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The North Carolina Historical Review

Autumn 1962

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—The new building of the State Employees Credit Union was photographed by Mrs. Madlin Futrell, State Department of Archives and History. For an article on the history of credit unions in North Carolina, see pages 541-548.

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PATRONS OF THE PRESS:

Subscription Book Purchases in North Carolina, 1733-1850

By William S. Powell *

In 1939 F. E. Compton delivered the fourth of the R. R. Bowker Memorial Lectures at the New York Public Library. By way of introduction he noted that he had been unable to find a definition of subscription books that could not be challenged. "But perhaps we can agree," he said, "that subscription books are, in the main, those for which a definite market is created, before or after publication, by soliciting individual orders."

The history of subscription publication is an ancient and honorable one. When England's earliest printer, William Caxton, undertook to translate and print *The Golden Legend* in 1483, he relied on a single subscription for the necessary funds. Because of the expense and the enormous amount of work involved, he tells us that he was "half desperate" until the Earl of Arundel came to his assistance. The Earl agreed to purchase "a reasonable quantity" of Caxton's book and to grant him a yearly fee for the remainder of his life.

The single patron of a publication was soon accepted as a logical means of financing a publication. Numerous flowery dedications give us some idea concerning the gratitude of authors for the assistance of their patrons. Before many years had passed groups of men were assisting in the publication of worthy works. For example, in 1552 eight Lords of the Privy Council pooled their resources to see John Foxe's *Tables of Grammar* through the press.[1]

From here it was only a logical next step to obtain lengthy lists of subscribers to assure the financial success of a book. The first surviving book in which a printed list of subscribers is found, appeared in 1617

* Mr. Powell is Librarian of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[1] F. E. Compton, *Subscription Books* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1939), 5, hereinafter cited as Compton, *Subscription Books;* Sarah L. H. Clapp, "The Beginnings of Subscription Publication in the Seventeenth Century," *Modern Philology*, XXIX (November, 1931), 205-206.

when John Minsheu, a Cambridge scholar, published a polyglot dictionary containing English words with their equivalents in other languages. The subscription list, consisting of 166 names, apparently was made up of the author's friends residing in Cambridge and Oxford.[2]

The first book published in what is now the United States was *The Whole Book of Psalms, Faithfully Translated into English Metre,* printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1640, the first printing press in this country having been set up there just the year before. The press in the colonies was subject to many restrictions and its use spread slowly. The second and third colonies to have a press were Maryland and Pennsylvania, but forty-six years had elapsed since the Massachusetts printer had set to work. Virginia was seventh of the colonies to see the establishment of a press, but that was only after a century (lacking nine years) had passed since the Cambridge press began operation. South Carolina had a press the following year, 1731, and North Carolina's James Davis opened shop in 1749. Between that date and 1785 seven other colonies or States acquired their first press.[3]

The story of printing by subscription in this country has been touched on only incidentally by historians, bibliographers, and librarians. No bibliography of subscription books has been compiled, and until more work has been done it will be almost impossible to point out the landmarks.

In 1683 Cotton Mather wrote in his diary: "There is an old Hawker, who will fill this country with devout and useful Books, if I will direct him." Some years later he recorded: "I am informed, that the Minds and Manners of many People about the Country are much corrupted by foolish Songs and Ballads, which the Hawkers and Pedlars carry into all parts of the Countrey." When the Massachusetts Assembly passed a law in 1713 restricting the peddlers, Mather commented that he "must . . . assist the Booksellers in addressing the Assembly, that their late Act against Pedlers, may not hinder their Hawkers from carrying Books of Piety about the Countrey."[4] But we do not know that they sought orders for books in advance of publication.

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[2] Compton, *Subscription Books*, 15.

[3] Lawrence C. Wroth, "Book Production and Distribution from the Beginning to the American Revolution," Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt (ed.), *The Book in America* (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1951), 7-59, hereinafter cited as Wroth, "Book Production and Distribution."

[4] *Diary of Cotton Mather* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2 volumes, 1921-1922), I, 65; II, 242, 283; Downing Palmer O'Harra, "Book Publishing in the United States to 1901," *The Publishers' Weekly*, CXV (March 16, 23, 30, April 6, 20, May 11, 18, June 8, 1929), 2,252.

Among the earliest American books known to have been sold by subscription were Samuel Willard's *Compleat Body of Divinity* (Boston, 1726), *A Collection of All the Acts of Assembly* (Williamsburg, 1733), and Thomas Prince's *Chronological History of New England* (Boston, 1736).[5] The Williamsburg imprint is the first to which persons outside the immediate area of the printer subscribed; the names of four North Carolinians appear among the uncompleted list of 250 subscribers.

Subscribers to books undoubtedly considered themselves patrons of the press and were fully aware of the fact that only through their common support could the books be issued. Public notices concerning the proposed publication of a title frequently and candidly pointed out that the manuscript would go to press only when a certain number of persons (sometimes as few as 200) had subscribed. In some instances the announcement stated simply that work would get underway as soon as the number of subscribers justified it financially.

Authors were certainly aware of their indebtedness to subscribers. In 1775 Hugh Knox begged leave "to return thanks to all his Subscribers, for the genteel encouragement they have given him. . . . He heartily wishes the work was more worthy of their acceptance and hopes, that his distance from the press will apologize for any little errors or inaccuracies which may appear in the work."[6] Robert Mayo, more than forty years later, was equally cordial in expressing "gratitude to the generous Public, for the ample patronage they have bestowed."[7] "Generous Subscription" is a term which occurs again and again by way of preface to the lists of names. An 1832 attempt to round up subscribers, however, found them less than generous. The author of *A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association* in this State tells us that after two annual efforts to induce enough subscribers to sign up for copies "to justify the undertaking," the Association resorted to taking up a collection at a yearly meeting. Passing the plate proved to be the solution to the problem, and the book appeared the next year.[8]

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[5] Wroth, "Book Production and Distribution," 52; Samuel G. Drake, "Books Published by Subscription," *The American Historical Record*, I (January, February, March, April, August, 1872), *passim*, is an interesting study of subscription books in this country and is the only one to my knowledge which makes any use of the names of the subscribers in discussing the books.

[6] Hugh Knox, *The Moral and Religious Miscellany* (New York: Hodge and Shober, 1775), 360.

[7] Robert Mayo, *A New System of Mythology* (Philadelphia [Pennsylvania]: Printed for Geo. Mayo & Co., 3 volumes. 1816), II, 345.

[8] Joseph Biggs, *A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association* (Tarboro: Printed and Published by George Howard, 1834), vii-viii, hereinafter cited as Biggs, *History of Kehukee Baptist Association.*

The Rev. Henry Pattillo, author of a book of sermons published in 1788 while he was living in North Carolina, made an interesting observation on the literary production of the country at that time. "Book-writing is but in its infancy in these states. Let no one *despise the day of* our small things," he wrote. "*Americans* will naturally relish the fruits of their own soil, though they smell of the congenial forest, and fall short of the more elaborate productions of foreign climes. And so affectingly scarce are good books, among the common people of these southern states, since the late war, that this little piece may compose the whole library in some houses its author has called at."[9]

Lists of subscribers printed in these books, if more generally known, would undoubtedly prove to be a source of much interesting information on a great many North Carolinians. Most lists of subscribers give full names and titles—Brigadier General, Major, Captain, the Reverend, Doctor, Esquire, or plain Mister which suggests some importance when assigned to some men and not to others. Often occupations or offices are indicated—governor, senator, member of congress, judge, attorney, doctor, secretary of state, justice of the peace, merchant, schoolmaster, collector of customs, sheriff, student. Degrees sometimes appear: M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.D. Place of residence frequently is given, that is, town and county, and sometimes even the name or location of a plantation. Once in a while, especially in religious books, subscribers are identified by the parish or congregation to which they belonged.[10] In some instances, however, names are grouped only by State with no further evidence of residence, and a few lists of subscribers consist only of names with absolutely no identification.

Subscribers apparently had a good idea what they were to get for their money. The forms on which their names were entered generally contained detailed statements of the proposed contents of the book, its size, number of pages, kind of binding, a note on illustrations, and frequently a proposed date of publication or some other indication as to when the volume might be expected. It appears that a period of approximately two years generally elapsed between the announcement of the publication of a book and its actual delivery to the subscriber.[11]

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[9] Henry Pattillo, *Sermons, &c.* (Wilmington [Delaware]: Printed by James Adams, 1788), vii-viii.

[10] For instance, St. Luke's Parish [Salisbury] in Henry Kollock, *Sermons on Various Subjects* (Savannah [Georgia]: Published by S. C. and L. Schenck, 1822); Center Church [Iredell County] and Thyatira Church [Rowan County] in Alexander MacWhorter, *A Series of Sermons, Upon the Most Important Principles of Our Holy Religion* (Newark [New Jersey]: Printed by John Wallis, 1803).

[11] E. Millicent Sowerby, *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 5 volumes, 1952-1959), I, 241-243, 462-465, hereinafter cited as Sowerby, *Catalogue of Library of Jefferson;* Biggs, *History of the Kehukee Baptist Association,* vii-viii.

The price, of course, was also set forth. In only one instance has evidence been found that a partial payment in advance was required,[12] but in another, James Davis expected a ten shilling deposit from persons unknown to him or who had not previously subscribed for one of his books.[13]

Frequently subscribers received a small advantage over nonsubscribers who might purchase a copy of a book later. Out of 60 subscribers who purchased more than one copy of Burkitt and Read's *Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association* in 1803, 34 bought 12 or 24 copies, so there may have been a special price for a dozen copies. In two cases persons agreeing to take six copies of a title were entitled to a seventh free of charge.[14] In others they were able to buy at a saving—twenty-five to fifty cents per copy, generally. This, however, must not have been much of an inducement to buy, for books were expensive. Marshall's *The Life of George Washington,* the most popular subscription book sold in North Carolina, cost $15.00 for the set; Wilson's *American Ornithology* cost $96.00; and Scott's edition of the Bible sold for around $25.00, depending on the binding.[15]

Subscription books purchased by North Carolinians or advertised for sale within the State may be grouped into three general categories: *first,* those known to have been sold by subscription, but which carry no lists of subscribers; *second,* those which do list the subscribers; and *third,* titles proposed for publication by subscription, but of which no copies are known today and, therefore, presumed never actually to have been published.

The first category is probably the most elusive since there is generally no internal evidence to indicate that the publication history is different from an ordinary book. We know about these cases only through external sources, usually newspaper advertisements seeking subscribers. A sermon by the Rev. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle of Rowan County on the *Comparative Happiness and Duty of the United States of America,* preached in 1795 on "the Day of General Thanksgiving and Prayer, appointed by the President of the United States," is an example. It was printed by Abraham Hodge in Halifax, "by the Request of the Hearers," we are told. Advertisements seeking subscribers appeared in both Halifax and New Bern newspapers.[16]

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[12] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), July 4, 1777, hereinafter cited as *North-Carolina Gazette.*

[13] *North-Carolina Gazette,* September 24, 1791.

[14] *North-Carolina Gazette,* June 20, 1795; *North-Carolina Minerva, and Fayetteville Advertiser,* February 10, 1798.

[15] Sowerby, *Catalogue of Library of Jefferson,* I, 241-243, 463-465; II, 95-96.

[16] *North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), August 3, 1795; *North-Carolina Gazette,* June 20, 1795.

In New Bern on July 16, 1791, *The North-Carolina Gazette* advertised that "Subscriptions to Mr. Ebenezer Hazard's *Collection of State Papers* to be printed in Philadelphia, are received at this office." Neither Volume I printed in 1792 nor the second volume, which appeared two years later, has a list of subscribers, however.

In 1791 subscriptions were sought in North Carolina for a Masonic publication which promised information on the Grand Lodges of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The Masons of North Carolina, in this case, must have been reluctant to subscribe. The book was to be put to press "so soon as a sufficient number of subscribers to defray the expence are procured." When the book finally appeared the information on North Carolina was not included, although the promised material on the other States was there.[17] A separate volume dealing wholly with North Carolina appeared in 1805, though it is not known whether subscribers were sought for it.[18]

A printed subscription form for Hugh Williamson's *The History of North Carolina* in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina is apparently unique. Added in manuscript is the name of only one subscriber, that of John Haywood of Wake County who ordered "two Setts bound" for $5.00. Williamson's plans for his history were obviously changed after the appearance of this subscription form as the two published volumes which exist today contain only the material he had projected for "Book II" of the first volume. Much of the material outlined for "Book I" appeared in a separate publication in 1811 dealing with climate. The second volume, as announced on the subscription form, never appeared but would have made a most valuable third volume to Williamson's history.

Cornelia Phillips Spencer once reported finding "a little dingy blank book" which had been the property of the Rev. Colin McIver in 1819. In it she found written proposals for publishing by subscription a volume of sermons "from the manuscript of ministers of approved reputation residing in the Southern States." Some 780 subscribers were listed in the little book, she noted, and since the Rev. Mr. McIver lived in the vicinity she added that "Fayetteville people of course lead off." According to Mrs. Spencer

"Robert Jaffray, 2 copies," is the first name on the list followed by many familiar to many since. Robt. Strange, Jno. D. Eccles, Jas. H. Hooper, W.

[17] *North-Carolina Gazette*, July 16, 1791. The book was printed in Virginia. Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (Chicago [Illinois]: Privately Printed for the Author, 14 volumes, 1903-1959), VIII, 198.

[18] *The Ahiman Rezon and Masonic Ritual* (New Bern: John C. Sims and Edward G. Moss [1805]).

In a ſhort time will be publiſhed,

The Hiſtory of North Carolina,

From its diſcovery to the end of the revolution war.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

With a correct Map of the State.

BY HUGH WILLIAMSON.

CONTENTS.

VOL. I. BOOK. I.

Of the general face of America and the changes it ſeems to have undergone.—The uniform difference between the climate of the old continent and that of the new in correſponding latitudes, and the cauſe of that difference.—The diverſity of colour that is found among the human ſpecies in the old world, and the reaſons why ſuch diverſity does not exiſt in America.—The animal productions of America compared with thoſe of the old continent.—The change of climate that has been obſerved in North America.—The effects of cultivation in North Carolina on the climate and conſtitution of its inhabitants.—The diſeaſes moſt prevalent in North Carolina, their cauſes and the means of preventing them.

BOOK II.

Of the attempts made by the ſubjects of France and Spain to form a ſettlement in Carolina.—The attempts under the auſpices of Sir Walter Raleigh to form a ſettlement in Carolina.—The firſt permanent ſettlement and the eſtabliſhment of civil government in the counties of Albemarle and Clarendon.—The adminiſtration of the governors Drummond, Yeamons, Eaſtchurch, Sothel, &c.—The palatine colony at New Bern.—The Indian wars.—The adminiſtration of the governors Eden, Burrington, Everard, Johnſton, and Dobbs.—The inſurrection under governor Tryon, and the abdication of governor Joſiah Martin.

VOL. II.

A general hiſtory of the late war, and a more particular account of every action in which the regular troops or militia of North Carolina were engaged, together with an eſtimate of the forces and ſupplies raiſed from year to year in that ſtate.

CONDITIONS.

I. This work, printed on a new type and fine paper, carefully ſtitched in boards, will be delivered to ſubſcribers at four dollars, one half the price to be paid at the time of ſubſcribing. The ſett neatly bound in leather and lettered will come at four dollars and an half. Gentlemen who wiſh to have the books in that form, will ſignify the ſame by paying two dollars and an half at the time of ſubſcribing.

II. No ſubſcriptions will be received except in North Carolina.

III. A liſt of the ſubſcribers will be publiſhed in the firſt volume, diſtinguiſhing the counties in which they ſeverally live, and, for this purpoſe, a ſubſcription paper is provided for the inhabitants of each county who may be diſpoſed to patronize the work.

IV. The books, when finiſhed, will be delivered at Edenton, Newbern, Wilmington, Fayetteville, and Haliſax, for the ſubſcribers in thoſe ſeveral diſtricts; and at Raleigh for ſubſcribers in other parts of the ſtate.

Subſcribers in the County of Wake. Paid Dlrs Cts

John Haywood & the Well bound 5 —

The pre-publication plans for Williamson's *History of North Carolina*, as set forth on this subscription form, were considerably changed before the book actually appeared.

Hooper, Charles and Peter Mallett, John Dobbin, R. Donaldson, E. L. Winslow, Thos. N. Cameron, Jno. Millins, Jno. D. Toomer, Wm. Broadfoot, and a long list of 'Macs.' Turning the pages and moving up the country I find Duncan Cameron, Alex. Wilson, Jas. Mebane, Jo. Gales, Jno. Haywood, D. L. Swain, Chas. Manly, J. S. Taylor, Paul Barringer, Jo. Hawkins, Wm. McPheeters, N. Harding. Here is many a well-known Wilmington name, Jas. Ow[e]n, McRae, Anderson, Wright, Cowan, Dudley, Taylor. All the then faculty of the University—Caldwell, Mitchell, Olmsted, Andrews, Kollock. And some of the students also subscribed, whose names are rather better known now than then. A. Mitchel, Armand DeRosset, Hugh Y. Waddell, Jos. H. Saunders. . . . Moving out West for subscribers, Rev. Colin McIver seems to have done a good business at Sugar Creek, Rocky River, Charlotte and Salisbury. Here are plenty of Alexanders, Harris', Brevards, Pharrs, Caldwells, Grahams. . . . The young men who signed their names in this little book are old men, and the old men are gone and their names are a mere echo in their native State. Why should I sit here sentimentalizing over these faded autographs? Yet somehow I turn them over sadly and tenderly.[19]

Within six months after its publication in 1829, a four-volume set of Jefferson's correspondence was subscribed for by over 6,000 persons in the South alone.[20] Since this volume was sold by subscription after, rather than before publication, it contains no list of subscribers.

The second general category of subscription books—those which include a list of subscribers—is more easily identified. The earliest volume yet found to which North Carolinians subscribed was *A Collection of All the Acts of Assembly, Now in Force, in the Colony of Virginia,* printed in Williamsburg by William Parks in 1733— sixteen years before the establishment of the printing press in North Carolina. The four North Carolina subscribers were Dr. George Alleyn of Edenton, William Little, Esq., John Lovick, Esq., and Col. Edward Mosely. For the last three no other address was given than just "North Carolina."

The first subscription book to be printed in North Carolina was James Davis' *A Collection of all the Acts of Assembly, of the Province*

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[19] Louis R. Wilson (ed.), *Selected Papers of Cornelia Phillips Spencer* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 449-450. The book to which Mrs. Spencer referred was *The Southern Preacher: A Collection of Sermons, From the Manuscripts of Several Eminent Ministers of the Gospel, Residing in the Southern States . . . Selected . . . by the Rev. Colin McIver* (Philadelphia [Pennsylvania]: Published by the Editor and Proprietor, 1824). The copy of this book in the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina Library bears an apparently contemporary signature of a former owner, Archd. Noble, who perhaps was also a subscriber. Efforts to locate Mrs. Spencer's "little dingy blank book" have been unsuccessful.

A manuscript list of 41 subscribers to Audubon's *Birds of America* in the Washington and Georgetown, D. C., area was contained in a letter by Audubon recently offered for sale by the Carnegie Book Shop, New York, N. Y., in its *Catalogue #225* [May, 1958], 3.

[20] Julian P. Boyd, "God's Altar Needs Not Our Pollishings," *New York History,* XXXIX (January, 1958), 12.

of North-Carolina, in Force and Use, Since the Revisal of the Laws in the Year 1751. Together with the Titles of All Such Laws as Are Obsolete, Had Their Effect, Expir'd or Repeal'd. With an Exact Table. It was printed at New Bern in 1764 and eighty-two "gentlemen" are recorded as having subscribed. The printer tells us, however, that several subscription papers had not been returned at the time the book was put to press and the names they were expected to contain could not be included.

The earliest women subscribers of whom any record has been found—Mrs. Mary Stevenson, Perquimans County; Miss Sarah Lippincott and Mrs. Sarah Lindsay, both of Hertford Town; and Mrs. Jean Blair and Mrs. Jermina Allen, of Edenton—bought copies of Hugh Knox's *The Moral and Religious Miscellany,* printed in New York in 1775. Mrs. Blair, in fact, took three copies. The next woman subscriber does not appear on the scene for more than a dozen years; Susannah Clark, for whom no address was given, ordered Henry Pattillo's *Sermons* published in 1788. Mrs. I. S. Blount of Tarboro was the only North Carolina subscriber for Judith Sargent Murray's *The Gleaner* printed in Boston in 1798. Not until after 1802 did the names of women begin to appear fairly frequently in lists of subscribers.

The first person recognized as a Negro subscriber was John Chavis, free Negro preacher and teacher of both races in North Carolina. He purchased two copies of *The Beauties of the Evangelical Magazine* published in Philadelphia in 1803. The earliest book *by* a Negro to which North Carolinians subscribed was *The Poetical Works of George Moses Horton* published in 1845.

A fact of possible interest to those concerned with the history of the Negro in North Carolina is that Alexander Work, Esq., of Iredell County subscribed to William Gordon's *History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America* published in 1789 in New York. This might be seized upon as evidence of his interest in books. It was to this family that Monroe Nathan Work, noted Negro bibliographer and writer, belonged.

Anyone interested in names will find it profitable to study subscription lists. For instance, it was rather unusual in the eighteenth century for a person to have two given names, yet in 1764 we find Capt. Thomas Clifford Howe of New Bern subscribing to James Davis' *A Collection of all the Acts of Assembly.* In 1771 Lancelot Graves Barry, Esq., of Wilmington subscribed to Blackstone's *Commentaries* and three years later to Hawkesworth's *A New Voyage Round the World.* Major Leonard Henly Bullock in 1788 subscribed

to Pattillo's *Sermons.* Out of 1,115 North Carolina subscribers to books in the eighteenth century only fifty-three men had more than one given name. Only two, Jean Louis Baptiste Moignard of Beaufort and John G. L. Schenck of Edgecombe County bore three given names, and they both subscribed to Martin's *The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace* in 1791. With the coming of the next century double names became more common, and we even find the name of one Robert C. T. Sydenham Hilliard among the subscribers to George Moses Horton's book of poems.

There is evidence that authors subscribed for their own works. James Iredell, for instance, appears among the list of subscribers to his volume of *Laws of the State of North-Carolina* published in Edenton by Hodge and Wills in 1791.

The names of only two North Carolinians appear among the subscribers to *The Self-Interpreting Bible,* the first Bible printed in New York City, which was issued in 1792. A Wilmington merchant took one copy, and John Boyse, A.M., of Coddle Creek, Iredell County, subscribed for 36 copies. We can only guess what Boyse did with so many copies, but it is easy to imagine that he was a schoolmaster or perhaps a minister and that he sold Bibles to supplement his meager income from teaching or preaching. Merchants frequently subscribed for a number of copies of a title, undoubtedly selling books along with their general merchandise.

The third arbitrary category of subscription books (titles proposed for publication by subscription, but of which no copies are now known and, therefore, presumed never actually to have been printed), is based largely on advertisements which appeared in North Carolina newspapers. Three examples will serve to illustrate this group and at the same time show the results of the efforts of some early journalists to write appealing advertising copy.

On October 6, 1775, the *North-Carolina Gazette,* in a most patriotic tone, recited the

PROPOSALS,

For printing by Subscription,

The most interesting Debates in the House of Commons that ever were agitated in that august and venerable Senate, the Speeches and Proceedings on the late Acts of Parliament, that were intended to sap the Foundations of *American* Freedom, and reduce these once happy Regions to a State of Ministerial Vassallage.

The Proceedings on those Acts of Parliament will be mentioned in Order as they were passed, and consist of the Speeches of Lord *Chatham*, Lord *Camden*, Lord *Effingham*, the young Marquis of *Granby*, the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, Governor *Johnston*, Mr. *Wilkes*, Mr. *Burke*, *William Temple Luttrell*, Mr. *Cruger*, and others; also the Petition and Remonstrance of the Lord Mayor and City of *London*.

To which will be added,

The following *American* Papers that have been published by the Continental, and Provincial Congresses, in Pursuance of passing the above destructive Acts of the *British* Parliament, *viz.*

The Addresses of the first and second Continental Congresses to the King, their Addresses to the People of *Canada*, to the People of *England*, and *Ireland*, and to the People of the Twelve united Colonies of *America:* Also the Address of the Provincial Congress of *Massachusetts-Bay* to the People of *England*, after the Battle of *Lexington*.

CONDITIONS.

That this Work consist of 160 Pages in small Octavo, printed on an elegant Type and *American* Paper, and delivered to the Subscribers, sewed in Boards, at the small Price of three Shillings and six Pence; or neatly bound at five Shillings.

Subscriptions are taken at the Printing-Office in *Newbern*, and Subscription Papers will be sent to the several Counties in this Province.

To the PUBLIC.

This is the first Attempt in this Province to perpetuate the Memory of those noble and venerable Senators who have stood foremost in the grand Struggle for *American* Liberty; and has been promoted and encouraged by a Number of worthy and patriotic Gentlemen in the upper Settlements of this Province [remainder of paper torn, but apparently 500 copies had been subscribed].

Two years later, on July 4, 1777, the same paper came forward with a very ambitious proposition. The editor and printer, James Davis, was offering to subscribers

An exact ABRIDGMENT of all the ACTS of ASSEMBLY of this State in Force and Use, alphabetically digested, down to the Time of publishing the Book.

Together with

An exact Table, Marginal Notes and References, shewing the Time of passing the particular Laws, and the Chapters, as printed at large in the revised Body of Laws of this State.

CONDITIONS.

1st. That the Book will be printed in large Octavo, on good *American* Paper, and a beautiful new Type.

2d. That it will contain about 500 Pages, neatly bound, and delivered to the Subscribers at three Dollars each, one of which Dollars to be paid at the Time of subscribing.

3d. That the Work will be put to Press as soon as 300 Subscribers appear.

To the PUBLIC.

The Usefulness of a Work of this Sort must forcibly strike every Person the least conversant with Business, as an alphabetical Digest must save the Trouble of turning over a voluminous Folio, and present the Reader with what he wants to know at one View; besides its being more portable, and convenient for Use. The Subscriber therefore hopes for the Encouragement of the Public to this Undertaking, and assures them of his best Endeavours to make the Performance useful. When the enormous Price to which every Article of Life is now risen is considered, he hopes the Public will not think three Dollars too high, nor the Payment of one of them at the Time of Subscription, unreasonable.

He begs Leave, as he is now solliciting the Favour of the Public on another Publication, to return them his most sincere Thanks for their great Encouragement to his former Labours, his Revisal of the Laws, and Office of a Justice, having had a rapid Sale, there being but few of them now left on Hand. As he is now detached from the Service of the Public as Printer to the State, in which honourable Service he has laboured *Twenty Eight* Years, he is quite at Leisure, and if properly encouraged, will publish the Book with all imaginable Expedition.

JAMES DAVIS.

Subscription Papers are taken in at the Printing Office in *Newbern*, and Subscription Papers will be sent to the several Counties of the State, of which Public Notice will be given in this Paper.

A third example of the proposed publication of yet another type book will, perhaps, remind readers that the present-day handy, one-volume reference works are really not based on a new idea. In the late winter and early spring of 1799 Wilmington and Salisbury papers brought their readers news of the pending publication, not later than October 20, 1800, of *The North-Carolina Register and Almanac*. It was intended "to be published annually, with such corrections and additions as time may require," they were informed, "to render it a useful Pocket Companion to all its Patrons." [21]

[21] *The Wilmington Gazette*, March 7, 1799; *The North Carolina Mercury and Salisbury Advertiser*, June 27, 1799.

This new book was to contain

Some useful extracts from the history, geography, constitution and laws of this state.

Observations and directions to masters of vessels and pilots, concerning the navigation and of the coast and rivers of North-Carolina.

Abstract from the constitution and laws of the United States; and a correct list of the members of both houses of congress—the executive officers of the federal government—the consuls and ministers of the United States, residing in foreign countries; and their places of abode—the consuls and ministers of foreign governments, residing within the United States; and their places of abode—the officers and vessels in the navy of the United States—the members of both houses of the state legislature—all other officers of the state, from the governor to the magistrate, whether civil, military, or such as have appointments under the general government, in aid of the revenue; including public notaries, inspectors of produce for exportation, trustees and commissioners of public schools, town officers, sealers of weights and measures, branch pilots, &c.

Also, the times of holding circuit and district courts of the U. States; and of superior and county courts, in this state.

Some account of the incorporated societies in this state, their times of meeting and associations.

A brief account of the manners and times of doing business in the custom houses.

Together with rates of custom-house officers' fees—lighterage—storage—postage—and duties on merchandize imported into the U. States—on tonnage of vessels—on stampt paper, &c.—on wheel carriages—on distilled spirits, the produce of the U. States—on lands—on houses—on negroes—of drawbacks and bounties. And some useful tables of money, time, tide, &c. &c.

The North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina Library has two broadside subscription forms for books which apparently were never published. From New Bern on November 15, 1803, Francois-Xavier Martin announced proposals for printing by subscription "A Digested Index to the American Reports." It was to be put to press the first of January, 1804, and to sell for $5.00. A list of persons receiving subscriptions in various places from New York to Charleston was included as well as space for listing the names and place of residence of subscribers. A second broadside contains "Proposals for Publishing a Pocket Hymn Book" to contain about 250 pages. "A large number of the Hymns and Songs," we are told, "have never been in print." The form is undated, but subscribers promised

New-bern, November 15th, 1803.

PROPOSALS

FOR PRINTING BY SUBSCRIPTION,

A

DIGESTED INDEX

TO THE

AMERICAN REPORTS.

BY *FRANCOIS-XAVIER MARTIN,*
of NORTH-CAROLINA.

SPRUNG from the same stock, speaking the same language, occupying the same division of the western hemisphere, united under one Federal Government, having the same political and commercial relations with the other nations of the earth, the inhabitants of these States cannot differ much in their municipal laws and customs. In reality the common law of England is in every State the basis of its jurisprudence, varied in a few instances only by some legislative improvements, which necessity has required or convenience suggested. Every where wants nearly similar have produced similar emendations.

HENCE the decisions of the courts in the several States cannot fail to be interesting to those, generally, who may have the wish and the leisure to examine and compare them, and to the jurist, particularly, who is called by duty and interest to seek a knowledge of them all.

THESE are now accumulated to more than twenty volumes; and it is imagined that the compression of them into a portable one, being a digest of every case alphabetically arranged, must be an important index to those who are in possession of the whole, and a valuable substitute to those who are willing to save the expence and the labour of so many volumes.

IT is presumed that nothing further need be said in regard to the utility of this work, abstractedly considered. In offering it to the public, the compiler will only say, that to an experience of many years in the practice of the law and in several compilations of a similar nature, chiefly confined to the State in which he resides, his minutest care and best exertions are added—in the hope that the undertaking will be found to be executed in a manner to deserve the patronage he has solicited.

THE work is executed on the plan of the *Digested Index to the Chancery Reports*, lately published in England, and will refer to every adjudged case recorded in the American books of Reports, viz. *Root's, Kirby's, Coleman's*, New-York Term Reports, Opinions given in the Mayor's Court of New-York, *Dallas', Wallace's, Washington's, Call's, Haywood's, Taylor's, Bee's*, and two pamphlet volumes published in N. Carolina, the one by *D. Cameron*, Esq. the other by the maker of this compilation.*

To avoid confusion, all the cases depending on acts of the Legislature or on rules of practice of the several States, have been placed under two general heads, divided into a distinct paragraph for each State.

* *If there be any other American reports, they will be procured and added before the work is put to press.*

CONDITIONS.

I. THE work to be comprised in one octavo volume, printed on good paper and type, and delivered to subscribers in law binding.

II. THE price to be *four dollars*, payable on delivery.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are received by Messrs. *Ezra Sergeant & Co. H. Caritat, T. & J. Swords*, in New-York; Mr. *Sheppard Kollock*, Elizabethtown; Messrs. *Mathew Carey, John Conrad & Co. T. Bradford*, and *George Davis*, Philadelphia; Mr. *Rice*, in Baltimore; Messrs. *Cotton & Stewart*, Alexandria; Messrs. *Conrad, Rapin & Co.* City of Washington; Mr. *Wm. Pritchard*, Richmond; Mr. *Edward Mirick*, Norfolk; Messrs. *Somerville & Conrad*, Petersburg; Mr. *A. Hodges*, Halifax; Mr. *R. Davidson*, Warrenton; Mr. *Lemuel Standin*, Edenton; Messrs. *Js. Gales and W. Boylan*, Raleigh; Mr *Allmand Hall*, Wilmington; Mr. *Peter Perry*, Fayetteville; Messrs. *Crow & Querry*, Charleston—and other Book-Sellers throughout the United States.

IT is requested that the subscription papers may be all returned to the publisher at New-bern, by the first of January next, when the book will be put to press.

Subscribers' Names. *Residence.*

The top portion of a subscription form describing the proposed book. A blank space at the bottom of the page was left for subscribers' names.

to pay Robert T. Daniel eighty cents for each copy. The names of fourteen subscribers have been added in ink.[22]

[22] The subscribers were Richard Allen, 6 copies, Green[e] County; Abraham Joiner, Green[e] County; Marshal Dickinson, Pitt County; David Smith, Pitt County; Elizabeth Cobb, Kinston; Mary Anderson, Kinston; Rachell McCabe, New Bern; Elizabeth Bryan, New Bern; Sally Whitfield, New Bern; Mary Lane, New Bern; Thomas Ringold, New Bern; Bryan McCabe, New Bern; Saml. Simpson, 12 copies, Fort Barnwell; and Wm. P. Biddle, 6 copies, New Bern. Writing in the *Wake Forest Student,*

While publishers, or perhaps printers is the more accurate term, seem generally to have relied on newspaper advertisements and printed forms to gather advance subscriptions, we do have the names of a number of individuals who took book subscriptions. In many cases some person in each county of the State was authorized to receive subscriptions. James Davis of New Bern, Abraham Hodge of Halifax, Allmand Hall of Wilmington, and Joseph Gales and William Boylan both of Raleigh, and all five printers, frequently appear as taking subscriptions.

The *Fayetteville Gazette* for October 9, 1792, advertised that copies of *A Collection of the Statutes of the Parliament of Great-Britain, Which are now in force in the State of North-Carolina* would be sent by "the very first opportunity" to distant subscribers, and that copies might be had from William Farris, Washington; Hodge and Wills, Edenton; Joseph Ross, Tarboro; Stephen Camberling, Greenville; B. Stith, Halifax; John Hogg, Hillsboro; Robert Donnell, Wayne County; Perry and Tarbe, Fayetteville; Montfort Stokes, Salisbury; Dr. J. Kingsbury, Mattamuskeet; and William Ferrand, Swansboro.

In the early years of the nineteenth century subscriptions were taken in Warrenton by Richard Davidson, London-born newspaper publisher and judge; in Fayetteville by Peter Perry, a prominent merchant; and in Edenton by Lemuel Standin, long-time postmaster. In New Bern two former Continental Surgeons, Dr. Isaac Guion and Dr. Solomon Halling, took subscriptions. Both men were prominent in Masonic circles, and Halling was also a druggist, schoolmaster, and Episcopal clergyman. Many authors, of course, were also quite actively engaged in procuring subscribers.

Frequently persons desiring to subscribe for a book were instructed to leave their orders with local postmasters, and on at least one occasion "several Gentlemen of the Bar" were reported to be taking subscriptions. Booksellers ranging across the State undoubtedly were glad to act as agents for book publishers as they did for newspaper publishers. Records exist of booksellers operating in North Carolina in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from Edenton, New Bern, Swansboro, and Wilmington in the east to Salisbury, Salem, and Morganton in the west.[23]

XXV (October, 1905), 16-17, Charles E. Taylor noted that Robert Thomas Daniel published a 280-page book entitled "Daniel's Selection" in Raleigh in 1812. It consisted of 176 hymns and 52 "Spiritual Songs." In 1905 Taylor had a copy which he described as "well printed and strongly bound," but recent efforts to locate this copy have been unsuccessful.

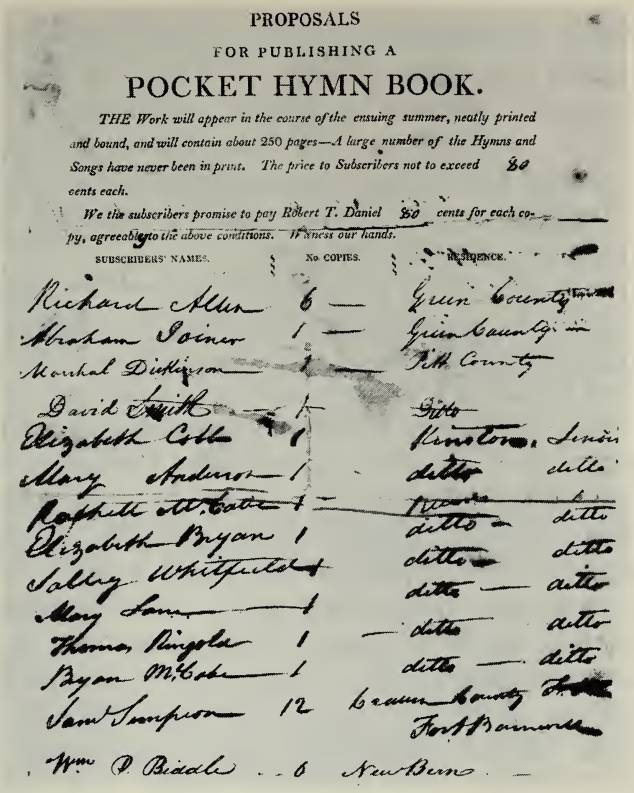
[23] *North-Carolina Gazette*, September 24, 1791, December 26, 1795; Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 8 volumes, 1922-1954), VIII, 3,414.

A bibliography of seventy-four books having subscription lists which include the names of North Carolinians is the result of more than six years of diligent searching in this country and in England. The earliest of these appeared in 1733 and an arbitrary terminal date of 1850 has been set. In 1795 six titles, the maximum for any one year, were published, and for only three years during that period were there as many as four books. In 1792, 1794, and in 1803 there were four. In 1772, 1791, 1793, 1802, and 1804 there were three. In seven different years there were two, and for the remainder of the time only one or none. The period between 1790 and 1800 represented good years for subscription book salesmen in North Carolina; during that ten-year period, twenty-five titles were offered in forty volumes. Insofar as number of volumes purchased in North Carolina was concerned, however, the five-year period 1802-1807 was more important; 1,459 North Carolinians bought fifteen titles published in twenty-eight volumes.

If any valid conclusion can be drawn from two examples of the publication of second editions, it might be that once the market for a book was satisfied, further editions were useless. The original 1803 edition of *A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association* by Burkitt and Read was popular—321 subscribers purchased 885 copies. A revised edition published in 1850 found only one subscriber in North Carolina. In 1775 thirty-four subscribers, mostly in Hertford County, purchased 121 copies of Hugh Knox's *Moral and Religious Miscellany*. In 1807 only 23 copies of a new edition were sold, this time to residents of Burke County, for the most part.

A classification, while not strictly according to general library practice, will nevertheless give some idea of the interests of North Carolinians during this period. Sixteen books are of a religious nature, including the Bible; twelve relate to law; nine are in the field of history; five are poetry; six each are biography, literature and essays, and geography and travel; eight are on scientific subjects, including natural history and agriculture; two deal with arithmetic and discount and interest; and one each is on a foreign language and shorthand. Worthy of special note is the fact that a United States Senator from North Carolina in 1793 purchased a copy of *The System of Short-hand, practised . . . in Taking Down the Debates of Congress.*

A respectable number of North Carolinians bought Oliver Evans' *The Young Mill-wright & Miller's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1795), and James H. Conway's *The North-Carolina Calculator, or New Practical Arithmetic* published at Salisbury in 1819. Only one saw fit to order



PROPOSALS

FOR PUBLISHING A

POCKET HYMN BOOK.

THE Work will appear in the course of the ensuing summer, neatly printed and bound, and will contain about 250 pages—A large number of the Hymns and Songs have never been in print. The price to Subscribers not to exceed 80 *cents each.*

We the subscribers promise to pay Robert T. Daniel 80 *cents for each copy, agreeably to the above conditions. Witness our hands.*

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.	No. COPIES.	RESIDENCE.
Richard Allen	6	Green County
Abraham Joiner	1	Green County
Marshal Dickinson	1	Pitt County
David Smith	1	Ditto
Elizabeth Cobb	1	Kinston, Senior
Mary Anderson	1	ditto ditto
Rachel M. Cotten	1	ditto ditto
Elizabeth Bryan	1	ditto ditto
Sabley Whitfield	1	ditto ditto
Mary Sam	1	ditto ditto
Thomas Pingola	1	ditto ditto
Bryan McCobb	1	ditto ditto
Sam Simpson	12	Craven County Fort Barnwell
Wm P. Biddle	6	New Bern

A completed subscription form. No copy of Daniel's hymnal has been found, but Dr. Chas. E. Taylor, writing in the *Wake Forest Student* for October, 1905, described a copy which he then had before him. Entitled *Daniel's Selection,* this 280-page book was printed in Raleigh by Thomas Henderson in 1812. This subscription form is in the Bruce Cotten Collection of North Caroliniana at the University of North Carolina Library.

Varlo's *A New System of Husbandry* in 1785, but in 1811 nineteen bought Mason's *The Gentleman's New Pocket Companion, Comprising a General Description of the Noble and Useful Animal the Horse.*

John Marshall's *The Life of George Washington,* published in five volumes in Philadelphia between 1804 and 1807, was the most popular subscription book sold in North Carolina. Some 548 copies were purchased in the State, and it is interesting to note that Mason Locke Weems, whose story of Washington and the cherry tree has almost been accepted as fact, toured North Carolina taking orders for this set of books.[24]

Only one copy of several titles was sold in North Carolina, but all told, during the forty-one years when at least one subscription book

[24] *The American Historical Record and Repository of Notes and Queries,* II (February, 1873), 82-83; James S. Purcell, "A Book Pedlar's Progress in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXIX (January, 1952), 8-23.

was sold, North Carolinians purchased 3,481 books. A number of these appeared in two volumes, a few in three, but most were single volumes. Alexander Wilson's *American Ornithology*, however, was published in nine volumes, and the *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States* filled twelve volumes. These figures suggest that North Carolinians were buying nearly a hundred books a year, on the average, by subscription alone.

If subscription lists reflect geographical interest in books, and some of them obviously do, we must conclude that the press in North Carolina was quite provincial. Out of ten subscription books published in North Carolina between 1764 and 1845 only four were subscribed for outside the State. Virginians took 328 copies of *A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association* published at Halifax in 1803; an even hundred copies of John Haywood's *Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Superior Courts* (Raleigh, 1806), including copies ordered by former North Carolinians Andrew Jackson and Hugh Lawson White in Tennessee, were purchased in that State and in South Carolina, Kentucky, and Virginia; two copies of James Gay's poetry, the first volume of poetry printed in North Carolina, were sold in Connecticut and five in South Carolina; and twelve copies of Joseph Bigg's *Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association* were purchased by a Georgian.

Subscribers at home were scattered pretty well over the State, but the large number of them from Rowan, Burke, and Buncombe counties, particularly in the years before 1800, suggests that North Carolinians took advantage of this means of buying books largely because no other sources were readily available to them in rural North Carolina. The subscription book agent undoubtedly created his own market and in so doing contributed to the education of his clients.

SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS[25]

Aikin, John. [1]
A view of the life, travels, and philanthropic labors of the late John Howard. Philadelphia: Printed for John Ormond, by W. W. Woodward, 1794.
(6 subscribers)

[25] No place of residence is given for the subscribers to entries number 5, 6, and 30 in this bibliography, and only those who can be identified as North Carolinians are considered in reporting the number of subscribers. In the case of number 65, subscribers in North Carolina and Virginia are listed together, so in this study only those persons who can be identified as North Carolinians are considered.

The beauties of the Evangelical Magazine. Philadelphia: Printed by William W. Woodward, 1803, 2 vols. [2]
(4 subscribers)

Belknap, Jeremy. [3]
The history of New-Hampshire. Boston: For the author, 1791-1792. 3 vols.
(2 subscribers)

Benedict, David. [4]
A general history of the Baptist denomination in America, and other parts of the world. Boston: Printed by Manning & Loring . . . for the author, 1813. 2 vols.
(180 subscribers purchased 290 copies)

Bible. [5]
The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments: together with the Apochrypha. Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey, 1802.
(20 subscribers)

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with original notes, practical observations, and copious marginal references. By Thomas Scott, Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks. Philadelphia: William W. Woodard, 1804-1809. 5 vols. [6]
(10 subscribers)

The self-interpreting Bible: containing the sacred text of the Old and New Testaments. New York: Hodge and Campbell, 1792. [7]
(2 subscribers purchased 37 copies)

Biggs, Joseph. [8]
A concise history of the Kehukee Baptist association, from its original rise to the present time. Tarboro: Printed and published by George Howard, office of the Tarborough (N. C.) Free Press, 1834.
(392 subscribers purchased 650 copies)

Blackstone, William. [9]
Commentaries on the laws of England. Philadelphia: Printed for the subscribers, by Robert Bell, 1771-1772. 4 vols.
(23 subscribers)

Brown, John. [10]
A dictionary of the Holy Bible. Pittsburgh: From the Ecclesiastical and Literary press of Zadok Cramer, 1807. 2 vols.
(4 subscribers)

Bryan, Daniel. [11]
The mountain muse: comprising the adventures of Daniel Boone; and the power of virtuous and refined beauty. Harrisonburg [Va.]: Printed for the author: by Davidson & Bourne, 1813.
(1 subscriber)

Burkitt, Lemuel, and Jesse Read. [12]
A concise history of the Kehukee Baptist association from its original rise down to 1803. Revised and improved by Henry L. Burkitt. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1850.
(1 subscriber)

A concise history of the Kehukee Baptist association from its original rise to the present time. Halifax: Printed by A. Hodge, 1803. [13]
(321 subscribers purchased 885 copies)

Calcott, Wellins. [14]
A candid disquisition of the principles and practices of the most antient and honourable society of Free and Accepted Masons. London: Printed: Reprinted and sold by Brother William M'Alpine, in Marlborough-Street, Boston, 1772.
(3 subscribers)

Carey, John. [15]
The system of short-hand, practised by Mr. Thomas Lloyd, in taking down the debates of Congress. Philadelphia: Published by J. C. . . . and sold by H. and P. Rice, 1793.
(1 subscriber)

Carpenter, Thomas. [16]
The American senator or a copious and impartial report of the debates in the Congress of the United States. Philadelphia: Printed by J. Page, 1796-1797. 3 vols.
(3 subscribers purchased 4 copies)

Catesby, Mark. [17]
The natural history of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands. London: Printed at the expence of the author, 1743. 2 vols.
(1 subscriber)

Colman, Henry. [18]
European agriculture and rural economy. From personal observation. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Company, 1850. 2 vols.
(1 subscriber)

Conway, James H. [19]
The North-Carolina calculator, or new practical arithmetic. Salisbury: Printed by J. Krider, 1819.
(115 subscribers purchased 190 copies)

Davies, Samuel. [20]
Sermons on important subjects, by the late reverend and pious Samuel Davies, A.M. . . . The fifth edition. To which are now added, three occasional sermons, not included in the former editions. New York: Printed for T. Allen, 1792.
(1 subscriber)

Dickinson, John. [21]
The political writings of John Dickinson, esquire, late president of the state of Delaware, and of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Wilmington [Dela.]: Printed and sold by Bonsal and Niles, 1801. 2 vols.
(2 subscribers)

Dufief, Nicholas Gouin. [22]
Nature displayed, in her mode of teaching language to man. Philadelphia: Printed by Thomas L. Plowman, for the author, 1804. 2 vols.
(44 subscribers)

Evans, Nathaniel. [23]
Poems on several occasions, with some other compositions. Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap, in Market-Street, 1772.
(1 subscriber)

Evans, Oliver. [24]
The young mill-wright & miller's guide. Philadelphia: Printed for, and sold by the author, 1795.[26]
(9 subscribers)

Gardiner, John, and David Hepburn. [25]
The American gardener. Washington: Printed by Samuel H. Smith, 1804.
(3 subscribers)

Gay, James. [26]
A collection of various pieces of poetry, chiefly patriotic. Pub-

[26] One of the earliest books of its kind, it was reprinted until as late as 1853. Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (New York: Joseph Sabin, 29 volumes, 1868-1936), VI, 273; The Association of Research Libraries, *A Catalog of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards* (Ann Arbor [Michigan]: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 167 volumes, 1942-1946), XXXXV, 640.

lished at the earnest request of a number of good citizens for the improvement of patriotic minds. Raleigh: Printed by Wm. Boylan, 1810.
(67 subscribers purchased 208 copies)

Goldsmith, Oliver. [27]
An history of the earth, and animated nature. Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey, 1795. 4 vols.
(5 subscribers)

Gordon, William. [28]
History of the rise, progress, and establishment of the independence of the United States of America. New York: Printed by Hodge, Allen, and Campbell, 1789. 3 vols.
(107 subscribers purchased 121 copies)

Gutherie, William. [29]
A new system of modern geography: or, a geographical, historical, and commercial grammar; and present state of the several nations of the world. Philadelphia: Printed by Mathew Carey, 1794-1795. 2 vols.
(5 subscribers)

Halyburt, Thomas. [30]
Natural religion insufficient and revealed necessary to man's happiness in his present state. Albany: Printed by H. C. Southwick, 1812.
(8 subscribers)

Hanson, Thomas. [31]
The Prussian evolutions in actual engagements; both in platoons, sub, and grand-divisions. Philadelphia: Printed for the author, by J. Douglass M'Dougall, 1775.
(1 subscriber)

Hawkesworth, John. [32]
A new voyage, round the world, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, and 1771; undertaken by . . . Captain James Cooke, in the ship Endeavour, drawn up from his own journal, and from the papers of Joseph Banks, esq., F.R.S., and published by the special direction of the Right Honourable the Lords of the Admiralty. New York: Printed by James Rivington, 1774.
(57 subscribers)

Hopkins, Samuel. [33]
The system of doctrines, contained in divine revelation, expanded and defended. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793. 2 vols.
(1 subscriber)

Horatius Flaccus, Quintus. [34]
The lyric works of Horace, translated into English verse: to which are added a number of original poems. By a native of America. Philadelphia: Printed by Eleazar Oswald, 1786.
(2 subscribers)

Horton, George Moses. [35]
The poetical works of George M. Horton, the colored bard of North-Carolina. To which is prefixed the life of the author, written by himself. Hillsborough: Printed by D. Heartt, 1845.
(99 subscribers)

Juvenalis, Decimus Junius. [36]
The satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis, translated into English verse, by William Gifford. Philadelphia: Printed by Thomas Lowry Plowman, 1803.
(2 subscribers)

Knox, Hugh. [37]
The moral and religious miscellany. New York: Printed by Hodge and Shober, 1775.
(34 subscribers purchased 121 copies)

The moral and religious miscellany; or, sixty-one aphoretical essays, on some of the most important Christian doctrines and virtues. Gettysburg, Pa.: Printed by Robert Harper, 1807. [38]
(23 subscribers)

Kollock, Henry. [39]
Sermons on various subjects, by the late Henry Kollock, D.D., with a memoir of the life of the author. Savannah: Published by S.C. and L. Schenck, 1822. 4 vols.
(25 subscribers purchased 26 copies)

Linn, William. [40]
Sermons historical and characteristical. New-York: Printed by Childs and Swaine, 1791.
(3 subscribers)

MacWhorter, Alexander. [41]
A series of sermons, upon the most important principles of our Holy Religion. Newark: Printed by John Wallis, 1803. 2 vols.
(160 subscribers purchased 196 copies)

Marshall, John. [42]
The Life of George Washington. Philadelphia: Printed & Published by C. P. Wayne, 1804-1807. 5 vols.
(548 subscribers)[27]

[27] Included with the North Carolina subscribers in the published list are three from "Clarke C. H." This obviously is an error, and they have not been considered in this

Martens, Georg Friedrich von. [43]
A summary of the law of nations, founded on the treaties and customs of the modern nations of Europe; with a list of the principal treaties, concluded since the year 1728. Philadelphia: Published by Thomas Bradford, 1795.
(20 subscribers)

Martin, Francois-Xavier. [44]
The office and authority of a justice of the peace, and of sheriffs, coroners, &c. According to the laws of the state of North-Carolina. Newbern: Francois-Xavier Martin, 1791.
(203 subscribers)

Mason, Richard. [45]
The gentleman's new pocket companion, comprising a general description of the noble and useful animal the horse. Petersburg: John Jackson, 1811.
(19 subscribers)

Mayo, Robert. [46]
A new system of mythology, . . . giving a full account of the idolatry of the pagan world. Philadelphia: Printed for Geo. Mayo & Co., by M'Carty & Davis, 1816. 3 vols.
(41 subscribers)

Murray, Judith Sargent. [47]
The gleaner, a miscellaneous production. Boston: Printed . . . by I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, 1798. 3 vols.
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North Carolina (Colony). Laws, statutes, etc. [48]
A collection of all the acts of assembly, of the Province of North-Carolina, in force and use, since the revisal of the laws in 1751. Together with the titles of all such laws as are obsolete, had their effect, expir'd or repeal'd. With an exact table. To which is prefixed, a list of the names of those gentlemen who subscribed for the book. Newbern: Printed by James Davis, 1764.
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North Carolina. Laws, statutes, etc. [49]
A collection of the private acts of the General Assembly of the State of North-Carolina, from the year 1715, to the year 1790, inclusive, now in force and use. Newbern: Francois-Xavier Martin, 1794.
(42 subscribers purchased 146 copies)

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study. Among the Virginia subscribers are thirteen from "Charlotte." These include six men named Alexander and one named Allison which certainly are Charlotte, North Carolina, names, but these thirteen have not been considered here.

A collection of the statutes of the Parliments of England in force in the State of North Carolina. Published according to a resolve of the General Assembly by Francois-Xavier Martin, Esq. Counsellor at Law. Newbern: The editor's press, 1792. [50]
(104 subscribers purchased 116 copies)

Laws of the State of North-Carolina. Published, according to act of assembly, by James Iredell. Edenton: Printed by Hodge & Wills, Printers to the State of North Carolina, 1791. [51]
(235 subscribers purchased 340 copies)

North Carolina. Superior Courts. [52]
Reports of cases adjudged in the Superior Courts of Law and Equity, Court of Conference, and Federal Court. For the State of North Carolina; from the year 1797 to 1806. By John Haywood, Esq., Vol. II. Raleigh: Printed by William Boylan, 1806.[28]
(178 subscribers purchased 179 copies)

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History of the United States, from their first settlement as English colonies, in 1607, to the year 1808 . . . continued to the Treaty of Ghent, by S. S. Smith. Philadelphia: Published by Mathew Carey, for the sole benefit of the heirs of the author, 1810-1817. 3 vols.
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Robinson, Robert. [56]
The history of Baptism, edited by David Benedict. Boston: From the press of Lincoln & Edmands, 1817.
(32 subscribers purchased 93 copies)

Rowlett, John. [57]
Rowlett's tables of discount, or interest, on every dollar. Philadelphia: Printed for the proprietor, by Hugh Maxwell, 1802.
(9 subscribers)

[28] An earlier volume with a similar title was published in Halifax in 1799, but there is nothing in it to indicate that it was sold by subscription.

Scott, Joseph. [58]
The new and universal gazetteer; or, modern geographical dictionary. Philadelphia: Printed by Patterson & Cochran, 1799-1800. 4 vols.
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Sermons, by Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D., President of the College of New-Jersey. Newark: Printed and sold by Jacob Halsey and Co., 1799.
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A tour of the United States of America: containing an account of the present situation of that country. London: Printed for G. Robinson, 1784.
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Walpole [N. H.]: Printed for Thomas & Thomas, by T. Carlisle, 1801.
(6 subscribers purchased 13 copies)

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The practical farmer: being a new and compendious system of husbandry, adapted to the different soils and climates of America. Wilmington [Dela.]: Printed by Brynberg and Andrews, 1793.
(1 subscriber)

State papers and publick documents of the United States from the accession of George Washington to the presidency. [63]
Boston: Printed and published by Thomas B. Wait, 1819. 3rd edition. 12 vols.
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Swift, Zephaniah. [64]
A system of the laws of the state of Connecticut. Windham [Conn.]: Printed by John Byrne, for the author, 1795-1796. 2 vols.
(12 subscribers)

Tousard, Anne Louis de. [65]
American artillerist's companion, or elements of artillery. Philadelphia: Published by C. and A. Conrad & Company, 1809-1813. 3 vols.[29]
(5 subscribers)

[29] A copy of the prospectus for this book was sent by the author to the governor of North Carolina. It is now in the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina Library.

Varlo, Charles. [66]
A new system of husbandry. From many years experience, with tables shewing the expence and profit of each crop. Philadelphia: The author, 1785. 2 vols.
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Virginia (Colony). Laws, statutes, etc. [67]
The acts of assembly, now in force, in the colony of Virginia. Williamsburg: Printed by William Hunter, 1752.
(4 subscribers)

A collection of all the acts of assembly, now in force, in the colony of Virginia. Williamsburg: Printed by William Parks, 1733. [68]
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A collection of essays and fugitive writings. On moral, historical, political and literary subjects. Boston: Printed for the author, by I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, 1790.
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The Weekly magazine of original essays, fugitive pieces, and interesting intelligence. Philadelphia: J. Watters & Co., 1798-1799. [70]
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American ornithology; or, the natural history of the birds of the United States. Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1808-1814. 9 vols.
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The works of the Rev. John Witherspoon, D.D. L.L.D. late president of the college at Princeton, New-Jersey. To which is prefixed an account of the author's life, in a sermon occasioned by his death, by the Rev. Dr. John Rodgers, of New-York. Philadelphia: Printed and published by William W. Woodard, 1802. 2nd ed. 4 vols.
(116 subscribers purchased 145 copies)

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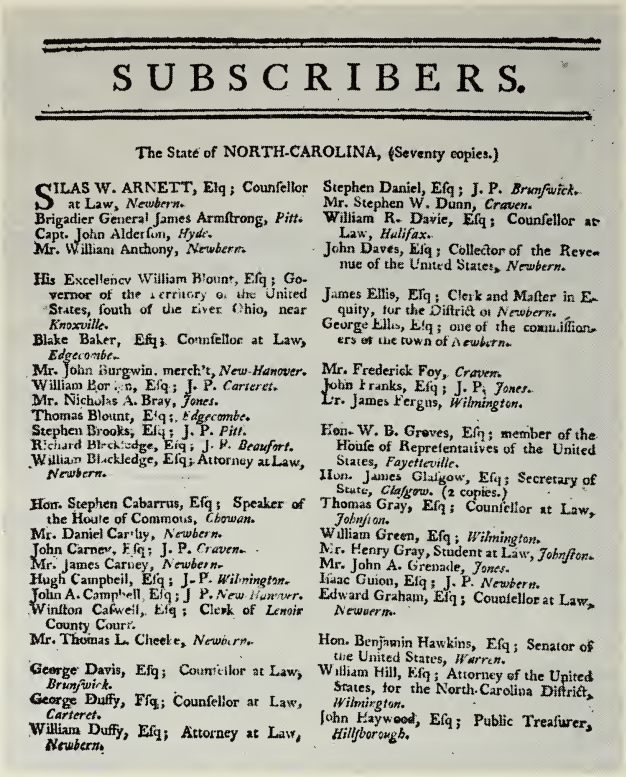

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[30] The Mero District was in Tennessee. Since this territory was not ceded by North Carolina and accepted by the United States until April 2, 1790, Allison undoubtedly was a citizen (if not a native) of North Carolina at the time of subscribing.

[31] MHRUS is an abbreviation used a number of times for "Member, House of Representatives, United States."

[32] A county formed in 1787 in North Carolina's western territory which was ceded to the United States in 1790 to become the State of Tennessee. David Leroy Corbitt, *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1950), 117, hereinafter cited as Corbitt, *Formation of North Carolina Counties.*

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[33] Thyatira is a Presbyterian Church in Rowan County.
[34] Center is a Presbyterian Church in Iredell County.

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[35] St. Luke's Parish is in Salisbury.
[36] The University of North Carolina Library now has the Rev. Mr. Empie's copy of this book.

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[37] This is perhaps an error for Tarbe. The 1790 Census lists a [firm?] Perry & Tarbe. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, North Carolina* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 41, hereinafter cited *First Census, 1790*. One Peter Tarbé of Fayetteville is mentioned in an advertisement in the *Fayetteville Gazette*, October 12, 1789.

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[38] Apparently the middle initial "I" was printed but corrected by hand in ink to read "F."

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[39] The name follows Richard Henderson in the list of subscribers and may have been intended for Henderson. "Huderson" could have been the typesetter's reading of a poorly written "Henderson."

[40] Subscribers are shown as being from South Carolina, but none specifically from North Carolina. Hume, marked as being "of Carolina," may have been from the older of the two Carolinas, North Carolina.

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[41] Merchant Knox may have been related to Hugh Knox, author of this volume, and this may explain why so many copies were sold in Hertford.

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[42] The copy of this volume in the University of North Carolina Library has the bookplate of "Peter P. Lawrence."

[43] Lenox Castle was a summer resort at the mineral springs in Rockingham County, named for its witty and eccentric proprietor, John Lenox, who advertised his tavern in 1804 as "The Castle of Thundertontrenck." 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, 14.

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[45] "N. C. Co." is undoubtedly the result of the subscription-taker's unfamiliarity with the names of North Carolina counties. One James Marshall lived in Anson County in 1790, according to the *First Census, 1790* and a man by the same name, also from Anson County, subscribed for John Haywood's *Reports* in 1806. "N. C. Co." and "Anson Co." when spoken do sound very much alike, and this suggests that subscriptions to this book were taken orally by an agent who toured the State.

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[46] A county formed in 1777 in North Carolina's western territory which was ceded to the United States government in 1790. A part of Washington County was annexed to Wilkes County in 1792. Corbitt, *Formation of North Carolina Counties*, 216.
[47] "Mrs. Shirley" follows "Geraldus Shirley" in the list of subscribers.

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[48] The Right Worshipful Col. Simpson, Master of the First Lodge in North Carolina, in 1772 when this volume was published, cannot now be positively identified. His first name may have been William. One William Simpson was a member of the Lodge some years later. St. John's Lodge No. 1, A. F. & A. M., Wilmington, has none of its records for the period 1754-1788. Chas. B. Newcomb, Secretary, to William S. Powell, October 23, 1956.

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WILLIAM R. KING AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

By John M. Martin *

When the momentous First Session of the Thirty-First Congress met in December, 1849, William Rufus King had still not arrived in Washington. This veteran Alabama senator was still in Montgomery, where he had gone to be near the State legislature while it considered his re-election to the Senate and had remained to nurse a severe cold and wait for weather more favorable for travel.[1] Knowing the serious problems then facing Congress, King had been reluctant to accept

* Dr. Martin is Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences, West Georgia College, Carrollton.

[1] Born in Sampson County, North Carolina, April 7, 1786, King was the second son of William and Margaret DeVane King. After attending academies near his home, King entered the Preparatory School at the University of North Carolina in 1800 and the University of North Carolina in 1801. Although he made a commendable record at the University, King left that institution in 1804 without taking a degree and began the study of law under William Duffy of Fayetteville. In 1808 he was elected representative to the North Carolina House of Commons from Sampson County, an office held earlier by his father. He was re-elected in 1809, but resigned to become solicitor of the fifth circuit of the State superior court.

In 1810, when the incumbent chose not to seek re-election as congressman from the Wilmington District, King was elected to that office. He began his career at the national level at the age of twenty-five when President Madison called Congress into special session in late 1811. An ardent supporter of the War of 1812, King was twice re-elected by the people of his district; however, he resigned in 1816 to join William Pinkney as secretary on a special diplomatic mission in Europe. After his return to the United States about two years later, King moved to the rapidly developing Territory of Alabama. Settling in Dallas County, he was chosen as representative to the Alabama Constitutional Convention of 1819 and, shortly thereafter, as one of Alabama's first senators. Except for a brief period in the 1840's, when he resigned to become Minister to France, King continued to represent Alabama in the Senate until after his election to the Vice-Presidency in 1852. Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama, And Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi, From the Earliest Period* (Charleston [South Carolina]: Walker and James, 2 volumes, 1851), II, 410-417; University Student Records, 1795-1809, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina State Gazette*, August 24, 1809, August 30, 1810, May 7, 1813, August 18, 1815. Although the title to this newspaper was changed in 1811 and varies thereafter, for this reference it is cited as it appeared on the first date mentioned.

King took the oath of office as Vice-President of the United States in Cuba, where he had gone to recover his health. A special act of Congress made his swearing-in possible. He later returned to his home in Dallas County, Alabama, and died there (without reaching Washington, D. C.) on April 18, 1853. His body, originally interred in a vault on his plantation, was later moved to the City Cemetery, Selma, Alabama. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961: The Continental Congress, September 5, 1774, to October 21, 1788, and The Congress of the United States, From the First to the Eighty-Sixth Congress, March 4, 1789, to January 3, 1961, Inclusive* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1961), 1,168.

another term in the Senate. He wrote his friend James Buchanan, "I hesitated to permit my name to go before the Legislature; and certainly should have declined being a candidate, had any respectable portion of the Democratic Party been opposed to me. A seat in the Senate is, I assure you, far from being desireable to me; bringing with it as it does at this particular time especially, great responsibility, great labor, and no little anxiety."[2] While he waited in Montgomery, King worried about what was taking place in Washington. He expressed special concern that southern Whigs were supporting Robert Charles Winthrop as Speaker of the House. "From the bottom of my heart do I curse them," said King, "for abandoning the South to embrace the interest of a party which they must know is laboring to deprive it of its constitutional rights. Winthrops election will give a death blow to settling the slavery question upon anything like a fair compromise."[3] After a final party at the Exchange, at which "wine passed pretty freely," King left for Washington in mid-December.[4]

After he arrived in Washington a few days later, King found much cause for alarm. He wrote an Alabama friend that the slavery question was the "all absorbing subject" and was being agitated by "Fanatics and unprincipled aspirants for political power." Seeing the dangers involved, he sought to bring about such a compromise on the troublesome issue as would maintain the honor and the constitutional rights of the slaveholding States. The best hope for the South lay in unity. If the whole South stood together without division, wrote King, northern extremists would perhaps check their attacks and permit "the patriotic men of every section to meet upon grounds of compromise, and thus settle this agitating question." If this were not possible and attacks on southern rights continued, he stood ready to resist "at every hazard, and at every sacrafice."[5] Writing of the slavery question to Buchanan, he expressed fear that there would be no early settlement of the issue and that the probable action of Congress would "drive the South to desparation." The North, he said, was deceiving itself in supposing it could continue to violate southern rights with impunity. Northern aggressions had already broken party ties, and Whigs and Democrats were standing shoulder to shoulder to resist the

[2] William R. King to A. Saltmarsh, December 12, 1849, copy in William R. King Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, hereinafter cited as King Collection; *Southern Advocate* (Huntsville, Alabama), November 16, 1849, hereinafter cited as *Southern Advocate*.

[3] King to James Buchanan, January 6, 1850, James Buchanan Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, hereinafter cited as Buchanan Collection.

[4] King to Saltmarsh, December 12, 1849, copy in King Collection.

[5] Thomas Butler Cooper to Mrs. Thomas Butler Cooper, December 11, 1849, Thomas Butler Cooper Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

attack. "They must," he warned, "stop at once their course of aggressions or nothing but divine intervention can prevent a dissolution of the Union." [6]

On the floor of the Senate during January and February, King sought to calm emotions and to prevent sectional bickering. When William H. Seward presented an antislavery petition drawn up by his constituents in New York, King asked that it be tabled so that "miserable fanaticism" would not have the opportunity to agitate the slavery question.[7] Later he moved that a similar petition from New Hampshire be tabled, explaining that no step should be taken during the prevailing excitement that would further stir emotions and perhaps do "incalculable mischief." Agitators of the slavery question, he declared, were drawing a "fearful responsibility on themselves" and would be accountable if excitement were further aroused.[8] When a clash occurred between Jeremiah Clemens of Alabama and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, over a resolution introduced by Clemens asking the President to furnish information about California, King intervened as a peacemaker. Explaining that he wished no vote taken that would array one section against another or that would give the impression that any section was actuated by sectional prejudice, he concluded, "I speak as a Senator who has been here many years, and as one always anxious to see the members of this body preserve that decorum and kindness toward each other which secures to the body the respect in which it is held throughout the country and the world." [9]

Late in January, when Henry Clay presented his famed compromise resolutions, King was one of the first to express his approval. In a speech that the *Union* called "calm, dignified, and statesmanlike," he deprecated the fact that so much emotionalism was being shown by some members of the Senate and called on the body to use the resolutions as a possible basis for settlement.[10] Although he did not agree with Clay on all points, he conceded that the resolutions had been presented with good intent and deserved consideration. King objected to the immediate admission of California, partly because of its mixed population (Chinese, Mexicans, Sandwich Islanders, and the like) and

[6] King to George Washington Gayle, January 15, 1850, Files of the Alabama Governors, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[7] King to Buchanan, January 13, 1850, Buchanan Collection.

[8] *The Congressional Globe: Containing Sketches of the Debates and Proceedings, 1833-73* (Washington, D. C., John C. Rives [and Others], New Series, 46 volumes [in 111 books], 1833-1873), Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), XXII, Part I, 164. This reference will hereinafter be cited as *The Congressional Globe.*

[9] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe,* XXII, Part I, 342.

[10] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe,* XXII, Part I, 180-182.

partly because its constitution had been drawn up in an irregular manner. He preferred that States follow the procedure used when he and Clay entered the government service. Then, territorial governments had been set up and used while the populace was being trained in the exercise of government. Only after this period of training and after the territory had acquired a certain population had statehood been granted. King denied that the South was seeking to force slavery into the proposed territories. Rather, it was contending for a great principle lying at the very foundation of its constitutional rights, the security that slavery would not be prohibited. Said King: "We ask no act of Congress . . . to carry slavery anywhere. . . . I believe we have about as much constitutional power to prohibit slavery from going into the Territories of the United States as we have power to pass an act carrying slavery there. . . . There is the difference—not that it shall be admitted or established, but that it shall not be prohibited." King agreed with Clay that to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia would be a violation of good faith toward Virginia and Maryland as long as they maintained slavery, but that the slave trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia. "I have never seen the day," declared King, "when I was not willing to pass a law for the purpose of breaking up those miserable establishments that exist under the very eyes of Congress itself, and are so offensive to many gentlemen, who feel, perhaps, more sensitive on the subject than I do." As for Texas, King said that the United States would be showing bad grace if, after having conquered territory from Mexico, it refused to let Texas have the boundaries it asked. In spite of his objections to the Clay resolutions, King pledged himself to yield all he could with honor and without the sacrifice of essential rights. With the wisdom of long experience, he urged his fellow senators "to keep as far as possible within those temperate and calm limits which ought to be practicable to all." ". . . no good results," he warned, could come "from angry discussion upon any question."[11]

As heated debate on the subject of slavery continued during February, King lamented the fact that it was consuming so much time and creating such great excitement; however, he began to see prospects for settlement. In late February, he wrote a friend in Alabama that he had been "laboring to induce the North to open her eyes to the dangers by which we are surrounded" and was beginning to have faint hope that they would "cease their aggressions and agree to such adjustment as we of the South can with honor accept." If they

[11] *Daily Union* (Washington, D. C.), February 2, 1850.

did not make concessions, on them would rest responsibility for the consequences.[12] King approved Daniel Webster's conciliatory "Seventh of March" speech, but felt that John C. Calhoun's impassioned speech given a few days earlier did mischief "by pushing things to an extreme."[13]

At the request of James Buchanan, King in early March conducted a survey among his fellow southern congressmen to determine their thinking about the various issues then before Congress. His investigation showed that there was great diversity of opinion, that southerners had not come to any general understanding about any of the problems involved and would not likely reach such an understanding. Nevertheless, King was able to formulate certain conclusions based upon his many conversations. First, southerners preferred an extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific with an express understanding that slavery would be protected south of that line during the territorial stage; but, since acceptance of this plan appeared unlikely, they would be willing to accept some other arrangement such as the creation of a new State out of a portion of Texas. Southerners, he felt, wished to see the disputed land in Texas purchased for a liberal consideration and a territory created in New Mexico "saying nothing on the subject of Slavery." They hoped to see the extravagant boundaries of California curtailed and a territory created south of 36° 30′ without mention of slavery; however, they would probably acquiesce in the admission of California with its existing boundaries.[14] In the light of later developments, King seems to have given an amazingly accurate estimate of southern feelings.

Later in March, when John P. Hale of New Hampshire charged that James Buchanan had once called the Democratic Party of the North "the natural ally of the South," King came to Buchanan's defense in a speech that was also a call to the northern Democracy for aid in the existing crisis. Actually, said King, Buchanan had merely said that northern Democrats were "in favor of protecting the rights of the South to their slave property under the Constitution" and that the South could look to them "for aid in defending and protecting their rights." King hoped that others in the North would still uphold this viewpoint.[15] Later, when Hale reopened the question charging that Buchanan had said all Christendom was allied against the South

[12] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Part I, 250.
[13] King to Saltmarsh, February 27, 1850, copy in King Collection.
[14] King to Buchanan, March 11, 1850, Buchanan Collection.
[15] King to Buchanan, March 11, 1850, Buchanan Collection.

except for the northern Democracy, King again came to Buchanan's defense. Admitting that European reformers and northern abolitionists were allied against the South, he charged that their views were based on ignorance of the South. They did not know about the manner in which slaves were treated, the kindness shown toward them, or the utter impossibility of producing emancipation "without the destruction of one race or the other, and producing a state of things which no human being, with the common feelings of humanity, [could] ever wish to see brought about." Once northern Democrats had been willing to help preserve the rights of the South; but now, regrettably, they were changing their views in order to court the abolitionists.[16]

In April King delivered a speech in opposition to the immediate admission of California which was characterized by both conciliation and firmness, a love of the South but a greater love of the Union. Despite the existence of her constitution, King said that California was not a State and could not be a State until Congress gave its consent, nor would northern senators be in such haste to admit California if her constitution provided guarantees for slavery. King wished the entire slavery question settled on a "reasonable basis" so as to restore "fraternal relations and harmony." He would yield anything consistent with his duty to his constituents and his country, but he would not be driven to a course which he believed would neither be beneficial to the country nor put an end to agitation. If outsiders attempted to interfere with southern rights, King warned, there would be no division among the people of the wronged section. They would stand shoulder to shoulder in resistance. They would concede much to maintain good will, but, driven to the extreme, would be "compelled to calculate the value of the union." Few men, he declared, had been more attached to the Union than he. In past years he had not taken part in wild schemes because he considered them visionary and dangerous. Now he trusted that there would be "patriotism, good sense, and fraternal feeling enough" for the Senate to act upon the slavery question in such a way as would "restore harmony and peace to the country." The United States was destined for greatness, said King, if peace could be preserved at home. "We have nothing at all to fear from abroad," he concluded, "It is our internal dissensions, our internal bickerings and strife, got up in some instances by unprincipled politicians, to advance their own selfish purposes, and carried forward through the medium of miserable fanatics, that are becoming stronger

[16] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Part I, 548.

and stronger every day, that is leading to results of which God only knows the end." He urged the Senate to work out solutions that would save "this glorious union from division and fulfil the destiny" which awaited it.[17]

King's April correspondence reflected a feeling of deep pessimism. He now expressed doubt that the rights of the South could be protected and the Union preserved. Had southerners presented a united front from the first, there would have been little difficulty in securing a satisfactory settlement, but such had not been the case. The "banefull spirit of party" had divided them, and the unfortunate division had encouraged northern agitators to "persevere in their course of aggression." So long as it was believed that there would be united action on the part of the South, northern meetings had been called at which abolitionists were denounced and congressional representatives called upon to respect the constitutional rights of the slaveholding States. Lack of union in the South, however, had given encouragement to the extremists in the North.[18] King blamed especially the abolitionist element, who in an effort to secure political elevation, fostered this spirit of fanaticism. Without the slavery question as an issue, they would sink into their original insignificance; hence, they ministered to the "contemptible and infamous" spirit of fanaticism in order to gain power.[19] The death of John C. Calhoun, he felt, constituted a severe loss to the cause of the South; for no man, said King, was "more devoted to its interests than he was."[20]

King was a member of the select committee of thirteen chosen on April 19 to investigate the various questions before the Senate. His chief desire during the hearings was to seek an adjustment of the slavery question which would "save the honor of the South, and protect her essential rights." He stood ready to yield all that could properly be surrendered "to restore harmony to the land, and preserve . . . free institutions."[21] King did not agree with the entire committee report, which approved, in essence, the resolutions offered by Clay in January. He especially objected to the proposed admission of California with such extensive boundaries and with two members in

[17] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Part I, 608.

[18] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Part I, 706-707.

[19] King to Matthew P. Blue, April 11, 1850, Matthew P. Blue Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Blue Collection.

[20] King to Morgan Smith, April 23, 1850, quoted in *Advertiser and State Gazette* (Montgomery, Alabama), May 22, 1850, hereinafter cited as *Advertiser and State Gazette*.

[21] King to Blue, April 11, 1850, Blue Collection.

Congress and without any restriction on her right to tax public lands. Nevertheless, he pledged his support for the proposed adjustment if it could be stripped of some of its more objectionable provisions.[22]

As debate on the compromise proposals developed, King took the floor on several occasions. Speaking on the Texas boundary question in June, he said that Texas had a claim to the disputed territory which was "right, just, and proper." She had been received into the Union with the understanding that her boundaries would be guaranteed. Now that the disputed territory had been acquired from Mexico, the Texas claim should be allowed and compensation given her for any land taken away. Any claims of New Mexico to the territory were of minor consequence since it was not yet a State and was completely subject to the will of Congress. King denied a southern contention that purchase of the territory would convert slave soil into free soil. Such was not the case; for if Congress purchased the disputed land from Texas, it would be recognizing the Texas claim and the existence of Texas law which protected slavery. Any territorial legislature would be duty-bound to respect existing institutions; therefore, owners of any kind of property could safely go there during the territorial stage. Since planters would go only where climate and soil permitted slaves to be used profitably, he suspected that much of the territory acquired from Mexico would not attract planters with their slaves. If such were the case, the people of New Mexico, when they acquired statehood, could exclude slavery if they wished. In favoring the purchase of territory from Texas, King admitted that he differed from many of his southern colleagues in Congress and many of his constituents in Alabama, but said that he preferred to follow a course that was "right in itself."[23]

King spoke out again when an amendment was offered to the New Mexico territorial bill implying that Congress might later refuse to admit a State if its constitution protected slavery. If the amendment passed, said King, southerners would be forced to believe that there was a determination on the part of the North to reject all prospective States unless their constitutions prohibited slavery within their limits. He warned supporters of this view that the "days of the Republic" were numbered if the time ever came when a State was rejected because its people chose to preserve slavery. In such a case, southerners would join together and resist as one man. They wished to have as-

[22] King to Morgan Smith, April 23, 1850, quoted in the *Advertiser and State Gazette*, May 22, 1850.
[23] King to Buchanan, May 8, 1850, Buchanan Collection.

surances that States would not be prevented from coming into the Union simply because they were not ready to give up slave property in order to "gratify fanaticism."[24]

In his private correspondence written during June, King complained that the slavery question was receiving so much attention and expressed fear that the vexing problems before Congress would not be solved until it was too late. Blaming the excitement on the rabid "fanaticism of the North" and "too much ultraism in the South," he feared that the moderate conservative men of the North and South would "be a lean minority, on any reasonable plan of settlement." And, if no settlement were reached at that session of Congress, he visualized that excitement would become greater and greater and the feelings of sectional hostility increased until "nothing short of divine interposition" could save the Union.[25] If southerners had united in favor of the Missouri Compromise line at an earlier date, there would have been hope for settlement on that basis; but now he feared it was too late.[26]

King was elated when the Nashville Convention in July adopted a moderate set of resolutions including a demand for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line.[27] He called these resolutions "temperate and dignified" and such as became the body from which they emanated. On the other hand, he opposed the belligerent address of the convention because it expressed extreme views that would tend to "inflame the public mind" and induce southerners to believe that they had "no security from northern aggressors" except the bursting asunder of bonds of union. They would tend to stir up passions which would take control of southern thinking in place of "sound sense and patriotic devotion to country."[28]

When President Zachary Taylor died on July 9 and Vice-President Millard Fillmore succeeded to the Presidency, King was chosen Presient pro tem of the Senate by the unanimous vote of both parties. His being selected at such a time was a real tribute to King's reputation for fairness, integrity, and ability as a presiding officer. In his eulogy of President Taylor, he asked all senators to "vow on the altar of our country to discard all bickering and strife, all sectional dissensions,

[24] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Part I, 867-868.

[25] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Appendix, Part II, 907-908.

[26] King to Dr. Neal Smith, June 13, 1850, *Gulf States Historical Magazine*, I (July, 1902), 45.

[27] King to Buchanan, June 8, 1850, Buchanan Collection.

[28] King to Buchanan, June 11, 1850, Buchanan Collection.

and live and die as Americans should, in support of the Union." And in his acceptance speech, he promised to enforce Senate rules mildly, but firmly, and impartially in order to promote "harmony of the body and of sound legislation."[29] The Whig *National Intelligencer* probably expressed the general approval of the country when it said King was "a gentleman of ripe experience" in the duties he had assumed and that he was equally fitted "by his personal qualities of uprightness, courtesy, and dignity of manner."[30] As presiding officer, King sought by strict application of Senate rules to steer the body away from dangerous questions and to moderate angry debate. In doing so, he undoubtedly helped make sessions more orderly than they had previously been.[31]

In mid-July King came down from the chair to make his longest speech of the session. In this speech, he examined all the provisions of the Compromise Bill and explained why he could not support it unless certain modifications were added. As he viewed the bill, "not one solitary provision" was fully satisfactory to the South; nevertheless, there were certain portions of it which would be accepted by southerners if other portions were amended so as to justify them in accepting the whole bill collectively.[32]

King reasserted his view expressed earlier that the slave trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia. Slave pens operated by speculators shocked the feelings of southerners as well as northerners and should be abolished. He had confidence that the humanity and kind feelings of the southern people would cause them to support him in this view.

Although he conceded that the fugitive slave provision in the bill might be defective, King nevertheless gave his assent to it. Some southerners objected to the section requiring a slaveowner to apply to courts of his own State for a record of ownership of any escaped slave and to furnish a transcript of this record as evidence of ownership in the courts of the State to which the slave had fled. They maintained that such a procedure gave the slave jury trial and endangered the effectiveness of the law, but King defended the plan because "record evidence" would be respected more in the courts outside the South than would any other kind of evidence. Everything possible should be

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[29] King to Saltmarsh, August 25, 1850, King Collection.

[30] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Part II, 1,365, 1,370.

[31] *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), July 12, 1850, hereinafter cited as *Daily National Intelligencer*.

[32] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Part II, 1,390, 1,433, 2,072.

done, he said, to prevent the execution of the law from shocking the sentiment of the country; the plan as it stood was well designed to reduce friction growing out of its administration.

King declared that the claim of Texas to disputed territory in the Southwest was so strong that the United States could not deprive her of it without a breach of faith. Her rights had been rendered perfect by conquest. Hence, he favored doing substantial justice to Texas by giving her "reasonable compensation" for her claim. Although she preferred the land, she had shown a willingness to compromise in order to restore peace and harmony. Southerners need not fear that purchase of the territory would mean substitution of Mexican law forbidding slavery in place of Texas law guaranteeing slavery, for Texas law could only be abrogated through positive enactment which could take place only after New Mexico achieved statehood. In the meantime, slaveowners could carry their slaves into the territory if they wished.

King approved the section of the bill which provided for the organization of Utah and New Mexico as territories. It was framed, he said, so as to embody the principle of nonintervention contended for by the South for some years. It provided that the legislative power of the territories should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the Constitution and the act, but that no law could be passed establishing or prohibiting African slavery. Was not the South protected? "I hold that we are," declared King, "and that the Territorial Legislature has no power whatever to pass any law which destroys that description of property in that Territory. They are bound, on the other hand, to pass laws to protect property of every description." Planters need not fear that Mexican law would endanger their property, for the Supreme Court, if a test case ever arose, would rule that American laws over property were paramount over Mexican law. He would not be afraid to carry his own property into the area.

In the proposed admission of California as a State with its extensive boundaries, King found "an insuperable objection" to the Compromise Bill. He and his fellow southerners would have been willing to overlook the irregularities associated with the forming of the California constitution if the boundaries had been kept within "properly restricted limits," but such had not been the case. As then constituted, California would be an empire within itself with a seacoast of over a thousand miles. If it were split, there would be more likelihood that the United States would be able to retain the West, and southern congressmen would have better ground on which to stand. King proposed an

amendment, therefore, calling for the division of California along the parallel 35° 30′, the land to the north to be included in California and the land to the south to be left for later settlement. Although the arrangement might result in two free States, he felt that the South would not object. If the area proved unfit for slavery and if those who favored creating a free State became dominant, they could make the second State free at the time they drew up a constitution. But, warned King, "Let [Congress] determine to withhold from the South all participation in that whole country—let them determine to do what is tantamount to the enactment of the Wilmot proviso, so far as that extensive country is concerned—let them determine on that, and God only knows how long the peace of the country is to be preserved." He would vote for the bill only if modifications were made, especially with regard to California. Steps had to be taken to do justice to all sections and quiet the public mind.[33] Despite King's impassioned defense of his views, the amendment was voted down, as was the Compromise Bill at a later date.[34]

Later, when the Compromise Bill was broken down into several component parts, King voted for some portions of it and against others. He supported the purchase of territory from Texas for $10,000,000, the admission of California, the New Mexico territorial bill, and the fugitive slave bill, but voted against the bill for the suppression of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.[35] Although King did not speak about any of these issues in the Senate at the time, he later defended his views in a public letter. Despite his indignation because slavery had been kept out of all of California, King said he could see no violation of the Constitution in admitting California as a State since Congress had the undoubted right to admit States. He voted as he did on the Texas boundary question believing that he was "promoting the true interests of Texas and the whole South." No slave territory had been surrendered to free soil, and Texas had not been treated unfairly. Since New Mexico and Utah had been organized without any limitations on slavery, any slaveowners could carry their property there with perfect security. Finally, King explained why he had voted against abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia after he had committed himself to vote for such a measure. The law as finally passed, he pointed out, called for the emancipation of

[33] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Part II, 1,411.

[34] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Appendix, Part II, 1,395-1,397.

[35] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Appendix, Part II, 1,404.

all slaves brought in contrary to the law, and he could not bring himself to vote for the emancipation of any slave regardless of the circumstances. Although he realized that many southerners disagreed with him, he could not trim his sails to "every popular breeze" and violate obligations he owed the common country.[36]

As a result of the adoption of compromise measures, Alabamians split into two groups: the Southern Rights group, or "disunionists," and the Unionists, or "submissionists." Although King's intentions had been honorable in voting as he did on the compromise bills, he was denounced by many from the Southern Rights group. In late August, he wrote Buchanan that he was in a fair way of being "denounced in Alabama as a submissionist; a craven surrenderer of southern rights" because of his vote on the Texas boundary bill. The disunionists, he said, would "exert every nerve to inflame the public mind, now so easily excited, against [him], and all others who [had] manifested a disposition to settle if practicable this fearfull question." At the same time, he predicted that all moderate men of the South would be broken politically if the North did not cease its aggressive conduct.[37] In a letter to a friend in Alabama, he expressed regret that he was being denounced by his "old Friends" but conceded that northern agitation of the slavery issue tended to jeopardize southern interests. Under the circumstances more "sound sense and patriotic devotion to country" were needed. Only if constitutional provisions were set at naught and southern States denied their essential rights should there be a dissolution of the Union. In that case, honor, interest, self-respect, and self-preservation would require separation; but, so far, nothing had been done that would bring about the "sacrifice of the honor of the South or the destruction of its essential rights." [38]

Virulent attacks on King and his Senate colleague, Jeremiah Clemens, were made in "disunionist" newspapers and at meetings held over the State in protest against the compromise measures. Reporting the passage of the Texas territorial bill, the Montgomery *Advertiser and State Gazette* declared, "It will be seen that both our Senators voted for it—*et tu Brute!* We cannot, will not approve this buying of slave territory to make it free, merely because Millard Fillmore, the abolition President, has planted his foot upon it and drawn the sword in its defense. . . . Look at the vote, and sicken, as we, at its contemplation." [39]

[36] Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), *The Congressional Globe*, XXII, Part II, 1,540, 1,555, 1,573, 1,569, 1,674, 1,660.
[37] King to A. B. Clitherall, June 16, 1851, quoted in *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 15, 1851.
[38] King to Buchanan, August 26, 1850, Buchanan Collection.
[39] King to Saltmarsh, August 25, 1850, King Collection.

The *Dallas Gazette,* in King's home county, castigated him for his views regarding the slave trade and his vote for the dismemberment of Texas and charged that there was "much complaint against Col. King, in every quarter, on the subject of his recent Congressional course."[40] Commenting on some of King's views, the Wetumpka *State Guard* declared, "If this is truly the position of Col. King, every county in the State should request him to resign his seat in Congress, for no man entertaining such views, though it may be Col. Wm. R. King, a large and extensive slaveowner, should speak for Sunny Alabama, upon the floor of Congress." The same newspaper later called him a submissionist who would support any platform of "cowardly submission to every and any act Congress might think proper to perpetrate."[41] Even the usually friendly Huntsville *Democrat* found it difficult to reconcile King's new loose construction views of the Constitution with his old strict construction views. There might as well be no constitution if it was to be interpreted as loosely as King proposed.[42] Meetings of Southern Rights groups were equally critical. One Montgomery meeting declared that the pockets of King and Clemens were "stuffed with Texas bonds."[43] Another Montgomery meeting passed a resolution saying that King had voted against the wishes of the group and perhaps of nineteen-twentieths of the people of Alabama, and that his views better reflected those of the people in New York and Massachusetts.[44] Still another group, meeting at Line Creek, resolved that the views of King and Clemens failed to meet the approval of the group and that they should be advised "to come home unless they do better."[45] One correspondent of a State newspaper accused King of betraying the South into the hands of the abolitionists "for the sake of a *few* federal honors."[46]

On the other hand, newspapers with Unionist leanings came to King's defense. One of his old antagonists, the *Florence Gazette,* when it found him under attack by the "bloodhounds of disunion," called his course wise and patriotic and promised him support against "disunion intriguers."[47] The *Mobile Daily Advertiser* said that none could ever suspect King of favoring disunion and expressed belief that he would

[40] *Advertiser and State Gazette,* August 21, 1850.
[41] *Dallas Gazette* (Cahawba, Alabama), quoted in *Mobile Daily Advertiser* (Alabama), October 22, 1850, hereinafter cited as *Mobile Daily Advertiser.*
[42] The *State Guard* (Wetumpka, Alabama), quoted in the *Weekly Alabama Journal* (Montgomery), November 2, 30, 1850, hereinafter cited as *Weekly Alabama Journal.*
[43] *Democrat* (Huntsville, Alabama), November 28, 1850, hereinafter cited as *Democrat.*
[44] *Weekly Alabama Journal,* October 3, 1850.
[45] *Mobile Daily Advertiser,* October 30, 1850.
[46] *Weekly Alabama Journal,* September 12, 1850.
[47] *Southern Advocate,* December 4, 1850.

"repudiate the little knot of secessionists" who were trying to bring him under their influence.[48] The *Weekly Alabama Journal* declared that King had done his duty in true fealty to his section and urged him to defend himself against his attackers.[49] The *Southern Advocate* praised his stand for peace, compromise and union and his efforts that helped bring about the triumph of patriotism over "Fanaticism and Ultraism."[50]

Throughout the fall of 1850, King sought to secure acceptance of the Compromise in Alabama and to calm emotions that had been aroused. Soon after his return to Alabama in October, he declined to attend meetings proposed in his honor at Selma and Tuscaloosa on the grounds that such gatherings would tend to array one group of people against other groups and further arouse passions already too much inflamed. In his letter to the Selma committee, he admitted that injustice had been done the South by Congress, especially by the admission of California with such extensive boundaries and with slavery excluded. But, said King, "no constitutional provision was violated by her admission"; and, as a mere act of unjust legislation, it could not, in his opinion, furnish justifiable grounds for the extreme measures openly advocated by some. As regarded the other compromise measures, he added, "I presume there is no one so ignorant of the constitution as to contend that, by any of them, that instrument has been violated either in letter or spirit."[51] In a similar vein, he wrote the Tuscaloosa committee that the honor of the South remained untarnished, the Constitution inviolate. Yet extremists, more afraid of what might happen than of what had happened, were demanding extreme measures. If such groups had been allowed to take control every time in the past when oppression had occurred, the Union would have been broken long ago. Fortunately, good sense had always prevailed in the past, and he hoped it would prevail in the existing crisis. If, however, a spirit of fanaticism in the North, combined with a lust for power, caused that section to pursue a course in the future that threatened the Constitution and southern property, all southern men should "hurl defiance at the fanatical crew, and unitedly determine to defend their rights at every hazard and every sacrifice." At the present, there was still hope that "intelligence and patriotism of the North" would succeed in arresting the mad career of "fanatics and unprincipled aspirants for power" and that harmony could be restored

[48] *Florence Gazette* (Alabama), November 9, 1850.
[49] *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, October 22, 1850.
[50] *Weekly Alabama Journal*, October 3, 1850.
[51] *Southern Advocate*, August 16, 1850.

to the country.[52] Both letters were widely publicized and received the plaudits of those who favored acceptance of the Compromise.[53]

In early November King declined to attend a meeting called by the Unionists in Montgomery for the purpose of arousing Union sentiment in the State. His refusal was in part based on his desire to prevent further turmoil and in part on his desire to rebuke the Unionists for seeking to organize a new party. In his letter declining the invitation, King expressed doubt that the Compromise would bring peace and quiet to the country. A sense of injury would continue to rankle in the minds of southerners and could be eradicated only by time and a willingness on the part of the North to respect southern rights. In what had been done, the most that could be expected of the South was acquiescence. Nevertheless, he could see no grounds for resorting to such revolutionary measures as were being advocated by those seeking to excite the public mind and convince the people that their only safety lay in the dissolution of the Union. "With such men," he declared, "I have no sympathy—I am no disunionist." On the other hand, King was unwilling to be called a submissionist. The people of Alabama knew "full well" that their rights, their interests and his were the same and would be slow to believe that he had allowed their constitutional rights to be violated.[54]

Privately, King sought to prevent the Democratic Party of Alabama from becoming identified with immediate secession. Although many party members were disturbed about the recent action of Congress, he wrote a friend, a majority were not ready to adopt extreme measures to secure redress. Most southerners were willing to submit to the Compromise and wait for further developments. Identification of the Democratic Party with any disunion movement would inevitably place Alabama in the hands of the Whigs; therefore, the party must dissociate itself from the extremists in order to stay in power. Leaders should take no rash action but should try to unite the South following the lead of Virginia and Georgia. Moreover, the North must be made to realize that the "cup of forebearance" was full and that any further aggression would "snap the cord which binds us together." In the meantime, Democrats should cease denouncing each other and avoid making immediate secession a part of their creed.[55]

In Washington during the short Second Session of the Thirty-First

[52] King to Selma Committee, October 20, 1850, quoted in *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, October 30, 1850.

[53] King to Tuscaloosa Committee, October 23, 1850, quoted in *Democrat*, November 28, 1850.

[54] *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 7, 1850.

[55] *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, November 19, 1850.

Congress, King, as President of the Senate, took little part in debate; but, working behind the scenes, he sought to encourage honest execution of the compromise measures and to maintain unity in the Democratic Party.[56] Writing from Washington in March, he took a more optimistic view toward conditions than he had taken earlier. He now believed that further agitation of the slavery question would not be countenanced "by any respectable portion of either House of Congress" and that all indications pointed to the likelihood that there was less danger of encroachments upon southern rights than at any time for the past twenty years. Despite the efforts of "fanatical wretches" to prevent its enforcement, he felt that the Fugitive Slave Law would be enforced. King hoped, therefore, that southern people would not "suffer themselves to be hurried into revolutionary measures" by demagogues and political aspirants unless unexpected aggression should occur. He could see none of the advantages of dissolution of the Union that secession orators and newspapers proclaimed.[57] Denouncing these "self styled States rights men," King charged that disunion had been their object from the beginning. They had capitalized upon unjust measures of the previous Congress which had excited the southern people and had furnished them an opportunity to carry on their disunion project in the guise of defending southern rights against northern aggressions. Because of the excitement of the moment, many worthy citizens had joined the movement with no clear view about its intentions; but, now that its disunion designs were known, the good and true would abandon the extremist leaders and deliver them to the condemnation of every patriot in the land.[58] King further warned Alabama Democrats that divisions within the party would inevitably lead to Whig control and admonished the different factions to practice moderation and forbearance in order to secure "harmony and concert of action." [59]

In the Alabama election of 1851 normal party lines were broken down, and a contest developed between the Unionists, a group which favored acceptance of the Compromise, and the Southern Rights group, which King had earlier called disunionists. Because of his caustic criticism of the Southern Rights group, he was accused of being a Unionist. King, however, spiked this rumor in June in a widely publicized letter to a constitutent. In this letter he declared his alle-

[56] King to Bolling Hall, November 19, 1850, Bolling Hall Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History.
[57] *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, May 4, 1851.
[58] *Democrat*, April 17, 1851.
[59] King to Frank K. Beck, March 3, 1851, copy in King Collection.

giance to the Democratic Party despite its alliance with the Southern Rights group and denied that he was an advocate of any third party, either State or national. "I have always considered the good old Democratic Party as the true Union party"; he declared, "and that nothing more is required to put down sectional divisions, and preserve peace and harmony, than to have the Government administered in strict conformity with Democratic principles."[60] The *Advertiser and State Gazette* rejoiced that King had given the Union movement a "sock-dolager under the fifth rib" and that his influence was being used to help put down this "last grand move of federalism to attain power in Alabama."[61] The Huntsville *Democrat* expressed its pleasure that he had come out in favor of the Democrats rather than a "tame-Whig submissionist."[62] On the other hand the Unionist *Alabama Journal* accused King of "excessive and ill timed partyism" and charged that he favored "temporary party success above that of the cessation of the agitation of the slavery question." Only by establishing a third party, it declared, could southern rights be protected.[63] Despite such criticisms, King maintained during the spring and summer of 1851 that the Compromise had placed southern rights on a better foundation than they had been for many years and that Congress would not disturb the existing situation.[64] In November he took the lead in reorganizing the Democratic Party of Alabama. He joined with other party leaders in sending out an address to Alabama Democrats stating that the cause which recently threatened the unity of the party had now ceased to exist, that the people of the South had decided to acquiesce in the Compromise, and that all Democrats, regardless of their personal opinions, should "cease opposition to the popular decision."[65] Under the influence of this address, the Alabama Democratic Convention, meeting in January, 1852, endorsed the Compromise as a final settlement and King for either of the two offices to be filled by the 1852 Democratic National Convention.[66]

That King's attitude toward the Unionist movement weakened it greatly is evidenced by later press comment after the Democratic Party had been reorganized. The *Alabama Journal* gave him large credit for breaking up the Unionist Party and for reorganization of the

[60] King to Philip Phillips, March 11, 1851, Philip Phillips Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
[61] King to Clitherall, June 16, 1851, quoted in *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 15, 1851.
[62] *Advertiser and State Gazette*, July 16, 1851.
[63] *Democrat*, July 31, 1851.
[64] *Weekly Alabama Journal*, July 12, 1851.
[65] *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, June 4, 1851.
[66] *Advertiser and State Gazette*, November 25, 1851.

Union Democrats. "It is believed," said that newspaper, "that he is fully entitled to the chief credit of that operation, or at least has had that reputation." [67] *The Advertiser and State Gazette* agreed that King had done his best to keep the Democratic Party from being misled by the Whigs with the cry "Union! Union!";[68] and the *Tuscaloosa Observer* commended him for helping to save the Democratic Party "from the Charybdis of Federalism and the Scylla of Disunion." [69]

During this period, King made a substantial contribution toward maintenance of the well-being of the country and the South. In the Compromise debates, he served as a moderating influence between northern "fanatics" and southern "ultras." As presiding officer in the Senate, he sought to minimize emotional outbursts on the part of angry members. After the adoption of the Compromise, he took the lead in Alabama in securing acceptance of the settlement and made his influence felt throughout the country. Later, he helped to settle North-South differences within the Democratic Party and to reorganize the party in Alabama. Partly in recognition of these services and partly in recognition of his long service in the Democratic Party, he was chosen in 1852 as the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee and proclaimed throughout the United States as an ideal person to help see that the Compromise was enforced.

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[67] *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, January 24, 1852.
[68] *Weekly Alabama Journal* quoted in *Advertiser and State Gazette*, June 17, 1852.
[69] *Advertiser and State Gazette*, June 17, 1852.
[70] *Tuscaloosa Observer* (Alabama), quoted in *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, May 4, 1851.

THE MAN BEHIND *"THE BIRTH OF A NATION"*

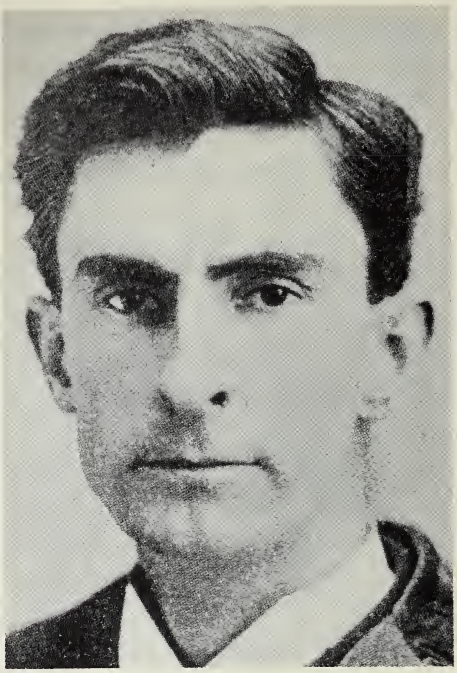
By Raymond A. Cook *

"It is like writing history with lightning." [1] These words by President Woodrow Wilson refer to one of the most remarkable creations in the history of Western culture. It is generally conceded that *The Birth of a Nation* will always be considered the film which gave the motion picture its stature as an art form, the film which brought to the world the realization that this medium, for good or evil, was perhaps the most powerful agency which had ever been devised for moving the minds of men. The external history of this great film and the fame it gave its director are well known. But the man who was in great part responsible for changing much of society by the tremendous impact of flashing stories on a screen is practically unknown. He is not discussed in studies of American culture; his name is not to be found in such standard reference works as the current *Encyclopaedia Britannica, The Dictionary of American Biography, The Literary History of the United States,* or the studies of Van Wyck Brooks. He is unheard of today among 99 per cent of our present population. Yet the man who made possible this revolution in motion picture art was one of the most colorful and amazing figures of his time. Lawyer, legislator, preacher, lecturer, playwright, actor, novelist, motion picture producer, real estate entrepreneur, and millionaire, he made the impact of his personality and work felt in many facets of American life. This man, Thomas Dixon, the son of a poor farmer, was born on January 11, 1864, near Shelby, North Carolina.[2] Within a few months the Civil War was over and hundreds of ragged, hungry soldiers, streaming by the Dixon farmhouse on their way home to South Carolina and Georgia, ate most of the few provisions of the Dixon family. By hard work and an almost fanatical budgeting of resources, the family somehow managed to hold together during the poverty-stricken years of Reconstruction. Young Dixon became a full-fledged plow-

* Dr. Raymond A. Cook is Professor of English, Georgia State College, Atlanta.

[1] Milton Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," *Scribner's Magazine*, CII (November, 1937), 69, hereinafter cited as Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation."

[2] Thomas Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 210, unpublished memoirs in the possession of Mrs. Thomas Dixon, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Dixon, "Southern Horizons."



Thomas Dixon

University of North Carolina Library
Photographic Service

hand at ten years of age, and received hardly any schooling until he was thirteen. Even this early in life, however, he began to reveal the abilities and personality which were to make him remarkable as an adult. So closely did he apply himself to his studies in a local school that within a year and a half he had finished courses in mathematics and geometry; he had read in Latin Caesar's *Gallic Wars,* much of Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* and Cicero's *Orations;* and in Greek Xenophon's *Anabasis.*[3]

At fifteen years of age, with the aid of borrowed money, Dixon entered Wake Forest College where he won many prizes and the highest scholastic honors ever bestowed by that institution.[4] The determination throughout his life to succeed was exemplified in the incredible regimen of study he set for himself. Allowing little time for sleep, and budgeting his schedule so as to have a full thirteen hours

[3] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 211, 212.

[4] *Winston-Salem Journal,* April 4, 1946. See also Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris, *Library of Southern Literature* (Atlanta, Georgia: The Martin and Hoyt Company, 15 volumes, 1909), IV, 1,405.

outside of class for application to his books, he won prize after prize, and in four years earned both the B.A. and M.A. degrees and a scholarship to the Johns Hopkins University.[5] While at Johns Hopkins, he became a close friend of his classmate, Woodrow Wilson; in later years each of these men helped the career of the other in ways that they could not have foreseen at the time.

As a student at Johns Hopkins, Dixon applied himself to the study of history and political theory, but, by the end of the first year, he found his interests turning to the stage. Despite the protestations of Wilson, Dixon gave up his studies and went to New York to pursue his career as an actor. Arriving in the city on January 11, 1884, his twentieth birthday, Dixon almost immediately gave his whole heart to the study of dramatics. But disappointment was not far away. Despite his sympathetic and imaginative readings of the scripts given him, his physical appearance was strongly in his disfavor. Though he was nearly six feet, four inches tall, he weighed less than 150 pounds.[6] At this time he looked like a latter-day Ichabod Crane, and his physique gave little hint of the handsome and commanding figure he was to possess only a few years later. Bitterly disappointed, but with a determination to become a successful actor some day, he took the train home to Shelby, where his mother and father were then living.

The hope of becoming an actor now became secondary before the pressing realities of his home life in Shelby. Once more his interest turned to politics, and he decided to enter a law school at Greensboro, directed by Judge (Robert Paine) Dick of the Federal Court and Judge (John H.) Dillard of the State Bench. Dixon again made an excellent record as a student and received his law license in 1885.[7]

While Dixon was still a student at law school, his father urged him to run for the State legislature. Recalling his success as a student orator at Wake Forest College, Dixon entered upon a whirlwind campaign which seated him in the legislature before he was old enough to vote.[8] Hardly had he been elected to the legislature when many members, greatly impressed by his brilliant oratory, urged him to run for Speaker of the House. Waging a strong campaign, Dixon was becoming a serious threat to his leading opponent when the latter

[5] *Winston-Salem Journal,* April 4, 1946.

[6] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 248.

[7] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 271-273. See also Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *The South in History and Literature* (Atlanta, Georgia: The Franklin-Turner Company, 1907), 606-607.

[8] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 13, 1936, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*. This same source says that Dixon shared this distinction with Senator Clyde R. Hoey.

learned that Dixon was not yet twenty-one. Insisting that a person under age could not be seated even though he were elected, Dixon's opponent persuaded the members that Dixon should be forced to withdraw from the race.[9] During his stay in the State legislature, young Dixon introduced and pressed the passage of several important bills, among them the first bill in the South to pension Confederate veterans, an example soon followed by other States.[10]

Dixon soon became disillusioned at the corruption he saw in the political circles of the capital, and, when the legislative session of 1885 ended, he left Raleigh with no desire to return as a legislator. Casting about for a means of livelihood, he opened a law office in Shelby and soon attracted many clients by his electric courtroom presence. Though his law career was brief, it was distinguished by an originality rarely seen in the profession. After successfully acting as counsel for the defense in two famous North Carolina murder trials before he was twenty-two, Dixon gained the conviction of a man tried for arson. Dixon did not rejoice, however, in the conviction brought about by his forceful and eloquent prosecution. After thoroughly reviewing the case, Dixon publicly acknowledged his error and successfully petitioned the governor for the man's release.[11]

In spite of the excitement of the law courts, Dixon felt that his life was lacking in direction and meaning. His wife, Harriet Bussey Dixon, whom he had married in March, 1886, urged him to follow whatever course seemed right to him. In 1887 he became a minister and accepted a pastorate at Goldsboro. Six months later he was called to the Second Baptist Church in Raleigh,[12] where his reputation as an eloquent speaker grew so rapidly that within six more months he was called to the Dudley Street Church in Boston, Massachusetts.[13] During the next several years, Dixon's prominence as a minister became widespread throughout New England. He moved to New York and drew such large crowds that no building could be found large enough to accommodate them.[14] The multimillionaire, John D. Rockefeller, be-

[9] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 255-256.
[10] *Durham Morning Herald*, April 4, 1946.
[11] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 275.
[12] Later called the Tabernacle Baptist Church. From the family papers of Clara Dixon Richardson, Black Mountain. Dixon was invited to the Second Baptist Church in a letter signed by W. T. Womble, John E. Ray, and N. B. Broughton, postmarked Raleigh, North Carolina, April 11, 1887.
[13] (James Terry White, George Derby, and Others [comps. and eds.]), *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, . . . (New York: James T. White and Company, 43 volumes, indexes, and conspectus, 1893-19—[continuing]; Current Volumes A-I [cumulative index for current series], 1927-19—[continuing]), II, 189.
[14] *Wilmington Morning Star*, April 4, 1946. See also Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 281-282.

came so enthusiastic over the sermons that he offered to share half the expenses in building a million-dollar temple in downtown Manhattan.[15] Dissension weakened the ranks of Dixon's congregation, however, and the dream of a great religious edifice did not materialize.

During the early part of Dixon's ministry, Wake Forest College had invited him to make the commencement address. He was only twenty-four years of age at the time, and, only four years before, he had left his Alma Mater with a philosophy close to agnosticism. During his visit at Wake Forest, the probability of an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity for Dixon was discussed. Dixon dismissed this probability, but he said that he should like to nominate another young man for an honorary degree who was more deserving than he. For the next several hours Dixon praised his nominee, and a few months later the degree of Doctor of Laws was bestowed upon his Johns Hopkins' classmate, Woodrow Wilson. The occasion received wide publicity in the press and played an important part in establishing Wilson's career as a statesman.[16]

In January, 1899, Dixon resigned from the formal ministry, though he continued to be named by the title "Reverend" for much of his life. He said that denominationalism narrowed the attitudes and tolerance of its members. Hoping to reach a wider audience than he had as pastor of several large churches in New York, he turned to the lecture platform and subsequently became one of the most popular platform lecturers in the country. His impassioned, forthright oratory left its effect wherever he appeared, frequently embroiling him in disputes with various public forces such as Tammany Hall and Robert Ingersoll, the famous agnostic.[17]

The desire to reach a still larger audience than he could by lecturing prompted Dixon finally to turn, at the age of thirty-eight, to writing novels. It was through this medium that he achieved his greatest fame. Pushing himself nearly sixteen hours a day at his thirty-seven room mansion at Cape Charles, Virginia, at railway stations, and on trains, Dixon in sixty days completed *The Leopard's Spots* (1902),[18] a story of the trying conditions in the South immediately following the Civil War. He submitted the manuscript to Walter Hines Page, a friend of Dixon's legal days and then a member of Doubleday, Page and Company, Publishers. The book was an immediate success. Seldom

[15] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 300.
[16] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 289.
[17] See Thomas Dixon, *Dixon on Ingersoll: Ten Discourses Delivered in Association Hall* (New York: J. B. Alden, 1892), *passim.*
[18] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 376, and *passim.*

has a first novel been so violently criticized, praised, and widely read. Within a short time several hundred thousand copies were sold; so great was the sensation produced by the book that numerous editons were printed in the European tongues, and the author's fame became international.

The Leopard's Spots had hardly been completed when Dixon set himself to work again. For his second novel on the Reconstruction period, Dixon sifted more than 5,000 pamphlets and books for source material during a year of obsessive, unrelenting labor. At last, when he felt ready to write, he worked feverishly until, at the end of thirty days, the manuscript was ready for the publisher. The storm which broke over the appearance of *The Clansman* was even greater than that resulting from *The Leopard's Spots.* On every side he was either eulogized as the author of the greatest novel on the Reconstruction era or condemned as a bigoted racist, twisting the facts of history to suit his prejudices.[19] In the welter of praise and criticism Dixon saw himself becoming wealthy, and Doubleday, Page and Company was established as one of the major publishers of the country. The next few years saw the publication of many Dixon novels treating nearly every important social issue of his day. Dixon's last novel, *The Flaming Sword,* published in 1939, is an intense and almost prophetic book pointing up the imminent dangers of Communism.

Dixon turned several of his novels into plays which were highly successful. The one which created the greatest interest and controversy was *The Clansman,* closely modeled upon the novel. As it toured the country, the play was in such demand that several casts had to meet bookings simultaneously. The effect upon playgoers in the South was volcanic. At many performances men fought madly for choice seats and the play was variously described by critics as a "runaway car loaded with dynamite,"[20] "disgusting beyond expression,"[21] and "the greatest theatrical triumph in the history of the South."[22] One critic went to the extent of claiming that such a phenomenal success had never before been seen in the history of the theater.[23] But this man, constantly bedeviled by the incubus of change, soon became restive in

[19] For some typical reviews, see Francis W. Halsey, "Some Books to Read This Summer," *The American Monthly Review of Reviews,* XXV (June, 1902), 700-707; Mansfield Allen, "Thomas Dixon's 'The Leopard's Spots,'" *Bookman,* XV (July, 1902), 472; Edwin L. Shuman, "In the Realm of Books," *Chicago Record-Herald,* March 15, 1902.

[20] *Virginian-Pilot* (Norfolk, Virginia), September 23, 1905.

[21] *Montgomery Daily Advertiser* (Alabama), November 5, 1905.

[22] *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans, Louisiana), December 15, 1905, hereinafter cited as *Times-Democrat.*

[23] *Times-Democrat,* December 17, 1905.

his new success. He acted for a time the lead role in *The Clansman* and was acclaimed a compelling actor of such great promise that it seemed his success might even overshadow his popularity as novelist and playwright. Nevertheless, after one season, he said the profession of actor was too restrictive upon his time and talents and turned his energies elsewhere.

In September, 1911, Dixon tried to form a corporation to produce in color a motion picture version of *The Clansman*.[24] The attempt failed, however, and he was to experience much disappointment in finding a producer. No one wanted anything to do with his "historical beeswax,"[25] as it was called, for light farce and low comedy then typified the taste of the public for the products of the infant motion picture industry.

Realizing that he would never succeed in getting the well-established companies to accept his story, Dixon tried among the lesser-known agencies. Finally, in 1913, he was introduced to Harry E. Aitken, who had just formed a small company which had not yet made a motion picture. The newly-hired director, a young man named David Wark Griffith, was to prove himself a genius in motion picture artistry. Dixon asked $10,000 for the rights to his scenario, but the little company could offer him nothing near that figure. In the end, Dixon reluctantly agreed to accept a twenty-five per cent interest in the picture.[26]

In the weeks that followed, Dixon worked closely with Griffith in a dirty loft in Union Square which housed the meager facilities of The Epoch Producing Corporation, the name of the newly-formed company. At last, when the scenario was ready for production, Dixon filled Griffith's trunk with books and papers to be used in supplying background material for the historical features of the story. Wishing the group success in their undertaking, Dixon saw the little group off on their journey to Hollywood where the picture was to be filmed.

The history of the troubles accompanying the production of the film is well known. Three times Griffith had to suspend production because of lack of funds, and each time the members of the production, including actors, barbers, stagehands, and chambermaids donated their salaries and savings so that the work could be resumed. The Gish

[24] From the family papers of Thomas Dixon. The organization was to be known as the Kinemacolor-Clansman Corporation. Ten thousand feet of film were to be exposed at fifty cents a foot. The capital stock of the corporation was set at $10,000, to be equally divided among the stockholders. The contract was signed September 26, 1911, by Charles E. Ford and George H. Brennan, the presidents respectively of the Kinemacolor Company and the Southern Amusement Company, out of which the new company was formed.

[25] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 421.

[26] Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," 42.

Lillian Gish and a bit player in a scene from *The Birth of a Nation.*

Used with permission of the Film Library, The Museum of Modern Art, New York

sisters, Lillian and Dorothy, offered Griffith their total savings of three hundred dollars. So poor was the company that at no time did any actor make more than seventy-five dollars a week.[27]

The actual filming occupied nine weeks between July and October, 1914.[28] Heretofore Griffith had looked upon motion picture production as superficial and referred to the one and two-reel comedies as "grinding out another sausage."[29] In the present case he sensed the great potentiality of the scenario and gave it complete and serious attention. Constantly trying new procedures, frequently against the advice of more experienced directors, Griffith achieved startling results. He introduced principles of scene-shooting that were to revolutionize the industry. His camera became a living, human eye, peering

[27] *The Charlotte Observer*, October 2, 1938.

[28] Roger Marvell (ed.), *Experiment in the Film* (London: The Grey Walls Press Ltd., 1949), 31.

[29] G. W. (Billy) Bitzer, quoted in Iris Barry, *D. W. Griffith, American Film Master* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1940), 21, hereinafter cited as Barry, *D. W. Griffith.*

into the faces of grief and joy, ranging over great vistas of time and space, and resolving the whole into a meaningful flux, which created a sense of dramatic unity and rhythm to the story. Such technological devices as "montage," the "close-up," the "fade-out," the "cutback," the "iris dissolve," and the climactic action sequence are now accepted so readily that it is hard to imagine a period in motion picture history when they did not exist; all of these procedures Griffith either introduced or brought to a level of high excellence in this picture.

When the film was finished, after many sections had been discarded, it was still twelve reels long, an unheard-of-length for that time.[30] The rumors which had spread concerning the expense of producing the film prompted critics to say that it was a foolish and audacious waste.

A musical score for the film was composed by Joseph Carl Briel, who made adaptations from Negro folk songs, passages in *Rienzi, Die Walküre,* and *Norma.* By February, 1915, Griffith decided that *The Clansman* was at last completed. It was given a preliminary private showing at Clune's Auditorium in Los Angeles on February 8.[31] After making a few minor adjustments in the film, Griffith hurried with it to New York in order to show it to the censors and the group who were to promote the picture.

A few mornings later the persons scheduled to view the film fought through a near blizzard toward a high, barnlike structure at Broadway and Fifty-third Streets. Their tempers became progressively ruffled as the cutting wind and snow made their journey more and more difficult. One of the group, Theodore Mitchell, was particularly out of sorts. He, at the time, was one of the most highly successful men in the American theater. His interest in drama as high art, plus the snowstorm, made him disgruntled that, of all things, he had promised to watch a private showing of a "movie," something he regarded as a childish peep show.[32]

The damp, cold, and cheerless semidarkness of the large auditorium did not contribute to the enthusiasm of the group. As the time drew near for starting the film, the seventy-five people scattered among the seats impatiently kept looking back toward the projectionist to see when he would start. Among the guests were Aitken, the producer, and Thomas Dixon. At the end of the large room, Briel, the composer of

[30] Barry, *D. W. Griffith,* 21.

[31] Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise and Fall of the American Film: A Critical History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939), 184, hereinafter cited as Jacobs, *The Rise and Fall of the American Film.*

[32] Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," 40, says that the date was "early January"; Jacobs, *The Rise and Fall of the American Film,* 174, says February 20. Both of these dates are obviously wrong. See notes 37 and 43, below.

the musical score, was visibly irritated as he rehearsed with the orchestra.

Finally it was time to start. Dixon, not having seen any of the film and expecting the worst, crept upstairs to watch the picture away from the eyes of the other viewers. If the presentation proved to be a failure, Dixon did not want to be seen when it was over. After settling into his seat in the bone-chilling dampness, Dixon reacted to that preview showing in a way he had never expected:

> The last light dimmed, a weird cry came from the abyss below—the first note of the orchestra, a low cry of the anguished South being put to torture. It set my nerves tingling with its call. And then a faint bugle note of the Southern bivouac of the dead. In it no starting challenge to action. No trumpet signal to conflict. It came from the shrouded figures of the great shadow world.
>
> And then I saw my story enacted before my eyes in scenes of beauty and reality. And always the throb through the darkness of that orchestra raising the emotional power to undreamed heights.
>
> It was uncanny. When the last scene had faded, I wondered vaguely if the emotions that had strangled me were purely personal. I hesitated to go down to the little group in the lobby and hear their comments. I descended slowly, cautiously, only to be greeted by the loudest uproar I had ever hear from seventy-five people.[33]

Dixon immediately caught the infectious enthusiasm of the group; he shouted to Griffith across the building that *The Clansman* was too tame a title for such a powerful story; it must be called *The Birth of a Nation.*

Hardly had the private showing of the film ended when news of its explosive character somehow found its way into the press. Opposition came from several unexpected quarters. The most powerful forces against showing *The Birth of a Nation* were headed by Oswald Garrison Villard, Editor of the New York *Evening Post,* and Morefield Story, President of the American Bar Association, who were apprehensive of the racial theme of the picture.[34] The Epoch Producing Corporation, which produced the film, as an independent agent had no recourse to the powerful support of the large film companies. Within a few days of its preview showing, the success of the picture seemed doomed. Opposing factions threatened to suppress it completely. Then Dixon, determined to carry the picture to the nation, made a move remarkable even for a man of his energetic personality, a move which

[33] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 423.
[34] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 423.

for its outright boldness and originality has scarcely been paralleled in the history of motion pictures or American letters. If the President of the United States should give his approval to *The Birth of a Nation,* would not the opposition be silenced? The members of the company had little hope of success in the matter, but they had seen Dixon at work before, and they agreed that at least he should try to persuade the President to see the film. Dixon thought that should he be able to reach the President before the politicians heard of his move, he might be able to persuade Wilson to help him. He wrote to Wilson requesting a thirty-minute interview; the President replied immediately and arranged a time. After Dixon had been received at President Wilson's desk in the White House, they reminisced a few moments about their college days at Johns Hopkins University. Dixon then broached his subject for the first time. In relating the event, Dixon recalled:

> I had a favor to ask of him, not as the Chief Magistrate of the Republic but as a former scholar and student of history and sociology. From the movement of his expressive eyebrows I saw that any anxiety that I might be an office seeker had been dissipated.
>
> As rapidly as possible I told him that I had a great motion picture which he should see, not because it was the greatest ever produced or because his classmate had written the story . . . , but because this picture made clear for the first time that a new universal language had been invented. That in fact it was a new process of reasoning by which the will could be overwhelmed with conviction.[35]

Wilson immediately showed interest in the film, but he said that he could not go to the theater at that time. The recent death of Mrs. Wilson held the White House in mourning. After a thoughtful moment, he added that if the projection equipment could be brought to the East Room of the White House, he and his Cabinet could view the film there.

In closing the interview, President Wilson recalled the day that Dixon had successfully nominated him for an honorary degree at Wake Forest College:

> "I want you to know, Tom, that I am pleased to be able to do this little thing for you, because a long time ago you took a day out of your busy life to do something for me. It came at a crisis in my career, and greatly helped me. I've always cherished the memory of it." [36]

[35] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 425.

[36] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 426. The "something" refers to Dixon's nomination of Wilson at Wake Forest College for his first honorary degree.

On February 18, 1915, the motion picture was shown in the White House to Wilson, his daughter Margaret, and the members of the President's Cabinet and their families.[37] When the two-and-a-half hours of the story had ended, President Wilson gave to the film one of its highest tributes: "It is like writing history with lightning. And my only regret is that it is all so terribly true." [38]

If the film could be shown to the President of the United States and his Cabinet, could it not also be shown to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court? Nothing now seemed too audacious to Dixon. As his enthusiasm mounted, he could visualize the film's being presented before the Supreme Court, and then later perhaps before both Houses of Congress. He eagerly broached his thoughts to Griffith, who endorsed them heartily.

Early the next morning, on February 19, Dixon hurried to the office of a friend of early North Carolina days, Josephus Daniels, then Secretary of the Navy. Since Dixon did not know Chief Justice White personally and since Dixon had heard of the difficulty of obtaining a conference with White, he thought Daniels might be persuaded to arrange an introduction to the Chief Justice. When Dixon had stated the reason for his visit, Daniels urged him to drop the matter immediately, for he thought White would never consent to see Dixon. When Dixon further persisted and asked about the personality of the man he wanted to see, Daniels replied:

> "Well, he's a wonderful old fellow, but he's a bear. He never goes out of his library. He may see you a moment if I ask him, but if you don't get out pretty quick, he [will] push you out and slam the door. Do you want to risk it?" [39]

Dixon answered that he did, and soon Daniels had arranged the appointment by telephone. Within a few minutes Dixon was at Chief Justice White's door. Mrs. White met him and directed him to the library. When he entered, he saw a grizzled head buried among papers. For some time White did not look up. Finally when he did so, he flashed a half-angry look at Dixon "'Well, well, Sir,'" he growled, "'What can I do for you? Mr. Daniels telephoned me that you were

[37] For the occasion, Dixon had a program printed on expensive parchment. The program read as follows: By courtesy of the President—D. W. Griffith Presents—to the—Chief Magistrate and his Cabinet—in a special private view—His Epic Production—The Birth of a Nation—founded on—Thomas Dixon's Historical Novel—The Clansman. The program indicated that the showing would be held in the East Room of the White House and the date on the program was "February Eighteenth, Nineteen Fifteen."

[38] Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," 69.

[39] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 431-432.

coming over.' " Dixon realized that he must state his business at once, so he said that he wanted the Supreme Court to view a picture. At this point White interrupted him:

> "Picture! The Supreme Court of the United States see a picture! Of all the suggestions I have ever heard in my life that is the limit! What sort of picture?" [40]

When Dixon answered that it was a moving picture, White said with a tone of finality:

> "Moving Picture! It's absurd, Sir. I never saw one in my life and I haven't the slightest curiosity to see one. I'm very busy. I'll have to ask you to excuse me." [41]

Realizing that the interview was ending unsuccessfully, Dixon, in turning to leave, said in a "Parthian shot" that the motion picture told the true story of Reconstruction and the redemption of the South by the Ku Klux Klan. At these words, Chief Justice White made an unexpected move. He slowly took off his glasses, pushed his work aside, leaned forward in his chair and said, " 'I was a member of the Klan, Sir.' " [42] After a few more words, he then immediately agreed to see the motion picture.

D. W. Griffith, by now showing complete trust in Dixon's persuasive abilities, had followed Dixon's suggestion to engage the ballroom of the Raleigh Hotel, even while Dixon was still at White's home. Griffith further had programs printed, leaving only a blank space in which to insert the name of Chief Justice White as guest of honor presiding over the occasion, as soon as Dixon should return with White's consent.

That evening, the members of the Supreme Court of the United States, with the Senate and the House of Representatives as their guests, witnessed another showing of *The Birth of a Nation.*[43] While the film was being shown, Dixon envisioned the incalculable influence, for good or for evil, of the motion picture of the future:

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[40] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 433.
[41] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 433.
[42] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 434.
[43] The handsomely printed program read as follows: Auspices of—National Press Club—of Washington—The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—of the United States—Guest of Honor—D. W. Griffith—Presents—The Birth of a Nation—Founded on—Thomas Dixon's Historical Novel—The Clansman—February Nineteenth, Nineteen Fifteen.

A scene from *The Birth of a Nation.*

Reproduced from *Classics of the Silent Screen,* with permission of the publisher, The Citadel Press, New York

I watched the effects of the picture on the crowd of cultured spectators and realized for the first time the important fact that we had not only discovered a new universal language of man, but that an appeal to the human will through this tongue would be equally resistless to an audience of chauffeurs or a gathering of a thousand college professors.[44]

Dixon had promised President Wilson and Chief Justice White that he would not give the showings any publicity, but his plan to have them view *The Birth of a Nation* in a private showing was a brilliant move. When the film was scheduled to be shown in its first public appearance in New York, Dixon learned that his "sectional enemies,"[45] as he referred to them, were planning to close the theater on opening night. At a preliminary court session less than forty-eight hours before the film was to be shown, the opposition had objected so strenuously

[44] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 436.
[45] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 438.

that the sheriff had received a warrant to close the theater; at this point a defense attorney mentioned that the film had recently been shown at the White House. The opposition was incredulous, and a long distance call was placed to the White House. President Wilson's daughter Margaret answered the phone and affirmed that *The Birth of a Nation* had indeed been shown there a short time before. She added that the film had been seen the following night by the Supreme Court and Congress. The Chief Magistrate of the city of New York therefore immediately withdrew the warrant for the suppression of the film.[46]

The Birth of a Nation opened at the Liberty Theatre in New York, March 3, 1915, eight years after the play, *The Clansman,* was presented on the same stage.[47] The public response was overwhelming. During the intermission, Dixon made a brief speech in which he said that the performance they were seeing would revolutionize the history of the theater and that the "Wizard of Light" would be remembered as its prophet; whereupon he called D. W. Griffith from the wings and introduced him to the audience.

The Birth of a Nation became the sensation of the hour. Along with unstinted praise for the power of the story and the superb artistry of the photographic effects came condemnation of the prejudicial treatment of the Negro. In objecting to the racial theme of the film, a critic heaped abuse upon Dixon:

> He is yellow because he recklessly distorts negro crimes, gives them a disproportionate place in life, and colors them dishonestly to inflame the ignorant and the credulous. And he is especially yellow and quite disgustingly and contemptibly yellow, because his perversions are cunningly calculated to flatter the white man and provoke hatred and contempt for the negro.
>
> It [*The Birth of a Nation*] degrades the censors that passed it and the white race that endures it.[48]

During the last week in March, the city was at fever pitch over the film. The Board of Censors, after much dissension, finally voted, after the city administration had said that it had no authority to close the box office, to permit the continued showing of the picture. Rabbi Stephen Wise, a member of the censorship board, voiced a bitter denunciation of the production, saying in part:

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[46] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 438-440.
[47] *The New York Times,* March 4, 1915.
[48] Frances Hackett, "Brotherly Love," *The New Republic,* II (March 20, 1915), 185.

If it is true that the Mayor has no power to stop this indescribably foul and loathsome libel on a race of human beings, then it is true that Government has broken down. The Board of Censors which allowed this exhibition to go on is stupid or worse. I regret I am a member.[49]

On the second night following Wise's statement in the press, the Liberty Theatre was the scene of a near riot. At a particularly exciting part of the story, when young Flora Cameron was leaping over a cliff to escape Gus, the Negro servant, a group of persons in the front rows began throwing eggs at the screen. As policemen rushed in to quell the fighting which the disturbance had caused, one of the more vocal demonstrators was heard shouting "rotten, rotten"[50] as he was being rushed up the aisle. Whether the vociferous dissenter was referring to *The Birth of a Nation* or to the eggs is not recorded, but the reporter, who found himself in the midst of the pandemonium, had other matters of interest for his newspaper. As egg yolks oozed down the face of the screen and spectators took short cuts over the backs of seats, it became apparent that the sacred injunction of the theater that "the show must go on" would be violated on this night.

Hard upon the release of the picture had come trouble with the censorship boards and determined opposition from several quarters. Morefield Story led a vigorous fight to suppress the picture in Massachusetts. The mayor of Boston was appealed to, but he ruled that he knew of no legal grounds upon which the picture could be suppressed. Consequently, he ordered the Boston police force to give adequate protection for the crowds. A rally of several thousand persons was called to protest the showing of the film, but it opened on schedule to a great crowd who jammed the seats and lobby of the Tremont Theatre. As in New York, the picture was an immediate sensation, many patrons coming again and again to see it.[51]

In the meantime, tension over the film ran high. A crowd of 25,000 persons demonstrated on the grounds of the State capitol, demanding that Governor David Walsh take steps to ban the picture. Impressed by the seriousness of the situation, the Governor hurriedly laid the matter before the legislature of Massachusetts, pressing for a special act to suppress the film. A bill was submitted and rushed through the house, only to be found unconstitutional by the judiciary committee. As a result, it appeared for a time that the film would have no further opposition. But this calm was short-lived. A

[49] *The New York Times*, March 31, 1915.
[50] *The New York Times*, April 2, 1915.
[51] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 443.

few nights later, a crowd of 10,000 persons gathered on Boston Common opposite the theater, and as feelings mounted higher, a pitched battle with the police broke out which lasted twenty-four hours.[52]

The publicity arising from the Boston incident boosted the notoriety of the film enormously. The subject of the rioting was soon on the lips of the whole nation, and everyone wanted to see the motion picture which was causing so much commotion. Controversy raged wherever the film appeared, and cries of bigotry and intolerance followed Dixon and Griffith everywhere. Charles W. Elliott, President of Harvard University, accused the film of perverting white ideals. Jane Addams, philanthropist and founder of Hull House in Chicago, was greatly disturbed about the picture and wrote vigorously against it. Booker T. Washington denounced the film in the newspapers. To charges that he falsified history, Dixon offered a reward of $1,000 to anyone who could prove one historical inaccuracy in the story.[53]

Everywhere through the West the picture met opposition, but in the weeks that followed the New York and Boston showings, no theater was closed to the film. The picture, at first refused in Chicago on May 1, 1915, was soon accepted under a permanent injunction which restrained police interference provided children under eighteen years of age were not admitted. In nearly every large city in the North and West, the film had difficulties passing the boards of censorship but was ultimately passed by all. An official of the city of St. Louis said that it required the combined actions of the recreation division, the police department, and the prosecuting attorney's office to prevent the showing of the film. Even this opposition finally was successfully met. Between February and June the producers of *The Birth of a Nation* spent more than a $100,000 in legal fees to meet the opposition of the critics in Los Angeles, New York, Boston, and Chicago alone.[54] Still the film prospered greatly, bringing in thousands of dollars each day.

In general, the public who attended the film reacted favorably. In spite of the explosive theme, the artistry of the film captivated audiences everywhere. In Los Angeles, a ballot was distributed to the patrons to get their reaction to the picture. At one showing, more than twenty-five hundred favorable comments were returned as contrasted with only twenty-three objections. As to the technical and artistic achievements of the film, critics were of one accord. Vachel

[52] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 444-445.
[53] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 443.
[54] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 447.

Lindsay, the poet, praised some of the scenes in enthusiastic terms, describing them as " 'tossing wildly and rhythmically like the sea.' "[55] From all sides the picture was acclaimed as the genesis of a new art form, more pervasive and powerful in its influence than anyone had ever dreamed a medium of communication could be. Though much has been learned about motion picture artistry since *The Birth of a Nation,* the harshness of the lighting and the great skill of Griffith gave an authenticity to the film that can scarcely be equaled by the most modern techniques.

When the producers of the film finally had time to collect their thoughts in the welter of controversy and acclaim that surged about them, they realized that they owned the most valuable piece of dramatic property in the history of mankind. Dixon had suggested that J. J. McCarthy, later Vice-President of Fox Films, assume the responsibilities of promoting the film. McCarthy, who had been the agent for Dixon's play, *The Clansman,* had urged Theodore Mitchell to take care of the publicity. Mitchell, who had gone so reluctantly to that first showing in New York, became a dynamo of energy and enthusiasm in his work as he showed the film to millions of Americans as well as to royalty and commoner in Europe.[56] Under McCarthy's able management, twelve companies were kept employed full-time to fill the bookings.[57] These companies did not include other agencies which were organized to show the film in the New England States, Canada, and sixteen western States.

The superb artistry and force of *The Birth of a Nation* in relating the effects of the Civil War awakened the world to the social import of the motion picture. Here was a powerful agency controlled by a comparatively few men. These men could change the whole course of national culture by flashing pictures on a screen. Whether society admitted it or not, as Dixon said after World War I, the true capital of the world was not in the buildings of the League of Nations at Geneva, but in Hollywood, California, whose pervasive and incalculable power reaches people everywhere. The realization caused Dixon later to write:

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[55] Quoted in " 'The Birth of a Nation' is Filmed by Griffith," *Life,* VIII (January 15, 1940), 40.

[56] Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," 46.

[57] In 1924, when the film was revised at Chicago, Harold Ickes was a prosecuting attorney for the city in trying to prevent the showing of the film. After excoriating the film all day in the courtroom, he is said to have remarked behind his hand to Harry Aitken: " 'Best picture I ever saw in my life.' " Quoted in Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," 69.

There has been nothing like this before in human history. The men who write and produce the pictures which these millions of boys and girls, men and women, see each week are making our life. The importance of this fact cannot be overestimated.

Here is a force in daily motion that may change the development of the race.[58]

Convinced that *The Birth of a Nation* had created something new in the world and that "the producers of motion pictures are wielding a greater power than any monarch who rules the world, or ever ruled it,"[59] that "They can shape the destiny of humanity,"[60] Dixon in the summer of 1915 moved to California and built "The Dixon Studios, Laboratory, and Press,"[61] located at Sunset Boulevard and Western Avenue, Los Angeles.

In the midst of a large orange grove, he established an impressive array of buildings to house studios, darkrooms, machine shops, and living quarters for a number of workers. Here he planned to produce a motion picture greater than *The Birth of a Nation.* Differences of opinion had led to strained relations between Griffith and Dixon,[62] and the latter planned to outdo his co-worker in this sequel to *The Birth of a Nation.* Refusing to endure any domination by Griffith, Dixon set out upon his own road, confident that he could become an accomplished producer-director on his own merits and energy.

Dixon's conviction that the United States would be drawn into World War I caused him in 1916 to write and produce *The Fall of a Nation* in which he attempted to warn America that her sense of false security could again divide the nation and lead to her downfall. The public, still agog over *The Birth of a Nation,* was eager to see the sequel from Dixon's pen. But the picture was a failure. Variously described by critics as "graphic," "exciting," and "absurd,"[63] it lacked the finished brilliance of *The Birth of a Nation.* Although he went on to produce other pictures such as *The One Woman, Bolshevism on Trial,* and *The Mark of the Beast,* and introduced several new tech-

[58] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 449.
[59] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 458.
[60] Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 458.
[61] From the letterhead of Dixon's business stationery, family papers of Mrs. Thomas Dixon.
[62] On January 19, 1916, The Southern Amusement Company, co-founded by Dixon, sued the Epoch Producing Corporation (producer of *The Birth of a Nation*). The suit read in part: "On May 6, 1906, Thomas Dixon, Jr., gave to the plaintiff the sole dramatic rights of his book 'The Clansman,' and that in violation of these rights the defendant produced the moving picture play 'The Birth of a Nation.'" See *The New York Times,* January 29, 1916. See also Jacobs, *The Rise and Fall of the American Film,* 284.
[63] *The New York Times,* June 7, 1916.

niques of film production, Dixon was not to surpass *The Birth of a Nation.* Nor was D. W. Griffith ever again to reach the success which was his when he collaborated with the author of *The Clansman.* Griffith continued to make other "colossals," only to die practically forgotten in a Hollywood hotel room in 1948.[64] The peculiar talents of each man had been transmuted through their collaboration into an artistic performance of genius that neither of them afterward achieved in separate attempts.

Disappointed at his failure to capture the world with his motion pictures, the restless Dixon sold his holdings to others and returned to New York. The proceeds from his novels, plays, and *The Birth of a Nation* had made him a millionaire several times, and though he had poured enormous sums into his motion picture venture, there was still a great deal of money left. In times past he had found himself in need of money, but he had had no fear, for, calling upon his creative brain for a new money-making subject, he had soon found himself wealthy again. Now his attention was captured by the idea of developing a great tract of country in the "Little Switzerland" district of western North Carolina near Mount Mitchell. His project, called "Wildacres," was to be one of the most ambitious efforts devoted to the arts that the country had ever seen. "Wildacres" was to be a permanent Chautauqua establishment which would be devoted to the free discussion of art, science, philosophy, and politics. Dixon foresaw thousands of visitors yearly who would come to enjoy the scenery, the sports, and the intellectual stimulation provided by famous speakers and teachers. Because of the great size of the organization, several famous persons of world-wide influence could be expected to be in attendance at all times.[65]

With his inimitable enthusiasm, Dixon bought a mountain range and invested all of his wealth in the program. The project began to take on impressive form. Large buildings were erected and elaborate facilities were installed. Then abruptly came the end of his plans. The public, frightened by the Wall Street stock market crash and the backwash of the Florida land boom, suddenly lost interest in such things as "Wildacres." The project that might have made Dixon a multimillionaire became, almost overnight, a millstone about his neck.

[64] "Last Dissolve," *Time,* XLII (August 2, 1948), 72.

[65] For full information on the "Wildacres" project, see Thomas Dixon, *Wildacres: In the Land of the Sky* (Little Switzerland, North Carolina: The Mount Mitchell Association of Arts and Sciences, 1926), *passim.* See also *Asheville Citizen-Times,* October 13, 1952.

The following years were devoted to efforts to regain his wealth, but in spite of strenuous effort, he found his books less and less popular.

The issues that had been so vital to the nation through World War I now retreated before realities of the Depression of the early nineteen-thirties. By 1936, Dixon, who had always considered himself a Democrat, campaigned actively for Alfred M. Landon for the Presidency. Paradoxically, that same year he had served as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. The following year he was appointed Clerk of the Federal Court for the eastern District of North Carolina by Judge I. M. Meekins, a Republican.[66] This appointment came in good time, for gone were the days of Dixon's wealth. Though now more than seventy years of age, Dixon planned to use the remaining years in active literary work. His hopes were short lived, however, for on February 26, 1939, he was stricken by a cerebral hemorrhage in his suite at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh.[67] Miss Madelyn Donovan, who years before had played the feminine lead in Dixon's motion picture *The Mark of the Beast,* and who had been for the past year Dixon's secretary and a deputy clerk in the Federal Court, was married to Dixon at his bedside on March 20, 1939.[68] Dixon's first wife had died in 1937.

Partially recovering from his attack, Dixon attempted sporadically to direct his clerkship, but finally, in 1943, in his seventy-ninth year, he had to relinquish his work entirely.[69] His remaining time was spent in suffering and bewilderment at the thought that one so active as he had been must remain paralyzed and dependent upon others. Finally, in his eighty-second year, on the morning of April 3, 1946, he seemed to lose touch with the reality around him. By evening, his thoughts drifting amid the far-flung intangibles of a colorful lifetime, Thomas Dixon was dead. When time came to prepare his body for burial, attendants discovered that he did not have sufficient clothing in which to be dressed.[70]

Of the nature of this man, who can tell? A paradox of bigotry and tolerance, he antagonized many people by his extreme views and won others to unswerving loyalty. To his close friends and family, he was the soul of charm. Though in his novels he glorified the Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction era, he bitterly and aggressively denounced the revived Klans of nineteen-twenties, even at the occasional hazard

[66] *The News and Observer,* May 2, 1937.
[67] From an interview with Madelyn Donovan Dixon (Mrs. Thomas Dixon), November 14, 1951, hereinafter cited as Mrs. Thomas Dixon, an interview.
[68] *The News and Observer,* March 21, 1939.
[69] Mrs. Thomas Dixon, an interview, December 15, 1952.
[70] Mrs. Thomas Dixon, an interview, November 14, 1951.

of danger to his person. Ironically, *The Birth of a Nation,* which Dixon said would be a reconciling agency between the hatreds of sectionalism, was a powerful force in aiding the revival of the Klans. This man, by the incredible boundlessness of his energies and capacity for fully-committed enthusiasms, was able to make himself successful in many professions, only to lose interest soon and turn to other pursuits. Handsome, sensitive, proud, and passionately devoted to the tragic and heroic in life, he had an inimitable flair for capturing the imagination and emotions of a people. Thomas Dixon the man is forgotten, but the implications of his writings will no doubt be evident for decades to come. The present age reckons with the racial problems which Dixon discussed in his novels; the motion picture with its offspring television, will continue to be a tremendous force in society; and a large part of the world looks apprehensively to the influence of Communism which Dixon decried so vehemently in his fiction. Reactionary and biased, and sometimes the champion of unworthy causes, Dixon was, nevertheless, one of the most remarkable men of his times, the product of an age that has passed. As a contemporary said of him, "We shall hardly look upon his like again." [71] Those who knew him best would answer "Amen!"

[71] Herbert Peel, in *The Daily Advance* (Elizabeth City), no date on clipping.

CREDIT UNIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA

By William Hays Simpson *

The credit union idea originated in Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century and by the close of the century credit unions were operating successfully in France, Austria, and Italy. It was not until 1909, however, that the first credit union in the United States was organized at Manchester, New Hampshire.

The southern States did not respond readily to the movement. Little interest was shown in North Carolina until 1913 when John Sprunt Hill, a Durham banker, returned from Europe where he had served as a member of the American Commission to study rural credits. Hill ardently appealed to the people of the State to improve credit conditions, especially for farmers, by adopting some of the methods used so successfully in European countries. He contended that by organizing credit unions the farmers of an area could borrow at 6 per cent instead of 38 per cent a year which they were currently paying. He also condemned the crop lien system.[1]

At the same time Dr. Clarence Poe, Editor of *The Progressive Farmer,* in discussing various problems relating to farm credit in his publication, pointed out that farmers in North Carolina buying on "time prices," were paying interest at the rate of 62 per cent a year.[2]

Largely through the efforts of these two men the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1915 unanimously passed the Credit Union Act.[3]

A definite step was taken in the co-operative movement in North Carolina when representatives of the State Department of Agriculture; C. W. Massey, Superintendent of Durham County Schools; F. W. Risher, instructor in agricultural extension work at Lowe's Grove Farm Life School; and John Sprunt Hill met with interested residents of Lowe's Grove community in Durham County to discuss the possibility of establishing a credit union in that neighborhood.[4]

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* Dr. Simpson is an Associate Professor of Political Science, Duke University.

[1] John Sprunt Hill, "Rural Credits," a speech delivered at the State Convention of Farmers, Raleigh, August 26, 1915.

[2] See *The Progressive Farmer,* November 13, 1915.

[3] *Public Laws of the State of North Carolina,* . . . 1915, c. 115.

[4] *Durham Morning Herald,* December 10, 1915.

Finally organized in January, 1916, under the State's Credit Union Act, the Lowe's Grove Credit Union became the first co-operative short-time credit society to be established in the South under legislative sanction.[5] The Union began business with 20 members, $212.00 in stock and $101.75 on deposit. A little over a year later, March 31, 1917, the membership had increased to 41 with $437.50 in stock and $854.20 on deposit. A total of $1,180.79 was then on loan to 21 borrowers.[6]

While the Lowe's Grove Credit Union was the first organized, the Carmel Credit Union in Mecklenburg County, which opened five days later on January 25, 1916, was the largest in size, having 32 charter members. Schoolteachers, demonstration agents, and bankers as well as farmers became members. Progressive substantial farmers, two of whom owned over 650 acres, and needed no credit, were leaders in the Carmel Union.

Four of the original Carmel stockholders were women, two of whom were schoolteachers. The teachers encouraged the children to save. Parents were requested to start their children as shareholders by paying from 50 cents to a dollar down and then having the boys or girls pay a minimum of 10 cents a month on the purchase of shares. Owners of shares became members of the credit union.

To encourage boys and girls to participate in this endeavor, the by-laws of the Carmel Union provided that as soon as five persons under 21 years of age had become members a Junior Committee would be formed, the chairman of which would become a member of the Board of Directors.[7]

The establishment of the Carmel Union was followed by the founding of one in the adjoining school district of Sharon, which after three meetings opened with 36 members who paid $162.00 on shares and deposited $100.00. The Oakdale Credit Union, also in Mecklenburg County, was started in a three-teacher schoolhouse with a membership of 21 and with $62.50 paid on shares.[8]

Shares in the credit union sold for $10.00 and adults were required to make a payment of at least $2.50 every six months. Paid-up shares

[5] *Southern Agriculturist*, April 15, 1922.

[6] William R. Camp, Superintendent of Credit Unions, Monthly Financial Statement of North Carolina Credit Unions, April 17, 1917, hereinafter cited as Monthly Financial Statement of Credit Unions. Copies of these reports are in the personal collection of the author.

[7] B. W. Kilgore, "The Carmel Credit Union" (circular), Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics of North Carolina, January, 1916, in the personal collection of the author. This circular will hereinafter be cited as Kilgore, "Carmel Credit Union."

[8] Kilgore, "Carmel Credit Union," March, 1916.

were limited to 6 per cent interest and deposits to 4 per cent return.

The promotional program sponsored by the North Carolina Extension Service was effective. Emphasis was placed on the aid given farmers in the co-operative purchase of supplies which saved them much money. The young people were not overlooked; cash prizes were offered to members of the Junior Savings Clubs making the largest deposits in a credit union each month.

By the end of 1917 fourteen credit unions were in operation in North Carolina as may be noted in Tables I and II.[9]

It may be noted in the tables that between December, 1916, and December, 1917, the number of members increased from 322 to 539, depositors from 100 to 187, payments on shares from $2,712.18 to $4,907.24, deposits from $3,771.24 to $9,323.50, and total resources from $7,224.18 to $17,163.51.

The use made of the funds was mentioned by William R. Camp, Superintendent of the Credit Unions, in his monthly reports to members of credit unions. For example, in 1916 the Lowe's Grove Credit Union purchased for its members 114.3 tons of fertilizers for $3,050.02 in cash, $1,483.00 of which was obtained either through or by aid of the credit union at a total savings to the members of $667.73. The Carmel Credit Union saved $570.00 for its members by purchasing

TABLE I

Name	*Date Opened*	*Members*	*Depositors*	*Payments on Shares*
Lowe's Grove	Jan. 20, 1916	41	33	$457.50
Carmel	Jan. 25, 1916	93	25	884.40
Sharon	Feb. 10, 1916	77	41	697.10
Oakdale	Feb. 16, 1916	22	1	185.00
Drowning Creek	Mar. 16, 1916	46	5	445.94
Eureka	Mar. 17, 1916	33	3	380.75
Bahama	Apr. 14, 1916	34	12	452.00
Mars Hill	Nov. 18, 1916	22		125.00
Wall's	Jan. 27, 1917	19	11	165.00
Indian Trail	Feb. 9, 1917	19		100.75
Valdese	Feb. 10, 1917	78	55	596.75
Eastover	Feb. 19, 1917	17	1	147.50
Laurel	Mar. 10, 1917	22		150.80
Mt. Vernon	Sept. 10, 1917	16		118.75
Total Dec. 1917		539	187	$4,907.24
Total Dec. 1916		322	100	2,712.18

[9] Monthly Financial Statement of Credit Unions, December 31, 1917.

TABLE II

Name	*Deposits*	*Loans*	*Number of Borrowers*	*Borrowed from Banks*	*Cash in Banks*	*Total Resources*
Lowe's Grove	$2,062.70	$ 928.34	28	$ 200.00	$1,842.13	$2,822.28
Carmel	580.75	2,786.67	21	1,500.00	239.63	3,238.45
Sharon	1,123.15	1,540.00	22		373.27	2,033.19
Oakdale	106.00	280.00	4		6.27	329.65
Drowning Creek	47.95	290.44	6		220.33	510.77
Eureka	204.82	428.68	5		178.94	607,62
Bahama	2,393.81	345.00	11		2,533.23	2,918.37
Mars Hill		120.00	4		10.70	130.70
Wall's	376.15	175.00	2		375.15	553.15
Indian Trail		250.00	2	200.00	43.00	313.75
Valdese	2,412.64	2,830.00	11		261.31	3,187.38
Eastover	4.53	50.00	1		91.93	157.28
Laurel					128.10	147.80
Mt. Vernon	11.00	192.40	2	78.35	7.72	213.12
Total Dec. 1917	$9,323.50	$10,216.53	119	$1,978.35	$6,311.71	$17,163.51
Total Dec. 1916	3,771.24	4,031.20	45	700.00	3,018.33	7,224.18

fertilizer for cash while extending other loans such as $150.00 for farm operations, $75.00 for purchase of two cows and $240.00 for purchase of a commercial truck for a milk route.

The year 1918 found the people of North Carolina heavily involved in the war effort and much of their savings went into the purchase of Liberty Bonds. However, the Superintendent of Credit Unions urged every parent to see that "both their sons and daughters belonged to a pig, poultry, corn, wheat, potato or canning club so that they will produce to help win the war and some to aid the credit union movement."

Some of the credit unions paid 4½ to 5 per cent to members on six, nine, and twelve month deposits. Members in turn could borrow funds at 6 per cent to purchase fertilizer, seed, and improved machinery at a discount or at wholesale prices.

The monthly financial statement dated December 31, 1918, did not include reports from Mars Hill, Indian Trail, and Eastover but during the year Mt. Ulla, Algiers, Redwood, Piedmont, Vass, and Sadler credit unions were chartered. Total membership of the 17 reporting credit unions had increased to 783 and the resources expanded over 50 per cent to $27,465.01.[10]

Of these organizations the Valdese Credit Union had the greatest resources in 1918 and the farmers, mill employees and employers co-operated in maintaining a co-operative store, a mutual fire insurance association, and a mutual sick benefit association.

The movement accelerated considerably in 1919. Fifteen new credit unions were chartered bringing the total to 31 with Bahama and Valdese credit unions having the greatest resources of over $28,400.00 and $19,000.00 respectively. By the end of the year the total resources of the 31 unions were $79,707.18, almost three times the amount of the previous year.

This movement found favor among the Negroes of the State. Their first credit union was established in Rowan County in 1918 through the efforts of Thomas B. Patterson, a county agent. During 1919 the number increased to four and in April, 1920, three more were chartered, two in Columbus County and one in New Hanover in the heart of the berry and truck belt. Two more were added during the year and it was reported in October, 1920, that recent examinations

[10] Monthly Financial Statement of Credit Unions, December 31, 1918.

of nine Negro credit unions "showed that they had been doing good business in the way of cooperative purchases and have made substantial savings for their members." [11]

The 1920's witnessed a decline in the credit union movement in North Carolina. Numerous changes were made in supervisors and funds were no longer available for promotional purposes. The *Credit Union News,* for various reasons, chiefly financial, was published irregularly in 1922 and then finally discontinued. The financial statement for 1921 reported that 11 credit unions had gone out of business since 1920 and no new ones had been chartered. While these were small organizations, two unions, Valdese and Bahama, had together $51,902.55 of the $90,819.45 total resources deposited in the 22 credit unions chartered in the State.[12]

Despite the deplorable financial conditions the credit unions steadily grew in the early 1930's. Under the depressed condition caused by the failure of banks and withdrawal of credit, Superintendent of the Associations, Harriet M. Berry, pointed out that the loan sharks had moved into the area and were charging 20 and 25 per cent interest per month on loans to their victims. She urged that additional credit unions be added to the 61 active organizations to relieve wage earners and salaried people of North Carolina who "are being bled to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars annually by the high rate money lenders." [13]

The movement had attained national significance by 1934 for not only 36 States but also the Federal Government had enacted credit union legislation. This growth was reflected in North Carolina during this decade with the number of credit unions increasing to 120 with assets totaling $1,342,410.28 in December, 1939.[14]

Beginning in 1940 the resources of credit unions enjoyed great growth, the increase between 1948 and 1950 having been greater than the total resources in 1939 brought the total on June 30, 1950, to over $9,322,000.[15]

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[11] *Credit Union News,* October 15, 1920.

[12] Yearly Financial Statement of North Carolina (Credit) Unions, January 1, 1922, in personal collection of the author.

[13] *Biennial Report of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture, from July 1, 1930, to June 30, 1932,* 97, hereinafter cited as *Biennial Report* with the proper years following.

[14] *Annual Report of Credit Unions of North Carolina,* December 31, 1939.

[15] *Biennial Report,* 1948-1950, 55-59.

During this decade the number of credit unions established by Negroes increased to 55 thus giving North Carolina almost as many such organizations as in all the other states combined. Two of these unions had assets of over $100,000.00 and the total assets of the 55 unions exceeded $800,000.00. Hundreds of loans were made to assist members in buying farms, building homes, purchasing livestock, and meeting other credit needs.[16] While during recent years the number of Negro credit unions in North Carolina has declined to 50, their total resources on December 31, 1960, amounted to $2,227,385.75 with 10,264 members.[17]

Throughout the years the credit unions suffered because of the lack of efficient leaders trained in business matters. Crop failures likewise adversely affected the credit union movement in farm areas and within recent years the Federal Government has offered various forms of credit to farmers. Banks have established personal loan departments and are anxious to assist farmers in meeting their credit needs.

It is not surprising, therefore, that under these circumstances rural credit unions have declined while urban credit unions have increased with the industrialization of the State. As of December 31, 1960, there were still 30 State-chartered rural credit unions with total assets of $2,488,869.90 and a membership of 12,021 out of a total of 231 active credit unions with assets of $33,761,520.70 and a membership of 100,000.

Thus it may be noted that the credit union movement, begun in 1915 to relieve the farmers of high prices and high interest rates charged by "time merchants," yielded benefits to industrial workers and others. Loans of from $10.00 to several thousand dollars may now be had by members under the traditional 6 per cent plan with free life insurance on borrowers to cover the amount of the loans.

The development of State-chartered credit unions in North Carolina may be noted in the following table:

[16] *Biennial Report*, 1948-1950, 65.

[17] Unpublished report of W. V. Didawick, Superintendent, The Credit Unions, North Carolina Department of Agriculture, in the personal collection of the author.

GROWTH OF CREDIT UNIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA
1916-1960 [18]

Year	*Number of Credit Unions*	*Members*	*Total Resources*
1916 (Mar. 31)	5	201	$ 2,264.89
1916 (Dec. 31)	8	322	7,224.18
1917 (Dec. 31)	14	539	17,163.51
1918 (Dec. 31)	17	783	27,465.01
1919 (Dec. 31)	31	1,171	79,707.18
1920 (Oct. 31)	33	1,388	99,764.48
1922 (Jan. 1)	22	1,002	90,819.45
1924	34	1,500	104,000.00
1926	36	1,800	106,589.11
1928	59	2,500	150,000.00
1930	60	3,300	250,000.00
1932	61	4,000	350,000.00
1934	61	4,876	376,892.00
1936	70	7,264	589,506.96
1938	85	13,456	1,036,355.58
1940	138	23,632	1,249,429.37
1942	150	27,094	2,105,582.29
1944	146	25,006	2,527,915.99
1946	175	35,000	6,000,000.00
1948	200	41,909	7,169,512.00
1950	208	49,031	9,322,611.23
1952	211	55,081	11,314,522.03
1954	213	61,463	14,704,742.11
1956	221	80,043	19,241,841.94
1958	232	83,658	24,544,900.47
1960 (Dec. 31)	231	100,000	33,761,520.70

Not only have the credit unions made funds available to their members at low rates of interest but they have also taught thrift. The idea of self-help and economic democracy has likewise attracted members to the credit unions thus expediting their growth. After a very modest beginning, with some public and private funds for promotional and supervisory purposes, this business has become so well developed that it no longer needs financial assistance from the State. Since 1957 the fees charged the credit unions have been sufficient to support the Credit Union Division of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture. A most commendable past poses a bright future for this cooperative enterprise.

[18] These data were compiled from the various *Annual Reports of Credit Unions of North Carolina* and the *Biennial Reports of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture.*

TWO TIMROD LETTERS

By Douglas J. Robillard *

For some time after the Civil War, southern writers generally experienced great difficulties in the pursuit of their profession. There were few paying markets for their work in the South, and, although friendly colleagues in the North were willing to offer help, some lack of sympathy was displayed by northern editors.[1] Richard Henry Stoddard[2] was among those who displayed his friendship for southern writers, and it was to him that Henry Timrod[3] applied for aid.

During most of 1864, Timrod had been employed as an editor on the *Daily South Carolinian* of Columbia.[4] But when Sherman's occupation of the city made publication impossible and plans were made to move the paper, Timrod continued to stay in Columbia, where he shared in the general suffering of the city's inhabitants.

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* Mr. Robillard is an Instructor in the English Department, Wayne State University, Detroit.

[1] Jay B. Hubbell (ed.), *The Last Years of Henry Timrod, 1864-1867* . . . (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941), 3, hereinafter cited as Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod.*

[2] Stoddard (1825-1903) was an American critic and poet of the "Genteel Tradition." In the latter part of the nineteenth century he became the center of a New York literary group which included E. C. Stedman and others. William Rose Benét (ed.), *The Reader's Encyclopedia* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1948), 1,072, hereinafter cited as Benét, *Reader's Encyclopedia.*

[3] Timrod (December 8, 1828-October 6, 1867) was born in Charleston, South Carolina, the son of William Henry and Thyrza Prince Timrod. Timrod inherited his abilities from his father, a bookbinder, who achieved local recognition for his literary accomplishments, and from his English-Swiss mother, who loved nature idealistically. Timrod was educated at the Charleston school of Christopher Coates, where he occupied a seat next to Paul Hamilton Hayne, and later attended Franklin College (The University of Georgia). He read law in the office of James L. Petigru, the famous South Carolina Unionist. Unable to serve in the Confederate Army in 1861, he enlisted in 1862. After Shiloh he served as correspondent for the *Charleston Mercury* with the Army of the West. He was forced to withdraw from service due to extreme illness (tuberculosis) and was periodically ill until his tragic death. In spite of his many handicaps, he wrote numerous poems and worked as an editorial writer. Timrod was encouraged by Longfellow, Whittier, and Holmes. Following the burning of Columbia, South Carolina, he was reduced to poverty. He died following severe hemorrhages and was buried in the cemetery of Trinity Church, Columbia. Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [Published under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies], 20 volumes, index [for Volumes I-XX], and Supplementary Volumes XXI and XXII, 1928-1958), XVIII, 558-560, hereinafter cited as Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography;* Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod,* 96.

[4] Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod,* 18.

Shortly after the end of the war, finding no employment in his native State, Timrod took steps to seek a job in the North by writing to Stoddard,[5] who was then literary editor of the New York *World.*

Columbia July 10th 1865[6]

R. H. Stoddard Esq.

My Dear Sir,

It is about six years ago since you favoured me with a very kind letter upon the occasion of the appearance of a small volume of poems of mine, a copy of which volume I had caused to be sent to you.[7] At the time of receiving that letter, I was in a very weak state of health; and with the procrastination peculiar to the sick, I deferred acknowledging it until I became ashamed to address you at all. Yet the letter had given me the profoundest pleasure; I regarded it as an accolade laid upon my shoulder by hands which had a royal right to confer such an honor; and I long preserved it as the most precious testimonial in my possession of my title to the name of poet. It was lost at last by one of the accidents of the late unhappy war.

I have been encouraged by the evidence which that communication affords me of your sympathetic nature, to appeal to you for certain information which I am desirous of obtaining with regard to the probability of my being able to do anything at the North. Before mentioning what I want to know, however, I must take care not to appear before you in a false position; I must premise, therefore, that in the late civil conflict, I was a Secessionist in opinion, though the state of my health precluded my bearing arms. But the logic of events has made me once more a citizen of the United States; I begin to see (darkly) behind that *Divine* political economy which has ended in the extinction of slavery and the preservation of the Union; and I am prepared to discharge in good faith the obligations which I assumed upon taking the oath. More I need not say; you are a poet of a high order, you must possess that universality of mind which

[5] Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod,* 46.

[6] Stoddard reviewed Timrod's collected poems in the *Aldine* (a "Typographic Art Journal") in April, 1873. He excised the statements in Timrod's letter following "More I need not say." Hubbell, *Last years of Timrod,* 46-49. The originals of this letter and the one which follows are in the A. W. Anthony Collection of the New York Public Library, which gave the author permission to print them.

[7] Paul Hamilton Hayne to Stoddard, February 14, 1860, Daniel M. McKeithan (ed.), *A Collection of Hayne Letters* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1944), 41-42. Hayne (January 1, 1830—July 6, 1886) was a lifelong friend of Timrod and his family. He was reared in the Charleston home of his uncle, Robert Young Hayne, United States Senator and Governor of South Carolina, following the death of his father. Though he studied law, he soon turned to a career in journalism and poetry. He, like Timrod, was one of the writers under the influence of William Gilmore Simms. In 1873 he edited a volume of Timrod's poems and entertained the poet at his home, "Copse Hill," near Augusta, Georgia. His Memoir is considered the best source of information on Timrod's life. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography,* VIII, 455-456; Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod,* 4.

will not permit you to regard with the narrow prejudices of the mere politician those who differ with you in creed.

I will not trouble you with a detailed account of my situation. Suffice it to say, that I have been reduced by the destruction of this town to the most abject poverty. There is no possibility of my procuring employment here of any sort. Literature is an unattainable and undesired [8] luxury. I have tried to open a school, but can get no pupils, as nobody is rich enough to pay tuition fees. All are alike ruined. Life in South Carolina—the case of a few shopkeepers and farmers excepted—must be for some time to come the merest struggle for existence. The people of the North have no conception of the state to which the country has been brought. Those who have lately visited us from your section have been struck aghast. You will not wonder, therefore, that I should desire to get away. I have a family to support, and here they must starve. With what reception would a Southerner meet in New York? Could I hope to get employment there in any capacity whatever? Hackwriter of a newspaper, editor of the poet's corner of some third-rate journal, grocer's clerk—nothing would come amiss to me that would put bread into the mouths and a roof over the heads of those whom I love best in the world. Would you be kind enough to answer these questions for me, and help, if you can, to put me on the road of earning an honest penny in an honest way?

You will smile, perhaps, at the humble aspirations of one who once hoped to be associated as a friend with that noble band whom you have described as "Friendly to all save caitiffs foul and wrong, but stern to guard the Holy Land of song"—but it will be with such a smile as only gleams from a poet's [*torn*]. Let me hear from you soon [*torn*] shall be

Henry Timrod

P.S. Would it be advisable for me to visit New York in advance of my family for the purpose of looking about? [9]

But two months later, Timrod could write more cheerful news. The following letter, although it does not bear Stoddard's name, was almost surely addressed to him.

Columbia Sep 8th 1865

My dear Sir,

Your quick and kind acknowledgement of my letter was just what I expected at your hands. The mail, however, was by no means so benevolently expeditious as yourself; your missive was several weeks upon the road; and when I did receive it, I happened to be too unwell to answer it, as my heart prompted me to do, upon the spot.

[8] Stoddard printed "undesireable" instead of "undesired."

[9] The bottom of the sheet is so torn that words are missing, apparently one word in the first instance and two in the second instance. The end of the letter is crowded and Timrod wrote the postscript at the top of the first page, above the date and salutation.

You will be pleased to know that my prospects are somewhat better than when I wrote you two months ago. I expect ere long to be associated in the editorial department of a daily paper to be established either here or at Charleston. Once in the harness, I need not tell you that I shall not have much time to contribute either in prose or verse to the pages of a magazine. But in the meanwhile, I am still in great need, and would be glad if I could earn a dollar or two by the trifles of my pen. I send you a few little poems which if you can dispose of for my benefit to Mr. Fields or anyone else, you will oblige me very much indeed. Most of the verse which I wrote during the war was Southern in tone and sentiment and would be upublishable now at the North. The few small poems enclosed are all which I have as yet been able to find among my [*marked through—illegible*][10] likely to be acceptable. Some others, I doubt not, will turn up after a while.

My connection-to-be with a daily paper precludes the necessity which a few weeks ago would have led me to accept with gratitude your kind offices in procuring me a place as a contributor in prose to some Northern Magazine. I thank you, however, as much as if I had sent you whole reams of story and essay, and had received an equivalent great or small in greenbacks or gold.

Shut up by the blockade, I do not know what you and your compeers in rhyme have done for the last few years. I should like much to see some late poems of yours . . . also some of the late poems of Aldrich,[11] Bayard Tailor [*sic*][12] and Buchanan Read.[13] Can you not send me a specimen or two? I would esteem it a great kindness. I am not asking for *books*—newspaper copies of single and small poems will seem to me generous gifts.

I write under great disadvantages—being sick myself and in the same room with my sick babe. My wife[14] (who by the way is an Englishwoman and the original of "An Exotic," one of the poems enclosed) urges me not to task my convalescence too much; I must, therefore, bring this letter to a close. It is like Mr. Miller's Valentine "rather a sudden pull-up," but you will excuse it.

Sincerely yours
Henry Timrod

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[10] Two words are lined through—possibly "manuscripts and"—and a third word, though not lined through, is illegible.

[11] Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1836-1907), another representative poet of the "Genteel Tradition." He was best known for his *Story of a Bad Boy* (1868). Benét, *Reader's Encyclopedia*, 21, 428.

[12] Bayard Taylor (1825-1878) was an American poet, journalist, and lecturer. He was best known for his translation of Goethe's *Faust* (1870-1871), as a result of which in 1878 he was appointed Minister to Germany. Benét, *Reader's Encyclopedia*, 1,103.

[13] Thomas Buchanan Read (1822-1872), an American poet, famous for his poem, *Sheridan's Ride*. Benét, *Reader's Encyclopedia*, 910.

[14] The former Katie Goodwin, an English girl, whose brother George had married Timrod's sister Emily. The Timrods were married February 16, 1864. Mrs. Timrod lived forty-six years after Timrod's death, marrying again before 1899, since the Memorial Edition of his poems (1899) was copyrighted in the name of Mrs. Kate Lloyd. Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod*, 12, 16, 104*n*.

Oct 1st This letter has been lying on my desk for three weeks. A thousand anxieties have conspired to make me neglect it. A sister[15] and my only child[16] have been lying exceedingly ill under my roof. [*illegible*] have reminded me that my poems might be worth something—and I have concluded to send you them at once without further apology.

Yours in haste
HT

Timrod's prospects for a job probably were bound up with plans for the re-establishment of the *Daily South Carolinian* in Charleston.[17] But meanwhile he continued to live in Columbia under the most distressing conditions.[18]

In his 1873 review of Timrod's poems, Stoddard said that several poems were enclosed with the letter he quoted. Perhaps his reference may have been caused by a slip of the memory. But it is likely adding the poems to the earlier letter made more effective his charge that northern magazines would not publish Timrod's poetry, although, as he added, "a decent amount of cheap verbal sympathy was manifested. . . ."[19]

[15] Obviously Mrs. Emily Timrod Goodwin, one of Timrod's three sisters, who was fiercely proud of the poet's efforts and who helped care for him during many of his illnesses. Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod*, 171, 35*n*, 55*n*, 60, 83, 86.

[16] Willie, Timrod's son, died October 23, 1865. A poem in memory of the child, "Our Willie," was published in *Scott's Monthly Magazine* in September, 1866. Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod*, 45, 125.

[17] Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod*, 49.

[18] Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod*, 46, 51.

[19] *Aldine*, April, 1873, quoted in Hubbell, *Last Years of Timrod*, 48.

BOOK REVIEWS

Sir Walter Ralegh: His Family and Private Life. By A. L. Rowse. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1962. Preface, illustrations, footnotes, and index. Pp. xi, 348. $6.95.)

Only the latter part of this book concerns Sir Walter Ralegh; the remainder deals with the family of Ralegh's wife, Elizabeth Throckmorton. The parts are poorly integrated, and a predominant chronological organization results in seemingly random presentation of details. Nevertheless, Mr. Rowse has assembled in this book useful information concerning his subjects.

The first chapter describes the political and financial ups and downs of several generations of Throckmortons, beginning about 1400 A.D. The two succeeding chapters concern Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Lady Ralegh's father. They include accounts of Sir Nicholas' treason-trial (famous because of his unprecedented acquittal) and of his activities as Ambassador to France and as emissary to Mary Stuart. The next four chapters and three later ones, constituting a biography of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, Lady Ralegh's brother, contain details concerning Sir Arthur's travels and family life, references to public affairs, and occasional mention of Sir Walter and Lady Ralegh. Eight chapters are devoted primarily to Ralegh, including his public life and private interests. Ralegh's descendants and the later Throckmortons are the subjects of the final chapter.

Mr. Rowse offers interpretations of various events and people. He attributes Queen Elizabeth's extreme resentment upon discovering Ralegh's marriage largely to Lady Ralegh's having returned to Court after the birth of her child, which, in view of her oath as maid-of-honor, the author calls "equivalent to an act of perjury." Mr. Rowse explains the duality of Ralegh's character by pointing to the conflict between the worlds in which Ralegh moved: the Court, with its Machiavellian characteristics and its medieval tradition of courtly love, on the one hand, and, on the other, the world of the new learning, characterized by intellectual honesty. He presents Sir Robert Cecil as an astute politician, attacking or protecting Ralegh according to his own interests.

The chapters on Sir Arthur Throckmorton are based chiefly on Sir Arthur's recently discovered diary, heralded on the dust-jacket and in the Preface. Material on Ralegh is drawn chiefly from Aubry, Edwards, and other well-known sources, from the literary works of Ralegh and Edmund Spenser, and from manuscripts other than the diary, which apparently contains little significant information on Ralegh. British archives form the chief basis for the section on Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. From these sources, Mr. Rowse has drawn valuable information on many aspects of Tudor and early Stuart England.

Mattie Erma E. Parker.
Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas: With Remarks Historical and Critical on Johnson's Life of Greene. By Henry Lee (Jr.). (Chicago, Illinois: Quadrangle Books, Inc. [Americana Classics]. 1962. Footnotes and appendixes. Pp. ii, 511. $10.00.)

This account of the Revolutionary War in the Carolinas, originally published in 1824, results from a son's effort to defend historically his proud Virginia father's reputation and *Memoirs* (1812) from detractors, particularly the polemical William Johnson of South Carolina, an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. Using letters, some of which are included in the Appendix, and accounts by contemporaries, the junior Lee makes a detailed critique of Johnson's *Sketches* (1822), from which he quotes at length to refute the direct attacks and alleged implications on his father's character, relations with Greene and other officers, and military conduct. He challenges not only the Jeffersonian jurist's statements but also his honesty and methods as biographer and critic. Both writers reflect personal and provincial bias and both write in the somewhat involved style of the period. Lee, however, seems to come off rather better in precision of statement, fairness of judgment (except possibly with respect to his literary opponent), and use of evidence. The addition of an index and of other maps than the one on the jacket would make the reissue more useful.

Although Lee's work does not resolve all questions and controversies over relative merits and distribution of honors, it does illuminate various aspects of the 1781 Campaign. Sharply does it point up how

much Greene was helped and hindered by the passionately partisan nature of much of the warfare in the South and the prima donna personalities of the partisan leaders, not the least of whom in any respect was the dashing Light-Horse Harry Lee. With his Legion Lee covered Greene's strategic retreats and advances, co-operated with the South Carolina leaders (most effectively with Marion), and made his own judgments and moves. Human weakness was there in plenty; but, in the over-all picture, Greene was a greater man than the hero-image created by his Carolina biographer and Lee, even without the glow of his defender's literary labor, stands forth for what Greene knew him to be—a national patriot and a worthy companion in arms.

Lawrence F. Brewster.

East Carolina College.

Beaufort County: Two Centuries of Its History. By C. Wingate Reed. ([Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Co.]. 1962. Bibliographies, appendixes, index, and illustrations. Pp. [viii], 244. $6.00.)

Beaufort, one of the seven oldest surviving counties in North Carolina, straddles the Pamlico River in the Coastal Plain (or "plane" as the author spells it). In twelve chapters the story is told of the county's discovery and settlement, political and military entanglements, and development through the period of early statehood. Three intervening chapters relate facts concerning "Religion and the Churches," "Education, Schools, and the Press," and "Transportation, Commerce, and Industry." The reader then is returned to the chronological development for a chapter on the Civil War and another called "Aftermath of Defeat," bringing the history through the murder of Bryan Grimes in 1880 but falling short of the promised two centuries by twenty-five years.

Colonel Reed has done a splendid job of weaving interesting aspects of local history into the broader scene at the colony and State level. His familiarity with printed secondary works as well as with the primary sources, largely in the county courthouse and in the State Archives, has enabled him to cite specific examples in his narrative which will appeal to a wide range of readers. The numerous personal names appearing throughout the book, while undoubtedly increasing

the local appeal, will prove useful to other researchers as well. The author's style is readable, and his history of Beaufort County is a welcome addition to our growing bibliography of local history in North Carolina.

It is to be regretted that typographical errors are rather numerous and that the names of such men as Nathanael Greene, Albion W. Tourgée, and Archibald D. Murphey are misspelled. Susan Dimock, pioneer female physician and native of Washington in Beaufort County, is not mentioned, and there is a reference to the American *colonies* as of 1820.

William S. Powell.

The University of North Carolina.

History of the Voluntary Mental Health Movement in North Carolina. By Ethel M. Speas. ([Raleigh]: North Carolina Mental Health Association, Inc. [Copies available, P. O. Box 858, Greenville]. References, appendixes, and index. Pp. xii, 140 [$1.25, paper; $2.25, cloth.].)

This brief volume is less a history than a sketch or outline of the North Carolina Mental Hygiene Society, forerunner of the present-day North Carolina Mental Health Association. The author, a retired welfare worker and for ten years Executive Secretary of the Association, describes the abortive beginnings of the Society in 1914, its early lapses and disappointments, followed by solid growth and achievement after reorganization in 1936. Although Miss Speas offers virtually nothing in the way of analysis or interpretation, she and the sponsors of this volume in the Mental Health Association have performed a significant service in providing a highly useful point of departure for the more elaborate and critical institutional studies that should be undertaken in the near future. A chronology, a list of sources, and numerous rosters identifying the many individuals who provided leadership and initiative, in themselves more than justify the author's efforts by pointing the way for those who may wish to explore the record further. The people of North Carolina have much to be proud of in the pioneering accomplishments of their State in the field of mental health; the lessons implicit in the struggles of both lay and professional workers in this area should not be lost.

I. B. Holley, Jr.

Duke University.

The North Carolina Miscellany. Edited by Richard Walser. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Drawings by Paul Gray. Pp. viii, 275. $4.75.)

Two thoughts strike one on first examining this book which bears on the dust jacket the sub-title, "A collection of warm and delightful fragments of North Carolina's past and present."

(1) There are few North Carolinians, and not only those who enjoy their history in nibbles, who cannot have a good time reveling in the choice tidbits which Richard Walser has gathered from many sources, old and recent.

(2) This well could be the first of several similar volumes for Mr. Walser to compile. Persons at all acquainted with the various North Carolina collections in the State know how bounteous are the materials which went into this book.

It is a volume for sheer enjoyment rather than a "serious" book in the sense of trying to present an analytic study of life in North Carolina, or of having a thesis to prove, or a new body of information to teach. As the title implies it is miscellany purely and simply, and if it proves anything at all it is that life in North Carolina has been interesting for a long time, which means that North Carolinians have generally been an interesting lot.

The earliest selection is dated 1584 and is Arthur Barlowe's first-hand account of the discovery of Roanoke Island. From four years later we have Thomas Hariot's description of tobacco and of Indian customs of "sucking" or smoking. To the other extreme in time, there are entries from as late as 1961. Thus three and a half centuries of miscellaneous social history are glimpsed.

The contributors range from Walt Whitman (an excerpt from the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*) and George Washington (his 1791 visit to the State, specifically to Tarboro and Greenville) to anonymous newspaper and periodical writers. A section of notes on contributors briefly identifies ninety-four writers who include many of those prominent in our literary history. The items, most of which are short, come from novels, poems, essays, histories and historical records, magazines and newspapers.

The editor has arranged his selections in five sections: Places, People, Incidents, Oddments and Observations, and Folklore, at the same time recognizing that these headings "are not exclusive; they are merely convenient," and that "Places are usually dull unless People are there, People are static unless they are involved in some Incident or other, and Incidents generally provoke Observations."

Perhaps some day these and similar materials will be studied more or less exhaustively and presented with more ideological continuity to make a fuller report on the informal history of North Carolina. At that time all materials will be subjected to the more formal criteria of the historian. Mr. Walser's chief criterion seems to have been the one question, Is it interesting as North Caroliniana? It is this which gives the volume the freshness of a minor source book.

Edgar E. Folk.

Wake Forest College.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina. Series 1, Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, March 28, 1749-March 19, 1750. Edited by J. H. Easterby with the assistance of Ruth S. Green. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1962. Illustration and index. Pp. xv, 549. $12.50.)

James Harold Easterby is dead, but his contribution to American history continues. This is the ninth volume of the *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly* published by the South Carolina Archives Department since 1951. The major part of the present volume was completed before Dr. Easterby died, but Ruth S. Green and her associates deserve credit for seeing the work through to its final publication.

In this book are the proceedings of five sessions of the 1749-1751 Assembly. Two Speakers, William Bull, Jr., and Andrew Rutledge presided over the Assembly during these sessions. Proceedings of later meetings of this same House will be published in the next issue of the series.

The business which concerned the representatives during 1749 and 1750 involved encouraging immigration from Europe, aiding agriculture and manufacturing, pacifying the frontier Indians, plus routine police, defense, and health problems. Only four of the bills approved during these sessions became law. Though the range of topics considered by the House was limited to ordinary affairs, there is much information here on social and economic conditions in South Carolina at the time.

The South Carolina Archives Department is to be congratulated for the rapid progress of this project. Students of Colonial America owe the Palmetto State a debt for putting these records within the easy reach of all.

Daniel M. McFarland.

Atlantic Christian College.

The Papers of James Madison. Volume I, 16 March 1751-16 December 1779. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. 1962. Maps, illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xlii, 344. $10.00.)

One of the questions frequently asked about "the Fathers" is how they came to be the kind of men they were. It is this inquiry that makes each new set of their papers stimulating reading. The first volume of the *Madison Papers* gives as broad a view as one can hope to have of the first twenty-eight years of the man who would one day become the Father of the Constitution.

By the end of 1779—when this volume ends—Madison's political career did not yet extend beyond Virginia. Within Virginia it did not extend beyond his county until May, 1776, when he served as a little-known delegate in the convention which framed the State constitution. Madison's one substantial contribution was in the wording of the provision for "the free exercise of religion" in the Declaration of Rights. He served briefly in the general assembly and then as a member of the council of state. His political career, one concludes, was not yet one of outstanding leadership in Virginia.

But details of his career are of less interest today than the development of his political thought. Most of what is learned of the latter comes from his correspondence with William Bradford of Pennsylvania (it is alarming to think how little would be known about the young Madison without that correspondence). Even so one discovers little: a few isolated passages, a few indications of the political works he may have read. It is not enough, in any event, to set the stage for later writings such as the tenth *Federalist*. Madison's interest in religion and in the issue of an established church is clearer than his concern for political theory.

The editors have performed their work well. If they have erred, it is through excessive zeal: They track down, for example, Bradford's quotations from Shakespeare and Pope; and, toward the end, they include so many of the proceedings of the council of state (in which Madison's role remains obscure) that Madison himself slips from view. But the editorial standards and long-term (twenty-volume) objective of the editors are wholly praiseworthy: to include all extant writings which were the product of Madison's mind and those "letters and other papers, addressed to him and known to have received his careful attention." Judging from this volume, the book-

dealers will be happy to clear their shelves of the old edition of Madison's writings edited by Gaillard Hunt.

Philip F. Detweiler.

Tulane University.

Benjamin Logan: Kentucky Frontiersman. By Charles Gano Talbert. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1962. Preface, notes, and index. Pp. ix, 332. $7.50.)

In this volume Dr. Charles Gano Talbert investigates the life of Benjamin Logan—a frontiersman who in 1775 at the age of twenty-eight reached the land in western Virginia that was to become in 1792 the State of Kentucky—and attempts to restore him to the high regard in which his contemporaries held him. Logan was still a popular figure in Kentucky in the year of his death, 1802, the year the volume closes.

Logan was equally successful during each of the three periods into which Talbert divides the history of early Kentucky—1775 to 1783, when the Indians were the menace and bringing in crops the aim; 1784 to 1792, when the section, still struggling against the Indians, sought separation from Virginia and desired to open the Mississippi; and 1792 to 1803, when the State wrote and re-wrote its constitution and enacted early legislation.

Unlike Daniel Boone and James Harrod, Benjamin Logan, though poorly educated, did not give way to more cultivated and educated men as the State of Kentucky expanded and developed. He built up his landholdings and retained his importance. He rose to the rank of major general, fulfilled local government duties, served three terms in the Virginia Assembly, appeared seven times in the ten statehood conventions and served six terms in the Kentucky General Assembly. He also served in the First and Second Constitutional Conventions. Twice an unsuccessful candidate for governor, in 1796 he lost on a disputed second ballot of the board of electors.

The book centers on Logan, his family, and his problems and therein lies its unity, but it also presents much of the history of the early Kentucky settlements, and one meets such renowned frontiersmen as George Rogers Clark, Hugh McGary, and others. Yet the volume is much more than that for readers interested in the Ulstermen treks into the back country. For Benjamin Logan was a rawboned Scotch-Irishman with much of the temper and rashness, as well as the forcefulness,

of his kind—like Andrew Pickens, Patrick Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, and Sam Houston who pioneered with lasting imprint in other sections of the country.

Talbert has made a thorough investigation of the sources available and appears to have done a remarkable job in separating the facts from the myths that invariably seem to rise out of frontier lands. Logan's long career as an Indian fighter is especially treated well. The volume will take a handsome position in the library of books detailing the settling of trans-Appalachian America, though it is to be regretted that no maps were included in the study.

Max F. Harris.

State Department of Archives and History.

Lion of White Hall: The Life of Cassius M. Clay. By David L. Smiley. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 294. $6.00.)

In Blue Grass Kentucky there are two Clays remembered, Henry and Cassius. The fabled Henry profited much by his fortunate marriage and his eloquence at the bar. American historiography dominated for many years by Whig and Republican historians placed him deservedly in the forefront of America's great men. But the average Blue Grass citizen knows little about the deeds of the Great Pacificator. However, when the conversation turns to the Lion of White Hall, Cassius Marcellus Clay, virtually every citizen is well informed. It is the latter Clay who is the Bunyanesque figure in Kentucky.

Cassius M. Clay was a living legend in his own time and the legend lives on. David Smiley in the first critical biography of Clay has not destroyed the figure in the legend; rather he has realistically appraised his subject. In Smiley's biography Cassius Clay is still the daring, fearless, heroic figure, though in retrospect as pathetic as heroic.

During most of the ninety-three (1810-1903) years he lived Cassius Clay thrived on struggle and controversy. He possessed an insatiable ambition for office coupled with an innate capacity for choosing the losing side. Clay fought eagerly and well, whether on the stump, in the lecture hall, or with his famed Bowie knives—*not with pistols.* As a Whig he fought other Whigs even to the duel. In his lifetime he fought against and with Democrats and Republicans. He damned the Democrats and slaveholders for promoting war with

Mexico, then raised a company and marched for glory only to sit out the war as a prisoner.

Possessed of spontaneous enthusiasm he joyously fought slavery in Kentucky and the South. Despite incurable optimism he failed to gain support even from the artisans and small farmers. His wild abolitionist paper, *The True American,* so agitated his neighbors that an orderly mob dismantled it and shipped it to Cincinnati. As a showpiece abolitionist he was much in demand as lecturer in the North and East. Disappointed by his failure to win the Republican nominations in 1856 and in 1860, the ambassadorship to Russia was for Clay not consequential enough to assuage his pride.

As Ambassador to Russia Clay participated in court life with great zest and with his usual poor luck. In handling this portion of Clay's career Smiley provides an excellent example of his skill and detachment in writing about a legendary figure.

At home after 1869 Clay was slowly pushed from the stage. Dramatically he denounced and left the Republican Party in 1872. With equal ineffectiveness he was alternately to denounce and leave parties for the next thirty years.

The story of Cash Clay after 1872 is the story of ambition unrewarded, of talent wasted, and of mounting bitterness. Clay was a dramatic, showy leader of the opposition and little more. He possesesd little capacity for organization, had no reluctance to sacrifice cause for effect and was generally a more notorious than noted figure.

Professor Smiley has written an excellent biography of Cassius M. Clay. Based on exhaustive research, the biography has benefited from Smiley's ability to stick to the subject. With a colorful, romantic figure like Clay, the author could easily have turned out a "Life and Times" or a work of fiction. Yet without sacrificing color Smiley's biography is an important addition to the literature on abolition and on Kentucky. He shows mature judgment in assessing the role of his subject in his various activities. Complementing this sound judgment is an unusual knowledge of the various movements with which Clay was affiliated.

Technically the biography is excellent. The title, jacket, and cover are all attractive. The footnotes unhappily are found in the back of the book. But they are accurate and establish that Professor Smiley was a diligent and imaginative researcher.

Bennett H. Wall.

University of Kentucky.

A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida. By Bernard Romans. Edited by Rembert W. Patrick. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1962. Illustrations and index. Pp. lxxxix, 342. $8.50.)

Bernard Romans lived and worked in Florida for almost a decade following the English occupation in 1764. A naturalist, surveyor, and map maker, he traveled throughout the Southeast and the mid-South, gathering and recording data. Entitled *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida,* his work is more than just a description of *flora* and *fauna;* it is a combination almanac, medical dictionary, navigator's guide, Indian handbook, pro-slavery tract, instruction book for would-be settlers, and treatise on *laissez faire* economics. The book is still timely. Its recommendations to campers, its medical advice, and its pithy observations (such as the fact that the succulent pompano costs three times as much as any other fish) give the work freshness and pertinence, even today. For the casual reader it should also be intriguing to compare and contrast life in eighteenth and twentieth-century Florida and to test Romans' prognostications on the future of the province. For those with more scholarly tastes, Romans provides commentary on the Indians, plant and animal life, place names of geographical points, provincial diseases, and on other aspects of Colonial life. As an empiricist and pragmatist, the author is often perceptive; as a moralist he is amusing. To this reviewer, better acquainted with Florida during the Spanish periods, Romans' volume served an especially useful function in reorienting Florida history toward the Old South and away from its Spanish heritage. His description of the people and their environment and his attitudes toward slavery and trade certainly help to bring Florida more clearly into the mainstream of southern history and southern traditions. Ably edited and lucidly introduced by Professor Rembert W. Patrick, this is the first volume in a proposed series of *Floridiana Reprints and Facsimile Editions.* It sets a high standard for the series, which will make the founts of Florida history readily available to the scholar and general public.

John J. TePaske.

Ohio State University.

President James Buchanan: A Biography. By Philip Shriver Klein. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1962. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xviii, 506. $7.50.)

Was President James Buchanan really as weak, indecisive, and misguided as is commonly believed? Or was it simply that he faced the impossible task of preserving a crumbling union, and that the very effort to do so was discredited by the war he failed to avert? Thanks to Professor Klein, for the first time a scholarly, detailed biography is available to aid in answering these questions.

Let it be said at once that this is a work of prodigious and scrupulous scholarship. Buchanan was almost continuously in public office from 1821 to 1861, as congressman, Senator, minister to Russia and Great Britain, Secretary of State, and President. He played a major role in the election of Andrew Jackson, the Bank War, and the Oregon negotiation, and was three times a prominent contender for the Democratic presidential nomination before finally securing it in 1856. Through most of these forty years he was probably the single most influential figure in the tangled politics of Pennsylvania. Moreover, Buchanan had, of course, a private, personal life, and one that is peculiarly difficult to reconstruct and interpret.

A career such as this leaves the historical biographer in a cruel dilemma. On the one hand, he is impelled to dig to the bottom of every episode in which his subject was involved. The scope of Professor Klein's research and the authority with which, for example, he unravels the complexities of Pennsylvania politics leaves no doubt that he had done just that. But the results of such exhaustive scholarship over such a wide range cannot be presented adequately in a single volume. "After preparing what would have been a more extensive work," Professor Klein tells us, "I concluded that it would serve a better purpose to present not an exhaustive but a concise account of Buchanan's career," which "tried to treat at least briefly all the episodes which Buchanan thought important." Unfortunately, by trying to cover "at least briefly" a multitude of less consequential episodes like the Russian mission, Professor Klein robbed his book of dramatic structure and left himself little space, even in a text of 429 pages, to treat in desirable depth the more important matters. Only in the three detailed chapters covering the period between Lincoln's election and his inauguration do we see the full richness of Professor Klein's scholarship.

Even here one may complain of the hesitancy and ambiguity with which generalizations and judgments are drawn. While Professor Klein goes to great lengths—probably much too far—to see things from Buchanan's point of view, and while he almost never criticizes Buchanan directly, he nevertheless often implies reservations about Buchanan's judgments and actions.

Yet, in spite of the spatial limits Professor Klein imposed on himself, he has given us such a wealth of new material that we are in a far better position to reach conclusions for ourselves. If this book is the strongest case for "Old Buck" that an honest "Buchaneer" can make, then we probably haven't been too far off the track all along.

Charles Grier Sellers, Jr.

University of California.

The Devil's Backbone: The Story of the Natchez Trace. By Jonathan Daniels. (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc. [The American Trail Series, edited by A. B. Guthrie, Jr.]. Sources, map, sketches, and index. Pp. x, 278. $6.95.)

The story of the Natchez Trace, the old Indian trail from Natchez to Nashville, is part of the epic of the Old Southwest. This is the region where French, Spanish, and English adventurers met and quarreled and bribed and connived, in the lands of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, who watched with contempt. It is part of the story of the borderlands, the area of low-pressure diplomacy and high-pressure conspiracy.

A cavalcade of colorful characters has passed along the Trace since the advent of Hernando De Soto. Frenchmen such as Bienville arrived in the eighteenth century, and left their marks in place names and customs. As elsewhere in the New World, the Indian tribes were induced to do most of the fighting, and thus to contribute largely to their own destruction. As elsewhere, too, the Indians were the pawns in struggles which were only the echoes of the dynastic rivalries of Paris, London, and Madrid.

The coming of American frontiersmen added another dimension to the Trace. The halfbreed traders, such as the Colberts, formed a small but distinct group, neither wholly savage nor wholly civilized. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries characters like General Wilkinson, ranking officer of the American Army and a highly-paid

conspirator-agent of Spain, found the Natchez Trace a suitable place for intrigue. Itinerant preachers, robbers, murderers, and slavetraders also were at home in this environment. Andrew Jackson traveled down the Trace to marry Rachel Robards and fetch her back to Nashville.

One of the most noted victims of the Trace was Meriwether Lewis, of Lewis and Clark fame and later governor of St. Louis. Lewis died of gunshot wounds at Grinder's tavern, under exceedingly mysterious circumstances.

The coming of the river boats opened another colorful era and ended the Trace as a traveled route. It was gradually forgotten, as the Indians were pushed westward to Indian Territory, and the frontier itself moved on toward New Mexico. Today the Natchez Trace is a national parkway, with facilities for travelers considerably better than those available to Jackson and Rachel. The travelers today are more peaceable but less picturesque than those of earlier times.

Jonathan Daniels has told this story with delightful skill and keen historical insight. His book deserves a place on the shelves of every student of American history. Author and publisher are to be congratulated on a book that will bring pleasure to several generations of readers.

Donald E. Worcester.

University of Florida.

The Scotch-Irish: A Social History. By James G. Leyburn. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Notes and index. Pp. xix, 377. $7.00.)

Mr. Leyburn has attempted an impossible task—yet he has not entirely failed. He has produced a useful book, clearly written and well organized. The chief value of the work lies in its successful attempt to provide a natural connection between Scotch-Irish history in Scotland and Ulster and that in America. The book thus corrects a tendency common among Americans to regard the Scotch-Irish migration as the beginning rather than as a continuation of Scotch-Irish history. It is with considerable insight that the author deals with the character of the Lowland Scot, the causes of Scottish migration to Ulster, and the character of the Ulster Scot. Mr. Leyburn devotes roughly equal space to each side of the Atlantic, but his treatment of the story in Scotland and Ireland seems the fresher and more convincing, perhaps because Americans are less familiar with it.

It would seem that any appraisal, however brief, of Scotch-Irish political influence during the colonial and revolutionary periods must involve basic reliance on such primary source materials as the *Pennsylvania Archives,* the *Archives of Maryland, Journals of the House of Burgesses,* and *The Colonial Records of North Carolina.* Yet only four of the thirty notes accompanying Mr. Leyburn's chapter on "The Scotch-Irish in Politics" proceed from such sources. Again, in his chapter on "Frontier Society," the author might have told us more about the Scotch-Irish family itself. Did whole families customarily move and settle together? Or was it more usual that individuals moved and then established families and settlements? On the other hand, Mr. Leyburn has discerned, as Henry J. Ford (*The Scotch-Irish in America,* 1915) did not, the great importance of Maryland's eastern and western shores in the expansion of Scotch-Irish settlement into the back country.

While he has not written a book that replaces Ford's, Mr. Leyburn has provided the general reader with an extremely useful account rooted properly in Europe. Moreover, he has drawn attention to a number of excellent subjects (such as Maryland's importance in the Scotch-Irish migration and settlement) which impatiently await close historical investigation. For this we are more than grateful.

Robert W. Ramsey.

Hollins College.

The Know Nothing Party in New Orleans: A Reappraisal. By Leon Cyprian Soulé. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Historical Association. 1961. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. x, 128. $5.00.)

Here in a nutshell is the burden of Mr. Soulé's message: The rise of the Know-Nothing Party to power in New Orleans must be considered in the light of the long-time struggle for political supremacy between the "Creoles" and "Americans," a conflict that originated with the purchase of Louisiana and was intensified in the Crescent City when the three separate municipalities of New Orleans and the neighboring suburb of Lafayette were consolidated in 1852. Following a brief period of Democratic control through a coalition of Creoles and immigrants, the local Americans embraced the Know-Nothing movement and gained ascendancy in city politics at about the time that the Party was declining rapidly elsewhere in the State and na-

tion. Later in the decade, however, many conservative, wealthy Americans, deploring the violence and intimidation by which the opposition was reduced to impotency, deserted the Know-Nothing ranks. Nevertheless the Party continued its local mastery by attracting the support of labor; and, strange to say, in its final days prior to the Federal occupation in 1862, it was sustained by the very Creoles and immigrants against whom its original arguments were directed.

The author's treatment of New Orleans politics differs from certain conclusions reached by previous historians. He sees a resurgence rather than a diminution of the Creole-American rivalry during the 1850's and he regards anti-Catholicism as an essential characteristic of the Know-Nothing persuasion in Louisiana's principal city. This book is based primarily upon a diligent combining of New Orleans newspaper files; unfortunately Mr. Soulé relies almost exclusively upon such sources. He might well have made more dexterous use of statistics available in census and election returns—as Lee Benson did in his recently published work, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, 1961). The author should have given a more comprehensive background of the Creole-American struggle and he should have more effectively related the New Orleans Know-Nothing movement to State and national politics. He does not present a particularly convincing explanation of the process by which the local Party won the support of the Creoles and immigrants.

Edwin A. Miles.

University of Houston.

General Kirby Smith, C.S.A. By Joseph Howard Parks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 537. $7.50.)

A reissue of a book that first appeared in 1954, this is one of sixteen titles which at this writing make up the *Southern Biography Series.* It is eminently worth reprinting not only on its own merits, but also as a counterweight to the overemphasis placed by biographers and military historians of the Civil War upon the eastern theaters of the conflict.

Born in Florida, trained at the United States Military Academy, the young officer spent several years in the old United States Army in typical border service, punctuated in his case, however, by a stint as mathematics professor at West Point. When his State seceded he

promptly resigned his majority, entered the Confederate service as a lieutenant colonel, and thereafter progressed through the grades to become one of the Confederacy's seven full generals in field service.

In March, 1863, Smith assumed command of the Trans-Mississippi Department, the largest theater of the war, and continued there until the South's defeat. Exercising both civil and military authority in this vast and sprawling section of the beleaguered young nation, he managed to make it self-supporting. His post afforded him little chance for military generalship, for his task was primarily an administrative one and a matter of staving off military defeat until the war's outcome was decided elsewhere.

Smith bore his trials with soldierly fortitude. His ultimate failure—if it may be called that—may be set down to several factors, none of them to his discredit. He had to cope with sluggish patriotism and despondency of the civilian population; with the failure of other western commanders to understand the importance of saving Vicksburg; with a grave lack of resources and transport; and with his own inadequate preparation as a civil administrator.

The last Confederate general to surrender, Smith left the country after the capitulation, but returned and took the amnesty oath in November, 1865. After some unsuccessful business ventures he followed the example of Lee by devoting himself to education. From 1875 until his death in 1893 he was professor of mathematics at the University of the South.

The author gives more space to detailed descriptions of military operations than is necessary to this reviewer's happiness; and the inner Kirby Smith is sometimes lost under the profusely documented external Kirby Smith. Even so, the book is well written, scholarly, and balanced. Professor Parks has made excellent use of the rich supply of personal and family letters, diaries, and other manuscript materials made available to him, particularly by the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina. This is one of the best of the numerous biographies of Confederate generals.

Richard Bardolph.

The Woman's College of the
University of North Carolina.

Commanders of the Army of the Potomac. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Pp. xxi, 281. $6.00.)

Dr. Hassler, an Associate Professor of History at Pennsylvania State University, has continued his very early interest in Civil War themes. A master's thesis on "The First Day's Battle at Gettysburg," University of Pennsylvania, 1951, was followed by *George B. McClellan, Shield of the Union,* and now by the present volume. The author is intimately familiar with battlefield terrain, having worked as a well-respected seasonal historian for the National Park Service at Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania and at Manassas, and as a nearby Baltimorean, having roamed Gettysburg since early childhood. There is no substitute for this type of knowledge and it is clearly reflected in the study.

Dr. Hassler has presented a brief, highly-readable account of the battles fought by this army that General Grant tested rather thoroughly in the final year of the war, theorizing that it had never been led or driven to its capacity. He places the generals in perspective better, in this reviewer's opinion, than anyone else has done.

The footnotes are grouped in such fashion that the reader is seldom quite sure which fact, as stated, is supported by which reference. This current tendency in footnoting is doubtless more aggravating to the informed than to the more casual reader but one can only express the wish that such intensive research would be documented more explicitly.

Even in his footnotes the author gives the impression that he is correlating the opinions of others, rather than standing on his own feet, as a man of his attainments has every right to do. Actually, the conclusions are those of Dr. Hassler, buttressed to some extent by the competent sources to which he is referring the reader for collateral study. However, when as on page 261 he quotes Walter Geer quoting Henderson the machinery begins to creak.

The review of the Army of the Potomac in Washington occurred in May, 1865, not nine days after Lincoln's assassination as stated on page 242. President Lincoln is described (page xv) as an ineffective strategist and tactician until the middle of the war. This reviewer agrees that Lincoln grasped the basic principles of strategy by 1863, but he was hardly a tactician, ever.

Dr. Hassler could have turned out a stronger study, presenting his own considered opinions with fewer qualifying words such as on

page 263, "probably," "perhaps," or "to a greater or lesser extent." Nonetheless, this is an interesting, provocative study, well worth the time and attention of the reader.

J. Walter Coleman.

Washington, D. C.

Confiscation of Confederate Property in the North. By Henry D. Shapiro. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 58. Index. $1.50.)

For nearly fifty years the late James G. Randall's *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* has been the standard work in its field. Included in this study is a discussion of the Confiscation Acts enacted by Congress in 1861 and 1862. Professor Randall concluded that because these statutes were not rigidly enforced there was no widespread confiscation of northern property owned by southerners. For this reason the acts did not serve to enrich the war treasury although this was to have been one purpose of the measures. Professor Randall and his student, David Donald, have stated that the Confiscation Acts did not appreciably aid in the prosecution of the war.

Henry D. Shapiro questions Randall's conclusions in *Confiscation of Confederate Property in the North,* a revised master's thesis whose title is somewhat misleading. After briefly but tediously tracing the passage of the Confiscation Acts through Congress. Mr. Shapiro confines his discussion of their enforcement to the Southern District of New York. He does not investigate other areas of "the North." He states that he is not presenting the constitutional aspects of confiscation as did Randall. He discusses the problem only in terms of "politics and administration." Realizing that his study is by no means definitive, he writes, "I have been forced to ask more questions than I can possibly answer. . . ." He does, indeed, leave many questions unanswered.

In his discussion of the enactment of the Confiscation Acts Mr. Shapiro emphasizes the complexities confronting the Federal government as it tried to define the nature of the war and determine its rights to seize enemy property. Included also is an account of the confusion created after the policy was adopted and Attorney General Edward Bates' lack of enthusiasm for enforcing the law. The author concludes that enforcement depended primarily on the Federal attorneys in the various districts and it was E. Delafield Smith in the

Southern District of New York who made the statutes effective here. Mr. Shapiro says that Smith's accomplishments were especially impressive and he cites forty confiscation cases tried in this one district. The Federal treasury was benefited in the amount of $60,530.69 from the confiscation of property and much of the credit belongs to the determined, energetic Smith.

Mr. Shapiro does not contend that the Southern District of New York was typical of the northern districts and for this reason he states that he "can do no more than challenge the traditional conclusion that the Confiscation Acts were not very effective because they were not enforced." However, even this is a bold act when one considers that his research is confined to such a limited area. It must be conceded that his thesis is interesting but the primary value of this little monograph is the question it raises. Mr. Shapiro may intend to pursue his study of the problem and at some future time may dispute Randall's views, but he is not yet in a position to do so.

Confiscation of Confederate Property in the North is carefully documented but there is no bibliography. This omission is puzzling to the reviewer who feels sure that Mr. Shapiro must have compiled one as a necessary part of his thesis. A final criticism relates to style and this is not unusual in the case of master's theses. The personalities do not come to life. It must be conceded that the subject does not lend itself to an informal style of writing but the author might have included a touch of human interest. Mr. Shapiro's sentences are painfully involved and much too long. The fifty-six pages in the text make for laborious reading.

Mary Elizabeth Massey.

Winthrop College.

Farewell to the Bloody Shirt: Northern Republicans and the Southern Negro, 1877-1893. By Stanley P. Hirshson. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1962. Notes and index. Pp. 334. $6.95.)

This excellent study naturally invites comparison with Vincent P. De Santis' *Republicans Face the Southern Question.* Both cover much of the same ground, but in a complementary rather than repetitious manner. De Santis, with focus on the South, documented the continuing importance of the Southern Question. Hirshson, with focus on the North, contributes an analysis of the forces underlying the shifting Republican policies.

Essentially the story is one of vacillation between two approaches. One was that of rebuilding on a foundation of white votes, either through a tariff and sound money appeal to old Whigs and New South industrialists (tried by Hayes and Harrison) or through coalition with Independents (tried by Arthur). Each of these failed in turn and was followed by reversion to the traditional program of Negro votes in the South and the bloody shirt in the North. Garfield never had time fully to develop his unique approach of federal aid to education as the best long-range guarantee of Negro rights.

Hirshson's central contribution lies in his treatment of the basic tensions between economic and political orientations among Republican leaders. "More than any other Northern groups," he says, "merchants engaged in Southern trade and Eastern industrialists frustrated Republican attempts to stress the war issues." Merchants supported a policy of peace for the sake of commercial profits; industrialists argued that the protection theme would attract southern support. In addition, Mugwumps generally distrusted Negroes and opposed the centralizing tendency of federal protection to civil rights. With the defeat of the Lodge "Force Bill" in 1891 the Republican party finally abandoned the bloody shirt and Negro southerners, leaving the road open to disfranchisement and segregation. The sectional realignment, Hirshson concludes, was not only the work of the social and intellectual forces emphasized in Paul Buck's *The Road to Reunion* but was also "largely the product of powerful economic forces."

George B. Tindall.

The University of North Carolina.

Seeds of Southern Change: The Life of Will Alexander. By Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Illustrations, bibliography, and index. Pp. xvi, 343. $5.95.)

The late Will W. Alexander was one of the makers of the modern South as surely as the masters of capital and the political leaders in the statehouses. During his entire career from his graduation at Vanderbilt University until his death on a farm near Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1956, with the exception of brief periods, Will Alexander's life was inseparably associated with the currents of southern life. In 1919 he helped establish the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation in Atlanta and was its director for the approximately

twenty-five years of its existence. During the New Deal he was Assistant Administrator for the Resettlement Administration and Director of the Farm Security Administration and later was Vice-President of the Rosenwald Foundation. He was important in the establishment of Atlanta University and Dillard University, and was President of the latter for a short time.

Despite the catholicity of his interests and the geographic range of his associations, Will Alexander's career and major contributions were made in the area of race relations in the South. Here, he was no doctrinaire, but rather a pragmatist in the best sense of the term. Unlike some who work in the field of human affairs, he never viewed mankind in the mass, but rather as composed of individuals, each with his own attributes and concerns. Unlike some, too, his interests were not solely of the mind but rather were largely of the heart. It was this warmth of mind and human understanding that contributed most to Dr. Will's effectiveness in his work with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Certainly, too, his interest in individuals and their potentialities when given an opportunity was an important factor in the fashioning of the Farm Security Administration program and the ultimate success of that program.

In many ways this is a good book. The Stokelys have told the story well. They have captured much of the personality of Will Alexander and they have given us a conception of his role in preparing the South for the great transition in race relations now underway. Yet, *Seeds of Southern Change* will be disappointing to some. Although the authors undoubtedly based their account on considerable research, including Dr. Will's dictated recollections, their book would have been more valuable to students of the modern South had specific sources of factual information been identified. Moreover, there is a disturbing tendency (to this reader at any rate) to avoid specific dates apparently on the assumption that approximate times of occurrence are sufficient. Regrettably, too, it is not always possible to be certain which policies of the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation Alexander actually initiated and which ones emanated from other members of the staff. *Seeds of Southern Change* is, nonetheless, an interesting biography of an important southerner of this century.

J. Carlyle Sitterson.

The University of North Carolina.

Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Rifleman. By Don Higginbotham. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1961. Pp. xvi, 239. Maps, bibliographical essay, and index. $6.00.)

In the recent upsurge in interest in the Revolutionary War several biographies of military leaders have been published. Among them are two of Daniel Morgan: the book under review, and North Callahan's *Daniel Morgan: Ranger of the Revolution* (New York, 1961). It is inevitable, and proper, that the two will be compared. Both books have merit, but the Higginbotham study is the better of the two. It is not as long or detailed as Callahan's work, but it is stylistically superior, characterized by a more discerning evaluation of the evidence, and it reflects greater familiarity on the part of the author with the historiography of the war.

Higginbotham's study opens with the appearance of Morgan at Winchester, Virginia, in 1753, at about eighteen years of age (his earlier life is largely obscure), and traces his career through his death, in 1802. The major portion of the work is rightly devoted to Morgan's Revolutionary service, though the author pays due attention to his life as a waggoner and soldier in the French and Indian War and as a frontier farmer between the wars, to his post-Revolutionary military service against the Whiskey Rebels, and to his brief stint as a Federalist congressman in the late 1790's.

Throughout, the author is judicious in evaluating Morgan, claiming neither too little nor too much for him, attributing to him only what the evidence supports. Morgan emerges as an extremely realistic product of his environment and condition. As a young man on the Virginia frontier he was a rowdy, hard-drinking, two-fisted sort, tall and powerful, exceedingly skillful and brave in battle, full of fun, but, at the same time, temperamental and hot-tempered when crossed. As an officer in the Revolution this rugged frontier background manifested itself in the tremendous physical endurance he demonstrated, in his wily employment of frontier-type tactics, and in his ability to handle troops. He fought throughout the war except for a thirteen-month period during 1779 and 1789, when anger and disappointment over failure to receive the command of a new corps caused him to tender his resignation to Congress. He played a leading role at Quebec, in 1775, where he was captured; fought at Saratoga, in 1777, where his leadership contributed substantially to the American triumph; and served in the South in late 1780 and 1781, where his

brilliant victory at the Cowpens began the chain of events that led to Yorktown.

As a leader of the common soldier Morgan was superb. He was a soldier's kind of officer, noted for his common touch, who had an unusual ability to inspire his men to bravery. Informal in his relations with them, yet he commanded their great respect, and enforced, when necessary, a firm discipline. Though he might, on occasion, knock a man down for failure to obey orders, on the whole he was extremely just in his treatment of subordinates. It was this exceptional ability to lead men, in conjunction with his skill as a tactician, that made Morgan one of the ablest officers of the Revolution.

Aside from an unhappy phrase or two—"the military situation commenced to gravitate in favor of the Americans" (p. 63), for example—this is a well-written book. It is virtually free of errors of fact or interpretation, and is based on substantial research. It constitutes a worthwhile contribution to the military history of the Revolution.

Robert L. Ganyard.

University of Houston.

To Secure These Blessings: The Great Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Arranged According to Topics. By Saul K. Padover. (New York: Washington Square-Ridge Press. 1962. Illustrations and index. Pp. 464. $7.50.)

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 left few official records. Knowledge of the debates which led to the formation of the Constitution of the United States has been entirely formulated from the notes and journals kept by the delegates present. These records—the most important of which is James Madison's detailed journal—have long been available to scholars. Prior to the appearance of this volume, however, the debates have been available only in chronological form as the debates occurred; now, Saul K. Padover has rearranged the debates according to the sections of the Constitution to which they refer. What has resulted is a clear, concise presentation of the debates which led to the Constitution which has served this country well since 1789.

Of primary importance are the debates showing the positions of the small and large States on the question of representation in Congress. With the small States insisting on equal representation and the

large States just as insistently working for representation by population or by amount of taxes paid, the convention almost foundered until the "Great Compromise" provided a workable system of equality in the Senate and proportionment by population in the House of Representatives. The nature and powers of the executive, the judiciary, and the legislature are all presented as evolving from heated debates over varying interpretations of governmental theory. Even the amending process, ratification, and the act of signing the final document are revealed to have been the subject of intense debate and eventual compromise before the finished form was determined.

This volume like many others by this author is not a great contribution to historical knowledge but it does present important material in a clear, easily accessible manner. To determine the origin of a particular section of the Constitution it is no longer necessary to search through the 1827 or 1861 volumes of Jonathan Elliot's *Debates* (on which this work is based) or through the *Records of the Federal Convention* edited by Max Farrand in the early half of this century. The debates concerning each article of the Constitution are here arranged topically in such a manner as to make it clear what various opinons the founders voiced and how these were combined into the finished document.

The picture is clarified by occasional pertinent notes by the author and the entire work is enhanced by a preliminary essay which presents a concise view of the need for a new government in 1787 and the events leading up to the meeting of the convention and the adoption of the Constitution. Here there is one minor error: The Continental Congress did not "terminate itself" in September, 1788, but remained in session until just before the new government was formed in 1789.

The only major weakness of the book is the failure to give sources of the notes of the debates. This lack of reference information poses a serious problem to the researcher who would like to refer to Farrand or Elliot or even to the papers of the delegates themselves.

For those interested in the Constitution and the period in which it was formed this is a valuable book. Here in readily available form are the debates concerning the Constitution presenting clearly what the delegates said about each article as it was framed.

J. Edwin Hendricks.

Wake Forest College.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

The Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, Mr. Norman C. Larson, delivered a lecture at Elon College on April 5, the third in a series sponsored by the North Carolina Alpha Chapter of Pi Gamma Mu, the National Social Science Honor Society. He spoke twice on "North Carolina's Part in the Civil War Centennial" at the War in the West Conference in Des Moines, Iowa, June 15 and 16. The program, sponsored by the Iowa Civil War Centennial Commission, was attended by Civil War Centennial Commission chairmen and directors and by Civil War students from 18 States in the western theater.

The newest member of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission is Mr. F. C. Salisbury of Morehead City, who previously served as chairman of the Carteret County Committee. He received his appointment from Governor Terry Sanford in May and will serve until September 1, 1963.

At a meeting of the full Commission on June 1 Mr. Louis Manarin, Editor for the new roster of North Carolina troops, reported on his progress. He stated that he had almost completed work on all North Carolina cavalry regiments and battalions and that he hoped to finish this phase by early fall. As regimental designation numbers increased, he said, the number of men who served in the regiment decreased. Manarin also explained the new "grass roots" campaign which is being conducted as a means of reaching sources other than those such as the National Archives or the depositories in North Carolina. He hopes that persons having information on any Confederate soldier will supply him with data as a cross-check against information gleaned from regular depositories.

Reorganization of the committee structure of the Commission was approved by the Commission at the July 1 meeting. A list of new committees with an explanation of their duties follows:

LEGISLATIVE: This committee will assist the Executive Secretary in approaching members of the 1963 General Assembly concerning legislation regarding the Commission.

COMMEMORATIONS: Since 1964 and 1965 will witness the anniversary of the major events of the war in North Carolina, it was felt that a special committee to assist in the planning of commemorations was necessary. This group will study these events and make specific suggestions concerning commemorative programs.

These recommendations will be passed on to local committee chairmen.

PUBLICATIONS: The publications committee was asked to consider the whole field of publications and how the Commission might best serve the public in this area. Specific attention is necessary regarding the roster project which will approach its completion during 1964 and 1965.

SCHOOLS: This committee will undertake the formulation of a program of in-school training in Confederate history. It will recommend a course of study and suggest reference materials and other aids for this purpose.

"One Night in Chambersburg," an original half-hour drama by Manly Wade Wellman, was shown over ten Tar Heel television stations during the week of July 22-29. The one-act play, produced by the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, was directed by Mr. John S. Clayton, University of North Carolina Associate Professor of Radio, Television, and Motion Pictures. Originating in the Chapel Hill studios of WUNC-TV, the production featured six student actors from the University. The play is based on a little-known incident of the Civil War during the time of General Stuart's raid through Pennsylvania. Stations carrying the program were WFMY-TV, Greensboro; WITV, Washington; WRAL-TV, Raleigh; WECT, Wilmington; WNCT, Greenville; WTVD, Durham; WSJS-TV, Winston-Salem; WLOS-TV, Asheville; WBTV, Charlotte; and WUNC-TV, Raleigh. The all-North Carolina production is being released as part of a television package to stations throughout the country.

Mr. Larson, who is co-ordinator of the salvage operations of the "Modern Greece," reports that Fort Fisher was the center of North Carolina's centennial activities during July and August. There are some twenty-five Navy Department personnel involved in the salvage operation which has yielded items of historical significance. Recently divers have brought up a tourniquet screw, a brass tongue depresser, a bullet probe, the handle of a bone saw and a scarificator—all medical equipment in extremely good condition.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

Eight congressmen were appointed to the federal North Carolina Tercentenary Celebration Commission in July. The Commission, approved by President John F. Kennedy on April 27, consists of fifteen members: four representatives, four senators, and seven members to be appointed by the President. Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson designated North Carolina Senators B. Everett Jordan and Sam J. Ervin, Jr., California Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, and South Carolina Senator Olin D. Johnston. North Carolina Representative Basil L. Whitener was made Chairman of the House group by Speaker of the House John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. Joining Representative Whitener will be Alabama Representative Albert Rains and North Carolina Representatives Charles R. Jonas

and A. Paul Kitchin. General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary, stated that the federal Commission will work with the North Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission to formulate plans for the 1963 celebration year.

Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker, Executive Editor of the Colonial Records Project, reports that the first volume of the Colonial Records series has been sent to press. Entitled "The Charters and Constitutions of Colonial North Carolina, 1578-1698," this work is due for release January 2, 1963. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History, has written a Foreword. In the Introduction, Mrs. Parker emphasized the significance of the publication. "The eight charters included in this book provided, in succession, the legal basis for the establishment of English colonies in the area now called North Carolina, and they authorized government for colonies in that region."

The Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation of Winston-Salem has pledged a sum of $10,000 to be used on the Colonial Records Project.

At its organizational meeting in June 29 in Raleigh, the Committee on Religious Activities outlined the role it would take in the Tercentenary celebration. The historical importance of the religious freedoms denoted in the Charter will be emphasized. The Committee will prepare and distribute material to be used by clergymen in sermons, addresses, and talks throughout the State on March 24, 1963. Lay organizations will be encouraged to present programs related to the colonial period, and churches established during the 1663-1763 period will hold commemorative services. Chairman of the Committee is Rt. Rev. Thomas H. Wright, Wilmington, and Co-Chairman is Dr. Harold J. Dudley of Raleigh.

Production of the Charter Commission's documentary film will be the first project of the new North Carolina Film Board. Governor Sanford authorized the film-producing unit for the State in August. The $30,000 film will be designed for students but will be made available to the general public.

The Honorable R. Hunt Parker, Associate Justice, North Carolina Supreme Court, presented an address on the Carolina Charter before the June convention of the North Carolina Bar Association.

A plenary meeting of the Charter Commission was held in Raleigh on June 8. All committees gave reports on the progress accomplished in their areas. Mr. James G. W. MacLamroc, Chairman of the Finance Committee, reported that various foundations were being contacted for donations. Mr. Henry Belk, Chairman of the Public Information Activities Committee, said there was a State-wide increase of coverage in all news media. The Chairman of the Scholarly Activities Committee, Mr. Lambert Davis, outlined these objectives of his Committee: promotion of meetings of scholarly organizations in North Carolina during the Tercentenary year; subsidization of important scholarly book-length works for the colonial period, 1663-1763; and the publication of the Colonial Records series. Programs are being organized in all of the State's educational institutions through the efforts of Dr. Paul Murray's Committee on Programs in Schools, Colleges, and Universities. Historical pamphlets, dealing with

various phases of colonial life, are being published through the Commission's Raleigh office. The first, "Coins and Currency of Colonial Carolina," will be available for distribution by late fall. Mrs. Harry McMullan, Chairman of the Committee on Commemorative Events, acknowledged efforts of all concerned and commended areas where planning was at a high level of development. Various groups in schools, churches, and civic organizations are working on the writing and production of various skits, pageants, and plays dealing with the colonial period. The study of the Charter and historic events of the 1663-1763 era is being worked into local school programs, and souvenir items are being planned. In several counties the first native play, "The Prince of Parthia," written by Thomas Godfrey in 1755, will be staged. Many communities which were founded in the colonial period will re-enact known historical events. There will be displays of art and craft objects in local museums, shop windows, and banks. Several garden clubs have volunteered to plant trees celebrating the Tercentenary year. Restorations of historic buildings as well as reconstructions have been proposed. Programs of the classical music which was brought to the colonies and folk music will be performed by groups throughout the State. Mr. William C. Fields, representing the Arts Committee, gave a prospectus of the 1963 Art Exhibition in Raleigh. He also revealed some plans being adopted for the December, 1962, meeting of the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and for Culture Week of 1962. At Mr. David Stick's suggestion, a speaker's bureau has been organized through the Charter Commission's Public Information Office.

On July 9 Mr. James K. Huhta of Durham joined the Colonial Records staff as Editorial Assistant. Mr. Huhta has recently received his M.A. degree in history from the University of North Carolina.

Director's Office

The Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History met in the Assembly Room of the Department on June 12 with Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman, presiding. Other members present were Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway, Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Mr. Josh L. Horne, and Dr. D. J. Whitener. Present also were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department and Secretary to the Board; the Department's Budget Officer, Miss Mary B. Cornick; and the following Division Heads: Mr. H. G. Jones (together with his three section heads, Admiral Alex M. Patterson, Mr. Cyrus B. King, and Dr. Thornton W. Mitchell), Archives and Manuscripts; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums; and Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Publications. In addition there were present General John D. F. Phillips and Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretaries respectively of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission and of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission. The Board considered and unanimously approved the budgetary estimates for the coming biennium, which were summarized by Dr. Crittenden. Reports from the various divisions of the Department and the two Commissions were made.

Following a recess the group reconvened and was joined by Governor Terry Sanford; Mr. Frank B. Turner, State Property Officer; and Mr. George B. Cherry, General Services Division, Department of Administration. The "C" budgetary request relating to a new building was discussed, and Dr. Crittenden summarized the need, noting that, except North Carolina, every State from Pennsylvania to Mississippi either already has or is presently about to erect a new history building. Governor Sanford and other members of the group then toured the Department's quarters in the Education Building (one of four buildings in which space is allocated for the work of the Department). The Governor expressed his interest in the proposed new building, recognizing that valuable and irreplaceable records were being lost due to inadequate and unsuitable space for their preservation.

Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Tarlton met in Hendersonville on June 29 with the Commission on Reorganization of State Government which approved a proposed bill based on Resolution 71 which was passed by the 1961 General Assembly. The bill directed the Advisory Budget Commission to make a study to establish a State policy regarding legislation concerning historical sites and historical celebrations and appropriations for the same. This group had referred the matter to the Reorganization Commission which then conducted the study. The proposed bill, which is expected to be introduced in the 1963 Assembly, will recommend that the State Department of Archives and History be authorized to accept responsibility for determining the development of historic sites. It further proposes that no funds be made available for sites or celebrations until a specific project is approved by the Department according to criteria established by a Historic Sites Advisory Commission. Such legislation is expected to prevent, in the future, the passage of acts appropriating funds for local projects which are not of State-wide historical importance and can never be financially self-supporting; or, if funds are appropriated without following the procedure outlined above, to make impossible the expenditure of such funds.

On July 3 Dr. Crittenden, Mayor Ben Aycock, and a group of Wake Forest's leading citizens met to discuss methods and procedures necessary for the restoration of the Birthplace of Wake Forest College, often referred to as the Calvin Jones House. The group agreed on a course of action and restoration work has actually begun.

Mr. Max F. Harris, who has been on special assignment with the Division of Historic Sites for several months investigating the problem of Andrew Jackson's birthplace, has turned over to Dr. Crittenden a report on his findings. Thought to be the most thorough study on this question to date, the report is expected to be published and made available for distribution. Dr. Crittenden spoke on July 27 in Mars Hill, at the joint meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association, on the Department's need for a new building. He was accompanied to the July 27-28 meetings by Miss Corinne Caudle, Administrative Assistant of the Literary and Historical Association.

On August 7 the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission, which Dr. Crittenden serves as Consultant, met and adopted criteria for judging historic sites. These standards are based on those adopted by the State Department of Archives and History, which in turn were based on those established by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The criteria and a statement of the purposes of the Raleigh group were prepared by Mr. W. S. Tarlton, acting chairman. Miss Beth G. Crabtree of the Archives Division of the Department is Secretary of the Commission.

Dr. Crittenden spoke to the Greensboro Civitan Club on August 3 emphasizing the need for a new building by the Department. He and General John D. F. Phillips were in Winston-Salem on August 8 to meet with Mr. James A. Gray, Executive Director, and Mr. Ralph P. Hanes, Chairman of the Board, both of Old Salem, Inc., to discuss commemoration of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary (1963) in relation to the Salem group. In connection with the Charter Tercentenary Old Salem will sponsor a seminar in 1963 on historic preservation.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

On June 10 Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, attended the convention of the North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds in Hendersonville, and on June 16-18 he represented the Society of American Archivists at a meeting of the Survey and Standards Committee of the Survey of Library Functions of the States in Miami Beach, Florida. He delivered a paper on "The Case FOR a State-Assisted County Records Program" at the annual meeting of the National Association of County Recorders and Clerks in New York City on July 10; and he visited the archival-records management agencies in Albany, New York; Montpelier, Vermont; and Annapolis, Maryland, during the period July 12-16.

In the Microfilm Services Center, 1,195 reels of microfilm totaling 113,812 feet were processed during the quarter ending June 30. This number included 836 reels of negative film and 359 reels of positives, most of the latter being copies of North Carolina newspapers for colleges and universities. Among the records filmed were those of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, 1886-1955, in both English and Cherokee. Mr. A. Winfred Hall resigned effective July 31, and was replaced by Mr. Donald Horton, who formerly was assigned to the State Records Section.

The Laminating Shop restored 25,818 pages of historical records in the three months ending June 30. Of these, 17,922 pages were county records, many of which were returned to the counties. In addition, 10,515 pages of land grant books in the Secretary of State's office were laminated and rebound outside office hours.

In the Newspaper Microfilm Project, as of June 30, the following newspapers titles had been microfilmed since publication of *North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm: A Checklist of Early North Carolina Newspapers Available on Microfilm from the State Department of Archives and History* in February (dates in brackets indicate badly-broken runs): *Weekly News*, Asheville [1851-1869], 3 reels; *Beaufort Journal*, Beaufort, weekly, 1857-1858, 1 partial reel; *Old North State*, Beaufort, weekly and

semi-weekly, 1865, 1 partial reel; *Bulletin,* Charlotte, tri-weekly [1865] and [1881], and daily [1859-1880], 3 reels; *North Carolinian,* Fayetteville, weekly [1839-1861] and October 7, 1864, 6 reels; *North Carolinian,* Fayetteville, daily [1859-1865], 1 reel; *Daily Newbern Commercial,* New Bern [1866], 1 reel; *Daily Commercial News,* New Bern [1881-1882], 1 reel; *Daily Journal of Commerce,* New Bern [1866-1875], 3 reels; *Weekly Journal of Commerce,* New Bern [1866-1876], 1 reel; *Democratic Signal,* Raleigh, weekly, 1843-1844, 1 reel; *The Rasp,* Raleigh, weekly [1841-1842], 1 reel; and *Whig Clarion,* Raleigh, weekly, 1843-1844, 1 reel. In addition, the following weekly Milton papers were filmed on three consecutive reels titled *Milton Newspapers Prior to 1901: Milton Intelligencer* [1819]; *Milton Gazette and Roanoke Advertiser* [1824-1831]; *Milton Spectator* [1831-1854]; *Milton Chronicle* [1841-1883]; *Milton Advertiser* [1886]; *Milton Gazette* [1892-1893]; and *Milton Herald* [1898-1900]. And the following New Bern papers were filmed on 14 consecutive reels to facilitate research: *North Carolina Times,* weekly and semi-weekly [1865-1866]; *New Bern Weekly Times* [1866] and [1873]; *North Carolina Times,* daily, 1865; *New Bern Daily Times* [1865-1866] and [1869-1874]; and *New Bern Republican,* tri-weekly and daily [1867-1868].

Positive microfilm copies of these titles may be ordered for $8 per reel from the State Archivist, P. O. Box 1881, Raleigh. Copies of the checklist, *North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm,* are still available for twenty-five cents from the same address.

Accessions recorded in the Archives during the quarter ending June 30, 1962, totaled 115. Included were the records of the Board of Nurse Registration and Education, 1903-1960; 15 volumes of the Edenton District Court Minutes, 1775-1799; additional records from the Division of Negro Education of the Department of Public Instruction; 2 reels of microfilm of Minutes of the State Board of Education, 1905-1962; and 1 reel of microfilm containing the letters and original sketches of the artist Lyonel Feininger.

Continuing progress has been made in recataloging the Private Collections. The Jane S. McKimmon Papers cover Mrs. McKimmon's career in Home Demonstration work, 1910-1945, and offer a valuable source for the student of farm life in North Carolina. Other Private Collections arranged and cataloged during the quarter include the John Fries Blair Papers, the Lillian Dodd Collection, and the Ivanhoe Manufacturing Company Papers.

During the same quarter 598 researchers visited the Search Room and 835 letters requesting information from the Archives were answered. Photocopies numbering 979, together with 11 paper prints from microfilm and 32 typed certified copies were furnished to the public from records in the Archives.

Mr. Roger Jones joined the staff as Archivist I on July 1. He replaces Mrs. Marion Gregory as Assistant Search Room Attendant. Mr. Jones is a graduate of the University of North Carolina, and before joining the Department he worked in the North Carolina Collection of the University

of North Carolina Library. Miss Beth Crabtree, Archivist II, is serving as Secretary of the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission.

A revised edition of the 8-page leaflet, *Genealogical Research in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History*, has been issued and a copy may be obtained without charge from the State Archivist's office.

In the Local Records Section, as a preliminary step in the microfilm program, staff personnel inventoried the records of the various county offices in Orange, Rowan, and Cumberland counties. The Anson County Records Inventory has been written and distributed to all offices of the County. With the completion of Orange County, the permanently valuable records of twenty-three counties have now been microfilmed. Microfilming is now in progress in Alamance, Rowan, and Cumberland counties, the work in Alamance being done by the County, assisted by the Department.

Extensive and valuable groups of county records have recently been received. These include: from Anson County, the first 25 volumes of deeds with indexes thereto, 3 early will books, 19 volumes of court dockets and estates records, and 15 cubic feet of civil action papers; from Richmond County, 38 volumes of County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and Superior Court records, 10 volumes of estates and miscellaneous records, 7 mercantile ledgers and journals, and 21 cubic feet of estates papers, civil actions, and miscellaneous paper; from Rowan County, 8 volumes of dockets of the County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, a trial docket of the Salisbury District Superior Court, 5 dockets of the county Superior Court, 49 marriage bonds of the period 1792-1806, a number of tax scrolls, and 1 cubic foot of miscellaneous papers; and from Cumberland County, 31 volumes of County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and Superior Court records and estates records, and 1½ half feet of estates papers, civil actions, and miscellaneous material.

Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson (ret.), Assistant State Archivist (Local Records), attended the annual conventions of the North Carolina Associations of Registers of Deeds at Hendersonville, June 10-11; of County Commissioners, County Accountants, and Tax Assessing Officers at Morehead City, June 17-19; and of Clerks of Superior Court at Morehead City, July 4-7. In connection with County Records matters he has recently visited fourteen counties. On June 29 he attended a meeting in Raleigh of the Religious Activities Committee of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission of which he is a member.

During the month of June Mr. Connis O. Brown attended the Sixteenth Institute on Preservation and Administration of Archives, held at the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

The revised edition of *The County Records Manual* has been distributed to all county officials.

Emphasis in the State Records Section continued on completing the scheduling of records of State agencies. Schedules recently have been finished for the Recreation Commission, Milk Commission, Board of Architects, Museum of Art, and the Woman's College of the University of

North Carolina. A revision of the schedule of the Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System has also been completed. Schedules are in progress for North Carolina State College, Veterans' Commission, Department of Water Resources, and Hospitals Board of Control. All but four State agencies have been or will be scheduled as soon as staff time is available.

A reorganization of an index of registrants in the Sales and Use Tax Division, Department of Revenue, has been completed except for replacing some of the guides and conducting a brief orientation and training session in the use of the revised system. A study of fiscal records throughout the State has been undertaken with the expectation that a general schedule for such records will be developed. In addition, a records management handbook on filing operations is in draft form; plans are being made to conduct a workshop on "Filing and Finding." A brief visual aid, explaining to agency personnel records disposition and the steps by which a disposition schedule is developed, is also being prepared.

The Microfilm Project filmed 189 reels of microfilm during the quarter ending June 30, with a total of 646,130 images. Six of the filming projects were for the purpose of providing a security copy of the original records. There has been increasing emphasis on the quality of the filmed image, and filming at a reduction ratio of 40 to 1 has been almost entirely discontinued.

In the Records Center 2,889 cubic feet of records were accessioned and 554 cubic feet were disposed of, resulting in a net gain of 2,335 cubic feet. Representatives of 12 State agencies, North Carolina State College, and the Federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare visited the Center 275 times to use records. The Records Center staff handled 4,058 reference requests for 24 agencies. All records holdings of the Center have been rechecked against finding aids, and all discrepancies have been corrected.

At the end of the fiscal year the State Records Center held 23,510 cubic feet of records, and had space for an additional 2,219 cubic feet on its shelving. Although more space will be made available by the destruction of records upon which the approved retention period has expired, the space situation in the Records Center is serious. Plans for increasing the capacity of the records storage operation are still delayed by the lack of funds.

Mr. John R. Van Hecke (Archivist II) was assigned to the Section effective May 14. Mr. Donald R. Horton (Microfilmer) transferred to the Microfilm Service Center and was replaced by Mr. Milton S. Sims.

The internal organization of the State Records Management Section and the alignment of functions were revised July 1 to make the staff more responsive to the increased responsibilities of the Section. The organizational components of the Section are: Microfilm Project, responsible for providing a central microfilming service to State agencies; the Records Center, responsible for the records storage operation; and the Records Management Staff, responsible for archival and records management activities, including records scheduling.

Division of Historic Sites

On April 26 Mr. Richard Iobst, Historic Sites Specialist in charge of the Marker Program, went to Anson County with Mr. Bryce Younts, Secretary of the North Carolina Soil Conservation Committee, to meet with Mr. Joe Liles, Senator Pat Taylor, and others regarding a marker for the Brown Creek Soil Conservation District. On May 5 Mr. Iobst went to Bath to participate in the ceremonies attending the erection of a map-marker commemorating the history of Bath and on May 6 he spoke to the William Gaston Lewis Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, in Goldsboro. Mr. Iobst on May 16 went to Montgomery County to meet with Colonel Jeffrey Stanback and Mr. Bennie Keel, Historic Site Specialist at Town Creek Indian Mound, to discuss a marker for "Fort Hill," a Revolutionary War fortification overlooking the PeeDee River. On May 18-20 he participated in the Re-enactment of the Battle of Front Royal, Virginia, on June 1 he attended a meeting of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, and on June 12-13 he went to Roanoke Island with Historic Site Specialist Nicholas Bragg to photograph historic sites in the area and to meet with National Park Service officials to discuss markers for the Outer Banks area. Mr. Iobst went on June 22-24 to Asheville and Franklin with Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, and met with Colonel Paul Rockwell to discuss a marker for the Battle of Asheville and other matters. On June 23 he visited Franklin to discuss a marker for the French and Indian War Battle of Etchoe with Colonel Rockwell and Mr. Weimar Jones of Franklin. On June 24 he and Mr. Tarlton attended a special commemorative service at The Church of St. Johns in The Wilderness, Flat Rock, for Christopher G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury for the Confederacy. On July 6 Mr. Iobst attended a meeting concerning the marker program with Mr. Tarlton and Mr. H. C. Rhudy, Traffic Engineer, and Mr. Harold Brant, Landscape Engineer, both of the State Highway Department.

Eleven large map-markers and over 60 small markers have been erected through the Historical Marker Program in the past year. At present Mr. Robert Ramsey, Hollins College, Roanoke, Virginia, and Mr. Max F. Harris, State Department of Archives and History, are engaged in a special project to mark historic sites which will be inundated by a new dam being constructed on the Catawba River near Davidson. Most of these sites are of the pre-Revolutionary period.

Visitation at the Alamance Battleground State Historic Site has continued to increase during the recent tourist season. Talks have been given by Mr. Walter R. Wootten, Historic Site Specialist, in Alamance County with respect to the Regulator Movement in American history and in connection with preparations for the Carolina Charter Tercentenary celebration in 1963. Mr. Wootten has also written a number of newspaper articles concerning plans for this commemoration in Alamance County. He gave talks on these plans to several groups during the month of August. Definite arrangements have been made to move the 35-foot granite column with a life-size bronze statue of Regulator leader James Hunter from the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park to the Alamance Battle-

ground Site. Permission was given the Department by the Federal Government for the re-erection of this column which is valued at $12,000. A portion of an estimated $5,000 necessary to make the transfer has been donated. The county of Alamance contributed $1,000; the towns of Graham and Burlington gave a total of $800; and donations from private individuals have also been made. An unveiling ceremony is planned for early fall.

Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist, reports that construction on the Museum-Visitor Center at the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site was started about July 1, with plans for its completion set for the late fall. Mr. Robert Helms is General Contractor; other contractors are Williams Sheet Metal, Goldsboro, heating and air conditioning; Keene Plumbing Company, Goldsboro, plumbing; and Henry's Electrical Service, Snow Hill, wiring. Mr. Mason Hicks, Fayetteville, is Architect.

Mr. Sawyer has received the following items from Dr. and Mrs. Clarence Poe of Raleigh to be placed on exhibit when the museum is opened: clock (used by Aycock while a student at the University of North Carolina); crystal compote and silver butter dish (wedding gifts to Aycock and his first wife, Varina Woodard Aycock); platter (belonging to Aycock and his second wife, Cora Woodard Aycock, sister of Varina); chocolate pot, sugar dish, and pen (gifts during his administration as Governor); and pictures of Aycock and his two wives.

On July 29 Mr. Sawyer was host at the site to the Youth Class of the Glendale Heights Methodist Church, Durham, of which he is the teacher. He attended meetings in Dunn and Raleigh during the quarter relative to fixtures for the museum.

Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist for Bentonville Battleground and the Bennett Place State Historic Sites, spoke on "The Battle of Bentonville and the End of the War in North Carolina" to the Ladies' Night of the Presbyterian Men's Fellowship in Goldsboro on May 16 and to the Smithfield Kiwanis Club on May 22. On June 7 he represented the Department at a meeting of the Historic Edenton Commission at "Bandon," home of Mrs. Inglis Fletcher.

On May 6 the Bentonville Battleground-Harper House Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, sponsored a Confederate Memorial Day program at the site. Mrs. Millard Langston, President, presided. Persons participating were Mr. A. B. Falls, Mr. Roy C. Coates, Mr. William R. Britt, Mr. Jack Lee, Mr. Bragg, and State Treasurer Edwin Gill, who made the principal address. Mr. Harold Burt directed the Four Oaks High School Band.

At the Bentonville Battleground Site the four upstairs bedrooms of the Harper House have been replastered and painted the original color. One of the bedrooms has been furnished by the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, in co-operation with the Department, using a cannon ball bed, a pine table, a chest, and other items rep-

resentative of the Civil War period. Plans have been made for the construction of a Museum-Visitor Center at the site to begin by the fall or early winter. The slave cabin, being moved from Lebanon Plantation to the Chicora Cemetery at Averasboro, will be used as a small museum and restoration. Hand-rived shakes to line the interior of this building have been made, and the old "common-cut" nails are now available to complete this project.

Mrs. W. M. Thomas of Oxford, owner of a collection of Granville County furniture, glass, china, and documents, is the donor of more than 30 items to the Bennett Place State Historic Site. This gift made in an effort to complete the furnishing of this restoration includes an 1849 map of North Carolina, china of the 1850's, a salt box for the kitchen, handmade chairs, a coverlet, and a lamp. Many of the items were owned and used by residents within a 30-mile radius of the Bennett Place.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist, reports that the State Highway Department has completed a hard-surfaced road from Highway 133 to the Brunswick Town State Historic Site. This has been an aid to approximately 1,000 tourists visiting the site each month. At the request of the Swansboro Historical Society the Brunswick Town archeologists made a trip to Swansboro to investigate the fort at Bogue Inlet. A map of the fort was drawn and a report of the archeological work was written. An additional trip to Swansboro was made in order to conduct a site survey of the Indian occupation areas on two of the large islands in the White Oak River. A report of the material recovered from the ten sites located is now being written. The archeological crew worked at Fort Fisher clearing the right-of-way for the power line for the new preservation laboratory. Photographs of the diving operations at Fort Fisher were taken as the work on the blockade runner, "Modern Greece," continues.

The smokehouse belonging to Judge Maurice Moore at Brunswick Town was excavated and was found to be unique in that the brick firebox was located on the outside of the house and ten feet from it. The excavated firebox and smokehouse foundation are open for viewing by visitors. Excavation of the ruin of Judge Moore's home is at present being undertaken, and the brick steps to the basement have been located, along with many objects used by the Judge during his occupation of the house in the 1760's.

Talks were given to several historical and archeological societies and history classes at Wilmington College. Various groups were shown around the site by Mr. South and by the guide, Mr. R. V. Asbury. The Brunswick County Historical Society was responsible for a display at the site illustrating the manner in which the public can help the project.

Mr. South, Chairman of The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology, is the editor of the recently published "Papers Presented at the 1st and 2nd Conferences on Historic Site Archaeology," a special issue of the *Newsletter* of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference. This issue of the *Newsletter* (Vol. 9, No. 1, June, 1962) is available at $2.50 per copy, and can be ordered from Dr. Stephen Williams, Peabody Museum, Cambridge

38, Massachusetts. It contains several papers by Mr. South on subjects relating to the work at the Brunswick Town State Historic Site.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at Fort Fisher, states that during the months of May, June, and July 66,000 people from 50 States and 17 foreign countries visited the temporary museum. Since the pavilion opened, 91,000 people have come to see the exhibits. On June 1 Mr. Honeycutt spoke to the George Davis Chapter, Children of the Confederacy, at their annual banquet in Wilmington, and on June 25 and July 30 he attended the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society meeting held at Wilmington College. Colonel William Lamb Day, commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of Lamb's assumption of command, was held on July 4 at Fort Fisher. For this program Mr. Honeycutt prepared a twenty-page souvenir booklet entitled *Colonel William Lamb Day,* the cover for which was designed by Mrs. Ida B. Kellam of Wilmington. Six thousand people attended this old-fashioned Fourth of July celebration. The program began at 4:30 P.M. with a band concert by the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band from Winston-Salem. Mr. Henry J. MacMillan, Chairman, New Hanover County Confederate Centennial Committee, was master of ceremonies for the afternoon program, during which Mr. Edmund H. Harding, "North Carolina's Ambassador of Good Will," made an address and Mr. Norman C. Larson narrated the military demonstrations. The old style of Confederate drilling and small arms firing was demonstrated by the Sixth North Carolina Regiment from Burlington. The afternoon activities concluded with artillery matches between the following batteries: Company K, Tenth North Carolina Regiment, Washington; Norfolk Light Artillery, Norfolk, Virginia; Portsmouth Light Artillery, Portsmouth, Virginia; Starr's Battery, Fayetteville; and Church's Battery, Winston-Salem. Congressman Alton A. Lennon served as master of ceremonies for the evening program which followed a barbecue supper and band concert. Mr. Horace J. Sheely, Jr., Regional Chief, Branch of Historic Sites, United States Department of the Interior, presented the Fort Fisher National Historic Landmark Certificate to Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, State Department of Archives and History. Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., Executive Director, National Civil War Commission, brought greetings from that group. Tribute to the commanders of Fort Fisher was presented by Mr. R. Jack Davis, Principal, Roland-Grise Junior High School, Wilmington. Congressman Lennon then introduced representatives of the families of the former commanders of the batteries on Confederate Point and Fort Fisher. Mr. William Lamb of Hackensack, New Jersey, and Mrs. Ralph B. Magraw, Raphine, Virginia, grandchildren of Colonel Lamb represented the Lamb family. Mr. D. S. Coltrane, representing Governor Terry Sanford, introduced the main speaker, Mr. Lyon G. Tyler, Jr., Assistant Director, Virginia Civil War Commission. Mr. Tyler's address was in the form of a eulogy to Colonel Lamb. At 8:30 P.M. the climax of the program took place with a fireworks display which was a simulation of a battle between a ship and Confederate

gun batteries, the "Explosion of Powder Ship Louisiana," and the first and second battles of Fort Fisher.

On July 1 nine United States Naval Divers from the Explosive Ordnance Disposal School at Indian Head, Maryland, and from the Explosive Ordnance Disposal Squadron in Charleston, assisted by Minesweeper 28 from the No. 10 Mine Run, Charleston, South Carolina, returned to Fort Fisher at the request of Governor Terry Sanford in order to continue their recovery operation on blockade-runners sunk off New Inlet. The USS "Petrel" arrived at Fort Fisher on August 3 in order to aid with the recovery operation. The divers retrieved a large number of knives, surgical instruments, and the anchor from the "Modern Greece" which was sunk on June 27, 1862. The divers continued their work until August 10, and during the six weeks they investigated a number of sunken blockade-runners in the vicinity of Fort Fisher. Construction of the Fort Fisher Preservation Laboratory was completed in July, and the artifacts recovered from the blockade-runners are now being treated there. Working in co-operation with the Smithsonian Institution, the National Park Service, and the University of Florida, this experimental laboratory is expected to make a valuable contribution in the little-known field of preservation of salt-water artifacts.

Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Archeologist at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site, reports that excavation of the Plaza Area is progressing at a satisfactory rate and reconstruction of the Square Ground will begin at the end of the Archeological season. Construction of the new Museum-Visitor Center has been completed and exhibits are now being prepared by Mr. Frank E. Walsh, Exhibits Designer, Historic Sites Division. The official opening ceremonies will be held in the early autumn. This $42,500 structure will house some 20 exhibits interpreting the culture of the inhabitants of the site between 1550 and 1650 A.D. Adequate laboratory, office, and lecture space as well as restrooms and a patio are other features of the new structure. The access road was paved during July as well as the entrance to the site. Co-operation on these improvements with the State Highway Commission has been greatly appreciated. The site has been given a pre-historic Indian dugout canoe by Dr. Bobby Rankin of Ellerbe. While this canoe probably belonged to the Calusa Indians of the Sarasota, Florida, area, it is typical of the type of boats used by Indians throughout the Southeastern United States. This rare artifact will be placed on display after preservation measures have been taken. Attendance during the first half of the year reached 19,098, an increase of over 25 per cent from the same period in 1961. Town Creek Indian Mound was one of the points visited by the Sandhills Development Association on its tour of Montgomery County.

Mr. Keel has spoken to several civic groups and the Lower Cape Fear Chapter, Archaeological Society of North Carolina. In July he spent a week doing salvage archeology in the Lake Norman Reservoir in conjunction with the Research Laboratories of Anthropology of the University of North Carolina.

The Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site had recorded a total of 7,000 visitors by July, according to Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist. The restored log house was dedicated and opened to the public on May 13, 1961, the 131st anniversary of the birth of North Carolina's Civil War Governor. More than 1,000 students and teachers from schools in four western North Carolina counties toured the Vance Birthplace during May. These visits followed a series of 40 programs on historic sites presented in schools in that area by Mr. Conway.

In July the Historic Site Specialist at the Vance house attended a short course on audio-visual education at Christmount Assembly near Black Mountain and also spoke on historic sites at a meeting of the Montreat Woman's Club.

Large redwood routed signs advertising the Vance Birthplace were erected on major highways in the Asheville and Weaverville areas. One, an informational sign, located 300 yards west of the birthplace, bears the inscription: Zebulon Baird Vance Birthplace, Civil War Governor Born Here in 1830, House Built c. 1795, Reconstructed in 1960, N. C. Dept. of Archives & History. A directional-promotional sign was placed on U. S. Highway 19-23 North, informing motorists leaving Asheville that they are approaching the junction of the Reems Creek Road, where the Vance Birthplace is situated.

Two muzzle-loading rifles have been donated to the Vance Birthplace recently. One, made by famed mountain gunsmith Philip Gillespie of Henderson County in pre-Civil War days, was presented by Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton, Hendersonville historian and author. The other rifle was contributed by Bascombe Burnett of Black Mountain. As a small boy, Burnett worked for Zeb Vance, catching fish whenever the Tar Heel senator was expecting guests at his summer home, "Gombroon."

Division of Museums

Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Photographer, attended a "Short Course in Photography" in Charlotte, May 2-6. On May 3 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, went to Elizabeth City to discuss with the Chamber of Commerce plans for a museum and on May 4 she attended the openings of the Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses in Bath. On May 8 Mrs. Jordan and Mr. Robert Mayo, Exhibits Designer, accompanied General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, to Fort Lee, Virginia, to inspect one of the U. S. Army's traveling exhibits. Mr. Robert Jones, Museum Assistant, and Mrs. Jordan attended the opening of the restored Setzer School in Salisbury on May 9 and Mr. Jones, Mrs. Frances Ashford, and Mrs. Sue Todd (Museum Assistants) returned to the School on July 13 to set up plans for making a film of the Setzer School in the mid-1800's. Mrs. Jordan and these staff members were in Salisbury, July 24-26, for the actual filming of the movie to be presented over WTVD-TV Station and other stations in the State. Mr. John D. Ellington, Exhibits Designer, was in Columbus, Ohio, May 2-6, on a field trip with the Civil War Exhibit. Mr. Mayo was in Washington, D. C., on May 17-18 to confer with National Park Service officials on

the techniques for the preservation of artifacts. On June 5-9 Mrs. Jordan, Mr. Mayo, and Mr. Samuel Townsend, Administrative Assistant, attended the annual Association of American Museums convention in Williamsburg, Virginia. Mrs. Jordan is a member of the Council. Mr. Mayo attended the sessions on exhibit design and techniques; Mr. Townsend attended the sessions on preservation and museum education programs.

On June 18 Mr. John Amari accepted the position as Preparator for the Division of Museums. He and the entire staff are continuing the renovation program for the Hall of History. Designing, planning, and the building of scale models for the first five rooms is completed. Construction has begun in the Fred A. Olds Memorial Lounge and Gallery. This room will incorporate areas formerly designated as the Roanoke Island Room and the Special Exhibits Room.

On July 19-22 Mrs. Jordan was at the Fort Fisher State Historic Site to check on the progress of the preservation laboratory there.

During the 1961-1962 school year a total of 639 groups, with a total of 30,800 students, registered for the slide-lecture program given by the Division, prior to visitation to the Hall of History.

On July 28 Mr. Townsend spoke at the joint meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association held in Mars Hill. He described the preservation of artifacts recovered from the "Modern Greece" and exhibited a collection of recovered items from the ship.

Division of Publications

Increased publicity concerning the availability of publications of the State Department of Archives and History has created additional demand. During the second quarter of 1962, a total of 63,581 volumes, pamphlets, leaflets, and other publications was distributed. This total included 91 documentary volumes, 365 letter books of the Governors, 263 small books, 7,858 pamphlets, 975 copies of the list of available publications, and 53,929 leaflets, maps, charts, and other miscellaneous publications. Receipts for the quarter were in the amount of $4,077.94.

The sale of back sets of *The North Carolina Historical Review* continued, and $2,878.35 had been realized from this source since the beginning of the special promotion last fall. Through June 30, 110 sets had been sold and numerous partial sets had been bought by libraries and individuals wishing to complete their files. As of August 1, approximately ten sets were still available for sale at the special price of $25 plus express charges. There were 71 new subscribers and 215 renewals to *The Review* during the second quarter.

Mr. Ted R. Edwards reported for work at the beginning of June as Stock Clerk II. He has done an outstanding job of rearranging books and pamphlets so as to utilize storage areas to the best advantage.

Satisfactory progress is being made on a number of new titles to be used in the pamphlet series in the next few months. Copy for a pamphlet on the history of tobacco was sent to the printer early in July. It is hoped

that five or six additional pamphlets will be available during the 1962-1963 school year.

Announcement of the publication of Volume IV of *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*, edited by the late J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, was made early in July. This volume, which covers the years 1851-1856, is being sold for $3.00, the price placed on all documentary volumes. The first three volumes in this series are still in print. Volume II of the Hodges Letter Book, edited by Dr. James W. Patton, was published early in August.

Dr. Alice B. Keith, who edited the first two volumes of *The Papers of John Gray Blount*, asked to be relieved of the responsibility of continuing this series. The biographer of William Blount, Dr. William H. Masterson, has agreed to continue the editing of the Blount Papers. Dr. Masterson is Dean of Humanities at Rice University, Houston, Texas.

Arrangements have been made with Dr. Donald Higginbotham, of Louisiana State University, to edit the papers of James Iredell, Sr. The National Historical Publications Commission had expressed interest in having these papers edited and published because of the significance of Iredell as a jurist and statesman. Dr. Higginbotham, biographer of Daniel Morgan, has been doing research preparatory to writing a biography of Iredell, the first North Carolinian to be elevated to the United States Supreme Court.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, met in Winston-Salem with Dr. Minnie J. Smith, Editor of *The Records of the Moravians*, and Miss Grace Siewers, Archivist of the Moravian Archives, on May 31 to discuss plans and procedures for the publication of additional volumes of the records of the Moravians. Dr. Smith, who had completed most of the work for Volume IX, died on July 22.

Mrs. Blackwelder represented the Department at a meeting of the Swansboro Historical Association and guest societies on July 21 in Swansboro. She attended the Western North Carolina Historical Association on July 27-28 and spoke on the publications program at that meeting.

Plans have been made for a special sale of documentary volumes. During the months of October, November, and December, persons or institutions buying two documentary volumes or other $3.00 books at the regular price will receive a third volume of their choice free of charge. A few copies of some of the earliest documentary volumes published by the Department, including Charles L. Coon's documentary history of public education, published in 1908, and *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, published in 1909, are to be included in the sale. Further information on titles available at the sale price may be obtained by writing to the Division of Publications.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Joseph L. Morrison, Associate Professor of Journalism at the University of North Carolina, is the author of an article, "Josephus Daniels and the Bassett Academic Freedom Case," which appeared in the *Journalism Quarterly* (Spring, 1962) of the University of Minnesota. Dr. Morrison is preparing a revised manuscript of his Ph.D. dissertation (Duke University) which will be published in the fall (1962) by the University of North Carolina Press as "Josephus Daniels Says. . . ."

Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., of the Department of History and Political Science at North Carolina State College is the author of an article, "A Flooding Crisis," published in the June 17 issue of *The News and Observer* (Raleigh). Dr. Abraham Holtzman, who was promoted to Professor of History on July 1, received a Social Science Research Council grant which was used in the summer, 1962, and which will be continued in the spring, 1963. Dr. J. Leon Helguera, promoted to Associate Professor of History on July 1, received on May 30 the 1962 senior class award as outstanding teacher in the School of General Studies. Mr. John Christopher Farrell joined the faculty on September 1 as Instructor of History.

Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon was appointed Head of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College on July 1. Mr. Thomas C. Parramore joined the faculty as Instructor of History in September.

Dr. Inzer Byer, Associate Professor of History, was appointed Chairman of the Department at Salem College, effective September 1. On that same date Mr. Allan Harris joined the faculty as Assistant Professor of History, and Mr. A. Hewson Michie, Jr., was promoted to Assistant Professor of History.

Dr. Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., Associate Professor and Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at North Carolina Wesleyan College, has received a research grant from the American Association of State and Local History for work on the "Evolution Controversy in North Carolina During the 1920's." He had an article, "Conservation and Politics in the South, 1899-1906," in *The Georgia Quarterly* (Spring, 1962).

Dr. Robert I. Crane of the Department of History of Duke University will be on sabbatical leave during the academic year 1962-1963 to visit the Calcutta and New Delhi archives for research on modern Indian History; other research will be done in London at the India Office Library. He received a Faculty Research Fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies for the research in India and was awarded a summer research fellowship by the Commonwealth—Studies Center of Duke University for the study in London. In addition, the Duke University Research Council has given Dr. Crane a Faculty Research Grant to cover actual research costs in India and London. He left for India August 15 and will

return to Duke September 1, 1963. Dr. Crane is the author of four articles on Indian history published in R. Sakai (ed.), *Studies on Asia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961); T. C. Grondahl (ed.), *A Select Bibliography: Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America* (Supplement, 1961); *The American Review*, VI (January, 1962); and the *Grolier New International Encyclopedia.*

Dr. Harold T. Parker is the author of "Herbert Butterfield," in S. William Holperin, *Essays On Eminent Europeans: Some 20th-Century Historians* (The University of Chicago Press, 1961); and Dr. Alfred Tischendorf is the author of "The Assassination of Chief Executives in Latin America," which was published in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LX (Winter, 1961). Dr. Charles R. Young's article, "King John: An Example of the Medieval Practice of Charity," was published in *Church History* (October, 1961). Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., and Dr. William H. Cartwright edited and wrote an Introduction for *Interpreting and Teaching American History*, 31st yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (Washington, 1961), which included an article, "Politics of the Gilded Age, 1877-1896," by Dr. Robert F. Durden. Dr. William E. Scott's book, *Alliance Against Hitler*, was published in August by the Duke University Press.

Faculty promotions and changes, effective in September were: Dr. Joel Colton and Dr. I. B. Holley, Jr., to Professor; Dr. Anne F. Scott and Dr. Calvin D. Davis to Assistant Professor; Mr. Paul J. Bowers and Mr. John W. Cell to Instructor; Dr. Zafar-ul-Islam, Dr. Orville W. Taylor, and Dr. James C. Wallace, Visiting Lecturer; Dr. James M. Smith, Visiting Professor; and Dr. Burton F. Beers, Visiting Associate Professor. Dr. Arthur M. Keppel-Jones will serve (January, 1963) as Visiting William K. Boyd Professor, and Dr. R. John Rath will serve as Visiting Professor (January, 1963).

The following served as Visiting Professors during the summer, 1962: Dr. William C. Askew, Dr. Robert W. Johannsen, Dr. Burl Noggle, and Dr. George Taylor.

Faculty members who will be away during the coming academic year are: Dr. John R. Alden, who will be in England, fall semester, 1962, for research; Dr. Frederic B. M. Hollyday, who will do research in Germany, second semester, 1962-1963; Dr. Theodore Ropp, who will occupy the Ernest J. King Chair of Maritime History at the Naval War College; and Dr. Tischendorf, who will continue his researches in the Argentine, fall semester, 1962.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

Members of the Catawba County Historical Association met on May 12 in Newton to vote on the acquisition of property for the County museum. A building on the old Catawba College Campus has been donated to the group for a larger museum according to Mrs. J. M. Ballard, President. Mr. Cyril Long Mebane spoke on "Catawba County Newspapers." On May 27 Dean D. J. Whitener of Appalachian State Teachers College was speaker

at the unveiling of a marker at the site of the Historical Museum on South Main Avenue. Dr. D. S. Shaffer has been employed as genealogist to compile data on pioneer families of Catawba County to be used in the second volume of county history. At the June meeting Mr. William Everett Long spoke to the group and Mrs. Ballard reported on gifts for the Museum. The annual picnic meeting was held on July 13 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Rome Jones with a large number of visitors present. Mrs. Jones, Dr. J. E. Hodges, and Mr. Ward Robinson presented the program. Ten new members were present.

At a meeting in Statesville on May 10 Miss Rachel Morrison was named Chairman of a committee to organize an Iredell County historical society. Thirty persons were present to formulate plans and to perfect arrangements. The steering committee, selected at the first meeting, met again on May 24 to discuss a proposed constitution and bylaws. Memberships are open to individuals interested in collecting and preserving Iredell County history.

The Brunswick County Historical Society met on May 14 in Shallotte with Misses Judy F. Griffin and Sylvia A. Hinson presenting a program on "Shallotte—Days Gone By." Seven displays were prepared by Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., to depict the history of Brunswick County.

A historical marker, commemorating the site of the first Guilford County Court, was unveiled on May 20. The Guilford Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution sponsored the ceremonies.

Professor Richard Walser of the English Department of North Carolina State College spoke on "Governor Thomas Burke" at the May 25 meeting of the Hillsborough Historical Society. The first issue of the *News-Letter* of the organization, edited by President Charles H. Blake, has been distributed. The leaflet will be published every six weeks to inform members of gifts, proposed projects and meetings, and visitors to the Society.

Mr. Tucker R. Littleton was re-elected President of the Swansboro Historical Association at its May meeting. Other officers re-elected were: Mr. Bud Hibbs, Vice-President; Mr. C. A. Lilley, Treasurer; Mrs. Louise Passingham, Recording Secretary; and Mrs. Clara P. Baker, Corresponding Secretary. There are now 306 members in the year-old organization. Mr. Lawrence Trammel, restoration horticulturist at Tryon Palace, was guest speaker at the June meeting of the Association at which Mr. Littleton announced the appointment of an advisory board on matters of restoration and historical preservation. On July 21 the Association was host to a number of related historical groups at a special celebration. Mr. Dan M. Paul, representing the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and Mr. Robert R. Garvey, Jr., Executive Director of The National Trust for Historic Preservation, spoke to the joint societies. Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder and Mr. Stanley A. South, representing the State

Department of Archives and History, also made brief talks. Mr. John S. Jones of Cedar Point, a member of the Carteret County Historical Society, donated watermelons for the social hour which followed the program.

The Gaston County Historical Society met in Cherryville on June 1 at which time President W. T. Robinson spoke on the early settlers of Gaston. Less than 250 copies of the county history remain to be sold, Mr. Robinson reported. The Chamber of Commerce continues to handle the sales of the book. The membership of the Gaston Society in now 200.

At the June 11 meeting of the Perquimans County Historical Society Mrs. Charles White was in charge of the program. Officers were elected as follows: Mr. Silas Whedbee, President; Mr. B. C. Berry, Vice-President; Mrs. Julian Powell, Recording Secretary; Mrs. Raymond Winslow, Assistant Secretary; Mrs. R. C. Holmes, Secretary-Curator; and Mr. R. L. Stephenson, Treasurer.

The City of Wilmington voted on June 14 to establish a 34-block historical district near the center of town to be governed by a five-member Architectural Board of Review. The district was proposed by the Community Planning Division of the State Department of Conservation and Development, following a study of the historical value of the area.

The Caldwell County Historical Society met on June 21 with Mr. James Dula, Vice-President, presiding. The following officers were elected for the coming year: President, Mrs. W. I. Pitts; Vice-President, Mr. Thomas Parks; Recording Secretary, Miss Louise Todd; Treasurer, Mrs. Fred Pegram; and Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Percy F. Deverick. Mrs. Pitts discussed the need of a county museum and introduced the speaker, Mrs. Ira Schey.

The Upper Cape Fear Chapter, Archaeological Society of North Carolina, met on June 22 in Fayetteville. Mr. John C. Frye presented a program, "Rocks and Minerals Used by the Indians of North Carolina." The July 20 meeting of the Chapter was held in Elizabethtown with Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist with the State Department of Archives and History, in charge of the program. Members of the Bladen County Historical Society were guests of the group on the latter date.

Historic Siloam Presbyterian Church at Greenlee was the site of the June 29 meeting of the McDowell County Historical Society. Mr. Jason B. Deyton spoke on "Local History—Where to Find It and How to Write It." Miss Mary M. Greenlee, President, gave a brief history of the Siloam Church and of the Ebenezer Methodist Church. The proposed commemoration of the Civil War Centennial and the celebration of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary as related to McDowell County were discussed by those present.

The Union County Historical Association met at the Pleasant Grove Campground on May 9 with Mr. Max F. Harris, Research Specialist with the Historic Sites Division of the State Department of Archives and History, as featured speaker. Mr. Harris presented a summary of his report on the study of the site of Andrew Jackson's birthplace. Guests were present from other North Carolina counties and Lancaster County, South Carolina.

The Department has received *A Decade of Progress in Forsyth County, North Carolina*, prepared by the Board of County Commissioners of that County. The 32-page booklet is illustrated and records the growth of industry, the agricultural advances, the development of business, the gains in education and community life, and the preservation of historic sites in Forsyth County in the immediate past.

The Rotary Club of Randleman has published for the third time an illustrated book, *The Story of Naomi Wise and the History of Randleman.* The story of Naomi Wise, famous in legend and song, apparently was first published in the *Greensboro Patriot* in April, 1874, and was written under the pen name of Charles Vernon. It is generally believed that this was a name used by Dr. Braxton Craven, President of Trinity College. The previous editions, issued in 1944 and 1947, were also printed as a club project. The 1962 book has been revised in response to numerous requests and is priced at $2.50. It may be ordered from the club in Randleman.

The entire issue of the *Historical Foundation News* for July, 1962, published by the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Inc., at Montreat, is a travel letter, "Touring Presbyterianland With Cash and Camera." The author, Dr. T. H. Spence, Jr., reports on his tour of the British Isles and Europe.

The *News Bulletin of the Moravian Music Foundation* for Spring-Summer, 1962, includes a revised list of American Moravian music in authorized editions, a notice of the cancellation of the seventh annual Music Festival and Seminar, and a list of Friends of the Foundation, who have joined since March. There is also an article on Dr. Hans T. David, who is the recipient of the second *Moramus Award.*

MISCELLANEOUS

The *Civil War Times, Illustrated,* Volume I, No. 2 (May, 1962), carried an article "Ransom's North Carolina Brigade," by Dr. William J. Kimball of the Department of English, Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia. The story features General Robert Ransom, Jr., younger brother of General Matthew W. Ransom. Both of the generals were born in Warren County, North Carolina.

The Society of American Historians, Inc., announces that the second Allen Nevins Prize for the best-written doctoral dissertation in American History has been awarded to Dr. John L. Thomas for his biography of William Lloyd Garrison. In the future the Nevins Prize will be sponsored by a group of publishers, and it is hoped that this will lead to the discovery and publication of a number of first-rate manuscripts by fledgling historians. Judges for this prize are Dr. Francis Brown, Book Review Editor of the *New York Times,* and Dr. Brooke Hindle of New York University. Judges for the sixth annual Parkman Prize will be Dr. Frank Freidel, Harvard University; Dr. Frank E. Vandiver, Rice University; and Mr. Roger Butterfield, New York City. Information about both prizes may be obtained from Dr. John A. Garraty, Secretary-Treasurer, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

The Library of Congress announces that the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1959-1961,* was published in August by J. W. Edwards, Publishers, Inc., of Ann Arbor, Michigan. The volume, more than 1,000 pages in length, lists nearly 7,300 card entries. An index of names, a topical index, and an index of repository holdings are included. The price is $9.75.

The *Harry S. Truman Library Research Newsletter* for July, 1962, states that six scholars have received grants-in-aid for research at the Library since October, 1961. Funds are available for further grants-in-aid from the amount allotted by the Board of Directors of the Library Institute. Applicants desiring more information may apply to Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri. The *Newsletter* also lists formally accessioned historical materials which are available in the Library, and requests that persons wishing to do research there contact the Director, in advance of coming to the Library, regarding the holdings pertaining to specific subject matter.

The University of Delaware, in co-operation with the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will award two Hagley Museum Fellowships in April of 1963 for the academic years 1963-1965. Each fellowship carries an annual stipend of $2,000, and is renewable upon satisfactory completion of the first year. Applications should be received by March 5, 1963. For further details, address the Chairman, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

The Department has received *Eva Davis' Mississippi Mixin's,* a "Gone with the Wind" cookbook by the author of *Court Square Recipes.* The book carries recipes of southern beverages, soups, meats, and desserts and is available from the author, Mrs. Eva Davis, Old Court House Museum, Vicksburg, Mississippi.

Civil War Naval Chronology, 1861-1865, prepared by the Naval History Division, office of the Chief of Naval Operations, is available for twenty-

five cents from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. For fifteen cents the same Division has available the second edition of *United States Naval History, Naval Biography, Naval Strategy, and Tactics: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography.*

The National Archives has published two preliminary inventories relating to records of the Civil War. One, *Records Relating to Civil War Claims: United States and Great Britain,* was compiled by George S. Ulibarri and Daniel T. Goggin. The 21-page booklet contains an inventory of records relating to the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration, the Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims, and the Mixed Claims Commission. The second publication, entitled *War Department Collection of Confederate Records,* was compiled by Elizabeth Bethel; it contains 310 pages. First published in 1957, the inventory is still available and will be of particular interest to persons interested in the Civil War Centennial. Vast quantities of Civil War records, covering nearly every phase of Confederate activity, are described in this inventory. Both publications are available without charge from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington 25, D. C. The Department recently received Number 136 in the Preliminary Inventories series, published by the National Archives. This 51-page publication, *Records of United States and Mexican Claims Commissions,* was compiled by George S. Ulibarri. This booklet may also be ordered from the above address without cost.

A copy of a monograph, *General Braddock's Expedition,* has been received by the Department from England. This edition of the journal of Major General Braddock's march toward Fort Du Quesne in 1755 may be purchased for $1.40 from the editor, Mr. Carson I. A. Ritchie, 35 Grosvenor Crescent, Dartford, Kent, England.