁸

Such an ambition as that, obviously, must go unfulfilled in the life of a barrister. Indeed, the studies of history and political science for which Woodrow, "both by nature and by acquired habit," was best fitted could not be pursued in the lawyer's office. Consequently, he was forced, in justice to himself, to find a vocation which best suited his talents and his ambition. "A professorship," he concluded, "was the only feasible place for me, the only place that would afford leisure for reading and for original work, the only strictly literary berth with an income attached."²⁹ If Woodrow were thinking in terms of an endowed chair they were scarce and hard to secure. He thought that the time required for him to rise to a professorship would not be longer than the time required for him to achieve competence at the bar.

²⁷ Wilson to Ellen Axson, March 23, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 209.

²⁸ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, Day, *Woodrow Wilson's Own Story*, 22.

²⁹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, Day, *Woodrow Wilson's Own Story*, 22; Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 170-171. These two books, while supposedly quoting the same letter, do not always tally accurately.

Moreover, he realized that pedagogues, as a rule, did not participate actively in politics but the holding of public office had now become a nonessential part of his political program. As he wrote Ellen, he realized, and correctly so, that a man without an independent fortune "must in any event content himself with becoming an *outside* force in politics." With this reality before him, he would be satisfied with the prospect of exerting whatever political influence he could "through literary and non-partisan agencies."³⁰

Learning to write with dynamic power in the political realm was one of the main reasons why Wilson, after failing as a lawyer, returned to his formal education. With utter frankness he confessed to Ellen that he came to the university at Baltimore "to get a special training in historical research and an insight into the most modern literary and political thoughts and methods." He hoped to become "an invigorating and enlightening power in the world of political thought and a master in some of the less serious branches of literary art."³¹

As a graduate student, Woodrow encountered many things that were new to him. To some of them he objected, perhaps not vigorously on the campus, but he confided to Ellen his dislike of circumstances as he found them at Johns Hopkins. For example, he objected to what he termed a sleight of style. "Ideas," he wrote, "are supposed to be everything—their vehicle comparatively nothing." To Ellen, he maintained that an author's influence, in both its amount and in its length of life, depended "upon the power and the beauty of his style; upon the flawless perfection of the mirror he holds up to nature; upon his facility in catching and holding, because he pleases, the attention." Under his father's guidance, style had been a major study for Tommy and he pledged himself to continue it so. "A writer," he concluded, "must be artful as well as strong."³²

Whether Wilson was taking notes on lectures, or writing an essay for publication, or serving as scribe for a graduate seminar, or penning a letter of love and affection to Ellen, he endeavored to improve his power of expression. He was aware of some improvement as time went on. "I know that my careful compositions of today," he declared confidently, "are vastly better than I could have written five, or even three, years ago—and that's very encouraging." He had "imagined a style clear, bold, fresh, and facile; a style flexible but always strong, capable of light touches or of heavy blows; a style that could be driven at high

³⁰ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, Day, *Woodrow Wilson's Own Story*, 22; Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 170-171.

³¹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 168.

³² Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 184.

speed—a brilliant, dashing, coursing speed—or constrained to the slow and stately progress of grave argument, as the case required; a style full of life, of colour and vivacity, of soul and energy, or inexhaustible power—of a thousand qualities of beauty and grace and strength that would make it immortal.”³³ If Wilson, as a graduate student, imagined writing in a style like that, he probably was in a class by himself. Moreover, under such circumstance, it was no wonder that he was “disgusted with the stiff, dry, mechanical, monotonous sentences” in which his meager thoughts were “compelled to masquerade, as in garments which are too mean even for them.”³⁴

In January, 1884, Wilson published an article, “Committee or Cabinet Government?” in the *Overland Monthly*.³⁵ The article, apparently, had a wonderful reception on the university campus. Woodrow, in a delightful mood, wrote Ellen that it was lauded for “both the matter and the style,” which he labeled “too staccato.” In amusement, he informed Ellen of the comments from the fellow graduate students:

“Wilson,” said one critic, “you’ve picked up a capital literary style somewhere (“Picked up,” indeed! Hasn’t my dear father been drilling me in style these ten years past?) Upon whose style did you form it? Did you come by it naturally, or have you consciously modelled after Macaulay?” (Poor Macaulay!) Another friend, who has to follow me in the course of “lectures” inaugurated by the reading of that remarkable essay upon Adam Smith, coolly asked whether I would be willing to take his materials and “put them into literary form”! I’m sure I have pain enough in putting my own materials into literary form without going through like labours for other people.³⁶

Not only did Woodrow confide in Ellen about his struggles, his disappointments and his ambitions, but he told her of his practicing oratory, of his renewing some friendships that were formed in Princeton, of his occasional attendance at the theater, of his joining The Johns Hopkins University Glee Club, of his activities as a member of the Hopkins Literary Society, of his religious faith and philosophy—indeed, there seemed to be no activity of his too insignificant to mention in his letters. Just as naturally, he apparently, wrote Ellen his day-to-day thoughts and musings.³⁷

Ellen learned most about Woodrow’s determination, during his post-graduate days, to write a book of some permanent value on American

³³ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 8, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 185.

³⁴ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 8, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 185.

³⁵ Woodrow Wilson, “Committee or Cabinet Government?,” *Overland Monthly*, Series 2, III, 17-33.

³⁶ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 16, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 186.

³⁷ Consult Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 158, *passim*.

political institutions. In August, 1879, Wilson's article, "Cabinet Government in the United States," appeared in the *International Review*. Doubtless he received favorable comments on it and some suggestions from older men about discussing at greater length some of the ideas contained in the essay. Wilson had continued to read intensively in the two fields of his major interest—history and political science. In his reading in American constitutional history and in English constitutional history, he found the idea which he wished to develop as a book. He desired to write of the United States government, he confided to Ellen, not as a mere treatise of facts, not as a finished machine, but as a living organism, a functional approach as it were. In Walter Bagehot's *The English Constitution*,³⁸ Wilson found the example which he determined to follow in a book on the American government.

He became so intensely interested in his reading and in making plans for the writing of his book that he decided against any Christmas trip home or any vacation at all during the winter of 1883-1884. "I am beginning to think," he confessed, "that I made a mistake in working all through the vacation without allowing myself any respite at all." Except for the time which he spent writing to Ellen or to his family, he had studied almost all of the time. He did not go near any of his Baltimore friends. Being "such an excessively proud and sensitive creature" and looking upon the Christmas season as one "specially sacred to family reunions and festivities," he did not choose to visit any of the families of his acquaintance, lest he might interfere in some way with the freedom of their holiday plans. In order to escape intolerable loneliness, he went, in self-defense, day and night to his work. As a natural consequence, he overdid the business of work. He was not often subject to the domination of his nerves, he concluded to Ellen, and it usually required only a little prudence to enable him to maintain mastery over himself and to keep a free spirit of courageous, light-hearted work in which he frequently prided himself.³⁹

On New Year's Day, 1884, Wilson began writing on his book and eagerly wrote Ellen that he had started the New Year with a "day of diligent work on my favourite constitutional studies." He planned a series of four or five essays on the general subject, "The Government of the Union," in which he wished to show, as well as he could, the American constitutional system as it looked in operation. His one desire and ambition, as he stated it, was to treat the American Constitution as Bagehot treated the English Constitution. To Wilson, Bagehot brought a fresh and an original method in treating the English

³⁸ Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (American edition, 1873).

³⁹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 4, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 188-189.

Constitution and thereby made the British system of government much more intelligible to the average person than ever before. If only such an innovation in methodology could be applied in an exposition on our Federal Constitution, Wilson believed, the result would be a revelation to those who were still reading the *Federalist* as an authoritative constitutional manual. Woodrow wrote Ellen that, of course, "an immense literature has already accumulated upon that subject," but he thought that the greater part of it was either irrelevant or already antiquated. In fact, any close observer who sought to compare the national constitution with the living organism of the government would at once realize the great contrast between the documentary description and the reality. Such a person, declared Wilson, would see in the life of the government "much which is not in the books; and he will not find in the rough practice many refinements of the literary theory."⁴⁰

As Woodrow continued to reveal his ambition to Ellen, he, with humility, added: "Of course, I am not vain enough to expect to produce anything so brilliant or so valuable as Bagehot's book." But by following the one he wished to emulate afar off, Wilson hoped to produce a book that would be at least worth reading. In any event, the manuscript or book, if he were fortunate enough to publish it, would serve as material for college lectures. In such capacity, his work would place old topics about the Federal Government "in a somewhat novel light."

On that particular day—New Year's Day, 1884,—Wilson wrote "an historical sketch of the modifications which have been wrought in the federal system and which have resulted in making Congress the omnipotent power in the government, to the overthrow of the checks and balances to be found in the 'literary theory.'" This sketch, Ellen read, would be used as an introduction to some essays on the Congress in which he planned to examine at length the relations between the congressional and the executive branches of the government. He wished to investigate thoroughly that legislative machinery which contained the mainspring of federal actions. Suddenly, Woodrow realized that possibly his Ellen was not as intrigued with all of his work as he was and half apologized to her. "But what sort of New Year's letter is this I'm writing!" he exclaimed. Frankly, he was so absorbed in his pet subject that he forgot himself. He could not easily think of anything else to write about, he lamented, and promised that some day he would appall her by reading the introductory essay, or one of its

⁴⁰ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 1, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 213-215.

successors, to her just to show her how dull he could be upon occasion.⁴¹

In addition to the planned book, at which Woodrow was working every spare moment, he had an impending examination on the constitutional history of England which was to be held the first week in January.⁴² He bore the mental exertion, the nervous tension and the physical exhaustion to which he relentlessly drove himself during the holiday vacation and to the conclusion of his examinations. Then, as Ellen learned, his usual physical maladies of upset digestion, headaches, extreme nervousness, and insomnia overcame him. He left Baltimore for Wilmington and remained for months. While at home, Wilson apparently made a visit to the family physician, who told him that he was working himself to death.⁴³ Regularity of habits, easing up some on the work, lessening of tension, brought about improvement.

While he was at home recuperating, Wilson continued to work on his book. Progress, he lamented, was slow. Late in March he informed Ellen that his calligraph had been "going all day long" for three days. Essay number three was completed but had to be copied. "Copying," he continued, "is a terribly tedious business—especially copying one's own work; and the copying of these three essays is by no means a small job; there will be about a hundred and seventy pages of—calligraphscript—by the time I have copied the forty pages that remain; and you can imagine the effect upon my spirits of this task of grinding off hour after hour the sentences of which I am now so tired—of spending a whole day with the style which is so disgusting to me."⁴⁴

A feeling of disgust towards one's intellectual offspring, to Wilson, was very unnatural, but he just could not help feeling that way towards these essays. There was comfort for him, however, in the reflection that others into whose hands the book came would probably read them only once and thereby escape the overwhelming contempt that was bred by intimate familiarity.⁴⁵

Late in May Wilson wrote to Bobby Bridges that he "expected to tackle again constitutional history." He may, however, "fly the track" and go to see a "certain charming young lady in Georgia in whom I am somewhat interested. Courtship," he added humorously, "beats constitutional questions any day."⁴⁶ Not only the romantic lure of

⁴¹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 1, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 213-215.

⁴² Wilson to Bridges, December 15, 1883, Meyer Collection.

⁴³ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 10, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 213-215.

⁴⁴ Wilson to Ellen Axson, March 30, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 215.

⁴⁵ Wilson to Ellen Axson, March 30, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 215.

⁴⁶ Wilson to Bridges, May 31, 1884, Meyer Collection.

courtship prompted Woodrow to think seriously of paying Ellen a visit. She needed him, for she had just undergone a tragedy. Her father never recovered from his illness of the preceding autumn. Fatigue, worry, and physical illness all united to affect his mind. Physicians noticed with alarm the Reverend Axson's extreme mental involvement. His death, later in May, 1884, was a blessing in disguise. Stricken with grief, Ellen needed the comforting presence of her lover and the assurances of his words of sympathy. Seemingly, Woodrow remained in North Carolina but wrote a note of condolence:

Your dear father, however sad or tragic his death may have been, is happy now. His Savior, we may be sure, did not desert his servant at the supreme moment; and it is a joy to think that he is now reunited to the sweet, noble mother who went before him.⁴⁷

The death of Ellen's father left her homeless. She visited with relatives and friends in Gainesville, Georgia, and in Savannah, while she pondered her immediate future. As Ellen tried to shape her plans for the next year until Woodrow could complete his work in graduate school, the latter revealed his desires to a former Princeton chum—Charles Talcott. Tommy was immoderately eager to take into partnership a little Georgia girl. Indeed, the only thing that prevented this "consummation devoutly to be wished" was the lack of an adequate salary; hence, Wilson's extreme interest in securing that *ne plus ultra*. He had no idea of doing such a thing, he declared, "until I met the young lassie aforesaid away up in one of the northwest counties of Georgia, and then I did it in spite of myself and in the teeth of all discretion. And the worst part about it is that I am not the least bit sorry for it; on the contrary, I so much approve myself for it that I wish I could induce my friends to do likewise."⁴⁸

Although Woodrow obviously gave much thought to Ellen in her bereavement and to their plans for a future together, his work on the book manuscript was never far removed from his thought. Information on his progress was regularly forwarded to Ellen. The fourth essay—on the senate—was not progressing very rapidly. The going was slow and difficult, but every day saw some advance. He realized, nevertheless, that the slow, labored pace was probably indicative of *thoroughness*. He would be satisfied, he wrote on July 3, if he could finish the essay on the senate by the end of the month.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Wilson to Ellen Axson, June 1, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 208.

⁴⁸ Wilson to Charles Talcott, July 5, 1884, Baker Papers.

⁴⁹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, July 3, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 216.

In Wilmington, Woodrow found no intellectual companionship, no mental stimulation save in his own work. At times he was lonely; frequently he was just plain bored. Whatever his mood, Ellen always knew of it. "Dear Mother," he wrote on one occasion, "makes pastoral calls, and I make some or none according to my mood." Usually Wilson spent the mornings writing on his book. Frequently, he drove his mother in the afternoons and after supper habitually read aloud, while his mother sat nearby, sewing or embroidering as she listened attentively. These things Woodrow grumblingly regarded "as much too big a price to pay for the privilege of devoting my mornings to study. And yet a chap," he confessed to Ellen, "does need some powerful antidote when he takes original composition in large doses." There was not half as much wear and tear for Wilson in mastering the contents of a score of books as in writing one. He was dead certain that no amount of reading taxed him as severely as two or three hours of concentrated writing.⁵⁰

Throughout the summer Wilson continued to write concentratedly in the forenoon, to take his mother for leisurely drives in the afternoon, and to read to her in the evenings. When he returned to Johns Hopkins early in October, the book manuscript was practically completed. He hastened to finish the task and proudly announced its completion to Ellen. Now he was free to turn to his university studies, that is, until the manuscript was returned and had to be sent to another prospective publisher.⁵¹ In this not unnatural feeling about his manuscript Wilson was too pessimistic.

Shortly after dispatching his manuscript on Congressional Government to Houghton Mifflin and Company, Wilson had most interesting news from Ellen. She had decided to spend the winter, 1884-1885, working at the Art Students' League in New York. From her father she had a small inheritance and decided to spend it in further developing her artistic talent. Furthermore, New York was not very far from Baltimore. When the train on which Ellen was traveling stopped at the Baltimore station, Woodrow rushed in, found a seat beside her and announced that he was going to New York to aid her in getting located.

To all of Woodrow's expressed doubts about the acceptance of his book manuscript, Ellen gave her most optimistic assurances of its acceptance. After Woodrow's return to the University campus. Ellen wrote seeking information for her own satisfaction. "No," came the reply, "I haven't heard a word from H. M. and Co., though it is now five weeks since I sent them my *mss.*" Seemingly, the publisher was

⁵⁰ Wilson to Ellen Axson, August 31, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 217.

⁵¹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 11, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 218.

either considering the matter with unusual care or had rejected the manuscript and forgotten to return it. "The only certainty," Wilson concluded, "was that I am very anxious and have suspended all definite expectations in the matter."⁵² More than two weeks more elapsed before he, with restrained enthusiasm, sent "some exceptionally good news." Indeed, Houghton Mifflin offered him "as good terms as if I were already a well-known writer! The success is of such proportions as almost to take my breath away—it has distanced by best hopes"⁵³ Wilson was elated, but only momentarily. It was not his nature to remain exhilarated for long.

Quite naturally, when Woodrow escorted Ellen to New York City, he told her that his dearest friend, Bobby Bridges, lived there. He expressed the hope that the two could meet and become fast friends. Within a few days after his return to Baltimore, Tommy took the initial step in helping Bobby and Ellen to get acquainted: "I should be delighted if you could find time some evening to call on her [Ellen Axson]. There would seem to be some necessary fitness in a fellow's best male friend knowing the lady who is nearer to him than all the rest of the world; and one of the first things I thought of when Miss Axson decided to study in New York this winter was that that might bring you two together—*should* bring you together, If I was to have a say in the matter. I hope, old fellow, that our *homes* won't lie so far apart that you can't get to know all about her house-keeping when she becomes Mrs. Wilson!"⁵⁴

Shortly after receiving Tommy's letter which contained Ellen's address on Fourteenth Street, Bobby called on her. From both of them Woodrow learned of the visit. When Ellen, with unbounded enthusiasm, told Bobby that Woodrow's manuscript on Congressional Government had been accepted for publication, he was delighted. Bobby wrote Tommy that he thought his Princeton friend should have told him. Wilson confessed: "I should have told you of the acceptance of my book but Miss Axson wanted the fun of telling *somebody* and so I left *you* to *her*."⁵⁵

While rejoicing over the acceptance of *Congressional Government* for publication, two significant problems arose from which Wilson had to find answers. The first was that of trying for the Doctor of Philosophy degree. Woodrow was definitely against striving for the

⁵² Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 11, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 219.

⁵³ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 28, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 219.

⁵⁴ Wilson to Bridges, November 19, 1884, Meyer Collection.

⁵⁵ Wilson to Bridges, December 20, 1884, Meyer Collection. Bridges' letter to Wilson written a few days before December 20, has been lost but Wilson in his letter mentions the one from Bridges.

doctorate, not that he anticipated failure, but because he did not want to do the reading and study that would be necessary. In doubt, perhaps, that his decision not to try for the degree was a mistake, he appealed to his father in "sixteen pages . . . on the pros and cons of cramming" for the required examinations. Dr. Wilson, having received his professional title *honoris causa*, naturally, perhaps, advised against the special study necessary for the degree. As soon as Wilson learned that his father's opinion concurred with his own, he assured Ellen that "father advises me not to try for it [the doctorate]: and, since his advice coincides with my own coolest judgment in the matter, I have concluded to make no special effort in reading for it." He was positive that he would profit much more substantially from reading according to his own tastes and choosing than he would from the reading necessary for the Ph.D. degree—although his inclinations would take him through the most important topics of that course. The chief difference, as he analyzed the situation to Ellen, was that he would read, "*outside* of the prescribed lines, a great deal that will be of infinitely more service [to him] than the volumes of another sort which I should perfunctorily peruse, to the mortification of my own tastes and desires, were I to goad myself to the tasks heaped upon the degree candidate."

Did Ellen approve of the decision? Woodrow wanted to know: "You certainly have a right to be consulted, because it is probable that a degree would render me a little more *marketable* next June than I shall otherwise be." Indeed, this was the only condition which caused him any hesitancy about the decision he and his father had made. It was a choice, he concluded, "between pecuniary profit and mental advantage."⁵⁶

The wisdom of Wilson's choice was questionable. In fact, about a year and a half later he received the Ph.D. degree from The Johns Hopkins University. It came upon the urging of Ellen, now Woodrow's wife. She wisely chose as his fiancée not to oppose his decision when supported by his father. Later, however, as Mrs. Wilson, she exerted the necessary pressure. She was assisted by Wilson's professional employer, Dean Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr College. The faculty of the university co-operated splendidly by accepting Wilson's book, *Congressional Government*, as his doctoral dissertation and by omitting all language requirements.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 8, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 235-236.

⁵⁷ Wilson to Herbert B. Adams, April 2, 8, 1886, Herbert B. Adams Papers, Library of The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, hereinafter cited as Adams Papers. The important letter from Adams to Wilson, dated between these two from Wilson to him, seems to have been lost but Wilson's second letter to Adams discusses the faculty's decision in his "case."

Wilson's other problem was that of finding a teaching position. If there were several professionally desirable places open, as Ray Standard Baker stated in his official biography of Wilson, there is no documentary evidence in the Wilson Papers that he was offered any of these positions, nor that he was even sought. When a new Quaker College—Bryn Mawr—located in a suburb of Philadelphia, desired young men to aid in organizing the various department, Wilson was recommended by his professor. Immediately, he revealed the details to Ellen: "Just before lecture [it was late in November, 1884], Dr. Adams came to me and asked me if I wouldn't come into his office a moment and meet some persons who were interested in me and in historical work." A few moments later as Woodrow entered his professor's office, he was introduced to Miss Carey Thomas, Dean of Bryn Mawr, and to Dr. James E. Rhoads, a trustee of the recently organized girls' school. According to Woodrow, Dean Thomas was choosing her faculty with great care "because each teacher chosen will, of course, have to lay the foundations of his, or her, department—will have to *organize* it and give it direction and plan."⁵⁸ Other conferences between Dean Thomas and Woodrow followed. Out of these meetings came Woodrow's first job.

When Ellen learned of Woodrow's position at Bryn Mawr, she wrote bemoaning the fact that she, a faculty member's prospective bride, did not know as much as the Bryn Mawr girls were expected to know. Woodrow answered that she was a "little goose" to permit herself to think that way about the situation and asked her to think of *his case*. "I am to be one of their instructors," he wrote, "and yet I not only could not pass the entrance examinations without special preparation, but could not even be an advanced student, much less a Fellow, in my own department—because I can't read German at sight! Both you and I," Woodrow reassured Ellen, "have what is immeasurably better than the *information* which is all that would be needed for passing Bryn Mawr, or any other college examination!"⁵⁹

Moreover, as Woodrow explained to Ellen, he had no desire to carry in his head more information. He wanted to forget the figures in the column whose *sum* and *result* he had ascertained and wanted to keep. "I must *scan* information," he continued, "must question it closely as to every essential detail, in order that I may extract its meaning; but, the meaning once mastered, the information is lumber." Obviously, it would be necessary to know where to find the information when

⁵⁸ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 27, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 237.

⁵⁹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 30, 1884, Day, *Woodrow Wilson's Own Story*, 27-28.

needed for illustrations or for corroboration. Moreover, one could not make himself familiar with facts for such purposes without remembering some of the more essential ones. Woodrow concluded, "it is sheer, barren, ignorant waste of energy to try to remember a fact for *its own sake*."⁶⁰

Woodrow and Ellen were seeing each other during these months of their engagement before their marriage as frequently as the exigencies of their respective student careers would permit. After a week-end visit in New York, Woodrow returned to Baltimore to write that it wasn't "pleasant or convenient to have strong passions. I have the uncomfortable feeling that I am carrying a volcano about with me." His salvation was in being loved. Furthermore, Ellen was "the only person in the world—except the dear ones at home" with whom he did not have to act a part, to whom he did not have to deal out confidences cautiously. Ellen was the "only person in the world—without any exceptions" to whom Woodrow could confide *all* that his heart contained. "There surely never lived a man," he concluded, "with whom love was a more critical matter than it is with me."⁶¹

Upon returning to the campus after a delightful visit with Ellen, Woodrow soon experienced the greatest thrill of every young enterprising author. He held in his hand the first copies of his book "over which he had toiled long, hoped greatly, and despaired bitterly!" Woodrow answered the question to whom he should send the first copy of his book: "I received two copies of *Congressional Government* last evening and immediately reversed the wrappers about one of them and sent it off to you—in hopes that you would get it before Sunday." He took the time only to write Ellen's name upon the fly-leaf which required about ten minutes because of the difficulty in deciding what to write. As he stated: "I had to say everything or nothing—and what I wanted to put would have been out of place on the public face of a book."

Social etiquette did not keep Wilson from saying in a love letter to Ellen what he felt: "I wanted to say," Woodrow confided to Ellen, "that everything in the book was yours already, having been written in the light and under the inspiration of your love; that every word of it was written as if to you, with thoughts of what you would think of it, and speculations as to your delight should it receive favour from the publishers and the public; that, as your love runs through this my first book, so it must be the enabling power in all that I may write

⁶⁰ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 30, 1884, Day, *Woodrow Wilson's Own Story*, 27-28.

⁶¹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, December 7, 1884, Day, *Woodrow Wilson's Own Story*, 29.

hereafter, for without your entire love and faith and sympathy it must be also the *last* book into which I could put any of *myself*; that, in presenting it to you, I was presenting it to one whose praise and approval are a thousand times sweeter and more essential to me than the praise and approval of the whole world of critics and readers. In sending you my first book, darling, I renew the gift of myself.”⁶²

Ellen expressed to Anna Harris her delight with *Congressional Government's* public reception. The book had a wonderful success where success was most valuable, among scholars. It was delightfully surprising, said Ellen to Anna, the number of enthusiastic letters Woodrow was receiving from such men. The reviews were laudatory and the book was selling well.⁶³ Indeed, it was in truth an epoch in the lives of these two young people, Ellen remembered, and she “for one could scarcely sleep for happiness because of it.”⁶⁴

In the meantime these youthful lovers were discussing plans for their marriage in the summer. For a while they toyed with the idea of a June wedding and a honeymoon in “some quiet picturesque spot in New England.” Here they would rusticate, making themselves happy “with books and pen and pencil and *each other* until it is time to come back to the work a day world!”⁶⁵ But even as Ellen described these plans to Anna Harris, she added there were a great many practical difficulties in the way. Although the New England honeymoon was given up for a mountain spot in the South, Wilson pled so earnestly and so determinedly for their wedding in June that Ellen promised to do all in her power to make it possible.

As Ellen informed her dear friend, the trouble with her was “simply a want of time and money.” She did not finish at the Art Students' League until the first of June and then she would be completely bankrupt. But, to let Ellen continue: “I ought really to spend the summer mending my broken fortunes—and, yet, again perhaps, I ought *not*. I am afraid it wouldn't be *just* to him, after my hard winter's work to spend the summer in the same way and then go to him worn out, perhaps broken down in health. It would perhaps be wiser to sacrifice a portion of my little principle, buy my trousseau ready made and take no thought of the morrow.”⁶⁶ There were economic matters reserved in Ellen's mind. Her heart also had its reasons and these she in complete confidence revealed: “I am anxious to do as he wishes;

⁶² Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 24, 1885, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 220-221.

⁶³ Ellen Axson to Anna Harris, March 8, 1885, Axson-Harris Correspondence.

⁶⁴ Ellen Axson Wilson to Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., August (?), 1912, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 224.

⁶⁵ Ellen Axson to Anna Harris, March 8, 1885, Axson-Harris Correspondence.

⁶⁶ Ellen Axson to Anna Harris, March 8, 1885, Axson-Harris Correspondence.

in fact, I wish it so strongly myself that my judgment is apt to be biased. This separation is becoming unbearable, almost, to *me* as to my *passionate lover*. Formerly I was *willing* to be his wife *some time*—now I *long* to be, as soon as possible. I *thought* I loved him at the first, but I find I had only begun to love, but then he has given me so much reason to love him. No one will ever know all he has been to me. I think he made life itself possible. Without him I should have been utterly crushed and broken in body and spirit. I have terrible days or rather nights sometimes now but on the whole I am happy, wonderfully happy, and it is altogether owing to his wonderful love.”⁶⁷

To Bobby Bridges, Tommy wrote that he and Ellen were “to be married in Savannah, on June 24—the wedding is to be a private, family affair, with no formal invitations sent out.” Woodrow wanted to write each member of his Princeton gang to come to see him set out on a new and better stage of his career.⁶⁸ But none came.

At the conclusion of his university work, Woodrow went to the home of his sister, Mrs. Anna Wilson Howe, in Columbia, South Carolina. Ellen reached Savannah a few days later. In the Manse of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah, on June 24, 1885, Woodrow Wilson and Ellen Axson became husband and wife. Ellen’s grandfather, the Reverend I. S. K. Axson, who was minister of the church, performed the ceremony. He was assisted in the simple ceremony by Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, father of the groom. The two lovers “stood in the corner of the quaint old parlour with its high ceiling, its fireplace, its dignified furniture.”⁶⁹ Woodrow, born in a Presbyterian manse, was married in a Presbyterian manse to a girl who, also, was born in a Presbyterian manse.

Years later, Stockton Axson remembered how Woodrow and he “chatted about the books in my grandfather’s bookcases while we waited for the bride to come downstairs.” He also recalled a “less idyllic circumstance, how bliss was jarred and the scent of orange blossoms temporarily annulled while two small boys, the bridegroom’s nephew, William Howe, and the bride’s brother, Edward Axson, ‘mixed it up’ in a gorgeous fight over some difference in boyish opinions. The bride was much shocked; but I caught a twinkle in the bridegroom’s eye, which seemed to say, ‘let’s separate them; but don’t let’s be in too desperate haste about it.’”⁷⁰ Any man who “could re-

⁶⁷ Ellen Axson to Anna Harris, March 8, 1885, Axson-Harris Correspondence.

⁶⁸ Wilson to Bridges, May 21, June 10, 1885, Meyer Collection.

⁶⁹ Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 238.

⁷⁰ Axson, “Private Life of Woodrow Wilson.”

joice in a kin fight on his wedding day surely has that broad catholic taste in joy which shows the understanding heart."⁷¹

After a few days in which they visited with Woodrow's sister and her family, the George Howes, the newlyweds went to the North Carolina mountains. The village, which "bore the idyllic name of Arden," was located in Buncombe County. They stayed at the Park Hotel.⁷² Much of the time during the day was spent outdoors walking along the mountain trails, viewing the lovely scenery, listening to the calls of the many birds.

Wilson's marriage meant everything to him. It would be almost impossible to overemphasize its importance in his life. To Ellen he had written of their love, their marriage, their future together so many times and in such words of dedication. In one such letter Woodrow declared that "the intellectual life is sometimes a fearfully solitary one. . . ." Give him one friend who can understand him, who will not leave him, who will always be accessible by day and night—one friend, one kindly listener, just one, and the whole universe is changed. "It is deaf and indifferent no longer, and whilst *she* listens, it seems as if all men and angels listened also, so perfectly his thought is mirrored in the light of her answering eyes. . . . There surely never lived a man," he concluded, "with whom love was a more critical matter than it is with me."⁷³ And with Wilson, this continued to be true.

⁷¹ White, *Woodrow Wilson*, 102.

⁷² Wilson to Talcott, June 9, 1885, Baker Papers.

⁷³ Wilson to Ellen Axson, December 7, 1884, Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 242.

THE PRISON DIARY OF ADJUTANT FRANCIS ATHERTON BOYLE, C. S. A.

EDITED BY MARY LINDSAY THORNTON *

Published accounts of prison life during the Civil War have often been reminiscences written long after the close of hostilities. Bitter in their accusations with a tendency to stress atrocities more and more as years intervene, they can hardly be accepted without reservation. In recent years, the so-called realistic novel has added new horror to the story. On the other hand, diaries written as day-by-day records while in prison may be softened by a lack of privacy and an enforced reticence for fear of discovery by some zealous guard. The diary of Francis Atherton Boyle written during his imprisonment at Fort Delaware is almost always expressed in a restrained tone. It is reserved in its comment on physical hardship with attention directed to a thoughtful and skillful survival. It is remarkable as the expression of a spirit that sought and found escape from the monotony, sordidness, and indignity of prison life in books and study, and in religious activity.

Francis Atherton Boyle was born in Plymouth, North Carolina, July 9, 1838, the oldest of a family of eight children. He was the son of John McCausland Boyle (1803-1867) of Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, and Maria A. Plumbe, of Neath, Glamorganshire, South Wales.¹ He was a student at Dartmouth College in 1858, but did not graduate,² returning to Plymouth to take over his father's lumber business in 1859.³ He enlisted in the Confederate Army, May 16, 1861, in a company that was being organized in Tyrrell and Washington counties with Edmund C. Brabble as its captain.⁴ It later became a part of the

* Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton is Librarian Emeritus of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

¹ Tombstone inscriptions and baptismal records, Grace Church (Episcopal), Plymouth.

² Alumni Records (manuscript), Dartmouth College Archives, Hanover, New Hampshire, hereinafter cited as Dartmouth Archives.

³ Francis A. Boyle to S. L. Gerould, Secretary of the Class of 1858, March 25, 1904, Dartmouth Archives.

⁴ John Wheeler Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States* (Raleigh: Ashe and Gatling, 4 volumes, 1882), II, 571, hereinafter cited as Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*.

First Battalion of North Carolina Volunteers which was absorbed in the Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry in the summer of 1862. In May, 1863, it joined the Army of Northern Virginia, and took part in the campaign that culminated in the Battle of Gettysburg.⁵ Boyle was promoted from First Sergeant to Adjutant of the Regiment, June 27, 1863,⁶ and remained in active service in the field until he was captured during the desperate fighting around Spotsylvania Court House early in May, 1864. He was sent to Point Lookout for a short time, and from there to Fort Delaware where he was imprisoned until July, 1865. After the war he returned to his home and continued in the lumber business at Hamilton, and later at Jamesville, until his death, July 4, 1907. He was married on October 19, 1865, to Annie A. Hemick, of Baltimore, with whom he corresponded while in prison.⁷ The diary, which is in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Library as the gift of Mrs. John S. McEldowney, Boyles' niece, begins a few days before his capture and continues with fair regularity until shortly before his release.

1864

Left camp Wednesday 4th May. Moved to Mine Run, lay there three hours, moved to Parker's store, encamped for the night, moved down the turnpike late Thursday morning—and met the enemy about noon.⁸ Supported Stuart's brigade; Our right charged the enemy. Moved to the right & then to the rear. Rested till sunset, then moved to the right till after night, about two miles. Threw up breastworks till day.

Friday 6th. Remained quiet on the main line. Skirmishers actively engaged. Artillery used upon the enemy's position. Slight shelling in return.

Saturday 7th. Still comparatively quiet. At night moved to the right about a mile. Moving nearly all night.

Sunday 8th. Marched to a position near Spotsylvania C. H. Day very hot, many men fainting and exhausted. Reached our position about sunset and charged the enemy immediately. Moved about a mile forward till dark coming on, halted and threw up entrenchments.

⁵ Walter Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina, in the Great War, 1861-'65* (Raleigh and Goldsboro: State of North Carolina, 5 volumes, 1901), II, 521-536, hereinafter cited as Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*.

⁶ Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, II, 571.

⁷ Boyle to Gerould, March 25 and May 17, 1904, Dartmouth Archives.

⁸ This encounter marked the beginning of the Battle of the Wilderness, May 5-7, 1864. Mine Run is a little stream near Orange Court House where Lee had his headquarters. Parker's store was one mile from the Orange Plank Road.

Monday 9th. Another fine day—comparatively quiet in our immediate front. Perfected our entrenchments.

Tuesday 10th. Opened quiet. About noon Doles Skirmishers in our front driven in. Enemy began shelling heavily—till dusk. Then they charged our lines in solid columns of regiments, broke Doles line and taking ours in reserve captured the position and about 700 prisoners. The position was in a very few minutes retaken, but too late to rescue us.⁹ About 225 enlisted men of our Regt captured & six officers We were hurried to the rear and remained for the night under guard.

Wednesday 11th. Moved under a cavalry guard to the Camp of the Provost Guard, in all about 3,000 prisoners here.

Thursday 12th. Moved prisoners camp a mile or two in the direction of Fredericksburg. Heard heavy firing all day from Grants desperate but unsuccessful assaults upon our lines. About 3,000 prisoners captured from Maj. Gen. Johnstons Div. came in making about 6000 in all captured from our army in the nine days fighting. This is very nearly correct.

Friday 13th. We were carried through Fredericksburg to Belle Plain a distance of about 15 miles.¹⁰ After an hours rest the officers were put on a steamer. Moved out to the mouth of Potomac creek and anchored for the night. This has been a very fatiguing day. The heavy mud and rapid marching, being very severe upon those of us unaccustomed to marching.

Saturday 14th. We moved down the river to Point Lookout where probably owing to the crowded condition of the boat 100 of us were put off, registered, examined and marched to our Prison quarters.¹¹

Sunday 15th. My first day of prison life, as little unmarked by incident as most of them will probably be.

Sunday May 29th. Heard preaching from an old gentleman a fellow prisoner & a Methodist. Read the church service in the afternoon to a pretty good congregation.

I have written during the past week to a good many of my quondam Northern friends and acquaintances. Have heard from none of them as yet excepting from Dr. Kerfoot promising to send me some books that I have

⁹ General Lee's Report, May 10, 1864, says of this engagement: "Today the enemy shelled our lines and made several assaults with infantry against different points. . . . They were easily repulsed, except in front of Doles' brigade, where they drove our men from their position. . . . The men soon rallied, and by dark our line was re-established." R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, XXGVI, Part I, 1,029, hereinafter cite as *Official Records*.

¹⁰ Belle Plain was a temporary camp for the reception of prisoners. Francis Trevelyan Miller (ed.), *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 10 volumes, 1911), VII, 42.

¹¹ Point Lookout is surrounded by Chesapeake Bay, Potomac River, and Tanner's Creek. It was established as a prison in July, 1863, with a guard of 300 men to accommodate about 10,000 prisoners. *Official Records*, Series II, VI, 141-142.

asked him to send me. Written home two or three times in hopes that some of them might get through, though it is said that Flag of Truce communication has been suspended. Not being able to get any money, we are confined to prison fare. Bread, weak coffee, Beans, Beef, Pork and Potatoes.

Sunday (May 29) June 5 Owing to the influx of prisoners into the privates camp the boundary line has been moved, reducing the limits of our enclosure very much. As we are still allowed the privilege of the beach for bathing etc. the reduction of space is no material deprivation. We have still space enough for tents, Streets, mess Hall, Hospital etc. without crowding. I have received a letter from Messrs. Benton & Sons & from Cousin Mary Tucker enclosing \$20 from Mr. Southgate kindly offering to let me have what I may need. Have written to both in return, asking latter for \$50. Read service again today.

I have made a mistake in my dates; the above ought to be 29th May & June 5 instead of May 22, & May 29. The first week was unmarked by anything of especial interest.

Wednesday. June 8th. Received in the past few days letters from Mr. Bolton, absence from home prevented his writing sooner—from Cousin Mary Tucker stating that Mr. Southgate had sent me \$50—from Benton & Sons saying that they shipped clothing to me on the 4th inst. & from Maj. Lewis.¹² Have written since reaching here to Benton 3, Bolton 2, Norcross 2, Wendell, Hilliard 2, Edgeworth F. Sim. 1, Terry—Clay—Davis—Maitland—Lewis 3, Stephenson, Tucker 2, Southgate—Santos—Home 5, Frensbey, Wright, Plumbe, Witmer & Bronson & Kerfoot, 34 in all, certainly enough to *start* a correspondence.

Have been reading Wayland's Moral Philosophy and 3 novels, Maryatts Percival Keene, The Ogilvies by ————— & Bulwers Last of the Barons. I am very anxious to get the books promised me by Dr. Kerfoot. Fortunately I had my Bible & Prayer Book on my person at the time of my capture.

Friday. June 10th Quite an eventful day for prisoners considering the usual monotony of our life. During the last fortnight several prisoners have been attempting in various ways to make their escape, generally succeeding in getting outside the enclosure, but so far as we have heard they have all been arrested and brought back before getting very far. Last night some one or two officers escaped by means of a rope ladder, which was found this morning hanging against the fence. Soon Maj. Weymouth & Staff¹³ rode into camp, ordered us all out on the beach and made us an *eloquent harangue* threatening us to deprive us of (bedsteads?) seats, &c &c if we didn't stay peaceably in durance vile, and by way of proving that he meant what he said, ordered that all our valises, trunks, carpet-bags, boxes &c, in short everything that would hold *anything* should be taken away. Consequently all our clothing, eatables, trinkets of all kinds are bundled out on the floor or ground until we can collect new receptables for

¹² Major Henry G. Lewis, Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry, was wounded and made a prisoner at Gettysburg. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, II, 570.

¹³ Major Harrison G. O. Weymouth, First U. S. Volunteers, Provost Marshal, Point Lookout, *Official Records*, Series II, VII, 385, 1,364.

our use. I have received to day and answered letters from Mr. Bronson,¹⁴ Maj. Tenny & Miss Lizzie Hilliard.¹⁵

We have had a change in Sutlers too, today, and it is to be hoped that under the new Regime things will be a little more reasonable. White sugar 30 cts, Brown 20, Eggs 40 cts per doz, Butter 60 cts per Lb. are the present rates. Wrote to Lt. Doles today.¹⁶ Heard from him yesterday. Heavy rain last night. The weather for the past ten days has been remarkably cool and pleasant, winds & frequent showers.

June 14, Tuesday. Received express package today from Benton & Sons containing shirts, drawers, pair of shoes, pants and coat. Received \$50 on Sunday from Mr. Southgate. Finished reading Waylands Philosophy, & have nothing now to read excepting periodicals which Lt Bond has kindly given me the use of.¹⁷ There is a good deal of interesting matter in them, most of them are nos. of Littell Living Age. They have been allowing papers to come into camp again today. Received a letter from Cousin Edward Plumbe yesterday from Dacotah Territory. Have met here a Captain Chinn from Baton Rouge La. who was very well acquainted with Uncle Anderson and Uncle William and their wives families.¹⁸ Have had good deal of chat with him about them & about Louisiana generally.

June 23d Thursday. The days slip by so rapidly and uniformly that unless one were able to keep a regular diary (which the lack of incident will not afford) the entrys are not so frequent as they might be. Last Sunday I read as usual the afternoon service and an excellent tract entitled "All to Jesus." The congregation was quite good, numbering about 80, and the responses so much better than heretofore. I have found here five or six churchmen. I have recently heard from Miss Hattie Fitch. She wrote me a very kind letter and sent me her photograph.

I received the other day three packages of books from whom I do not know. I suppose however from some of Mr. Bronson's parishoners or perhaps from himself. They embrace novels, church books & Tracts. All exceedingly welcome. [Written across this entry] Came from Dr. Kerfoot Recd a letter a day or two since from Maj. Lewis. Rolls have been taken it is said preparatory to removing all the officers to Fort Delaware and I should not be surprised if my next entry were made there as we are momen-

¹⁴ Probably the Reverend Benjamin Swann Bronson, who came to North Carolina in the early 1850's. Lizzie Wilson Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton, North Carolina; Traditions and Reminiscences of the Town and People who Made It* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1924), 186-187, 212.

¹⁵ Lizzie Hilliard was the daughter of the Reverend Francis Hilliard, Rector of Grace Church, Plymouth. She was identified by Mary Cotten Davenport of Plymouth, who had known her personally.

¹⁶ Lieutenant William F. Doles, Company H, Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, II, 590.

¹⁷ Lieutenant William R. Bond, Company F, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry, and aide de camp to General Junius Daniel. He was made a prisoner at Gettysburg. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, III, 210; Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 518.

¹⁸ Captain B. R. Chinn, Company C, Ninth Battalion Louisiana Infantry, was captured in Port Hudson, Louisiana, July 9, 1863. Andrew Booth (comp.), *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers* (New Orleans: 3 volumes in 4, 1920), 1, 328.

tarily expecting orders. The negro regiment has been away from here for some time on a stealing expedition in Va. They have returned I hear, with any quantity of plunder, and made their appearance on guard again today for the first time since their return.

The manner in which the rations of prisoners are managed here is curious and must redound to the benefit of somebody very extensively. The first item after our arrival was the entire withdrawal of the coffee & sugar rations. Next the quantity of meat was reduced one-third. Then, molasses till this time issued tri-weekly disappeared from the festive scene. Then as the only thing left to operate on, the loaves one of which was issued to each man daily, began to grow smaller by degrees and beautifully less, till they suddenly increased perceptibly, and henceforth *two* men were to divide each loaf instead of each one holding undisputed right thereto. This ingenious *dodge* in the art of subdivision was nevertheless too patent to pass undiscovered, for as we had anticipated the new edition began to show the same propensity for *shrinking* that the original one had done. No one knows where this business would have ended had not a summons come for us to leave today for Fort Delaware.

Tuesday June 28th Here we are in Yankee prison No. 2, after such a trip as I have heard of, but never experienced before. 540 of us crowded on the main deck and forward hold of a transport screw propeller. We were packed as close as herrings and the weather was unconscionably hot. Most fortunately for us the sea (for we came via Cape Henry, outside) was perfectly smooth, so that though we of course had many *green hands* on board, no one was made sea-sick. Had the passage been a rough one, it would have been perfectly awful in our crowded condition. As it was it was bad enough. About 50 of us were allowed to be on the upper deck at one time. The Yankee guard was stationed up here, so that any idea of seizing the boat was entirely precluded. A gun boat accompanied us all the way, to guard against the possibility of a rebel cruiser.

We have now been at Fort Delaware long enough to compare it with Point Lookout. I will therefore sum up the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the two places.

ADVANTAGES

*Point Lookout*¹⁹

Cooler water, if bad.
A more reasonable sutler.
The advantage of less men together.
More punctuality in sending letters.
More room.
A very accommodating ass't provost.

*Fort Delaware*²⁰

Fair water & the chance of improving it by ice.
An ice cream stand.
Barracks instead of tents
More punctuality in *delivery* of letters, money & express packages.
A decent commander.
Less dust.

¹⁹ James H. Thompson, Surgeon, U. S. Volunteers, reporting on Point Lookout, June 23, 1864, says the water was unfit for use and the diet insufficient. There were 20,000 prisoners on the Point with 1,300 wounded. *Official Records*, Series II, VII, 399-400.

²⁰ Fort Delaware was situated at the head of Delaware Bay about fifty miles below Philadelphia on a piece of land known as Pea Patch Island. The prison barracks were similar to long cowsheds and were directly under fire from the guns of a fortress built

ADVANTAGES (cont.)

Good sea bathing.	Two meals a day.
Chance of getting Southern news in Baltimore Gazette	Later news.

DISADVANTAGES

Point Lookout

A rascally Provost Marshall.
Great delay in the delivery of
money
negroes to guard us.
a great deal of dust.
Tents, which though more conven-
ient are not adapted to *windy*
situations.
For a long time no newspapers.
A very strict patrol at night.
Very poor soup. The cooking in-
ferior to Ft. D.

Fort Delaware

Delay in sending letters.
No opportunity to hire extra cook-
ing done.
A very rascally sutler who charges
triple prices.²¹
No opportunity to get "Copper-
head" Journals.
No good place to bathe.
Less room.
Smaller rations.
&c &c &c

I think that that's what may be calling "striking a balance" and on the whole a pretty even one. I wouldn't stand the terrible trip between the two points to go to either. The rations here are about as small as can well be imagined. About six ounces of bread and 4 oz of meat to each man and the government no doubt charged full rations. What a harvest for somebody!

Wednesday June 29. We are enjoying just now a very opportune cool spell.

Friday. July 1st Only four days left for Grant to capture Richmond. Gold quoted at 2.50. We certainly ought to be in good spirits and we are. We live here in a large barn like barracks, from 75 to 125 in each. The bunks are ranged in three rows like immense shelves, one above the other, on each side, and in some cases across the ends, with some space on the floor between. These "cuddies" can be arranged so as to be quite comfortable. The lower ones however labor under the disadvantage of having to take all the dust sweeping &c from those above. A very hot day again.

of stone. Each building, about 300 feet long, was divided into compartments occupied by 400 prisoners. There were eight or ten rows of these buildings. Officers' barracks were separated from privates' quarters and no communication allowed between them. The whole was surrounded by a high plank wall with parapets on top for sentinel guards. It had been condemned as a prison because of the unhealthy location, yet the government continued to use it until the end of the war. George H. Moffett, "War Prison Experiences," *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville, Tennessee: 1893-1932), XIII (March, 1905), 106-107. Randolph Abbott Shotwell also describes Point Lookout and Fort Delaware in J. G. De Roulhac Hamilton and Rebecca Cameron (eds.), *The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 3 volumes, 1929-1936), II, 118-119, 131-134, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Shotwell Papers*.

²¹ Money received by prisoners was held and checks were given to be honored by the sutler. There were many whose families were able to send them money, but those who were not so fortunate had to use their wits to avoid hunger. One major washed soiled clothes at five cents a piece. Shotwell says the profit of the sutler was often more than 500 per cent. Edward R. Rich, *Comrades Four* (New York, 1907), 143-144, hereinafter cited as Rich, *Comrades Four*; Hamilton, *Shotwell Papers*, II, 168.

Friday, July 15. The unusual time that has elapsed since an entry in my journal would indicate, I fear too truly an increase of laziness on my part. Such a life as this is even worse than ordinary camp life for the promotion of laziness. Beyond the calls of a sluggish conscience, there are positively *no* demands upon one's time. Cooking, eating, playing chess, and sometimes the less noble game of backgammon and such reading as the before mentioned occupations and laziness in general leave time for occupy the day. As far as I am individually concerned, I cannot complain of ennui. The above occupations with the addition of writing to my numerous correspondents fully occupy my time. Said correspondents are a source of great pleasure to me. Receiving and writing letters form a pleasurable excitement. Almost the only *events* that prison life can boast are the reception of letters. I was made happy on the 6th (I think) by the reception of a letter from home, date of June 13, brought through to Balt. & mailed there. It acknowledged the recpt of mine of May 15 (written the day after our arrival at Pt. Lookout) also the convalescence of Col. C and the death of Col Lamb from his wounds²² Since my last entry I have recd \$10 from Mr. Bolton, \$5 from R.W. Santos of Norfolk, & \$10 from Uncle Richard,²³ and letters from Miss Fitch, Miss A. Hemmick,²⁴ Mrs. Gertrude Palfrey, Mr. Bronson, Dr. Kerfoot & cousin Mary. The latter has sent me a box—recd in bad order part of the articles being stolen. Have also recd a box from Mr. Witmer Paradise, Pa. and another package of books from Dr. Kerfoot. The box from Mr. Tenny has never come to hand. Heard yesterday from Mr. Bowen. He wrote an intense Union letter, but somewhat to my surprise, said that he had made arrangements to send Latham his brother, Ben Norcum and myself \$20 each, and would continue to send us what money we might need.

Prison life remains pretty much the same. One of the prisoners a militia Colonel Jones, was shot by a sentinel for not "moving on" as quickly as he might as the Colonel was quite lame it is probable that he was not to blame. He was carried to the Hospital and died next day.²⁵ In consequence of the good *news* from the operations of our army, arriving Balt. and Washington papers have been interdicted in camp but we manage to get the news and are all on tiptoe with anxious expectation.²⁶ The weather has been very *hot* and cooler by times. We have since last Sunday been meeting for the purpose of holding Family prayers reading the Bible, Psalter, etc at the

²² Lieutenant Colonel John C. Lamb, Seventeenth North Carolina Infantry, who died of wounds received at Drewry's Bluff, May 17, 1864. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, II, 39.

²³ Uncle Richard Plumbe, who sent money regularly. His name appears in some financial notes on the leaf preceding Boyle's diary.

²⁴ Annie Hemick of Baltimore, whom Boyle married after the war. Boyle to Gerould, May 17, 1904, Dartmouth Archives.

²⁵ Colonel Edward Pope Jones, One Hundred and Ninth Virginia Militia, of Middlesex County, Virginia, who was captured May, 1863. Shotwell says, "Bill Douglass, the assassin, was promoted to sergeant for this crime." One hundred dollars was raised among the prisoners to send Col. Jones' body home, but permission to do so was refused. Hamilton, *Shotwell Papers*, II, 145-148. See also Isaac W. K. Handy, *United States Bonds; or, Duress by Federal Authority* (Baltimore, 1874), 473-476, 478, hereinafter cited as Handy, *United States Bonds*.

²⁶ "Good news" may refer to Early's successful raids around Washington when he threatened the city.

bunk of Captain Cantwell of Wilmington.²⁷ Only two or three of us meet regularly. I trust that we shall keep up the habit at any rate, and perhaps we may be able to read the service in public. The great trouble is to get a suitable place for the purpose. Heard from Bob Webb today. The poor fellow is I am afraid lonely and homesick. He complains of being unwell. We live pretty well now, as all of us have rec'd boxes. My mess recently formed consists of Barlow, a Kentuckian, Bairde,²⁸ a Missourian & myself.

Wednesday August 3. One day in prison is so like another that the time passes away, one knows not how, & in consequence my entries are at more distant intervals than they should be. Last night an officer was drowned in attempting to make his escape, & another captured.

I have received from Mr. Clay \$10, & from Uncle Richard \$10, both came yesterday. The former has sent me a box wh. I hope to get tomorrow. I now read service on Sunday morning and afternoon and have excellent congregations and very good responses. A Christian Association has just been formed for supplying wants of different kinds. I am Chairman of a Committee for the Procuring and Distributing Religious Reading. We have ascertained that about 300 Bibles & 200 Prayer Books are wanted in the Barracks, and have written to several persons soliciting contributions. We were thrown into a good deal of excitement a day or two since, by a sentinel ordering an officer engaged in no more obnoxious pursuit than reading aloud a newspaper just rec'd, to *mark time* at the point of his bayonet. The officer in charge of the camp Lt. Wolfe, being sent for rebuked the soldier severely, punished him and released the officer with an apology. This scoundrel was a deserter from N. Carolina.

The weather for the past few weeks has been excessively hot and dry. No rain with the exception of two days for nearly a month.

Monday Aug 8th. Still excessively hot. The Surgeons and Chaplains left yesterday on exchange. Services yesterday as usual. Heard from Cousin Mary on Saturday. She has expressed to me a box of provisions. Rec'd a box from Mr. Clay, containing boots, hat, carpet bag, and a fine variety of vegetables—potatoes, onions, beets, apples, cabbage &c all very acceptable. Wrote home yesterday by the Surgeons.

Sunday August 21st. From date of last entry up to a week since the monotony of our life was not broken by anything worth recording. But the past week has been one of unusual excitement. First came the announcement that 600 of us were to be sent to Charleston for—something but whether for retaliation or exchange was not so clear. Most of us however, seemed to think it a sure road to Dixie—and those whose names were

²⁷ Colonel John L. Cantwell, Fifty-first North Carolina Infantry. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, III, 448.

²⁸ W. B. Baird is recorded as a member of the Christian Association of Fort Delaware. The manuscript records (July, 1864-1865) of this association, also called the Confederate States Christian Association for the Relief of Prisoners, are housed in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, and will hereinafter be cited as Christian Association, Minutes. They include a list of members, constitution and bylaws, and minutes of meetings. Some of them were published in Handy, *United States Bonds*, 625-632.

selected were deemed lucky. It was expected that they were to leave immediately, but day after day has passed and not until today did they leave us.²⁹

Sunday August 22. Prisoners here decidedly "come to grief." During the past week two orders have been posted materially affecting our interests. The first forbid all correspondence except with immediate relatives. This is in army parlance easily "flanked." Many a newly found "sister" has brought joy to the hearts of the rebels. But the next is a more serious matter. We are to receive no more boxes &c from our friends in retaliation it is said for the treatment of Yankee prisoners in the South. But the "unkindest cut of all" is the shutting up of the Sutler. He has "closed doors" and left us to mourn.

Sunday Aug 29. The Sutler has opened! But alas, only to sell needles pins thread stationery, &c &c. But we live in hopes that Yankee cupidity will yet evade the order and let us have something to eat. Received letters from several friends all regretting that the recent order prevents their supplying my wants. They cant be more sorry than I am. This order came a little too soon for my mess. A few days more and we should have received a sufficient supply for some months. As it is we have a pretty good stock of tea sugar coffee &c &c which will last for some time and as the rations issued to us have materially improved of late we manage still very well. We buy milk every morning, a pretty good article with not much *water* in it.

We have just received a large awning made of a second hand sail, a present from a gentleman in Philadelphia, for holding our daily prayer meetings³⁰ It is very convenient and is daily filled to overflowing & a goodly crowd outside. Our services have been regularly attended and the effect is very encouraging. We used to hold service in one of the divisions, and the lack of room was a serious drawback. We have received two accessions to our numbers, the first crowd numbering over 100 arrived four days ago. They consist of captures from all parts of the army for the last two months.

This is in gratifying contrast to the large number of us arriving at this delightful retreat during the early part of the campaign, The other batch of eight came in last night. These officers report all right in Dixie.

Sept 14. I have recently received 3 letters from Uncle Richard containing \$5—\$5— & \$4 respectively. Total \$14. Recent orders almost entirely prevent me from writing. I have heard of late from Miss Gibson and Maj. Lewis.

²⁹ These officers were not to be exchanged but were to be carried to Morris Island in Charleston Harbor and placed under the fire of Confederate guns in retaliation for treatment of fifty Federal officers who were sent to Charleston to be exposed to fire as a possible deterrent against the shelling of the city. *Official Records*, Series II, VII, 185, 216-217, 567-568.

³⁰ The Christian Association raised \$35 which was sent to Mrs. A. W. Emley of Philadelphia for the purchase of an awning, but a man named Demilt of New York presented a sail and Mrs. Emley returned the money. Christian Association, Minutes, August 2, 26, 1864; and Handy, *United States Bonds*, 624-625.

Yankee rascality has certainly reached its climax. In direct violation of the order from the Yankee Sec. of War our Sutler is selling us eatables and other contraband articles and charging us extra prices for the risk ! ! ! Of course this could not go on without the consent of Gen. Schoepf.³¹ Sugar quoted in newspapers at 20 cts sold before the order referred to at 40 cts and now at 60 cts. Ham 20-30 & 45. Paper \$1.00 per quire—just double—other things in proportion. Average profit 200 per cent.

On Saturday last 26 citizens arrested in Loudon Co. Va arrived here, amongst them Gen. Asa Rogers, Rev. Mr. Kinsolving of the Episcopal Ch. & Rev. Mr. Harris, Baptist³² There are no charges against these persons except perhaps the vague one of being bushwhackers. They are probably held as hostages for citizens alleged to be confined in Richmond. How long! oh how long!

The weather is becoming very unfavorable for our comfort. Dull, gloomy days, a good deal of rain, and an atmosphere too cool and damp to allow our barn like barracks to be very comfortable abodes. Just such weather as would make a comfortable parlor, a good fire and pleasant society enjoyable. We are all in hopes still of an exchange ere the real cold weather sets in, though recent political developments in the North indicate that Lincoln will succeed in being re-elected without any such concession to the people as an exchange. Of course he will never let us go if he is not compelled to do so by popular clamor, for it would be equal to giving us so many men to fight our battles while the time of most of his men prisoners in the South has expired. Consequently he has no further use for them.

A most excellent institution here is our "Christian Association." Had it not been for the recent restrictions imposed upon us this Association would have been the means of great good in every imaginable way. Its various committees were ascertaining and taking measures to supply by soliciting contributions from those persons who have been in the habit of supplying the wants of prisoners upon application, the various wants of all the prisoners. The Com. of wh. I am Chm. had already rec'd and distributed a large number of Bibles, Prayer books &c when our labors were almost entirely stopped by the order referred. Through much of its usefulness has thus been lost, it is still a source of interest and of good to its various members as our situation here enables it to attend to many matters of use to us. The Educational Committee, the Committee on Devotional Exercises and others of like character have still work to do. Much of the success of the Association is due to the energy and labors of its President Rev. Dr. Handy. This gentleman a victim of Federal oppression has been imprisoned here for more than 14 months for I may say *no* cause just or unjust. He has labored most faithfully and has done much good amongst his fellow

³¹ General Albin Schoepf of Maryland, a native of Hungary, was the commanding officer at Fort Delaware. At the outbreak of the war he was a clerk, or draughtsman, engaged in the Federal Coast Survey of North Carolina. Shotwell hated him, but he was fairly well liked by some of the prisoners, to whom he represented himself as one powerless to make orders from above more lenient. Handy called him "a man of humane feelings but coarse in manner, and of variable temperament." Handy, *United States Bonds*, 28, 115-116; Hamilton, *Shotwell Papers*, II, 169, and *passim*.

³² Reverend Ovid A. Kinsolving and Reverend George A. Harris. Handy, *United States Bonds*, 548.

prisoners. He has preached more than 300 sermons since his imprisonment.³³

Monday Sept 26. One of those changes in our prison discipline, which come upon us like changes in the weather, without any apparent cause, sometimes for the better, and at others for the worse—has just occurred, this time for the better. We have been unofficially informed that our correspondence will now be subject to no restraint save the old standard ones of examination and limitation to one page, excluding public matters. We are allowed too to receive clothing by special permit, the value of which privilege the increasing coolness of the weather warns us to appreciate. Yesterday was a blustering cold, windy day. Dr. Handy preached in one of the Divisions in the forenoon & Rev. Mr. Kinsolving read service in the Afternoon & Mr. Harris preached at night.

I have neglected chronicling the departure a week since of 26 of our number, wounded men for Richmond, in Exchange. With many others I availed myself of the opportunity to write home. I have also written during the last day or two to all of my friends announcing the opportunity afforded of renewing our correspondence. Have recently received letters from home and from Mrs. Maigne as late dates as the 10th Inst. Write home again today. Am engaged in reading "History of the Reformation" by D'Aubigné; studying "Evidences of Christianity" by Alexander under Dr. Handy. I have also been reading several little Manuals setting forth the Doctrine and Discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. We are all rather blue over the news from Early and Sheridan.³⁴

Tuesday, Oct. 18. Three weeks since my last entry. Well should I forget the few incidents of this time it would not much matter—except one or two. But in all they are not so many that there is much danger of their being forgotten. But after all I find on reflection that this period has served to alter the complexion of several incidents chronicled in the preceding pages. On the 1st Inst a sudden change in the weather took place. It became (for the season) intensely cold, or so it seemed to us with our insufficient bed covering, open barn like habitations and scant clothing. It was the first taste of real winter that we have had, and until we became accustomed to the change it was very unpleasant. It have gradually become milder, and we now have bright soft days and clear sharp, cool nights. The Divisions have been put upon a "winter footing" and by the closing of the open space in the roof left for ventilation and stoves are now being introduced. One stove, however large, will not however be sufficient to make us comfortable. I have taken to myself a new messmate who had a straw "tick" and plenty of blankets, so that we shall *sleep* warm at all events which is a great point gained.

One very important event has occurred quite recently in our midst. Last Thursday Dr. Handy left us, his Exchange having been finally effected for

³³ Reverend Isaac William Ker Handy was a Presbyterian minister of Portsmouth, Virginia, who was arrested while visiting in Delaware for remarks he made about the United States flag. Handy, *United States Bonds*, 5-9.

³⁴ Early had been driven up the Shenandoah Valley by Sheridan and was defeated at Fisher's Hill.

a West Virginian named *Culbertson*.³⁵ He will be very much missed, for his labors have been the source of much good here. At the meeting of the Christian Association last Saturday suitable resolutions were introduced and adopted in reference to this event.

We have for the past few weeks been having *Morning* instead of the Afternoon Service on Sunday read by Mr. Kinsolving in one of the Divisions. Owing to the coolness of the weather, the awning has been taken down and all prayer meetings are held in the Divisions alternately. Last Saturday week a very important recommendation passed the Christian Association, recommending that each of the Divisions have Family Prayers each evening, and a committee was appointed to confer with the chiefs of the divisions. The auspicious result has been that now Prayers are held nightly, in *all* the Divisions by unanimous consent of the officers. If the Association had never done any other good this would repay all the trouble of forming the Association.

In consequence of the increasing coolness of the weather, the awning has been taken down & put away and prayer meetings &c are nightly held in each of the Divisions alternately.

Friday, Oct 21—A month ago we were all blue, very blue, about affairs generally. A more cheerful hue now pervades the prison. Recent military events look encouraging. I do not wish to make my diary an epitome of the news of the day, but this period may well be noticed as one of expectancy—cheerful expectancy generally. The news from Price is glorious so far. Hood so far as the ambiguous dispatches show is doing good work in Sherman's rear,³⁶ and we have just heard of the fight between Longstreet & Sheridan claimed it is true in the final result as a Federal victory. This may be so, but certainly meets with few believers amongst Confederate Prisoners, who are exceedingly sceptical on the subject of Yankee news.

I believe that I have entirely omitted one feature of the "Christian Association." This is the inauguration about a month since of a series of addresses from officers invited by the Com. on Education to address the Association. Capt. Sturdivant of Va.³⁷ delivered the first address, Gen. Vance,³⁸ the second, and last week Capt. Seaton Gales³⁹ of Gen. Ramseurs staff delivered the third. All these lectures bore more or less directly, upon the subject of Moral Progress. Capt. Gales address was specially worthy of note. Taking into consideration the circumstances under which it was pre-

³⁵ Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton had consented to release Handy in exchange for John P. Culbertson. *Official Records*, Series II, VII, 849-850.

³⁶ Sterling Price was actively engaged in Missouri; Hood had raided Sherman's communications and begun the Tennessee campaign.

³⁷ Captain N. A. Sturdivant, Boggs' Virginia Artillery, was captured June 15, 1864, at Petersburg, Virginia. Roster of Confederate Soldiers of Virginia (manuscript), Virginia State Library, Richmond, hereinafter cited as Virginia Roster of Confederate Soldiers.

³⁸ Brigadier General Robert B. Vance, commanding the Military District of Western North Carolina, was captured in the winter of 1864, while engaged in a movement in Tennessee. Handy, *United States Bonds*, 359-360; Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 379-380, 463.

³⁹ Major Seaton Gales, Assistant Adjutant General, Cox's Brigade, Second North Carolina Infantry, who was captured at the Battle of Fisher's Hill. Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 463.

pared (if *prepared* at all) and delivered, with no quiet, no books, it was remarkable. It was a beautiful production. Its tone elevated and its matter pure. I have received a letter from Uncle Richard enclosing \$5. I hear still with tolerable regularity from most of my correspondents.

Last week 116 officers left on Exchange—sick & convalescent. It is worthy of note that while some few really sick were left a large number were as well as could be. Most of them got off by bribing the Yankee Sergeants. Some paid \$100—some \$50—and so on—the highest price having the best chance—and first. We hear that 12 of these however, failed to pass the board at Pt. Lookout and were retained there. This can only be accounted for on the supposition that their money gave out. I wrote home by these officers—by one of them Capt. Chinn of La.—to Aunt Anne. Capt. C. owned and took with him the copy of D'Aubigné that I was reading, thus stopping my search after knowledge in that direction. I am now reading Gibbon & Pope. Weather still bright & cool nights. Warm days.

Sunday November 6, 1864. Last night we had ice for the first time. A new squad left for the South a few days since and I deemed it fortunate that among them were persons going to those parts of the South where I have friends. Capt Sharp expects to go to Windsor.⁴⁰ I sent messages & letters home by him. Capt Sturdivant promised to see my cousins in Petersburg, whom it seems, he knows very well, and bear them tidings of me. On the first of the month stoves were put up in all the divisions. They are fine large ones and we have plenty of coal to burn in them. The upper bunks are particularly warm of course, on mild days *too* warm. These Yankees are a queer mixture. The great trouble about their treatment of prisoners is that they have no *system* everything being left to the disposition of those officers immediately in charge. They are so mendacious and deceitful that orders from their own superiors are not obeyed. If we complain of anything, the unfailing answer is that the *Order* is still more severe than their practice and that they are thus kinder than they ought to be. A day or two since they had a general examination of our blankets and took from us all but one each of U.S. blankets, and allowed each one to retain any private blankets they may have. I learn that there are many privates entirely without covering and they must suffer greatly this winter. There is no excuse for such retaliation as this. It must be plain to them that the Confederate government is *unable* to supply its prisoners with blankets, as its soldiers have not even a supply.

Conducted prayer meeting last night, and attended service this morning as usual.

Received this week from Mr. Southgate \$25 & the promise of the same Am't soon in answer to my application and \$20 from Benton & Sons.

Have sent letters to Mrs. Palfrey & Miss Gibson for clothing. It is strange that Mr. Clay has never replied to my letters on this subject. Received some days ago an impudent letter from Norcross & Sheets refusing me any aid, *as I was a rebel and did not deserve any.*

Received \$25 from Mr. S. \$50 in all recently.

⁴⁰ Captain William Sharp, Company D, Fifty-ninth North Carolina Cavalry, who was captured at Gettysburg. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, III, 661.

Tuesday Nov 15, 1864. Heard Yesterday from Mrs. P. saying that my permit had been rec'd and box would be started immediately, but that the overcoat was marked off. What this may mean I cannot imagine. We have heretofore been allowed to receive overcoats but now that we most need them they are interdicted. It has become quite cold but the stoves keep the rooms quite warm. Rec'd Seddins *ferrotype* a new name for a new style of likenesses.⁴¹ I am getting quite anxious to hear from home again. Poor old Plymouth has I see been retaken by the enemy.⁴² We have about gotten over the *shock* of Lincoln's reelection, and made up our minds to indefinite war & imprisonment. Nevertheless exchange rumors prevail but I dont believe a word of them.

Saturday, Dec 10th 1864 Nearly a month has elapsed since my last entry—a period unmarked by anything unusual to break the routine of our life. The *enemy* has made no demonstrations upon our peace and comfort since the raid upon the blankets; every day sees the same quantity of false reports, technically termed "grape," come into existence, mostly relative to exchange, and die out almost as soon as uttered. The *rations* have become if anything a little worse—several days no meat for dinner—and recently very little fresh beef has been issued, rusty pork or rustier corned beef taking its place. My correspondence continues unabated, a letter or more coming for me nearly every day. I have received from Mrs. P. Shirts, Pantaloons, Drawers, Over-Shirts, Hdkfs & Shoes. Part of these things Col. Benton furnished—the remainder Mrs. P. makes me a present of. Miss Gibson has sent me two very nice flannel over shirts. I am still trying to procure a permit to get my overcoat.

Mr. Kinsolving has been in the hospital for a few days and Sunday before last in his absence I read service, and the Sunday before assisted him in reading. Have received \$5 from Uncle Richard since last entry. Rec'd a letter a week since from L. W. Hixon of Lowell a classmate of Brabble's enquiring as to the truth of the report of the latters death and asking for particulars if true.⁴³ I replied, and today rec'd a second letter from him expressing his regret and conveying a very feeling tribute to his worth, which I shall take good care of for the sake of his (B's) family. My time is more than ever occupied with reading. I have recently read Kirks Charles the Bold, part of Calvin Institutes and several novels. No news from home since Sept 2. The Christian Association is doing pretty well, though its usefulness is sadly limited by the restrictions upon our receiving supplies &c. Last Night an interesting report was read by a member of the Com. on the state of the Church, giving a history of religious progress amongst us from the coming here of the first prisoners in the early spring, up to the end of June. I must not omit a notice of the celebration of the Holy Communion by Rev'd Mr. Kinsolving in Div. 22, three weeks ago tomorrow.

⁴¹ A positive photograph made by a collodion process on a thin iron plate, having a darkened surface.

⁴² Plymouth, North Carolina, was retaken by Federal troops after the destruction of the "Albemarle," October 27, 1864. Richard Rush, and Others (eds.), *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D. C.: Naval War Records Office, 30 volumes, 1894-1914), Series I, X, 610-624.

⁴³ Colonel Edmund C. Brabble, Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry, was killed, May 10, 1864, at Spotsylvania Court House. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, II, 570.

About 50 persons communed. I was very unwell, having caught cold the day previous, but was enabled to attend, but was confined to my bunk & blankets for the next two days—about the only illness I have been visited with since my imprisonment. Mrs. P. sent me several interesting books Collections for the Curious and some half dozen pretty good modern novels. The first snow of the season fell last night and is rapidly melting today. It has been very cold for 2 days past, but is moderating.

Tuesday Dec. 20, 1864. Weather for the past few days mild, damp & wet. Colder and clear to-day. We are all very blue over the news from Hood & Sherman.⁴⁴ What *is* the end to be! I began today to take French Lessons under Col. Hooper of Ga.⁴⁵ On the 18th a large number, about 70, of officers came in, among them Lt. P. H. Winston, Jr. of the 11th Regt formerly Sgt Major of the 32d.⁴⁶ He brings me news from home as late as Oct. 15. All well then. Permits have again been stopped, I *suppose* because a large quantity of clothing from the Confederate government is expected here soon. The estimates has already been furnished for this clothing.

Sunday, Dec. 25, 1864 Christmas Day at Fort Delaware! The fourth one away from home, three a soldier in the field, the fourth a prisoner! Will yet another see this state of things? I pray not. A bright and beautiful day, though clouding up in the afternoon. Mr. Kinsolving read the service in this Div. (25) this morning. We made our Christmas dinner of a can of Tomatoes and a bread & molasses pudding. The Yankees gave us a *double ration* of bread for breakfast—just about the quantity they ought to give every day. They did the same generous deed on Thanksgiving day. We are all gloomy enough over the news from Sherman and Hood. Rec'd \$10 from Uncle R.

Tuesday Jan 10, 1865 A New Year entry certainly ought to have graced (?) my pages. But let this be instead thereof. *Still no news from home.* A very short line and easy to write, but expressing how much of anxiety and sickness of heart! The Christian Ass'n has elected officers for the next three mos. Gen Vance, Pres't & myself to the office of Recdg Secy. General Rogers has gone to Richmond to effect the exchange of his party & in the mean time Mr. Kinsolving has found a more comfortable place than the barracks at the hospital where he nominally assists Mr. Paddock Hospital Chaplain in his duties.⁴⁷ The weather is *very* changeable alternate freeze & thaw, rain and sunshine. We are very comfortable (my chum and I) having fixed up our share of the third story shelf that we occupy quite snugly. I am occupying myself quite closely with my studies having been at last enabled to devote my time pretty constantly to them—a great difficulty at first. I generally rise at 8, (all our time being regulated by guess) cook

⁴⁴ Sherman had marched to Savannah, December 1-14; Hood had been defeated at Nashville, December 1-16.

⁴⁵ Colonel T. W. Hooper. Christian Association, Minutes, October 25, 1864.

⁴⁶ Lieutenant Patrick Henry Winston, Jr., Company C, Eleventh North Carolina Infantry, was from Bertie County. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, I, 384.

⁴⁷ Reverend William H. Paddock, was Federal Chaplain at Fort Delaware. Handy, *United States Bonds*, 115, 126, 187-188, and *passim*.

& eat breakfast till 9—devotions one hour—till one occupied miscellaneously—then French till 3 p.m. including recitation. Dinner, cooking (my chum does the washing up) & eating till 4—exercise till 5, and History & whatever writing I have to do till 12. Am now reading Motleys Dutch Republic and D'Aubigné's "Reformation."

Wednesday Jan. 18, 1865 I have to record a sample of Yankee inconsistency today. I am very much vexed but have only the recording thereof upon these pages to comfort me. It seems that our quarters were not quite clean enough to suit the critical eye of Capt. Ahl lately so the Sergeants were sent to seize upon all the shelves, boxes, &c that they could find, thus depriving those of us most disposed to do so, of the means of keeping things clean and in order.⁴⁸ We managed to conceal a good many boxes plank stools small tables &c under our floor, some of which were discovered. My corner just fixed up so snugly presented a sad scene. Sent message to Jno. Tucker by surgeons leaving today on exchange [evidently written in afterward] Everything tumbled down on the floor & the shelves on wh. they ought to have been hid beneath the planks of the Division Floor. I have gotten things somewhat straight again, after the loss of two or three days time but how long *our friends* will allow them to remain so, is still to be seen. They vow that they are determined to make us keep clean, so today we have had a grand scouring. I learn that Gen Rogers and Revd Mr. Kinsolving have obtained for themselves an unconditional release from the Prest. I have received this week from Mrs. Palfrey a package containing overcoat, hat, knife, books, chessmen, &c &c &c. From Uncle Richard \$5. From Dr. S. W. Hixon Lowell \$3. We are having some of the coldest weather yet felt this winter. The river as far as we can see it is full of floating ice. The current is so strong when the tide ebbs & flows that it cannot remain frozen entirely across. Last night Capt Gales gave us another lecture on the "Influence of Woman," the only fault which was that it was too short. There is to be a debate tonight in 22—subject an old one "Form of Government which is preferable? Monarchy or Republicanism." This is the first thing of the kind attempted here. A new feature has been introduced into the regular meetings of the Chn Asson. A contribution from some member is read by the Secretary, or some member delivers a short address, or in the absence of both a selected article is read.

Wednesday Jan 25, 1865 I must record a bright day in my journal. In the language of the newspapers "4 months later from Home" 3 letters from Mary dated in Oct. one from the same in Nov. and one from "Sissie" H.⁴⁹ Dec. 27, giving the gratifying news that all are well. I feel indeed thankful that my dear ones so far have been mercifully spared, and it gives me renewed hope that the same Providence that has been thus so kind will enable us to meet again on earth.

Strange that no letters come from Windsor. Mary sends me Mrs. Smith's

⁴⁸ Captain George W. Ahl, Assistant Adjutant and Inspecting Officer, Fort Delaware. He exerted more authority over the prisoners than General Schoepf and was hated by them. *Official Records*, Series II, VII and VIII, *passim*; Hamilton, *Shotwell Papers*, II, 169.

⁴⁹ His sister, Harriet Sophia Boyle, born in 1841, who married Brinkley C. Howell in 1871. Baptismal and marriage records (manuscript), Grace Church, Plymouth,

address to whom I have just written. The papers speak of an unprecedented rise on the Roanoke said to be eight inches higher than ever before. Received a small dictionary from Cousin Mary.

I have just been for three days to the hospital and have had enough of that institution. A feast on what under other circumstances would have been a very harmless dish, viz. fried potatoes brought on a violent fit of indigestion on Friday last and on Sunday I was obliged to go to the Hospital. A timely course of medicine prevented any further ill effects and after a few days dieting I today returned to my quarters, *very glad* to get back to them, though in a prison. Everything it seems is only bad or good by comparison. The Hospital arrangements on this Island are in many respects, good, but the supply of food is entirely insufficient for many patients. Convalescents and men with wounds that rapidly exhaust the system are in common with those who require less, fed upon $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound loaf per day or 3 slices of said loaf, very light, spongy, innutritious and dry, and a *few mouthfuls* of unsweetened coffee at breakfast, a cup of *thin, very thin* soup at dinner, and at night a cup of gruel. During my three days stay this was *all* the patients *on full diet* received, except *once* a small piece of cold beef & *twice* a very small quantity of mush (one time with about a spoonful of molasses upon it.) The patients *must stay* in bed from 9 p.m. till six a.m. although in my narrow iron bedstead I was nearly frozen. The wards are kept very clean and are under rigid discipline. Each ward is warmed by 4 stoves (enough in ordinarily cold weather) and contain about 30 or 40 beds. On entering, each patient is required to strip off his clothing (which is bundled up, labeled and put away) and after bathing to put on clean cotton underclothing and under no circumstances is he allowed to resume any part of his outer clothing till he leaves the Hospital. This is not convenient to those who sit up, but perhaps for general health, desirable. The Barracks are much agitated with news flying round. First comes the fall of Fort Fisher to depress us,⁵⁰ then the flag of truce mail to cheer us, and now the rumors of exchanges, seemingly assuming a more definite form than ever, debates in Yankee Congress to retaliate upon us unfortunates, Peace negotiation, &c &c &c keep us in a perfect mist of doubt and speculation, & produce not a few warm arguments. While at Hospital I read an interesting book from the Library there, "Science a Witness for the Bible" by the Revd (Gen) W. N. Pendleton. Our French teacher has gone to the Hospital leaving us without recitations since Saturday Jan 21st. Since commencing we have before missed in all 5 recitations. At the last Asson meeting \$35 was raised to buy books for persons wishing to study & unable to purchase books, & about \$50 more have been raised throughout the barracks. Still very cold & plenty of snow.

Sunday Jan 29, 1865 I am suffering from a practical illustration of the proverb "Great oaks from little acorns grow." A few days since *rubbing* my instep produced a slight abrasion of the skin. It became soon inflamed and I am now a close prisoner to my bunk, being unable to bear my weight on my foot. Captain Dwight read since last Sunday in my absence and he

⁵⁰ Fort Fisher, guarding the last harbor open to blockade-running, fell on January 15, 1865.

again is reading this morning.⁵¹ Yesterday was an exceedingly cold day, the coldest so far this winter. Letters from home still come in shoals, but no late dates. 5 came yesterday. Received two books from Miss Lizzie H. Finish tomorrow the History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic. Lt. Bullitt delivered a very neat little address on Friday before the Ch. Asso. subject, Siege of Leyden.⁵² Wrote today to Mrs. Phillips, England, also wrote home.

Monday Jan 30, 1865 Commenced French again today. Am mainly engaged in preparing an address to be delivered before the Assoc. next Friday week. Subject, "The Human Aspects of the Bible." Have been making a review of the style in wh. I have lived since a prisoner. During the first month at Point Lookout the purchase of underclothing, little conveniences for cooking & eating, and the indulging in such unaccustomed rarities as shown in the acct kept at the time caused my expenses to run up to \$60 per month. The month after reaching here we received a number of delicacies in boxes and only spent \$15. After Brand left & boxes were stopped, it cost \$30 per month of wh Barlow paid very little. Since messing with Maynadier,⁵³ we have averaged about \$25 or \$12½ each per month and intend for the future if prices do not rise to spend about \$10 each on mess expenses. It costs about \$4 per month each for tea, coffee & sugar. Our present bill of fare is pretty uniform, thus Breakfast, hash made of rations of beef & potatoes seasoned with onions & a cracker to thicken, and coffee. Dinner, either the ration plain with tea, or mush & molasses. For a rarity, toast at breakfast & a pudding made of bread and molasses at dinner. Very seldom do we have anything else. Sometimes, a slice of ham, a bit of cheese, or once in a long time a can of tomatoes or oysters for Christmas, birthday or the like. Weather decidedly milder. Foot still sore but improving. Several large boxes of blankets &c have been received for the needy and Cols. Maury⁵⁴ and Hooper are paroled to distribute this and what is expected from N. York Consequently French stops again Feb. 6.

Thursday Feb. 9, 1865 A heavy snow storm, rain, sleet, wind & thaw, and fine weather again is the record of the last few days.

We have had a period of unusual excitement, and with some cause. The peace negotiations, at least the first phase of them, are over, leaving some too sanguine ones very blue. But ere this was settled, came the startling announcement of a *general exchange!* Even those who had been victims of the peace mania were incredulous. But the authority is incontrovertible Gen. Schoepf told Col. Maury. If the Gen. be not indulging in the the favorite occupation of the Yankees, & if no new complication arises, we may hope to see "home sweet home" once more. We hear that 3,000 privates are already paroled & ready to leave.

⁵¹ Captain W. M. Dwight, Second Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers of Winnsboro, South Carolina. Autograph following Boyle diary.

⁵² Lieutenant Thomas W. Bullitt, Second Kentucky Cavalry, Morgan's command. Autograph following Boyle diary.

⁵³ John Maynadier, Private, Company K, First Virginia Cavalry. Autograph following Boyle diary.

⁵⁴ Lieutenant Colonel J. M. Maury served in the Virginia Artillery. Virginia Roster of Confederate Soldiers.

Sunday, Feb. 12, 1865. Read service in Div. 22, and a sermon by Bp Atkinson entitled What is Truth? A most unpleasant day the coldest of the winter, the wind blowing a gale and snowing the whole day most furiously. For a day or two past we have been entirely without water owing to some derangement of the machinery used to force it into the tanks, and have been compelled to thaw snow & ice and even to use the by no means clean water from the moats, impregnated with soap-suds &c. But the inconvenience has been too transient to annoy us much. The ground, owing to the high wind is nearly bare of snow, it being drifted in the corners in heaps. For the first time since being in prison I am out of money, though some being due on mess acc. and having some provisions on hand prevents me from feeling entirely *destitute*. Rec'd on Saturday a French Grammar and Wells Philosophy from Miss Hattie Fitch. Letters from home up to Jan 7. Heard also from my Petersburg cousins a day or two since. Have written home by the officers now waiting the breaking up of the ice to depart. Begun Robertson's Charles V, but the owner going South I have had to give it up. Shall begin D'Aubigné again. Have just read Dr. Ives Trials of a mind and am studying now Foster's Book-keeping.

Sunday Feb 19, 1865 We have had several days of warm rain and open pleasant weather alternately causing the ice to disappear from the river.

We are all much interested in this for the ice has prevented the boats coming for us to go on exchange. We are all much excited on this point of course. It is now said that orders have been received to parole all the prisoners on the island. The privates are still being paroled but none in the officers barracks except the small party already mentioned who have not yet left. We see accounts in the papers of our men passing from various prisons through Baltimore on their way to City Point, and of Yankees being returned for them. Exchange is the one engrossing topic. Some fear a sudden stop thereto even yet, while others are sanguine of an entire exchange. Certainly the pressure upon the Yankee government must be intense to cause them thus to recruit our armies. Am reading "D'Aubigne" & Philosophy.

Received \$5 again from Uncle Richard. Heard again from Miss Gibson. The Sutler shop has been open today in order, I suppose, to sell the more in expectation of our early departure. The barracks have been filled to their utmost capacity by frequent accessions of small parties. There are now about 1400 in these barracks. Heard again from home up to Jan 11th. The Sutler has been keeping flour for sale and making biscuits, etc. is all the rage.

Monday, Feb 20, 1865 Excitement increasing. An order has just come in for all having watches or Confederate money in the hands of the authorities to come forward and get them. I recd a letter enclosing \$5 from Hixon this morning.

The weather is very pleasant. Just cool enough not to be unseasonable. It would almost seem to be the opening of Spring. Just such weather as we often have at home at this season. Read service yesterday in Div. 28. Two officers have been paroled to attend to the distribution of clothing,

blankets & tobacco, proceeds of the 1,000 bales of cotton sent by government from Mobile to New York. These goods are now here but not yet distributed.⁵⁵

Saturday, Feb 25, 1865 Still fine, pleasant weather and still we wait in vain for the departure of the first batch of prisoners. We hear that they are leaving Johnstons Island in considerable numbers. This suspense is worse than imprisonment.

We are anxiously waiting too for news from the South. So far as we know the aspect of things there looks badly for our cause. The *only hope* that any entertain is that Beauregard may turn upon and drive back Sherman.⁵⁶ Many have not even this hope. Disasters have come so thick upon us that before the mind has well received one, another comes to shock and stupify. Out of money for the 1st time in prison.

Sunday, Feb 26, 1865 A real Spring day. Bright and warm. Read service in Div. 34 this morning. All the Virginia citizens taken as hostages with Gen. Rogers some time since were taken out today and offered the oath. All but four or five took it. One of the gentlemen refusing to do so, tells me that he believes that the exchange of the whole party has been effected, and that this is a trick to induce the *young* men who would on reaching Richmond, be conscripted, to take the oath and to substitute in their places other citizens over age and therefore useless to our government. The paroled party after waiting all day are now positively informed that they leave to-morrow. I have sent letters home by Capt Dwight & to Cousin Jennie by Adjt Blackwell of Petersburg and also messages by Capt. Wolf.⁵⁷ The latter gentleman was an old acquaintance of my father during his residence in Petersburg, and though we have been imprisoned together since June last, he never knew of my paternity until I today requested him to call on my cousins. Heard yesterday from Mrs. Palfrey and Cousin Mary and rec'd \$25 from Benton & Sons. Sent messages to John Tucker and Mrs Maigne by Lt Southgate. Quite a number of my acquaintances leave in this boat. Met yesterday Maj. Taylor of Norfolk whom Cousin Mary has often mentioned.⁵⁸

Monday Feb. 27th. Another beautiful day. Early this morning about 125 officers and 1300 men left on Exchange. It is now said that about 2000 per week will leave here till all are exchanged. At this rate it will take one month to get us all off.

⁵⁵ Cotton had been sent to New York via Mobile Bay to be sold for the purchase of uniforms and blankets for the use of Confederate prisoners, who had been deprived of all blankets except one each. *Official Records*, Series II, VIII, 241-242; Hamilton, *Shotwell Papers*, II, 181-182.

⁵⁶ Sherman was moving north from Columbia, South Carolina, on February 20. Beauregard was in command of the new Military District of the West which extended from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi, but had only a scattering of troops under his orders.

⁵⁷ Captain James E. Wolff, Company B, Second Virginia Militia. Autograph following Boyle diary.

⁵⁸ Major Richard C. Taylor, who commanded a Virginia Artillery Battalion, was wounded and made prisoner at Fort Harrison, September 29, 1864. John W. H. Porter, *Record of Events in Norfolk County, Va.* (Portsmouth, Virginia: 1892), 31.

For some time past it has been impossible to read or to study. The constant excitement and suspense regarding our exchange, and the bad news from the South &c &c &c all has conspired to keep our minds in a state entirely unfit for doing anything. I play chess a good deal and loaf around to hear the latest "grape" the rest of the time. This is the general occupation.

Sunday March 5, 1865 Another bright and pleasant day. Some hard rain during the past week and yesterday a regular March wind. Two lots of officers are now paroled waiting for transports to take them off—about 200 in all; amongst them Lt. Bond who goes to the neighborhood in which Dr. Hardison lives.⁵⁹ As a good many Gettysburg prisoners are being taken, my time will probably come ere long. Have heard during the week from Uncle R. enclosing \$10—Cousin Fannie P. Mrs Palfrey enclosing photographs of Mrs. and Miss W. to be sent by me to Mr. Watson, and from Miss G. Met yesterday Capt Cherry captured in Jan. in Bertie⁶⁰ also Col. Clark captured Feb 5 at Dinwiddie C. H.⁶¹ Another officer from my regt. Lt Winston also just came here. Captured last Aug

Yesterday morning a young man whose bunk immediately adjoins mine, so close indeed that as we lie at night we touch, was taken to the hospital with the small pox broken out upon him. It is strange how indifferent one becomes to such risk when it is unavoidable. No one seems to mind seeing an officer lie in a crowded division containing over 100 men until the disease makes its appearance upon him, when he is leisurely removed to the hospital. This summer it has made its appearance all around me, but never quite so close before. Although hundreds of cases are treated here there have been very few deaths from this cause, only one or two officers that I have heard of. It is as wonderful as fortunate that it does not spread more than it does.

Wednesday, March 8th 1865 One lot of paroled officers left yesterday. Another is still waiting. It is said that a delay of a few days will now be made on account of the too great number accumulated at City Point. The remainder of the Loudon Co. citizens, including Messrs Harris, Gallaher⁶² &c. went off yesterday to Richmond Most of this party have taken the oath and gone home directly to avoid conscription in Richmond One of these, a sorry specimen Simmons by name, on refusing to be exchanged was severely threatened by some officers of his division *with hanging*, and finally they tossed him in a blanket and turned him out of doors. He complained to the Yankees, whereupon the three officers principally engaged in the affair, were taken out, severely reprimanded and then carried into the "pen" occupied by the "galvanized" or oath takers and tossed by them in a blanket by way of retaliation for half an hour.⁶³

⁵⁹ This may be Dr. Hardy Hardison who married Hannah Maria Boyle, December 13, 1842. Marriage records (manuscript), Grace Church, Plymouth.

⁶⁰ Captain J. O. Cherry, Company B, Fourth North Carolina Battalion (Cavalry). Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, IV, 244.

⁶¹ Colonel William J. Clarke, Twenty-fourth North Carolina Infantry. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, II, 288.

⁶² F. L. Galleher. Handy, *United States Bonds*, 582.

⁶³ The "galvanized" term applied to those who not only took the oath of allegiance to

The weather is mild, soft and springlike.

I am reading "End of a controversy" by Milner, and Cardinal Wiseman's lectures, & have just finished D'Aubigné, Cobbetts' history of English Reformation, Pope and Maginnis Debates and have taken up French again. My foot has hardly become entirely well yet. It has been a very obstinate affair for so small a one.

Wednesday March 15, 1865 Last Sunday 450 officers arrived from South Carolina. They are the same that were sent from here last summer. Of the remaining 150 about 30 have died, 20 taken the oath and 100 been exchanged. Their sufferings have been awful.⁶⁴ By way of *retaliation* they were kept upon *one pint of miserable wormy sour meal and pickles per day* for 45 days. Some actually *starved to death* upon this diet. Many others have been afflicted with *scurvy* in its worst form, some still dying from its effects, and all whom I have seen show their bad treatment plainly. At one time one-half their number were unable to rise from their beds. This diet was continued even after many had been sent to the hospital in little better than a dying condition. After reaching Hilton Head they were kept for three weeks on board ship below decks in a most filthy and horrible condition. They were then placed in a stockaded pen immediately under the guns of the Yankee battery. Besides being subject to the fire of friends, the Yankee gunners would cut the fuses of their shells short, so that they might explode over the stockade in which our men were confined. But very few casualties occurred. They were guarded by brutal negroes, who fired upon them several times. Part of the number were removed to Fort Pulaski and there kept all winter with no fire except for cooking, in damp casemates, very much crowded. One officer told me that he was locked up one night before he could cook his meal and so hungry was he that he mixed it with cold water and ate it so. All the cats were killed and eaten that they could catch, and one was eaten that had gnawed off the nose of a corpse in the dead house the night before. The condition of the meal can be imagined from the fact that *one hundred and thirty worms* were picked out of days rations (a pint) and the owner only stopped picking them for fear of thus losing his whole ration. They were finally sent to Norfolk whence they expected exchange, but were sent back here to take their turn, I suppose, according to the date of capture with the rest of us. Amongst the number returned here are all my old friends and acquaintances, Charley Brand my old messmate⁶⁵ Nat. Latham has returned to me my long letter to my mother and the one sent to Mrs. Hunter by Miss Hattie F. It is now said that the whole number will be speedily exchanged. There cannot be less than 1500 officers in these barracks. During the past week a large quantity of tobacco has been received here. Everybody is luxuriating in plenty of what has been so scarce. Individuals *have from 20 to 150 lbs* Heard from Miss G. today. The sutler who has been selling very inferior stuff at about \$3 per lb, offers the owners of this most of it a very excellent article, from

the Federal government but also enlisted in the Federal army and wore its uniform. They were not allowed to leave the island. Hamilton, *Shotwell Papers*, II, 155.

⁶⁴ Their story is told in John J. Dunkle, *Prison Life During the Rebellion* (Singer's Glen, Virginia: 1869), 48.

⁶⁵ Lieutenant George C. Brand of Holly Springs, Missouri. Handy, *United States Bonds*, 643.

50 cts to \$1 per lb. and as some of the owners are almost paroled they must sell at these rates or lose it altogether. If we were going to remain here any length of time, the sutler would not get any of it. Said sutler has come down in the tariff of prices on account, he says, of the fall of gold. Butter 60 cts instead of 90, sugar 50 vice 60, coffee \$1 vice 120, other articles about the same as before. He has stopped keeping meal and flour and sells instead small loaves of bread at 10 cts each. A good change for *him*. I have received \$20 in two instalments from Uncle Richard.

Thursday March 16, 1865 Lt Shank who was taken from the next bunk with small-pox is nearly dead. His life is despaired of. His case was of the worst kind, called black smallpox, and if he recovers, or rather if he has recovered (for he may be already dead) it will be the first case of the kind that has been successfully treated here.⁶⁶ Heard again from Lidden. She has been quite sick for some time past. She says that Mr. M. has continued to send me papers regularly, but I have received none. I get very few letters or papers now, as my friends doubtless think that I am exchanged or will be very soon. We had a violent storm last night of wind hail & rain.

Sunday March 19, 1865 Poor Shank died yesterday. This will be sad news for his young wife. He was one of those quiet, modest and yet upright natures so rarely seen in the world. The man next him on the other side has gone out today to the hospital; whether he has smallpox or not does not yet appear. This is a charming day. Indeed this has been a most remarkable March. It is like May at home. Read service this morning, quite a large number attended, many more than for some past. Tomorrow we are to move out for whitewashing. We have not been troubled by our guardians for some time in this way or indeed in any other. An order has been issued prohibiting the owners from *selling* their tobacco. *Why* does not appear.

Saturday April 1st 1865 A cool windy day. During the past week we have had real March weather but the rest of the month was like May. Yesterday about 100 more officers came in, mostly Fort Steadman captures.⁶⁷ One officer from the 32d Lt Mitchell⁶⁸ among them and several from the Brigade. Major Demill was also in this arrival.⁶⁹ He was captured at Greenville in Feb. by a raiding party. He has taken the place next me vacated by Lt Shanks death. Another officer Capt Sellers of Kentucky has gone to the hospital with smallpox. He lay just on the other side of Lt Shank. This makes three cases in this little corner, why the rest of us do

⁶⁶ Gabriel Shank, Ensign, Tenth Virginia Infantry, of Harrisonburg, Virginia, Autograph following Boyle diary.

⁶⁷ Fort Steadman was a square earthwork located east of Petersburg. The Confederates made an unsuccessful attempt to break the Federal lines here and open a way to send aid to General Johnston on March 25, 1865. Many prisoners were taken. Philip Van Doren Stern, *An End to Valor* (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), 62-81.

⁶⁸ Lieutenant John H. Mitchell, Company G, Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry, was from Bertie County. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, II, 588.

⁶⁹ Major William E. Demill was received as an active member of the Christian Association on April 7, 1865. Christian Association, Minutes.

not have it is indeed incomprehensible. These barracks are now very much crowded. There are over 1800 officers in 16 rooms or Divisions, averaging in size 50 x 20. Each man has a space 6 X 2 for lying, sitting & everything in fact, besides the use of the floor between the bunks 8 X 50 in common with 130 others. We held last night our election for the next three months for officers of the Ch. Association. I was elected 1st Vice President. An organization of officers have of late been giving concerts in the mess hall, the proceeds for the benefit of sick & destitute officers. 2 concerts have already been given, at the first about \$100 were raised.

Wednesday, April 5, 1865 The fall of Richmond. This is of course the all engrossing topic now. Many and varied are the comments, need I say that they are generally of a desponding character? Further news is anxiously looked for by all.

I rec'd yesterday letters—one from home Feb. 14, the first for some time and from Mrs. Palfrey enclosing two photographs of herself, one for me the other for Mr. P. The weather is still bright and pleasant.

Received \$10 from Mr. Clay \$5 of it sent by Mr. Bolton. Heard from Hixon again. The weather is cool rainy and gloomy in good accord with the news. Everybody is discussing our prospects and it is impossible to do any studying.

Wednesday April 12th 1865 The news of the surrender of Gen. Lee's army falls like a clap of thunder upon us—even those who feared and expected this thing are astonished, even stupefied, at the terrible news. Though a *very* few affect to consider that there is still some hope for our cause they can neither deceive themselves nor any one else. Gen Lee was the last hope—with him goes everything. An order has just been posted allowing us to send again for boxes of provisions &c, the whole permit system has been abandoned. This is a great help to us. Prison is now almost unendurable. We feel that there is no use remaining here longer than we can help.

Sunday (Easter) April 16, 1865 Major Demill read the service for us in Div. 23. Quite a large number attended. The sad fate of President Lincoln affects us greatly, but though I trust we all feel proper abhorrence for the deed the principal cause of our feeling the matter so strongly is the question of how it will affect us. Of the results of the change from Lincoln to Johnston for the country generally I have here [no] room to speak. The effect in prison is already marked. Our mails are stopped, the newly restored privilege of receiving supplies from friends taken away, the arrangement by which some of us received ready cooked meals from the Sergeant of the kitchen broken up, and on the days the news was received orders were issued to fire upon anyone who expressed satisfaction at the news.⁷⁰ The prevailing impression however is that by degrees things will

⁷⁰ Rich says, "Not a sound of exultation was heard, not a word commendatory of the act was ever even whispered." Rich, *Comrades Four*, 179-180. Shotwell says, "The general feeling among the prisoners is sincere regret." Hamilton, *Shotwell Papers*, II, 196.

resume their accustomed routine. What is of more importance than all else there is now no hope of effecting our release on parole or even on oath of allegiance until perfect peace shall have been restored, and when that will be there's no telling. I find it very difficult to pay attention to anything—even to my daily French lesson—the grand interest is in hunting up news, which is very scarce as newspapers are interdicted.

Sunday April 23, 1865 Read the service to-day. I have at last finished Cardinal Wisemans lectures. It has been very hard (and still is) to attend to anything except a newspaper or a novel. My state of mind is indeed an unenviable one. The Sutler shop has been moved and enlarged, the barracks of the "galvanized" men emptied of their occupants and turned into ours giving us additional room, wh would be very desirable, did it not indicate that we are not to be released for some time to come, and everything concurs to show that our day of deliverance is not yet. The mail and other privileges are being restored and things assuming their normal routine.

Sunday April 30, 1865 An important week has just passed. Last Sunday all the field and Staff officers were removed to the barracks formerly occupied by men under probation to take the oath. These had been thoroughly cleaned and the men removed to the privates barracks. Being less crowded and off somewhat from the rest they are cool and quiet. This page must contradict the last. Much sooner than I or anyone here had anticipated, the offer to the prisoners of the amnesty oath has been made. The privates accepted it *en masse* there being out of the whole number, say 6,000, not more than a dozen refusing and these last are said to have at last yielded, and out of about 2,000 officers 1680 is said to be the exact number applying. Many refused when publicly called on, but sent in their names afterwards. Yesterday we heard of Johnstons surrender of all the troops east of the Chattahoochee. Thus end the Confederacy! We hope to leave now in a very short time. On Thursday 300 officers, amongst them Maj. Lewis and my old orderly Sgt of the Macon Vols Irving reached here⁷¹ They were sent for exchange from Johnstons Island, stopped about a month at Pt. Lookout on acc of active operations commencing at Petersburg, and now sent here. I have recently heard from Mrs. Palfrey, Uncle Richard, & Hixon. Major Demill and I now mess together, as my old chum Maynadier had to remain in the upper barracks.

May 4. Mrs. Palfrey sent me a box of provisions some time since which has doubtless been confiscated as it has never been delivered. Received from Mr. Clay \$25, \$15 from Mr. B. and \$10 from himself. Another opportunity has been given to take the oath and only 160 refuse to do so—of these 60 have petitioned since to be allowed to take it.

Sunday May 6, 1865 A pleasant day. Col. Clarke & Maj Demill read service in this Div. to a large congregation. We have had during the past

⁷¹ Sergeant John B. Irving, Company F, Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, II, 586.

week several very cool unpleasant and rainy days. No definite news yet of release—this suspense is very trying. Everyone admits that during the past week they have suffered more than during years of imprisonment. We all anxiously await news that has not yet come. The Minstrels gave their last concert on Friday evening last. I have written to my correspondents not to write again, but I fear I have been too sanguine.

Sunday May 21, 1865 Contrary to all expectation no general release has taken place yet through special ones are of every day occurrence. The past fortnight has been a miserable one, the weather rainy and hot alternately, but worse than all this constant state of expectancy. Read service today in Div 38.

[The diary ends here abruptly. Autographs of some of the other prisoners appear on the remaining leaves of the book]⁷²

⁷² Field officers were not all released until July 25, 1865. *Official Records*, Series II, VIII, 714.

Book Reviews

A Collection of Many Christian Experiences. By Clement Hall, with an Introduction by William S. Powell. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1961. 25, 53. \$2.00.)

This is the first nonlegal book printed in North Carolina, written by the Reverend Clement Hall, an Episcopal minister of the early Colonial period in North Carolina.

The introduction, pages 1-25, by contemporary William S. Powell, is a commentary on the author and his work, as far as there is extant material. The original book by Hall, pages 26-53, a reprint of the work by James Davis, New Bern, who established his print shop in 1749, first appeared in 1753.

Hall was a missionary in eastern North Carolina for the Established Church of England, of which country he seems to have been a native. He saw difficult times as to travel (2,200 miles a year on horseback), labored against odds (scattered population, absence of churches, ignorance of the people, opposition), and sustained loss (specifically the destruction of his home in 1755 by fire). His extraordinary ministry is epitomized in the fact that he baptized 10,000 persons in the thirteen years of his ministry, i.e., between 1745 and 1758.

The brief volume by Hall contains "a Collection of Many Christian Experiences, Sentences, and Several Places of Scripture Improved. . . ." After a short Preface, addressed "To the Candid Reader," there follows the "Miscellaneous Collection . . ." which is a "Book of Proverbs" or "Poor Richard's Sayings." These are wise observations, deeply religious in character, and often supported by Scripture. The "sayings" urge discipline and reflect rigorousness, yet are not without "the quality of mercy," and sometimes remotely provide humor, as is indicated in the aphorism:

"'Tis better to have a Wife without a Portion, than a Portion without a Wife. A meer Help."

The second part of the book is entitled, "Serious Advice to Persons Who Have been sick; With a Thanksgiving for RECOVERY." This is a treatise in depth though short, in which the author with great tenderness, if firmness, holds that sickness is a symbol of death for sin; that the merciful God is the physician who heals when "the Eye is chiefly upon" Him. Sickness should result in reflection upon the one's former

state of disinterest in spiritual matters and the consideration of "the Goodness and Mercy of God." Recuperation should effect reformation of character and industry in regard to the "precious Talent of Time."

Sickness is "Chastisement of a tender Father," intended to bring His children to His ways which eventually lead to Eternal Life.

There follows after the discourse a prayer of thanksgiving from sickness, and several additional prayers for the sick, for families as morning and evening devotionals, for a child, and graces for meals.

Mr. Powell, in his commentary on Hall's book, has delineated the religious life of the first half of the eighteenth century through the eyes of the ministry of that day, which indeed was limited to almost this one man alone in North Carolina. The accounts of the rigors of travel in Colonial times are graphic, and serve to impress on us the greatness of the sacrifice of men like Hall.

Mr. Powell has made use of valuable source materials, in both America and England, in an effort to furnish us a well-rounded picture of the man and his times.

Those whose interests are inclined towards pietism will appreciate and benefit by this book, and those who have endured illness will profit from the essay on sickness.

Harold J. Dudley.

Presbyterian Synod Office,
Raleigh.

The Poems of Governor Thomas Burke of North Carolina. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Richard Walser. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1961. Pp. x, 69. \$3.00.)

For a culture that today ignores Shelley's visionary poet-legislator, no longer produces its own Sidneys and Miltons, but glances uneasily at a poet named Mao, the first collected edition of poems by a doctor, member of the Continental Congress, and Governor of his State constitutes some measure of value. For Thomas Burke, no matter what his poetic limitations, reveals here an integrity between his active life and his creative response to it. To be sure, reflective poems like "Benevolence" and "Hymn to Spring" have little intrinsic worth, being painfully imitative of James Thomson. Nor do the numerous love poems often rise above the conventionality of their pastoral poses and exaggerated compliments, though there is biographical interest in their picture of a juvenile southern gallant, foreshadowing the debonair delegate in Philadelphia, who polished graceful, if sterile, compliments to the ladies.

When poet and revolutionist unite, however, the result is occasion-

ally vigor and intensity of feeling. While his satires fail in imitation to achieve Pope's or Dryden's pose of approbation which thinly conceals the intent of scorn, the "Address to the Goddess Dulness" is lusty political raillery, and "An Epistle" heaps scatological abuse on Thomas Paine for meddling in the Silas Deane affair. In such satires, what felicities exist stem less from Burke's mediocre talent than from a commitment to an ideal which impells expression; and the same factor enervates his non-satiric pieces in the cause of independence, as when Pitt's defense of the colonies arouses his acclaim, or the gallant death of a Tory receives his salute mixed with pride in an American triumph. Indeed, in "Ruthless War" his convictions as to the rightness of the colonial cause triumph over the dead pastoralism of the poem's framework to find expression in a sustained passage of rhetorical power far above his usual level of mere fluency.

While certainly not of major literary worth, these poems are valuable to the historian, the student of eighteenth-century letters, and to all who regret the passing of the universal man. For this value we are indebted to Mr. Walser, who has edited the twenty-three poems, all but two of which come from fragmentary manuscripts in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, and seventeen of which had never been published. His notes clarifying historical contexts and local personages increase our debt (in spite of advice that "*Mantuan* refers to *Anacreon*" or that mythological characters played on tender Lotus-eaters). However, highly debatable editorial practices modify this debt rather severely. First, there is what the editor calls "styling," the printing of the volume in eighteenth-century fashion, with the long "s," archaic contractions, "generous Capitalizations particularly of Nouns, and frequent Italics for proper Names and important Words." This effort at quaintness (extended even to the editorial apparatus) may titillate the "booklover" but will hinder the general reader and fail to impress the student. More serious, even, is the claim that "the Poems have been regularized" as to spellings, capitalizations, and punctuations. The corruptions of Shakespeare's texts alone by such eighteenth-century improvers should be warning enough against emulation. Finally, not to dwell upon the liberty taken in entitling those poems which Burke did not, there is a serious defect in the absence of variant readings even at points of editorial alteration. If the poems deserve a modern publishing, it should follow that they deserve editing in a way to insure reliability for the scholar as well as appeal to the average reader.

William O. Harris.

Wake Forest College.

The Papers of William Alexander Graham. Volume III, 1845-1850. Edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1960. Pp. xvi, 541. \$3.00.)

William A. Graham was one of North Carolina's most prominent ante-bellum citizens. He served as Governor of North Carolina for two terms, was a United States Senator, Fillmore appointed him Secretary of the Navy and the Whigs nominated him for Vice-President with Winfield Scott in 1852. The North Carolina Department of Archives and History is publishing a series of volumes containing his papers edited by the distinguished scholar, teacher, and collector, the late J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. This is the third of the series covering the years, 1845-1850, the entire period of his governorship and the beginning of his cabinet service.

We have here the activities of a distinguished Whig and this material is particularly welcome because such data are more abundant for Democrats. Graham was inaugurated at the beginning of this volume. His interests and responsibilities were varied. Not only did he have the usual gubernatorial duties, but in addition he was charged with assembling the complete archives of North Carolina during the period of the American Revolution and he was responsible for managing her participation in the Mexican War. As a prominent Whig in the Democratic administration of his fellow North Carolinian, James Knox Polk, his reactions and that of his party colleagues were not uncritical. This Whig material makes for a better balance in the story. There are interesting sidelights on North Carolina's economic and cultural development which give the volumes an interest broader than the political.

These letters throw interesting light on the campaign of 1848 and the election and education of Zachary Taylor. Patronage matters engross much attention and there are intriguing glimpses of Old Rough and Ready's troubles. His death brought in Fillmore and what was in many respects a real change in administration. Graham was invited into the cabinet, though for some weeks there was uncertainty as to which post would be his. He is barely at his desk when the volume concludes.

This correspondence is a part of the Whig mosaic and supplies interesting pieces which when fitted together with other such published by North Carolina and by other agencies make a more understandable picture of ante-bellum southern politics. The Old North State is to be congratulated on having an editor of Dr. Hamilton's distinction and a public spirit which will support publication of historical material. The

program of the State's Department of Archives and History is an example to similar agencies in other States.

Roy F. Nichols.

University of Pennsylvania.

The County of Gaston: Two Centuries of a North Carolina County. By Robert F. Cope and Manly Wade Wellman. (Charlotte: Gaston County Historical Society. 1961. Pp. xviii, 197. End maps, appendixes, notes, and index. \$7.50.)

Near the close of the first half of the eighteenth century Scotch-Irish and German immigrants began to settle along the Catawba and the South Fork rivers. As they spread westward they were joined by Irish Catholics and by Highland Scots, although the latter group is largely ignored in this history. The authors have given us an interesting and highly readable account, occasionally romantically colored, of these early settlements, of the carving out of a new county from Lincoln in 1846 named for Judge William Gaston, and of the subsequent development of the county, which contains more incorporated towns and more textile plants than any other county in the State.

Although a considerable number of these early settlers did not qualify their descendants for membership in the D. A. R., the majority fought for freedom in the American Revolution, and many served with distinction, especially at the nearby Battle of Kings Mountain. As in most histories, considerable space is devoted to the roles played by native sons in subsequent wars. Names of Gaston men who served in the Revolutionary, Civil, and Spanish-American wars appear in appendixes.

Gold was discovered early, and it served as a particular lure for the Irish settlers. As late as 1893 deposits of iron ore were still listed as important. The urgent desire of farmers to convert their corn into liquid assets probably contributed largely to the rapid growth of the distilling business and by 1885 there were 85 licensed distillers in the county. Of more enduring importance, of course, has been the phenomenal growth of the textile industry. Local entrepreneurs, utilizing available water power, began building cotton mills as early as 1816, and by the mid-1930's, 102 mills were in operation, more than in any other county in the United States.

Some readers may take exception to the conclusions reached and the brief treatment afforded the period of labor unrest which occurred in the years prior to 1940 and which culminated in the Loray Mill strike and the deaths of Police Chief Aderholt and strike leader Ella May

Wiggins; however, the book lays no claim to being a sociological study of the labor movement.

Generously documented, reference is made primarily to secondary sources, particularly to Minnie Stowe Puett's *History of Gaston County* (1936) and to Joseph H. Separk's histories published in 1936 and 1949. Perhaps more attention to primary sources would have prevented such minor errors as that which occurs in tracing the lineage of Gaston County back to New Hanover, which in turn "had been erected from part of Clarendon in 1729, while Clarendon, until 1696, had belonged to Albemarle." Clarendon, never clearly defined and never a part of Albemarle, disappeared about 1667. New Hanover was formed from Craven in 1729. The foreword is by President William Friday of the University of North Carolina, a native son.

The Gaston County Historical Society is to be commended for its corporate effort and for the years of research on the part of individual members which made the history possible.

A. M. Patterson.

State Department of Archives and History.

The Commonwealth of Onslow: A History. By Joseph Parsons Brown. (New Bern: Owen G. Dunn Company, 1960. Pp. v, 434. Appendixes and index. \$4.25.)

This book is a work of parts—many parts. The Contents, Appendices, and "Personalities" run the gamut from "Geography of the County" to "Onslow County Bar." Most of the ninety-five sections are essays on various phases of life in Onslow County since 1731. Others are lists of names and statistical information. There is little warrant for calling the collection "A History," even as a sub-title.

The author has done a creditable job in selecting materials and writing the resulting essays. It is to be regretted that he did not include a sketch of himself in the "Personalities," since he is identified in several places as being active in local affairs. Though it is easy to recognize his association by inheritance and inclination with the conservation Democratic element there is no nostalgic strain in his writing. The end of slavery, the populist revolt, the New Deal, and even the desecration of historic areas by recent defense installations are described as necessary and beneficial developments in the progressive growth of the county. Misstatements of facts in general history are less numerous than in the average run of publications of this sort. These along with the too frequent lapses in spelling and inconsistencies in proper names

could have been eliminated by a little careful editing and proofreading.

Three contributions make the work unique among recent publications in local history. There is a good account of the settlement and establishment of local government in one of the original precincts of the colony of North Carolina. A laudable effort is also made to unravel the tangled skein of church history and without theological rancor or denominational bias to trace the evolution of congregations in the county. Finally, the work presents short sketches of the family and community backgrounds of native sons who have attained something of State or national recognition. The thumbnail treatments of Samuel Johnston, Edward B. Dudley, Cyrus Thompson, and Daniel L. Russell might well become the inspiration of some writer for a biography of one or more of these men.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina College.

Abstracts of the Records of Onslow County, North Carolina, 1734-1850. Edited by Zae Hargett Gwynn. ([Memphis, Tennessee]: Privately printed. 1961. Pp. vi, 845 [Volume I]; Pp. vi, 846-1,592 [Volume II]. \$50.00, the set.)

This is a remarkable work in that the author has done well what so many other abstracters do poorly because of their lack of either care, patience, and funds—or all three.

Mrs. Zae Hargett Gwynn is a descendant of North Carolinians. Her interest in genealogy and local history led her to realize that county records contain a wealth of historical information which, if ferreted out and published, would be immensely helpful to others.

These volumes contain abstracts of the following Onslow County records: deeds, 1734-1839; wills, 1746-1864; land entries and grants, 1712-1839; guardian accounts, 1754-1868; marriage bonds, 1750-1868; and the censuses of 1790 and 1850. The original records are located in the courthouse at Jacksonville, in the State Department of Archives and History in Raleigh, and in the National Archives in Washington.

The two volumes are not without their faults and errors, but to dwell upon them would be to point out the inevitable in a publication of this magnitude. It is sufficient here to say that Mrs. Gwynn has published a monumental work with fewer of both than are to be found in most publications of this type. The volumes are beautifully and expensively printed and bound—and this reviewer might add that the author will not be repaid from sales of the books. In a profession where both time

and finances are usually limited, it is refreshing to encounter a citizen who is willing to contribute both in return for the satisfaction of seeing historical records made available to others without the means but with the same zeal for research.

One happy footnote: Mrs. Gwynn is now preparing for publication similar abstracts for the counties of Granville and Jones.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History.

The 1850 Census of Craven County, North Carolina. Edited by Zae Hargett Gwynn. (Memphis, Tennessee: Privately printed. 1961. Pp. i, 185. \$12.50.)

This volume, printed and bound in the same expensive manner as the abstracts of Onslow County records reviewed above, is an exact copy of the federal population census of 1850 for Craven County, the original of which is in the National Archives.

Mrs. Gwynn has taken no license with the information contained in the original records. Included are the name of each individual, his age, sex, race, occupation, value of property, place of birth (usually only the State), and such assorted supplemental data as inability to read and write, insanity, and other skeletons that will rattle an occasional descendant. It is to Mrs. Gwynn's credit that she has faithfully reproduced in printed form this valuable document of Craven County history. Would that the census for the entire State be so published!

Unfortunately, no index is provided. Nevertheless, the editor was wise in maintaining the original order of the census which shows family and household connections.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History.

Historic Flat Rock, Where the Old South Lingers. By Kenneth Frederick Marsh and Blanche Marsh. (Asheville: Biltmore Press. 1961. [Approx. 84 unnumbered pages.] \$3.00.)

In this small, attractive volume, Kenneth and Blanche Marsh reveal the pleasant, private life of wealth and fashion that has persisted since ante-bellum days in the historic homes of Flat Rock, North Carolina, a summer colony originally settled by aristocratic rice planters of Charleston. A brief account of the settlement near the "flat rock" in

Henderson County introduces the book's main contents: 84 photographs of homes, furnishings, buildings, and estates, accompanied by terse, informative text.

The roughly chronological arrangement conveys a sense of the colony's growth and change from its founding in 1827 to the present. Some of the homes currently are owned by descendants of the antebellum owners, among whom were families with the eminent names of Baring, Rutledge, Laurens, Pinckney, and Memminger; others are now possessed by families of relatively recent achievement, such as Sherrill, Angier, McCabe, and Sandburg. A few of the modern owners have posed with their possessions.

Kenneth Marsh is a skilled photographer with broad experience; his wife is a social worker by training. Together they have produced a contribution to the cultural history of North Carolina, a book which will stir the sentiments of those who live or visit in the secluded world of Flat Rock, the interest of those who delight in pictures of old and graciously furnished homes, and the envy of those who would like to live that way but can't.

Oliver H. Orr.

North Carolina State College.

Chain of Error and the Mecklenburg Declarations of Independence—A New Study of Manuscripts: Their Use, Abuse, and Neglect. By V. V. McNitt. (Palmer, Massachusetts, and New York: Hampden Hills Press. 1960. Pp. 134. \$4.50.)

The author of this recent examination of an old controversy is a staunch defender of the belief that on May 20, 1775, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, declared independence from Great Britain and chose a Committee of Safety to organize a temporary government for the county. Eleven days later this committee adopted the twenty resolutions which in this volume are called the supplemental Second Declaration of Independence but which are more often known as the Mecklenburg Resolves.

Why is there a controversy? It is well known that in 1800 fire destroyed the minute book in which John McKnitt Alexander, secretary of the Mecklenburg convention of May 19-20, kept records of the transactions. But, along with many others, V. V. McNitt holds that copies of these records in Alexander's office were unharmed and contain ample proof of the validity of the Declaration.

Specifically, Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander, son of John McKnitt

Alexander, found among his father's papers (1) a document "containing rough notes made by John McKnitt Alexander between 1775 and 1800," and (2) "an undated copy of Alexander's historical narrative of the independence movement and the text of the five resolutions of the May 20 Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" (p. 32). The latter is known as "the copy in unknown handwriting" and is the one from which John McKnitt Alexander made a copy for William R. Davie on September 3, 1800, after the fire.

Those who question the authenticity of the Declaration are unwilling to recognize any value in the "unknown handwriting" copy as the paper from which the Davie copy was transcribed. Instead they accept the conclusion reached by Professor Charles Phillips in 1853 that the Davie copy was made up from the memory of John McKnitt Alexander after the fire and was therefore fraudulent.

McNitt denounces Phillips, a tutor in mathematics at the University of North Carolina, for alleged tampering with the Davie copy in an article which he wrote for the *North Carolina University Magazine*. According to McNitt, the third page of the Davie copy contains a statement concerning the activities of the Court of Inquiry set up in Mecklenburg to which John McKnitt Alexander added an explanation worded as follows:

"It may be worthy of notice here, to observe that the foregoing statement, tho' fundamentally correct; yet may not literally correspond with the original records of the transactions of said Court of Inquiry; as all those records and papers were burnt (with the house) on April 6, 1800 . . ." (p. 94).

The printed version of the Davie copy in Phillips' article is identical except for the insertion of the words "delegation and" between "said" and "Court." McNitt says that Alexander struck out these two words and that Phillips restored them. If the two words are properly a part of the text, then the wording says the Declaration was burned; if they were indeed struck when the Davie copy was prepared, then the wording says that only the records of the court were burned. McNitt regards the two words as the key to the controversy and insists that they were cancelled at the time of writing.

This reviewer knows no way to determine definitively when the words were struck. Those who believe that there was a Declaration will doubtless accept McNitt's skillfully presented account, while skeptics will probably remain unconvinced.

Henry S. Stroupe.

Wake Forest College.

A Fool's Errand by Albion W. Tourgée. Edited by John Hope Franklin. (Cambridge, Mass.: John Harvard Library. Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xxviii, 404. \$5.00.)

Among the many admirable reprints issued by the John Harvard Library, one of the most welcome and attractive is this one-time best selling novel. Written by a carpetbagger following fourteen trying years (1865-1879) in the South, *A Fool's Errand* not only reveals the thoughts of a carpetbagger on southern Reconstruction, but it remains one of the more perceptive descriptions of that puzzling fiasco as well as an enjoyable fictional tale. Professor Franklin's introductory vignette (one slightly marred by several minor inaccuracies concerning Tourgée) satisfactorily establishes the author's identity and the historical and ideological significance of his work. A Union veteran from Ohio, Tourgée migrated to North Carolina with honorable and reasonable motives. There, altogether unexpectedly, he became an ardent and annoying, but often successful, reformer, whose influence and accomplishments long outlasted the State's two short years of Republican rule. Amid the discomforts of Redemption, as Tourgée prepared to leave the State, he also began his important and soon famous novel—a fictional autobiography accompanied by incisive, frequently verbose, comments upon sectionalism, Reconstruction, and race relations. Tourgée flouted his partisanship, but he was a keen and compassionate on-looker who drew from a rich fund of observation and experience. Despite its excessive political-racial orientation, *A Fool's Errand* is a significant and unusually original portrayal, criticism, and analysis of postwar southern society; and to those who can still enjoy older modes of fiction, it also offers excitement, idealism, and romance accompanied by heavy doses of coincidence, contrivance, and stereotype. Here then is an enjoyable and most informative guide, especially for North Carolinians, toward understanding an unpleasant but entrancing era.

Otto H. Olsen.

Norfolk College.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina. Series 1. Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, January 19, 1748-June 29, 1748. J. H. Easterby and Ruth S. Green (eds.). Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1961. Pp. xxi, 457. \$11.00.)

This volume continues the printing of the work of the Commons House of South Carolina's Colonial Assembly. It fully maintains the high standards of accuracy and beauty of printing established by the

previous volumes. Those who in the past have worn out their eyes poring over manuscripts in eighteenth-century writing will find this magnificent printing a blessed relief.

George C. Rogers, Jr., presents in the volume Preface a helpful summary of the matters dealt with by the Commons House in this half year. He also clearly indicates the political situation in South Carolina at that mid-century.

From the researcher's standpoint such printing of manuscript source materials is as good as the accuracy of the printing, and the thoroughness of the indexing. The typographical errors are reduced to the absolute minimum. One "d" left out of "Powder Receiver" (p. 90) is the only such error this reviewer has discovered.

An attempt was made to assess the quality of indexing. Taking the subject of election laws one finds it dealt with under "election laws," "Act 1," "Act 2," and "Bill No. 2." Of the three references under "election laws" one is wrong as to page. Four of the five items under "election laws" lead one to merely formal references to the existing election law as that law is named in reprinted election writs. All eighteen items under "Act 2" lead into the same blind alley. This pedantry, however, is well offset by the twenty-four references under "Bill No. 2." They carry one through the entire procedure in the enactment of a new elections law to its formal enactment.

South Carolinians can well be proud of the handsome way in which their State's colonial records are being preserved and made available to historians. Historical research students may well bless the men who are so ably abetting and earning their work of research.

C. G. Gordon Moss.

Longwood College.

A Rebel Came Home. Edited by Charles M. McGee, Jr., and Ernest M. Lander, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xiv, 153. \$4.50.)

For our knowledge of life in the Old South we owe much to diary-keeping young ladies. We now may add to their number John C. Calhoun's granddaughter Floride Clemson, a sharp observer and a clear writer, who made neat entries in her journal during the years 1863 and 1864, while living in Maryland, and 1865 and 1866, after moving to South Carolina. Her diary, like most personal records of the kind, is especially rewarding to those readers interested in the author herself, in her relatives, and in the places where she resided or visited. It

also contains many observations valuable to those interested in the broader history of her time. She gives, for example, an intriguing wartime glimpse of James Buchanan and his niece, Harriet Lane, at home in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Miss Clemson also has a good deal to say about the pleasures and pastimes, as well as the hardships and worries, of planter families during the uncertain months following defeat in war. As a chronic patient, being treated for weak eyes and other ills, she provides incidental information on the theories and practices of contemporary medicine. Unfortunately, her diary is too short, and so was her life; she was only twenty-nine when she died, in 1871. She has been fortunate, however, in her editors, both of them members of the Clemson College faculty. They have done an excellent job, putting the diary in its setting by means of a prologue and an epilogue, and supplying other relevant information in appendixes and in extensive and careful notes.

Richard N. Current.

The University of Wisconsin.

The Attitude of Tennesseans toward the Union, 1847-1861. By Mary Emily Robertson Campbell. (New York: Vantage Press. 1961. Maps, notes, appendixes, bibliography, and index. Pp. 308. \$4.50.)

The announced purpose of this book, which originated as a master's thesis and was later expanded into a doctoral dissertation at Vanderbilt University, is to reveal the attitude of Tennesseans toward the Union during the troubled period immediately preceding the Civil War and upon the outbreak of hostilities. The author has relied largely upon primary sources, especially newspapers which, admittedly partisan in tone, probably led and also reflected public opinion, and government documents which, in a period when there was apparently much interest in public affairs, are valuable sources of information. Eschewing any attempt "to justify or to condemn individuals, great or small, for their respective courses of action" during the years under review, Mrs. Campbell has succeeded in writing with admirable objectivity.

An introductory chapter on geographic, social, and economic conditions within the State during the decade 1850-1860 could have been improved by including less statistical material and more interpretation and summary. Other chapters reveal that Tennesseans, with relatively few exceptions, regarded the Compromise of 1850 as either the most desirable or the only practical solution of the slavery problem; that during the 1850's most Tennesseans of all political beliefs evinced

feelings of strong attachment for the Union, although they were not agreed as to the best method of settling the increasingly bitter dispute between the North and the South; and that although the result of the election of 1860 was extremely displeasing to the people of Tennessee, they accepted it calmly and proposed to abide by it.

The election of Lincoln, however, set in motion a train of events which eventually broke all party lines in the State and ultimately created a situation in which there were two groups, Secessionists and Unionists. The Unionists triumphed in an election called by the legislature and held on February 9, 1861, but the firing upon Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops electrified Middle and West Tennessee, and shocked to some extent East Tennessee, with the result that in a second election held on June 8 the State voted for "Separation" by a majority of more than two to one, the change in sentiment having occurred mainly in Middle Tennessee.

James W. Patton.

The University of North Carolina.

A Virginia Yankee in the Civil War: The Diaries of David Hunter Strother. Edited with an Introduction by Cecil D. Eby, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1961. Illustrations, footnotes, and index. Pp. xx, 294. \$6.75.)

By now, Professor Eby of Washington and Lee has made David H. Strother—artist, writer, soldier—almost his own property, and by extension the property once more of southern literature and history. The diaries published in this volume were preceded by an edition of Strother's pencil sketches and travel essays, *The Old South Illustrated* (1959), and a biography of Strother titled from his pseudonym, *Porte Crayon* (1960). The Civil War diaries cover the months from February, 1862, to August, 1864, at which time Strother retired from the Union army.

Though Strother was well connected with Old Dominion families, he was from that area in northern Virginia near the Pennsylvania line later incorporated into West Virginia. His political and economic sympathies lay with the Yankees. He accepted an appointment as staff officer and topographer with the northern forces when commanders, without any reliable maps, needed a guide who knew the Valley of Virginia like the palm of a man's hand. In the Valley campaign, in the battles of Cedar Mountain, Second Bull Run, Antietam, New Market, and others, Strother was always near the command posts. In 1863 he went

to Louisiana and participated in the campaign on the Teche. Later he was partially responsible for the burning of the buildings of the Virginia Military Institute (and, after the war, among the first to sponsor their rebuilding). His constant diaries noted everything.

Professor Eby remarks that most war diaries are either too narrow or too broad, the first concentrating helplessly on the individual, the second moving along in such a grand manner that immediacy is lacking. Strother's diary is neither of these. The reader is always in the midst of the scene, watching the maneuvers from the vantage point of a staff officer. Armies shift here and there; one is in the presence of Pope, McClellan, and other generals; yet the human quality of Strother makes these great moments live.

He is human enough to decry his own failures in judgment. He is annoyed to read in the northern press of the Yankees' "brilliant victories," in his mind neither brilliant nor very victorious. At a moment of depression, he calls Lincoln a man with "neither sense nor principle." He curses that politics and jealousies are stretching out the war, that there is no leadership in the North. He moans that the war was caused by "heated and ambitious demagogues" on both sides.

His harshest words are for his fellow Virginians, "a decadent race," the women of which are nothing more than "she-braggarts." In fact, the whole State will need re-population by northerners after the war. Then, too, the southern leaders must be disenfranchised, or else the war will have been useless. It must have hurt Strother to admit that southern soldiers were generally better than northern ones, their commanders always so.

It is such comments as these which make good reading of a diary from which irrelevancies such as summaries of personal letters have been cut. The footnotes are of the barest minimum. There is, however, one criticism, please: Maps of campaigns and battlefields would have helped tremendously. One reader, at least, was often as painfully lost as some of the wandering northern soldiers.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College.

The Battle of New Orleans: A British View. The Journal of Major C. R. Forrest. Edited by Hugh F. Rankin. (New Orleans: The Hauser Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 51. \$2.00.)

Three books concerning the Battle of New Orleans were published in 1961—Jane Lucas de Grummond's carefully source-researched and well

written *The Baratarians and the Battle of New Orleans* (Louisiana State University Press); Charles B. Brooks' *The Siege of New Orleans* (University of Washington Press), a mistitled account of the British campaign based entirely on published material; and the above title, edited with an introduction and annotations by Tulane University history professor, Hugh F. Rankin. Together they form a neat package concerning the disastrous British attempt to gain possession of the lower Mississippi Valley.

In a succinct but comprehensive introduction the editor summarizes the British campaign against the Crescent City: its origins, geography of the area, measures taken for the defense of New Orleans, the "Battle of the Glorious Eighth," and the account written by Major Charles R. Forrest, Assistant Quartermaster General, 34th Regiment of Foot. Then follows the cover letter of Lieutenant John Peddie, whose copy of the Forrest account is edited, Forrest's Journal, and a letter of Major General John Lambert which describes the battle. Editor Rankin has done a thorough and scholarly job in preparing these significant documents for publication.

Edwin Adams Davis.

Louisiana State University.

The Baratarians and the Battle of New Orleans. By Jane Lucas de Grummond. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 180. \$4.50.)

The reader of this book will be rewarded by the enlightened account of the Battle of New Orleans presented by the author. Using a variety of sources, primary and otherwise, Miss de Grummond has presented a lucid and believable account of the part played in the New Orleans campaign by the Baratarian pirates of the Louisiana delta country. Jean and Pierre Lafitte, brothers and leaders of the Baratarian pirates, chose to side with the United States against an invading British army in 1814. The reasons for this choice are not presented clearly by the author, although pure and simple patriotism is hinted. It is interesting that the Lafittes made this decision since they were later prosecuted for smuggling by the United States authorities.

Miss de Grummond's style is both interesting and readable. In spite of numerous quotations her narrative is smooth and cohesive. Many of the sources used were prepared by participants in the battle, an indispensable element in the writing of military history. This book is

of extreme value in shedding important light on a hitherto little-known episode of American military history.

Richard W. Iobst.

North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

The Siege of New Orleans. By Charles B. Brooks. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961. Pp. xii, 334. Maps, notes, bibliography, and index. \$6.50.)

The Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, an engagement that occurred after a war was over, contains all of the elements of romantic patriotism; a motley crew of pirates, frontiersmen, and new Americans speaking strange tongues arrayed against Britain's finest and inflicting a defeat that does little for England's military reputation. Coming when it did, after a war that had done little to enhance American military prestige, it pampered the American ego to such an extent that it still stands as a shining light among the martial annals of the nation.

Professor Charles B. Brooks has written a smooth and fast-stepping account of this engagement, although there is from the first a tendency to quarrel with the use of the word "Siege" in the title. In retrospect, the style is perhaps a little too flowing, for the casual reader could well be lulled into overlooking practices that annoy the historian. For example, anglicizing the French "Jacque," "Jean," and "Pierre" has the effect of limiting the respect for authenticity. And although the account of the battle itself is basically correct, liberties have been taken with the sources, including the fabrication of conversation. And there is the impression that the author seems willing, at times, to accept tradition and the legendary to spice his narrative.

The bibliography is impressive, but here again a second glance reveals flaws. There is no reference to a single manuscript, and there are many that would have been useful in the various repositories throughout the nation, including the Library of Congress. And those printed materials that have been used have upon occasion been handled in rather a loose fashion.

In a land where water is so much a part of the landscape and where the "trembling prairies" posed logistical obstacles of monumental proportions, it seems that too little emphasis has been placed upon geographical considerations. Not only did the terrain prohibit naval support, but the very fact that Pakenham was forced to fight on a narrow field, limited in maneuver by the swamps on one side and the Mississippi River on the other, is in itself indicative of defeat.

The readability of the book makes for an exciting narrative. Yet, if it must be classified, it should fall in that vale between the more clearly defined summits of fiction and history.

Hugh F. Rankin.

Tulane University.

The First South. By John Richard Alden. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 144. \$3.50.)

In his volume on *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789*, published in 1957, John Richard Alden pointed out that at the beginning of the Revolutionary era no southern entity could be identified. "Moreover, even the words 'South' and 'Southerner' had not the meaning in 1775 that they later acquired. . . . By the end of the Revolutionary epoch, however, the South had emerged as a section and the Southerners as a people different from Northerners. Divergences continued within the region below the Mason-Dixon boundary, but there was, when Washington assumed the presidency, a South at least loosely united, and one certainly distinct from a North in terms of climate, slavery, economy, social structure, and political viewpoint. As the War of Independence proceeded, the words 'South' and 'Southern' were increasingly applied only to the area and the people below the Susquehanna. That they were so used more and more commonly was not merely a matter of convenience; conflict appeared during the war between those who lived upon one side of the line and those who dwelt upon the other. In the Federal convention of 1787 accommodation of the jarring interests of South and North offered a perplexing and harassing puzzle, one which required solution if there was to be an American union" (pp. 2-3).

The present little volume, embodying the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University in 1960, reconsiders and confirms the beginning and early development of southern sectionalism as quoted above. Mr. Alden defines geographically this "First South" of the 1770's and 1780's and characterizes it in economic and social terms. Then he views its emergence historically through the sectional struggle in the Continental Congress, the debates in the Federal Convention, and the ratification of the Constitution by the several southern States. The survey of the period within this frame of reference substantiates James Madison's argument that the basic issues were to be found, not between large States and small, but between economic and regional interests (p. 83). Concurrent develop-

ment of an American consciousness, expressed on occasion by Patrick Henry, Light Horse Harry Lee, or George Washington, suggests its correlation with sectionalism and State autonomy in order to comprehend these conflicting forces more intelligently. Was sectionalism more powerful than nationalism when the new government was launched under the Constitution?

Mr. Alden points out that the Revolutionary generation distinguished between southern States and "eastern," rather than northern, States and that the constituent members varied with the time and the point of view. It is a bit disconcerting, however, to meet up with his modern term, Far South and Far Southerners, to embrace those in the Southeast and the Mississippi Valley; or his "Middle Americans" (p. 73) north of the Mason-Dixon Line. If this is the area, or a portion of it, "north of the Susquehanna" (pp. 4, 10), which flows south through Pennsylvania, we shall have to get re-oriented to avoid geographical confusion. So, too, the area "east of the Potomac" (p. 108) rather than north of it, turns out to be Maryland.

Although the text of these lectures is not annotated for the most part, a few footnotes appear, enlightening the reader but tantalizing him with incomplete citations. The "Bibliographical Note" (pp. 135-140) can be supplemented by the author's "Critical Essay on Authorities" in *The South in the Revolution*.

Lester J. Cappon.

Institute of Early American History and Culture,
Williamsburg, Virginia.

Romance and Realism in Southern Politics. By T. Harry Williams. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. Eugenia Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, 1960. 1961. Pp. xii, 84. \$2.50.)

In these four lectures, delivered at Mercer University, T. Harry Williams, holder of a distinguished chair at Louisiana State University, surveys southern politics from Calhoun to Huey Long. The southerner is almost by definition a politician, but here is no fulsome praise of the heirs of Jefferson and Jackson, no tribute to leaders whose highest endeavors have been given to the art of politics. On the contrary, this book is a more or less subtle analysis—always politely couched in language acceptable to the lecturer's audience—of the ways in which the South has been ill served by its political leaders. The wrong battles have been fought for the wrong causes. The politicians have made a virtue of defeat, and have so wrapped themselves in the departed

glories of the Old South, the tragic heroism of the Lost Cause, and the resplendent vision of White Supremacy triumphant, that they have been able to unite the South behind false banners while receiving acclaim as statesmen. It is, as Williams sees it, a record of failure, with many wrong turns taken; and since there is blame enough for all, he distributes it with an impartial hand. The Old South failed, the Bourbons failed, the Populists failed, the Progressives failed, the demagogues failed, and only Huey Long succeeded. The exact nature of these failures is not detailed, but it seems clear that the South failed to get in step with progress and its own self-interest. What the South had most of was an unmeasured ability to deceive itself. Something in the southern background, something indigenous, writes Williams, "produced a tendency toward romanticism in thought and politics," and asking the South to shed this "something" was like asking it to give up its identity. The South's attachment to constitutionalism, conservatism, and its own peculiar conception of race integrity was out of harmony with the new currents of national life.

Before the Civil War southern leaders allowed themselves to be put on the defensive with an issue which could not be defended, and they permitted themselves to be isolated from their natural ally, the West; afterwards the matter of race was somehow unleashed and the politicians made to embrace it, reluctantly at first and then with fervor, as though it were a God-sent issue; and when the down-trodden whites undertook to rise under Populist leaders like Tom Watson, and Democrats like Ben Tillman, they found it expedient to rise on the backs of the blacks. If the Bourbons betrayed the masses, the agrarians of the nineties betrayed their cause, and the black man as well. Democracy was honored more in the breach than in the promise. Always the leaders, whether from the masses or the classes, were incurably romantic, could never face reality, and obscured all the issues that really mattered—such as loaves and fishes and fatted calves—with appeals to prejudices of race, religion, or class.

Huey Long, according to Williams, was the first realist among southern politicians, and he was ready to revitalize the South. His secret seems to have been that he knew the instruments of power and dared to use them. The demagogues of the past had always seemed on the verge of fulfilling their promises, but they never did. Huey not only knew how to stroke "the ego of democracy" but he delivered what he promised; this was an innovation, and he became a folk hero in some sections of Louisiana and a political power in all. He had his own technique, both of influence and affluence, and if he early let slip his idealism in favor of realism, this must be blamed on the reactionary

tactics of his opponents and not on any decline in the saving virtues of democracy. Long knew that the only real issues were those of political power and the economic foundations on which that power rested. He was a "coldly realistic operator" who never mentioned the Old South and the Lost Cause. He was careful to stay away from religion in politics, and he was at his shrewdest in the matter of race. He introduced Louisiana to the twentieth century and the welfare state; if he went out with a bang, he had successors and his good deeds live after him. Realist Long would surely not be displeased if the historians should learn to pay him tribute, even as did the road contractors and local bosses. What the South really needed, it seems, was more Huey Longs. If Long's assets are given more attention than his liabilities, perhaps we will have a truer reckoning when the final balance sheet is presented in Williams' intended biography of Long.

Probably most readers will find these essays either stimulating or irritating (the distinction is slight), and they will understand that Professor Williams has boldly accepted the risks inherent in broad generalizations and inconclusive judgments. Whether the South has done with romanticism remains to be seen. If the South's defeats and humiliations have not taught obeisance to the proper gods, then it may be that the South will yet enter the space age with its eyes fixed on the stars.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

On November 21 Governor Terry Sanford commissioned members of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission to serve for the period 1961-1963. An induction ceremony was held in the State Capitol in Raleigh. Hon. Francis E. Winslow of Rocky Mount, Chairman of the Charter Commission, was reappointed; Mr. Winslow has been serving in this capacity since his appointment in 1959 as the first Chairman.

The following new members were appointed by Governor Sanford: Mrs. Ann B. Durham, Burgaw; Mr. William Carrington Gretter, Jr., Louisburg; Mrs. James M. Harper, Jr., Southport; Mrs. Ernest L. Ives, Southern Pines; Dr. Henry W. Jordan, Cedar Falls; Mr. Dan M. Paul, Raleigh; Mr. J. P. Strother, Kinston; and Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Wright, Wilmington.

Commission members reappointed by the Governor are: Mrs. Doris Betts, Sanford; Mr. Henry Belk, Goldsboro; Dr. Chalmers G. Davidson, Davidson; Mr. Lambert Davis, Chapel Hill; Mr. Grayson Harding, Edenton; Mrs. Kauno A. Lehto, Wilmington; Mr. James G. W. MacLamroc, Greensboro; Mrs. Harry McMullan, Washington; Dr. Paul Murray, Greenville; Dr. Robert H. Spiro, Macon, Georgia; Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., Fayetteville; and Mr. David Stick, Kitty Hawk.

Ex officio members of the Charter Commission are Dr. Charles F. Carroll, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Mr. Hargrove Bowles, Jr., Director of the Department of Conservation and Development; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History. Brig. Gen. John D. F. Phillips, U. S. A. (Ret.), is Executive Secretary of the Commission.

December 1 marked the first issue of the Charter Commission's official publication, the *Tercentenary News*. This newspaper will be issued monthly for the information of the Committee members, friends of the Charter Commission, and news media.

A chief project of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission is the publication of a new series containing the historical records of colonial North Carolina.

Work on the project began in September under the editorship of Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker. Later Mrs. T. L. Quay became her assistant. An Advisory Editorial Board has been established to advise the Executive Editor on the over-all scope and organization of the project. This Board consists of the co-chairmen of the Scholarly Activities Committee, Mr. Lambert Davis, Director of the University of North Carolina Press and Mr.

William S. Powell, Librarian of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina; Dr. Hugh T. Lefler and Dr. Cecil Johnson, Professors of History at the University of North Carolina; Dr. Robert H. Woody and Dr. John Alden, Professors of History at Duke University; and Mr. Sam Ragan, Managing Editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*.

The first volume of the new series of colonial records will be published during the Tercentenary in 1963. It will contain the charters granted by English rulers for exploring and settling the territory now included within the boundaries of North Carolina, and other fundamental documents relating to early Carolina. The original Carolina Charter of 1663 in the North Carolina Hall of History is used as basis for the transcription of that document; photocopies of the other documents are being obtained from British archives. The transcriptions will be modernized as to spelling and punctuation.

Confederate Centennial Commission

On August 18 Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the Confederate Centennial Commission, met with a group in Asheville to assist in organizing a Buncombe County Committee. While there he toured the site of the Battle of Asheville. He attended a meeting in Burlington on August 25 of the Alamance County Confederate Centennial Committee and returned there on August 31 to participate in the committee's tribute to the Sixth Regiment. He presented a special award to Captain George Walker for outstanding service to the Confederate Commission. On August 28 he was present for the program of the South Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission in Dillon. Mr. Larson made video tape recordings in Charlotte on September 1 for a series of Civil War television programs planned for the future. He met again in Charlotte on September 6 for a press conference and meeting with officials of the Mint Museum and the Nationwide Insurance Company to plan an exhibit of Currier and Ives prints in that city and participated in the opening ceremonies on September 10. From September 11 through 13 he participated in the program of the Arkansas Civil War Centennial Commission in Little Rock. He attended in Charlotte, on September 18, a preview and reception for a special hour-long TV production, "The Union and the Confederacy," produced jointly by the Confederate Commission and WBTB. Mr. Larson attended meetings in Chapel Hill, Burlington, and Greensboro on September 21-22, and another in Greensboro on September 25 to plan a centennial exhibit for the Golden Gate Shopping Center. On October 6-7 he participated in the ceremonies at the opening of the exhibit. On September 27-28 Mr. Larson met with a group in Wilmington to discuss plans for the continuing development of Forts Fisher and Anderson. At the Wake Forest College—University of South Carolina football game in Winston-Salem on September 30, Mr. Larson was narrator at half-time ceremonies which had a Civil War theme. From October 10 to 12 he attended the meetings of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Asheville where he conducted a breakfast workshop and was awarded the Jefferson Davis Medal for work in the field of historical preservation. He attended the fourth meeting, October 2-5, of the

Confederate States Centennial Conference at Jackson, Mississippi. He assisted in attempted salvage operations for the Confederate ram "Neuse" at Kinston on November 7 and spoke to members of the Civil War Round Table in High Point on November 10.

The Commission has available for \$1.00, *A Guide to Military Organizations and Installations—North Carolina—1861-1865*, compiled by Louis H. Manarin. This compilation of data regarding North Carolina units, and camps and forts located within North Carolina's boundaries, will be of special value to genealogists and historians. Also issued recently is a reprint, *North Carolina Women of the Confederacy* by Mrs. John Huske Anderson. There are approximately 600 copies remaining of this booklet, first published in 1926, which is also priced at \$1.00. Three one-act plays, which sell for \$.25 each, are also available: "No Bugles; No Drums," by George Brenholtz; "Many Are the Hearts," by Manly Wade Wellman; and "Durham Station," by Betty Smith. For orders of the above and information on the use of the following, write Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary, Confederate Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh:

- (1) "Night in Chambersburg," 16mm. film, ½ hr. dramatic TV play written by Manly Wade Wellman and produced by the University of North Carolina.
- (2) "The Union and the Confederacy," 16mm. (kinescope recording) television adaptation of Richard Bales' arrangement of Union and Confederate music, featuring the Transylvania Orchestra and Chorus.
- (3) "The Battle of Manassas," 16mm. (kinescope recording), ½ hr. story of the Manassas Campaign, produced by WFMY-TV.
- (4) "The Sixth Regiment," 16 mm. (kinescope recording), ½ hr. story of the men in the Sixth on their way to war, produced by WTVD.

New members of the Confederate Centennial Commission appointed by Governor Terry Sanford are: Dr. H. H. Cunningham, Elon College; Mrs. R. O. Everett, Durham; Mr. Ernie Greup, Durham; Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, Hendersonville; Dr. Robert Long, Statesville; Mrs. Alvin Seippel, Winston-Salem; Mr. Glenn M. Tucker, Carolina Beach; and Senator R. F. Van Landingham, Thomasville.

Director's Office

Meredith College juniors and seniors who are participating in the internship course, sponsored jointly by the College and the State Department of Archives and History, are: Division of Archives and Manuscripts—Misses Judy Shouse and Mary Ayscue (special student) and Mrs. Dorothy McCombs; Division of Museums—Misses Sandra Sue Horton, Elizabeth Adams, Frances Gorham, and Sarah Ramsey; and Division of Publications—Misses Brenda Corbett and Carroll Hicks. Internees study and work under a program designed to instruct them in both the technical and practical phases of the work of the Department.

On September 27 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, attended the meetings of the Tryon Palace Commission in New Bern. One of the high-

rights of the occasion was the placing in the Palace of the Book of the Descendants of the members of the Council and Commons who made possible the building of the original Palace. Mrs. Lyman Cotten of Chapel Hill served as Chairman of the Committee on the Book of Descendants. In addition to reports by various committees, awards of appreciation for recent gifts or special services to the Restoration were made to 38 persons. One of the recipients was Miss Mary Cornick, Budget Officer of the Department, whose award was accepted by Dr. Crittenden in her absence. On the same date a Flag and Cannon Ceremony was held on the Palace Parade Grounds. On October 1 and 2 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting in Winston-Salem of the Traffic Council of North Carolina where he made a brief talk on the progress being made in developing the various historic sites in the State. In connection with this meeting he also attended the dedication of the new Whitaker Park Plant of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. The plant, named in honor of Mr. John C. Whitaker, Honorary Chairman of the Board of the Reynolds Company, is said to be the largest tobacco plant in the world and the largest factory of any kind in North Carolina. On October 5 Dr. Crittenden attended the opening of the Country Store Exhibit at the Greensboro Historical Museum. Among North Carolinians attending meetings of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in New York, from October 12-15, were Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern and Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro. On October 16 a special convocation in the North Carolina State Fair Arena marked the centennial of the Land-Grant Act establishing land-grant colleges in the United States and the Diamond Jubilee of North Carolina State College. Dr. Frank Porter Graham was the principal speaker. On October 20 Dr. Crittenden attended the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina at Wake Forest College in Winston-Salem. He attended the meetings November 2-3 of the Historic Bath Commission in Bath. A special guest was Mrs. Edward Pryor of Bath, England. Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Frances Ashford, Education Curator of the Division of Museums, attended a meeting of the Advisory Committee for the Eighth Conference on Teaching of the Social Studies held at Duke University, Durham, on November 4-5. The conference will also be held at Duke University on February 23-24. On November 16 certain members of the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission met in Kinston and tentatively agreed on plans for landscaping the Caswell gravesite near Kinston. Dr. Crittenden was present for the meeting. He attended the ceremonies connected with the opening of the new Charles B. Aycock High School in Wayne County on December 12 at which Governor Terry Sanford made the principal address.

In the November 7 bond election submitted to the people of the State, the item proposing a building for the Department of Archives and History and the State Library was defeated by a vote of 253,749 to 104,504. All ten proposals for capital improvements in educational, commercial, and cultural institutions were turned down.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, was elected Treasurer of the Society of American Archivists at the Society's annual meeting in Kansas City and Independence, Missouri, October 4-7. He was also one of five persons elected to the rank of Fellow of the Society. Mr. Jones presided over a meeting of the State Records Committee, of which he is outgoing chairman, on October 4, and gave a report on "The State of State Archives." On October 6 he presided over a session on county records at which Mr. J. Alexander McMahan, General Counsel of the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners, read a paper on North Carolina's county records program. Mr. Jones, Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist (State Records Management), represented the Department at the meeting. Mr. Mitchell, as outgoing member of the Council, will be Chairman of the Nominating Committee in 1962.

On October 18 Mr. Jones addressed a meeting of the Chicora Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy at Dunn.

In the Archives, emphasis has been given to re-working the early records of the State Treasurer and Comptroller. A total of 894 persons registered in the Search Room and 798 were given information by mail during the quarter ending September 30. The Section provided 852 photostatic copies for the public, 67 paper prints from microfilm, 53 typed certified copies, and 1,000 feet of microfilm. The Laminating Shop restored 22,582 pages of historical records by the Barrow process.

In the Newspaper Microfilm Project, Mr. Jones announces the availability of positive microfilm copies of all North Carolina newspapers published prior to 1801. One series of seven reels, entitled "Eighteenth Century North Carolina Newspapers" and designated Reels 18Cen-1 through 18Cen-7, contains all titles published prior to 1801 except for the following titles which have been filmed and are available separately: *Herald of Freedom* (Edenton, 1799), *Minerva* (Fayetteville and Raleigh, 1796-1821), *State Gazette of North Carolina* (New Bern and Edenton, 1787-1799), *Raleigh Register* (Raleigh, 1799-1886), and *North Carolina Journal* (Halifax, 1792-1810). The price established for positive copies (subject to change) is \$8 per reel regardless of length of reel. All titles previously announced in this journal are also available at that price.

In the Local Records Section, an extensive and valuable collection of Colonial court and county records was received from Chowan County, including 158 volumes and pamphlets and 60 cubic feet of papers. A total of 35 volumes of court and estates records and 25 cubic feet of miscellaneous papers were received from Iredell County. In addition, six volumes of court and estates records and 9 cubic feet of papers were received from Tyrrell County and tax records consisting of 26 volumes and 2 cubic feet of papers were received from Granville County.

Staff personnel are engaged in arranging the new collection of Colonial government and Chowan County records, and in rearranging the large collection of Bertie County records in the Archives.

Permanently valuable records are now being microfilmed in Granville and Johnston counties, the twentieth and twenty-first counties to be under-

taken in the program. A considerable number of records are being restored to use by lamination and rebinding.

Several personnel changes have recently occurred. Mr. James O. Hall, graduate of East Carolina College, and Mrs. Ruby D. Arnold, graduate of the University of North Carolina, were appointed Archivists I.

Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, U. S. N. (Ret.), attended the annual convention of the North Carolina League of Municipalities in Durham, October 22-24. In one of the events, scheduled for city and town clerks, he participated with Mr. Jones and others in a panel discussion of the new *Municipal Records Manual* and the various aspects of municipal records retention and disposal.

In the State Records Section, Mr. Bobby Lee Horton resigned as Clerk II to accept a position with the State Bureau of Investigation, and was replaced by his brother, Mr. Donald E. Horton.

Inventorying and scheduling activities were concentrated on a revision of the Department of Revenue schedule, which was completed, and on revisions of the Department of Public Instruction and State Board of Education schedules. Amendments to the schedules of the Blind Commission, Board of Health, Employment Security Commission, State Highway Commission, Division of Purchase and Contract, and Probation Commission were also approved during the quarter.

In the Microfilm Section, filming of the original Supreme Court cases was resumed. This important project will result in flat-filing all cases up to 1909 and in indexing all actions, both reported and unreported. The Section filmed a total of 301 rolls during the quarter, exposing 1,466,114 frames.

Agency representatives visited the State Records Center 157 times to use records. In addition, the Center staff answered 382 service requests for other agencies. Records accessioned totaled 1,610 cubic feet, and 1,236 cubic feet were disposed of.

The rediscovery of a significant historical document has been made in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History. The original manuscript draft of John Adams' *Thoughts on Government* has been found in the David L. Swain Papers where for many years it remained unrecognized for its originality.

The document, a six-page holograph, unsigned and not addressed but prepared early in the spring of 1776 for William Hooper, was carried to North Carolina by Hooper and turned over to Thomas Burke, chairman of a committee to frame a state constitution. In 1845 Burke's papers were given by his daughter Miss Mary W. Burke, through Dr. James Webb of Hillsboro to Governor Swain for the North Carolina Historical Society Collection at the University of North Carolina. About 1868 Mrs. Swain withdrew some of the papers of her late husband. Some of the withdrawn papers were sold and perhaps given away, and one portion was turned over to the State of North Carolina. This latter portion eventually found its way to the North Carolina Historical Commission (now the State Department of Archives and History), and among this collection was the Adams manuscript. While historians had generally known about (and used) a hand copy of the document as contained in the Burke Letterbook

in the Archives, the original manuscript in the Swain Papers had not been recognized for its significance. Upon inauguration of the project to publish the Adams Papers by the Massachusetts Historical Society, however, a new search was undertaken by the Archives staff and, with the assistance of Dr. Carolyn A. Wallace of the Southern Historical Collection in Chapel Hill, who helped unravel the wayward path of the Swain Papers over the past century, the original document was located. A photocopy was thereupon furnished to the Editor in Chief of the Adams Papers, Dr. Lyman H. Butterfield, who wrote Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, as follows on November 8, 1961:

"In few words, to our great satisfaction, . . . you have recovered the long-lost original manuscript of the very first version of John Adams' influential plan and the germ of his first important publication on constitutional law, entitled *Thoughts On Government* (Philadelphia, 1776).

"This fills in a sad gap in the record of his work as a writer and political thinker. I will not repeat here what I have said about the problem in the recently published *Dairy and Autobiography of John Adams*, q.v. at vol. 3, p. 331-333, but you may wish to place this reference with the manuscript. You may also wish to crow a little about your find, and I think you would be justified in doing so. . . . I am therefore adding a point or two for you to make use of if you care to.

"Of four markedly variant versions of his plan for new state governments, written in the early spring of 1776 and widely read by those who were engaged in constitution-making, the original manuscripts of two are now known: those composed for and given to William Hooper and John Penn respectively, the first of which is now in the North Carolina Archives and the second now in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Washburn Collection. The version Adams prepared for George Wythe was printed as *Thoughts on Government* and has been from time to time reprinted, as in *Adams' Works*, edited by his grandson C. F. Adams, vol. 4, p. 193-200. The version prepared for and sent to Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant for use in the New Jersey constitutional convention has never been located, but one may still hope.

"Since Adams neither dated nor signed his letter nor indicated its addressee's name, and since it was pulled out of its context when removed from Burke's papers, it has remained for a long time unrecognized for what it actually is—the first of John Adams' several attempts to place a constitutional groundwork under the new states just coming into being, to provide a constructive counterpart, one might say, to the necessarily destructive work which Thomas Paine's tremendously influential pamphlet *Common Sense* was doing in the spring of 1776.

"The editors of the Adams Papers are always on the watch for stray letters and documents, whether in public archives or private attics. Only through such help can their work be successfully conducted. Dr. Butterfield can be addressed at the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts."

Division of Historic Sites

On October 26-27 Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, attended the meeting of the Historic American Buildings Survey Advisory Board of which he is a member. The Advisory Board assists the National Park Service in the conduct of the Historic American Buildings survey, a joint undertaking of the Park Service, the American Institute of Architects, and the Library of Congress. Mr. Tarlton was elected Secretary of the Board and was appointed to a special Committee to study and recommend procedures for handling the HABS materials deposited in the Library of Congress. On November 3 Mr. Tarlton accompanied Dr. Crittenden to a meeting in Bath of the Historic Bath Commission. Restoration of the Palmer-Marsh House and the Bonner House has progressed rapidly in recent months and both are nearly complete. Restoration of the grounds and outbuildings remains as the major unfinished business at both places. Committees of the Commission are working on the furnishings. Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington is Chairman of the Commission. Mr. Tarlton has assisted several additional projects in restoration processes and other matters. These include the Setzer schoolhouse project, a mid-nineteenth-century schoolhouse which has recently been moved from an inaccessible location in the country to the grounds of the Knox Junior High School in Salisbury, where it will be restored as a typical schoolhouse of its period. It will make a dramatic contrast with the ultra-modern junior high school building and will be a vivid illustration of the progress that has been made in public education in North Carolina. Mr. Tarlton has given advice to the group, headed by Miss Sue Smith of Dunn, which is restoring a typical Harnett County slave cabin at Chicora Cemetery on the Averagesboro Battlefield. The slave cabin will serve as headquarters for the recent improvements at Averagesboro and will perhaps house some exhibits on the battle. Mr. Tarlton has worked with the landscape architects, Lewis Clarke and Associates of Raleigh, in planning a site layout for the Governor Caswell Memorial at Kinston. Preliminary drawings have been made and are to be presented to the Governor Caswell Memorial Commission at an early meeting. He has worked with Mr. Richard C. Bell, landscape architect of Raleigh, in planning grounds restoration at the historic buildings being restored in Bath and in planning an over-all town tour of Bath sites and buildings. Mr. Tarlton is a member of the committee consisting of Professor Chalmers Davidson of Davidson College and Mrs. Joseph Graham of Lincolnton which is planning a program for marking historic sites which will be flooded by Lake Norman above Cowan's Ford on the Catawba River near Charlotte.

The Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site was the meeting place for the Civil Defense Directors' wives on September 11. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Site Specialist, conducted a tour and the Fremont Garden Club served refreshments. Dr. D. J. Rose, Chairman of the Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; and Mr. Sawyer met on October 5 to plan the Visitor Center-Museum for the Aycock Birthplace. On October 19 Mr. Sawyer spoke to

the Fremont Rotary Club on the "Historic Sites Program of North Carolina" with emphasis on the Aycock Birthplace. An old field one-room schoolhouse such as Aycock attended has been located, purchased by the Aycock Commission, and moved to the site during the week of November 20. In addition to Dr. Rose, Mr. Hardy Talton of Goldsboro and Mr. H. L. Stephenson of Smithfield were on the committee to purchase the building. Mrs. Eleanor Bizzell Powell of Goldsboro is a new member of the Commission. Two school groups were led on a tour of the site and general attendance to date is 500 more than for 1960. The Aycock Birthplace played an important part in the opening and dedication of the Charles B. Aycock High School in Wayne County on December 3. The Fremont Garden Club decorated the Aycock Birthplace as for a typical Christmas of a hundred years ago and the Birthplace was open for visitation.

Negotiations are now under way for the purchase of 2.32 acres of land adjacent to the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site to be used for the construction of a Visitor Center-Museum. An appropriation of \$42,000 was made for this project by the 1961 General Assembly. As the birthplace itself depicts the humble beginnings of the Civil War governor, so will the exhibits in the Visitor Center-Museum tell the story of Zeb Vance's unique accomplishments in public life—as a lawyer, soldier, and statesman. Following completion of the Vance Museum, expected some time in 1962, a log barn and a corn crib will be erected to provide the last of eight exhibition buildings planned for the site. The birthplace, smokehouse, springhouse, slaves' quarters, and loom house are now open to the public. When funds are available, a caretaker's house will also be constructed on the site to provide added protection for the buildings and their furnishings. The Vance Birthplace was dedicated by the State Department of Archives and History on May 13, 1960, the one hundred thirty-first anniversary of Vance's birth. Attendance from that time until the end of 1961 was approximately 5,000. Greater attendance is anticipated when the site is completed.

Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist at Bentonville Battle-ground State Historic Site, met with the Battleground Advisory Committee in Clinton on August 29. He presented the "Story of Bentonville" as a part of an orientation program for this group. The Advisory Committee met again on October 4 to discuss the financial aspects of the Bentonville site. Wake County has joined Johnston, Harnett, Sampson, and Wayne counties to form this advisory committee headed by Mr. Roy C. Coates as Chairman. Representatives are Mrs. D. S. Coltrane, Wake; Mrs. Nathan M. Johnson, Harnett; Mr. Conway Rose, Wayne; Dr. Luby F. Royall, Jr., Johnston; and Mrs. Taft Bass and Mr. Maddrey Bass, Sampson. This committee is leading a \$41,000 fund-raising campaign to be used with the \$26,000 appropriated by the General Assembly for a Visitor Center-Museum, the opening of trails, the preparation of outdoor exhibits, and the completion of the restoration of the Harper House. More than 1,500 people attended the "Emphasis Bentonville" day on September 17 at which Governor Terry

Sanford made the principal address. The Advisory Committee, the State Department of Archives and History, the Confederate Centennial Commission, and many local groups and patriotic organizations participated in this program. Mr. Bragg spoke on Bentonville at the "History Night" banquet on October 11 when the State United Daughters of the Confederacy met in Asheville. The Dunn Book Club met at the Bentonville Battle-ground site on October 18 and enjoyed a lecture and tour given by Mr. Bragg. He spoke again in High Point on November 10 on the Battle of Bentonville and the work at the site to the Civil War Round Table. Visitation at Bentonville from April 11 to September 16 of last year was 2,624, representing 30 States, the District of Columbia, England, and Germany. The site is open Monday through Saturday from 9:00 to 5:00 and on Sunday from 2:00 to 5:00.

Mr. Perry Young, a junior in Journalism at the University of North Carolina, has been employed temporarily to meet the public at the Bennett Place State Historic Site. Mr. Young will be on duty Saturdays and Sundays from 1:00 to 5:00. The house will be open to the public—groups, clubs, and organizations—by appointment at any time on weekdays. For information write Mr. N. B. Bragg, Box 1881, Raleigh, who is supervising the Bennett Place, as well as Bentonville.

The excavation of the site for the permanent Visitor Center-Museum at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site was completed in late October. An area of 7,000 square feet was covered in the excavation. No new information concerning the aboriginal occupation was uncovered, but a trash pit and the corners of a shed or barn which were part of a nineteenth-century farm site were encountered and excavated. Burials in the recently completed mortuary have received further cleaning and preservation. Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Historic Site Specialist at Town Creek, and Dr. Joffe L. Coe are in the process of analyzing and interpreting materials from the mortuary. This information will be used in presenting the mortuary to visitors. Mr. Keel spoke to the Tar River Chapter, Archaeological Society of North Carolina, and to the Mt. Gilead P. T. A. on problems of reconstruction at Town Creek. He attended the annual meeting of the North Carolina Archaeological Society in Goldsboro on October 7, the annual meeting of the Eastern States Archaeological Federation in Williamsburg on October 28-29, and the Southeastern Archaeological Conference at Occmulgee National Monument in Macon, Georgia, on November 30.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist in charge of Brunswick Town State Historic Site, reports that the ruins of the home of Captain Stephen Parker Newman (1775) have been completely excavated and many items of historical and scientific interest recovered. The ruin was covered when the Confederate earthworks were thrown up at Fort Anderson, and more than six feet of sand was recently removed. The Newman home escaped the Brunswick fire of 1776 and was used until the early years of the nineteenth century. Mr. South, one of the organizers of The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology, read two papers at the November 30 meeting

in Macon, Georgia. He also attended the Williamsburg meeting of the Eastern States Archaeological Federation and the Goldsboro meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina where he presented a display on Brunswick Town, Fort Fisher, and the Indians of the Lower Cape Fear area. Mr. South, in preparing for one of the papers presented in Macon, photographed numerous seals, belonging to persons during the colonial period, in the State Archives and the University of North Carolina Library. Many seals are no longer extant, having been destroyed when the documents were laminated. Those preserved through photography will be of value to archeologists who find matrices in ruins. Members of the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society and Mr. South visited the site of an Indian mound near Fayetteville being excavated by Lt. Col. Howard A. MacCord of Fort Bragg. Mr. South discovered an Archaic occupation level with hearthstones and spearpoints over 4,000 years old. Members of the society also visited Brunswick Town where they assisted in the excavation of a foundation of a building (lot 28) owned by Judge Maurice Moore in 1769. Mr. South has recently correlated, by analysis, the dates of the kaolin pipe stems with the china and deed records of Brunswick Town. These data have been compiled into a chart. The garden clubs of Southport have secured district endorsement and are seeking State Garden Club approval for the project of restoring a colonial garden and maintaining a nature trail at Brunswick Town. Mr. South spoke to several schools and organizations and conducted tours of the site.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Historic Site Specialist at Fort Fisher State Historic Site, reports that the Fort Fisher Museum-Pavilion has been completed and the displays installed, and that it is now open to the public daily from 8:00 to 5:00. On October 13 representatives of New Hanover County and interested local groups met at Battle Acre—which New Hanover County recently deeded to the State—to inspect the progress of the pavilion. The inspection received newspaper and television coverage. Those attending included Mr. Glenn M. Tucker and Mrs. Alice Strickland, co-chairmen of the Fort Fisher Restoration Committee; Mr. J. W. Washburn, Mayor of Carolina Beach, and Mr. Stacy Thomas, City Manager; Mr. Alex Fonvielle, the contractor; and representatives of the Woman's Club and Lions Club of Carolina Beach and the New Hanover County Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Contributions from the county and local clubs matched State funds to pay for the temporary Museum-Pavilion. On October 7 Mr. Honeycutt attended the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina which met in Goldsboro and on October 11 he spoke at the Asheville meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. On October 31 he met with the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society and on November 7 spoke to the Wilmington Junior Chamber of Commerce on "The Historical Importance of Fort Fisher: Development, Plans, and Progress." Mr. Honeycutt's article, "Fort Fisher National Park Proposed (1907-1910)," was published in the November *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc. Bulletin* and on November 8 he attended a meeting of the Lower Cape Fear Society.

He spoke at the High Point Civil War Round Table meeting on November 10. Mr. John D. Miller, a graduate of New Hanover High School, will be responsible for the general maintenance of the 180-acre site and will assist the site specialist in other ways. On November 4 Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall announced that Fort Fisher was one of 32 sites eligible for historic landmark status. It was selected by the National Park Service and will be listed in a registry of historic landmarks. The registry resulted from a survey authorized by the 1935 Congress.

Division of Museums

On September 18 and 19 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan Museum Administrator, attended a television *première* in Charlotte and on September 21 gave to the Raleigh Jaycettes an after-dinner slide-lecture on the Tryon Palace Restoration. She met with a committee in Hillsboro on September 29 to discuss museum organization for the Orange County Historical Museum and also visited the Bennett Place with Mrs. W. M. Piatt to discuss items pertaining to the restoration of the site. On October 4 she talked on "Christmas 100 Years Ago" to the Fremont Garden Club which decorated the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace and site for the Christmas holidays. On October 5 she attended the opening of the "Country Store" Exhibit at the Greensboro Historical Museum. On October 24 Mrs. Jordan accompanied to the University of North Carolina Library and the Duke University Library the Meredith students who are taking the internship course in the Department of Archives and History. She has been instructing a number of these students in various phases of museum work. From November 1 to 4 she attended the annual meeting of the Southeastern Museums Conference in New Orleans, La., and on November 4 and 5 she attended the meeting of the Confederate Centennial Commission in Jackson, Mississippi. She visited the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace on November 9 to discuss museum plans for that site, and was in Richmond, Virginia, November 15 and 16 with Mr. Norman C. Larson for a conference on the Confederate Museum.

Division of Publications

The Division of Publications has revised its list of books and pamphlets available from the State Department of Archives and History; the pamphlet is being distributed free upon request. A sheet containing twelve maps showing the formation of the North Carolina counties was published, and brochures on Fort Fisher and Brunswick Town were issued for the Historic Sites Division.

Increased efforts were made to publicize the availability of materials on North Carolina history. In addition to a number of news releases, an article on the Division of Publications and its work was carried in the October 14, 1961, issue of *The State*; several short articles were included in *The North Carolina Education Association Bulletin*; and spot announcements were sent to the North Carolina radio and television stations, giving information about the publications of the Department. A mimeographed sheet of information about the Department's publications was sent to all public

school libraries, through the co-operation of the Department of Public Instruction, and various informational materials were sent to the public and college libraries through the State Library. Notices were sent to approximately 2,000 persons announcing the publication of *The Poems of Governor Thomas Burke of North Carolina* and Clement Hall's *A Collection of Many Christian Experiences*. The Confederate Centennial Commission and the leaders in the United Daughters of the Confederacy have assisted in publicizing publications on the Civil War.

During the quarter July 1 through September 30, 1961, receipts from the sale of publications totaled \$3,241.65. A total of 36 documentary volumes, 385 small volumes, and 8,209 pamphlets was sold and 780 governors' letter books were distributed. There were 68 new subscriptions and 256 renewals to *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

The special sale of back issues of *The Review* is proving successful. Forty sets had been sold by November 15. Though the Department does not guarantee an unbroken set, few issues are missing. Sets of thirty-eight volumes, covering the years 1924 through 1961, are being sold for \$25; they are sent to the purchaser express collect. The sale will be continued through March 31.

The Advisory Editorial Board of the Department met on September 22. Three members of the Board, Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, Dr. Robert H. Woody, and Dr. Sarah Lemmon, met with three editorial advisers, Dr. Paul Murray, Mr. William S. Powell, and Senator John R. Jordan, Jr., to review the entire publications program. Plans for new publications and suggestions for improvements are being implemented. Current members of the Advisory Board, who will serve from January 1, 1962, through June 30, 1963, are Dr. Johnston, Dr. Woody, Dr. Lemmon, Mr. Powell, and Senator Jordan.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, and Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, represented the Department at the Southern Historical Association meetings in Chattanooga November 8-11. Mrs. Blackwelder spoke to the Canterbury Book Club in Raleigh on October 3, to the Alamance County Chapter of the Meredith College Alumnae Association on November 14, and to the student body of St. Mary's College in Raleigh on November 21. She was elected a trustee of the Olivia Raney Library in Raleigh in September, and the *Raleigh News and Observer* selected Mrs. Blackwelder as "Tar Heel of the Week" on October 1.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, who was a member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina for 42 years, died at his home in Chapel Hill on November 11. Dr. Hamilton, 83 years of age, was a noted scholar, the author or editor of a number of volumes in the field of southern history, and the founder of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina Library. This collection, one of the most significant in the nation, has been widely used by writers and researchers.

Dr. Wallace Everett Caldwell, Professor of Ancient History at the University of North Carolina since 1921, died at his Chapel Hill home on October 6. He was the author of four books and numerous articles in his field of ancient history.

Dr. George B. Tindall delivered an address, "The Metamorphosis of Progressivism in the 1920's," at The Johns Hopkins University on November 20, and had an article, "The South: Into the Mainstream," published in *Current History*, XL (May, 1961). Dr. Clifford M. Foust read a paper, "Who Cares About Confucius," at a meeting of the Southeastern American Studies Association in Miami on November 5. Members of the History Department of the University who participated in the sessions of the Southern Historical Association held in Chattanooga, November 9-11; were: Dr. Douglas D. Hale, who delivered a paper, "The Early Career of Henrick Von Gagern"; Dr. James W. Patton, who served as chairman of the session, "Reconstruction: Negroes and Politics"; Chairman of the Department Carl H. Pegg, who presided at the European History Conference group; Mr. D. Alan Harris, who delivered a paper, "Milford W. Howard, Alabama Populist"; and Dr. James E. King, who served as a discussant at a program on English and French politics in the seventeenth century.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green read a paper, "Cycles on American Democracy," at the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Detroit in September. Dr. Robin D. S. Higham had a book, *The British Rigid Airship Programme, 1908-1931: A Study in Weapons Policy*, published in London, and Dr. Hugh T. Lefler is the author of the section on North Carolina in both *Colliers Encyclopedia Yearbook* (1960) and *The American Annual* (1961). Dr. Loren C. MacKinney has had articles dealing with medical history published in *Ciba Symposium*, VIII (December, 1960); *Spectrum*, IX (January-February, 1961); and the *Journal of American Pharmaceutical Association*, I (March, 1961). Dr. Robert Moats Miller's article, "Methodism, the Negro, and Ernest Fremont Tittle," was published in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, LXIV (Winter, 1960); and Dr. Frank W. Ryan's article, "The Opinions of Editor William Gilmore Simms of the *Southern Quarterly Review*, 1849-1854," was published in *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1959* (1961). Dr. Peter F. Walker is the author of "Natchez," in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVI (1961).

Dr. Richard Bardolph, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, served as commentator on October 12 and read a paper on October 14 at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, October 12-14. His book, *The Negro Vanguard*, winner of the Mayflower Award for 1960, was republished on October 12, 1961, by Random House in the Vintage Book Series. Miss Gail Boden, Miss Margaret Hunt, and Mr. George McCowen joined the faculty in September as Instructors, and Dr. Owen S. Connelly as Assistant Professor. Dr. Eugene Pfaff is on leave accompanying a student world tour under the auspices of the International School of America, and Dr. Franklin D. Parker was in Peru as a Fulbright Lecturer during the fall semester.

Dr. Philip Africa, Head of the Department of History at Salem College, served as a part-time lecturer in history at the Woman's College, University of North Carolina, during the fall semester.

Dr. Stuart Noblin of the Department of History, North Carolina State College, read a paper, "A Voice of Agriculture: Recent Policies of the National Grange," at the October 20 meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina. Dr. Burton F. Beers organized and served as chairman of the session, "Diplomacy and Strategy in the Early Twentieth Century," at the Southern Historical Association, Chattanooga, Tennessee, November 11; Dr. J. Leon Helguera attended a joint meeting, November 13-24, of the Third Congress in Hispanic-American History and the Second Hispanic-American Congress in Cartagena, Columbia, and prepared a paper which was read in his absence on "Research Opportunities in Modern Latin America: Bolivarian Nations," for the meeting of the Southern Historical Association. Dr. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., served on the program committee of the American Historical Association which met December 28-30. Faculty promotions effective July 1, 1961, were: Dr. Beers to Associate Professor and Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., to Assistant Professor. Mr. Stanley Suval, doctoral candidate at the University of North Carolina, joined the faculty as Instructor in September and Dr. Ladislav F. Reitzer resigned.

Dr. Robert F. Durden of the Duke University history faculty read a paper, "*South Dakota v. North Carolina* (1904): An Interstate Law Suit and the Aftermath of North Carolina Populism," at the Southern Historical Association and Dr. Anne Firor Scott read a paper on "The New Woman in the New South" at the same meeting. Dr. Donald G. Gillin's article, "Peasant and Communist in Modern China," was published in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Autumn, 1961), and Dr. Charles R. Young had a book, *English Borough and Royal Administration, 1130-1307*, published in October by the Duke University Press. Dr. Richard A. Preston will join the faculty in February as Professor of History. Dr. Joel Colton received a Rockefeller Foundation Grant for study for the fall of 1961; Dr. I. B. Holley, Jr., received a Social Science Research Council Grant for the 1961-1962 scholastic year; and Dr. Alfred Tischendorf received an award from the American Council of Learned Societies, Social Science Research Council, effective in the spring, 1962, for a year of Latin American studies. Mr. Clark G. Reynolds, M.A. candidate, had an article on the aircraft carrier "Saratoga," "'Sara' in the East," in *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXXXVII (December, 1961).

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College, is acting as Consultant for the State Department of Public Instruction in establishing the State-wide program of world history in the secondary schools. Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon has two brief articles in the Radcliffe College's publication, *Notable American Women*.

The Johnson C. Smith University of Charlotte has recently published *Down Through the Years*, compiled by Dr. Arthur Henry George and dedicated to the memory of Dr. Arthur Allen George. The book traces the history of the University from its founding, emphasizing the personalities who have been associated with the school as teachers or benefactors. Prepared in anticipation of the 1967 centennial, the booklet gives a summation of the contribution of Biddle University (now Johnson C. Smith) to the educational progress of the State.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GROUPS

The Roanoke Island Historical Association held its annual business meeting and subscription luncheon at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh on November 28. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison of Kill Devil Hills and Washington, D. C., was elected Chairman, her term of office to begin at the expiration of that of Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby. Reports on the 1961 operations of the outdoor drama, "The Lost Colony," by Mr. J. S. Dorton, Jr., revealed that the season was financially successful for the first time in a number of years.

The North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs held its fifth annual Music Day on November 28. Mrs. Harold G. Deal of Hickory, President, presided and Governor Terry Sanford made the principal address. The highlight of the evening program was a concert by Mr. William Alton, Greensboro pianist, who is North Carolina's first National Young Artist Winner. He received the \$1,000 award last April. Mrs. Walter Vassar of Greensboro introduced him. The invocation was sung by a quartet under the direction of Mrs. J. P. Freeman, Director of the Needham Broughton High School Choral Group of Raleigh, accompanied by Miss Rennie Peacock. The quartet was composed of Miss Betsy Ann Phifer, soprano; Miss Sue Strong, alto; Mr. Calvin Horton, bass; and Mr. Andy Little, tenor. Miss Sally Wyly of Gastonia, coloratura soprano, also appeared on the program with Mr. Huskey Wofford as her accompanist. The Federation made no awards for 1961 as no winners were selected from those submitting entries.

The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the North Carolina State Art Society was held on November 29. Dr. Joseph C. Sloane, Chairman of the Department of Art at the University of North Carolina and Director of the Ackland Museum, was elected President succeeding Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville, who has served as head of the Society for the past ten years. Mrs. George W. Paschal, Jr., was elected Vice-President, Mr. Charles Lee Smith, Treasurer, and Mrs. J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Jr., Executive Secretary. All three are Raleigh residents. The members elected four new directors and reaffirmed the previous election of four directors whose terms were interrupted by a legal technicality at the time the Society and the State Art Museum were divorced by legislative mandate. The membership also approved previous action of the board of directors in turning

over to the State its museum assets. Dr. Humber reported that the museum's collection is now valued at more than seven million dollars; he also reported that the State had appropriated a total of \$892,000 for the operation of the museum since it opened in 1956. Mr. J. A. Kellenberger offered a motion that a resolution be drafted in appreciation of the work of Dr. Humber. Other persons presenting reports were Mr. Ben Williams, Curator of the Museum of Art, and Mr. Charles Stanford, Curator of Education. Mrs. W. Frank Taylor of Goldsboro, Membership Chairman, reported that the total membership of the Society is 1,347, an increase of 347 over 1960. Dr. Justus Bier, Museum Director, discussed recent acquisitions, and the resignation of Mr. Carl W. Hamilton of New York as consultant was accepted. Mrs. John N. Pearce, Curator at the White House, addressed the Society at the evening meeting. Following the meeting a preview of North Carolina Artists' Competition entries and a reception were held. Announcement of the winners of the five \$100 Art Society awards was made, as follows: Mr. Russell W. Arnold of the Atlantic Christian College Art Department for his painting, "No. 5—1961"; Mr. Roy Gussow of the North Carolina State College School of Design for his bronze sculpture, "Two Forms"; Miss Mackey Jeffries of the Meredith College Art Department for her painting, "Waiting"; Miss Ann Carter Pollard of Winston-Salem for painting, "Mykonos: Slaughter of Sheep"; and Mr. William Mangum of the Salem College Art Department for his portrait, "Dr. George Herring." More than 500 entries were submitted and from this number Mr. Andrew C. Richie, Director of the Yale Art Gallery, selected 143 for the exhibition and the five award winners.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its twenty-first annual meeting on November 30 with the President, Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington, presiding at the three sessions. Officers elected are Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., of Fayetteville, President; Mr. Dan Paul of Raleigh, Vice-President; and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh, Secretary-Treasurer. Reports on preservation projects were made by the following: "What our Society Has Done in the Past," by Mrs. Tally and "What We Should be Doing," by Mrs. Ernest L. Ives of Southern Pines. At the luncheon meeting Mr. Harding introduced Mrs. Edward Pryor, who spoke on her home town of Bath, England, which has an American museum. Mrs. Pryor was made an official member of North Carolina's Historic Bath Commission by Governor Terry Sanford on November 29. She brought gifts for the Palmer-Marsh House at Bath and greetings from the Marquis of Bath, the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his Worship, the Mayor of Bath, England. Mr. Harding also introduced a second speaker, "Sir Ronald Palmer," as a traveler and author from London, England. The speaker presented his observations on America and Americans before Mr. Harding disclosed that he was a fake and was in reality a humorist, Mr. Art Breece of Hot Springs, Arkansas. At the evening session Governor Terry Sanford presented the Cannon Awards, given annually for excellence in historical preservation and restoration, to Hon. R. O. Everett of Durham for his work in the restoration of the Bennett Place; Hon. Smith

Richardson of Greensboro and New York for work in the Colonial Bath project and other projects in the State; Mr. John Taylor of New Bern for restoration of a building at New Bern; and Mrs. W. C. Tucker of Greensboro for placing historical markers at several sites in the State. The Littleton Woman's Club received the society's prize of \$50 for the best club work in restoration and preservation. A highlight of the night session was the presentation of "Christmas in Carolina," a pantomime in five parts written by Mr. Harding and produced by East Carolina College students under the direction of Mr. J. A. Withey. Music was provided by the Men's Glee Club of the College with arrangements by Mr. Charles Stevens. A reception for members and guests followed the play.

The sixty-first annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association was held on December 1 with Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris of Seaboard, President, presiding at the morning session. Officers elected were Dr. Chalmers G. Davidson of Davidson, President; and three Vice-Presidents: Judge Johnson J. Hayes of Wilkesboro, Mr. L. S. Blades, Jr., of Elizabeth City, and Mr. Henry Jay MacMillan of Wilmington. Dr. Christopher Crittenden was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. Harry McMullan of Washington, N. C., and Mrs. Dana H. Harris of Brevard were elected members of the Executive Committee. Mr. Weimar Jones of Franklin spoke on "A Country Editor Speaks His Mind," Mr. LeGette Blythe of Huntersville spoke on "An Unpublished Wolfe Episode," Dr. Preston W. Edsall of Raleigh reviewed North Carolina nonfiction for the year 1960-1961, and Dr. M. L. Skaggs of Greensboro presented the R. D. W. Connor Award to Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., for his article, "A Political Leader Bolts—F. M. Simmons in the Presidential Election of 1928," published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*. This award is made annually by the Historical Society of North Carolina for the best article published in *The Review*. Mr. W. S. Tarlton, member of the Council of the American Association for State and Local History, presented the 1961 Awards of Merit to the following: Burlington-Alamance County Chamber of Commerce for its co-operation with the State Department of Archives and History in developing Alamance Battleground (received by Mr. George Colclough, Manager of the Chamber); the Western North Carolina Historical Association for promoting interest in local history and especially for assistance in the restoration of the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace (received by Mr. Albert McLean, President); the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem for its program of research, and recording and disseminating information, in the field of American Moravian music (received by Dr. Donald McCorkle, Director); and the University of North Carolina Press and the Virginia Historical Society for their publication of *Colonial Virginia* by Richard L. Morton (received by Mr. Lambert Davis, Director of the University Press). Mr. William F. Lewis of Asheville presided at the luncheon at which Mr. John Alex McMahon of Chapel Hill made an address on "North Carolina's Local Records Program." Mr. Francis Speight of Greenville presented the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award to Mr. Carl Sandburg for his volume, *Wind Song*, which was ac-

cepted by Miss Cordelia Camp of Asheville in the absence of the winner. Mrs. Cecil Gilliatt of Shelby presented the American Association of University Women Juvenile Literature Award to Mr. Glen Rounds of Pine Bluff for his *Beaver Business, An Almanac*, which was accepted for Mr. Rounds by Mrs. Harris. Mr. David Stick of Kill Devil Hills presided at the dinner meeting and Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris made her presidential Address. Governor Terry Sanford presided at the evening meeting at which Dr. Lenoir Chambers, Norfolk editor and author, spoke on "The South on the Eve of the Civil War." Governor Sanford presented the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association's Corporate Citizenship Award to Hanes Hosiery Mills Company of Winston-Salem. Mr. Gordon Hanes, President, accepted the award. Mrs. William T. Powell of High Point presented the Mayflower Cup award to Mr. LeGette Blythe of Huntersville for his nonfiction, *Thomas Wolfe and His Family*. The Sir Walter Raleigh award was presented to Mr. Frank Borden Hanes of Winston-Salem for his work of fiction, *The Fleet Rabble*, by Miss Clara Booth Byrd of Greensboro, President of the Historical Book Club of North Carolina, Inc. A reception for members and guests was held following the meeting.

Mr. Norman C. Larson, President, presided at the fiftieth annual session of the North Carolina Folklore Society on December 1. Dr. Daniel W. Patterson of Chapel Hill spoke on "Folk Elements in the Music of the Shakers," Miss Lucia S. Morgan of Chapel Hill spoke on "The Speech of Ocracoke Island," and Mr. Frank M. Warner of Farmingdale, New York, spoke on "Folksongs of the American Wars." Officers elected were Mr. Richard Walser, President; Miss Ruth Jewell, First Vice-President; and Gen. John D. F. Phillips, Second Vice-President, all of Raleigh. Dr. A. P. Hudson of Chapel Hill was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer.

The North Carolina Symphony Society held its annual dinner meeting of the Executive Committee on December 1 at the Hotel Sir Walter.

On December 2 the Historical Book Club of North Carolina held its annual breakfast in honor of the winner of the Sir Walter Raleigh Cup. This year's winner, Mr. Frank Borden Hanes, was unable to be present, but members representing a number of towns attended. This year marks the first time that an award winner's wife has been a member of the club.

Mr. LeGette Blythe, second-time winner of the Mayflower Cup, and officers of the Central Carolina Colony of the Society of Mayflower Descendants were honored at the annual breakfast meeting on December 2.

Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of Greensboro was elected President of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historicans at its twentieth annual meeting on December 2. Other officers elected were Mr. S. T. Peace of Henderson, Mrs. Musella W. Wagner of Chapel Hill, and Mr. John H. McPhaul, Jr., of Fayetteville, all Vice-Presidents. Mrs. Ida B. Kellam of

Wilmington is Secretary-Treasurer. Mr. Hugh B. Johnson, Jr., of Wilson presided at the meetings and reports were presented on the historical tours sponsored by the society. The Peace County History Award, presented every two years, was won by Mr. Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill for his *The County of Warren*. The Smithwick Newspaper Award for the best newspaper or magazine article related to local history or biography was presented to Mr. William S. Powell for his article, "How Come Rumbling Bald Is Called Rumbling Bald?" which appeared in *The State*. Smithwick Certificates of Merit were awarded to Mr. T. J. Lassiter of Smithfield and Mr. F. C. Salisbury of Morehead City. The Hodges High School Award was not made this year as there was no candidate. Mr. McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro offered a resolution, which was unanimously accepted by the Society, commending Mr. D. L. Corbitt of Raleigh for his work in the publication of North Carolina history. Dr. H. H. Cunningham of Elon College made the principal address at the morning meeting on "Medical Highlights at Second Manassas." Mr. David Stick of Kill Devil Hills spoke at the luncheon meeting on "Civil War Sidelights on the North Carolina Coast."

On November 28 Governor and Mrs. Terry Sanford were hosts at a reception at the Governor's Mansion to members and guests of all the societies participating in Culture Week.

The Beaufort County Historical Society met in Bath on August 27 at the Palmer-Marsh House, which the group inspected as well as the Bonner House. Mr. Edmund H. Harding, President, was in charge of the meeting and tour. The group discussed the possibility of developing other historic sites, one of which the Society recently purchased—the A. M. E. Zion Church on Bonner's Point. The Society voted to mark the famous "Horse Tracks" on Camp Leach road on the Ed Cutler property, to preserve this unusual phenomenon. The group is also sponsoring the publication of a Beaufort County history, being written by Col. C. Wingate Reed, U. S. N. (Ret.). Officers re-elected were Mr. Edmund H. Harding, President; Mrs. F. S. Worthy, Vice-President; Mrs. Wilton Smith, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Catawba County Historical Association met on September 9 and October 14 with Mrs. J. M. Ballard, President, presiding. General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, was the speaker at the September meeting and the Rev. Robert J. Blumer spoke at the October meeting. The Association will co-sponsor with the Lincoln County group the reprinting of the Lincoln County marriage bonds. Mr. and Mrs. Rome Jones have deeded the W. F. Rader property in Newton to the group as a possible house for the Catawba County historical museum. Officers re-elected were Mrs. Ballard, President; Mr. Thomas W. Warlick, Vice-President; Mr. G. Sam Rowe, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Roy Smyre, Secretary; Mrs. P. G. Snyder, Treasurer; Mr. Gene Hafer, Historian; and Mr. Paul Wagner, Custodian.

Mr. T. Harry Gatton, Executive Director of the North Carolina Bankers Association, was the featured speaker at the meeting of the Person County Historical Society on September 13 in Roxboro.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met on September 25 with President Stephen Perry presiding. Mrs. R. M. Riddick and Mrs. Raymond Winslow were in charge of the program.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent of the State Department of Archives and History, was the speaker at the September 26 meeting of the Swansboro Historical Association. The Association was given an old house in Swansboro and Mr. Tarlton spoke on the problems of restoring historic houses.

The Harnett County Historical Society met on October 1 at the Barbecue Presbyterian Church in Olivia, which dates from 1757. An exhibit of historical materials and artifacts from private collections was held. The Harnett County Civil War Centennial Committee was in charge of the meeting.

The Brunswick County Historical Society met at the Camp Methodist Church, Shallotte, on October 2. Mr. Ray Wyche of Hallsboro spoke on "Blockade-Runners of the Cape Fear Area."

On October 4 the New Bern Historical Association met at the Attmore-Oliver House with President John R. Taylor presiding. The group discussed the possibility of qualifying for a grant from the Richardson Foundation.

The North Carolina Archaeological Society met on October 7 in Goldsboro with Dr. J. C. Harrington, Chief of Interpretation, Region I, National Park Service, as the featured speaker. Dr. Harrington spoke on Indian history and a display of related items was presented.

Mr. W. H. S. Burgwyn, Jr., of Woodland was elected President of the Northampton County Historical Society on October 6. Other officers elected were Mr. W. S. Clarke, Vice-President; and Mrs. J. M. Atkinson, Secretary-Treasurer. The program was presented by Mr. G. B. Fleetwood and Mr. Dudley Barnes.

The Southern Appalachian Historical Association met in Boone on October 9. Reports on "Horn in the West," sponsored by the Association, were made and plans outlined for next season's production. Officers elected for 1962 are Dr. I. G. Greer, President; Mr. Herman W. Wilcox, Executive Vice-President; Mr. J. V. Caudill, Vice-President, and Mr. O. K. Richardson, Treasurer.

The Caswell County Historical Association met October 11 in Yanceyville. Mrs. L. B. Satterfield, President, presided.

Mr. Ben Baker, former mayor, spoke on the history of Smithfield at the October 15 meeting of the Johnston County Historical Society. The group met at the Centenary Methodist Church.

Mr. T. E. Storey, President, presided at the October 16 meeting of the Wilkes County Historical Society.

The Bertie County Historical Association met in Roxobel on October 19. President Thomas Norfleet presided and Mr. John W. G. Powell, a native of Roxobel and husband of Dr. Janet Travell, personal physician to President John F. Kennedy, talked informally to the group.

The Chronicle, official organ of the Bertie Association, for October, 1961, had an article, "The Renaissance in North Carolina," by Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson.

Mr. F. C. Salisbury, President of the Carteret County Historical Society, was re-elected at the October 21 meeting. Other officers elected were Mr. Thomas Respass, Secretary; Mr. John S. MacCormack, Treasurer; and Miss Amy Muse, Curator. A program on the history of the Atlantic hotels in Morehead City was presented by Mrs. J. H. Doughton and Mrs. F. C. Salisbury. Reports were made on the work of the Society, which is beginning its eight year.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association and the Burke County Historical Society held a joint meeting in Morganton on October 28. Mr. William A. Leslie of the Burke group presided and Dr. Edward W. Phifer was in charge of the program. Mr. Sam J. Ervin, III, Mr. W. Stanley Moore, Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, Mrs. E. P. White, and Mr. Clifton K. Avery were on the program. Dr. David English Carmack of Lake Junaluska was awarded the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Trophy for his book, *Human Gold from Southern Mountains*.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., *Bulletin* for November, 1961, carried the annual presidential message from Mr. R. Jack Davis. An article on the New Hanover County Museum by Mrs. Ida Brooks Kellam and a special feature, "Fort Fisher National Park Proposed (1907-1910)," by Mr. Ava L. Honeycutt, Jr., completed the *Bulletin*. The Society met on November 8 at the St. Andrews Covenant Presbyterian Church. Mr. Louis T. Moore spoke on "The Historical Significance of Third Street."

In observance of the 200th anniversary of the establishment of Pitt County, the County Historical Society sponsored a special exhibit at the Greenville Art Center during November and December. Items were displayed to trace the history of the county from January 1, 1761. Miss Tabitha M. De Visconti, Mrs. T. W. Rouse, Miss Venetia Cox, and Mr. Frank Wooten were in charge of the exhibit which opened officially November 5.

The Transylvania County Historical Association recently adopted a new seal, according to Mrs. G. H. Lyday, President. The seal was planned to coincide with the centennial of the establishment of the county. Designed by Mrs. Patricia Bennett of Brevard, the seal is a composite design of five points of emphasis—music, factory, resources, power, and a horn of plenty. The seal is centered with a covered wagon and bears the year 1861.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association met on November 10 with Mr. George Houston, President, presiding. Mr. Houston also presented a report on the restoration of the graves of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

Dr. Philip Africa, Head of the Department of History at Salem College, spoke on "The Attitude toward Slavery in the Early Salem Community" to the Wachovia Historical Society in Winston-Salem on November 27. Mr. John Fries Blair, President, presided and following the business meeting a preview tour of the Salem Tavern Barn Museum was made.

Mr. Irving Lowens, Assistant Head of the Reference Section of the Library of Congress' Music Division and Research Consultant of the Moravian Music Foundation, was presented the first Moramus Award for distinguished service to American music on October 3 in Winston-Salem. Dr. Donald M. McCorkle, Director of the Foundation, presented the award. This institution, the only one of its kind, is devoting its full resources to advancing the knowledge of the American musical heritage.

The Historical Society of North Carolina met at Wake Forest College in Winston-Salem on October 20, 1961. Papers were read by Dr. Stuart Noblin, Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., and Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, retiring President of the Society. Dr. Frontis W. Johnston was elected President and Dr. H. H. Cunningham was re-elected Secretary. New members elected to the Society were Dr. Otis H. Singletary and Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder.

Mrs. J. M. Ballard, President of the Catawba County Historical Association, has presented to the Department a copy of the reprinted edition of *Marriage Bonds of Tryon and Lincoln Counties, North Carolina*. First published in 1929, the volume has been reissued by the historical societies of Catawba and Lincoln counties. The bonds were abstracted and indexed by Curtis Bynum.

The Department has received *Thoughts of a Country Doctor* by Dr. George Ammie McLemore, Sr., of Smithfield. The 52-page book contains a biographical sketch of Dr. McLemore and a number of poems written by him. Also included are toasts and several pages of "Aunt Roxie Says," pithy comments which appeared in *The Smithfield Herald* from November 10, 1925, through March 21, 1930.

Albemarle Annals, by Charles Crossfield Ware, is a booklet of slightly over 100 pages. Recently received by the Department, this publication contains brief sketches of the 66 churches of the Albemarle Christian Missionary Union and of the Union itself. Research for the booklet was done in the Carolina Disciplina Library at Atlantic Christian College. Paper bound copies for \$1.00 and clothbound copies for \$2.00 are available from Dr. Ware, Box 1164, Wilson, N. C.

Thomas Pearson, grandson of Chief Justice Richmond M. Pearson, has written a booklet, *Richmond Hill: A Guided Tour*, which describes his ancestral home and its furnishings. This house, built on a Buncombe County tract of land originally purchased by the Chief Justice in 1867, was named by Mr. Pearson's father for the famous Richmond Hill home of Chief Justice Pearson in Yadkin County. Additional information about the pamphlet may be obtained from Mr. Pearson, Richmond Hill, Asheville, North Carolina.

Alexander Rountree Foushee has been a frequent contributor of letters to the *Roxboro Courier*, giving reminiscences of by-gone days of the town. Compiled and published in an eighty-one page booklet entitled *Reminiscences: A Sketch and Letters Descriptive of Life in Person County in Former Days*, the letters cover a wide variety of subjects. County heads of families, doctors, teachers, customs and people in the 1850's, and progress made in Roxboro from 1900 to 1914 are only a few of the topics discussed by Mr. Foushee. This publication was sent to the Department through the courtesy of The Peoples Bank of Roxboro, the Carolina Power and Light Company, and the Roxboro Chamber of Commerce. Additional information may be obtained from the Chamber of Commerce.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia announces the offer of a \$500 research award for the best historical information about John Rolfe, his appearance, and mannerisms. The Foundation is conducting the 350th anniversary celebration of the tobacco industry in the United States, which will be held in 1962. The competition, which is open to any interested person, will close March 1, 1962. Complete details are available from Mr. Parke Rouse, Jr., Jamestown Foundation, Box 1835, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Applications for the grants-in-aid for research, given twice annually by the Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, should be sent to Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director, before April 1 and October 1, 1962.

The American Association for State and Local History announced in November that the University of North Carolina Press will publish the Association's annual \$1,000 prize-winning book-length manuscript in local-

ized history. The arrangement also provides for the publication of other meritorious manuscripts recommended by the Association's 23-member research and publication committee. Dean Clifford L. Lord of Columbia University heads this Committee. Dr. Clement M. Silvestro is Director of the Association and Mr. Lambert Davis is Director of the University Press. Full details of the manuscripts award and the grant-in-aid program may be obtained by writing Dr. Silvestro, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW EDITORIAL POLICY

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

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, the style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook*, which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review*. Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

