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NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS AND THE REVOLUTION

BY DOROTHY GILBERT THORNE*

When North Carolina Yearly Meeting convened in Tenth month, 1775, it seemed "Good and Necessary at this time of General Distress and Unnatural Commotions" to remind Friends of "their antient and Honourable Testimony and Principle of Friends in Respect to the King and Government." This they did in an epistle prepared and accepted and directed to all meetings belonging to the Yearly Meeting.¹

We Sincerely declare that it hath been our Judgement and Principle from the first to this day, that the Setting up and Putting down Kings and Government is God's Peculiar Prerogative for Causes best Known to him self and that it is not our work and Business to have any hand or Contrivance therein nor to be Bussie Bodies in Matters above our Station much less to Contrive the Ruin or Overturn of any of them; but to Pray for the King and for the safety of our Nation, and good of all men that we may live a Peacable and Quiet Life in all Godliness and Honesty under the Government which God is Pleased to set over us and to yield a Chearfull and active obedience to all Good and wholesome Laws, and a Passive and Peacable Submission to all such laws as do Interfere with our Consciences by Suffering under

* Mrs. Dorothy Gilbert Thorne was formerly Professor of English at Guilford College and now resides in Wilmington, Ohio.

¹ At this time North Carolina Yearly Meeting consisted of two Quarterly Meetings, Eastern and Western, eight Monthly Meetings in North Carolina, two in South Carolina, and one in Georgia. Unless otherwise indicated this article is based on the following volumes of manuscript minutes of the Yearly Meeting, Volume I, 1704-1793; Western Quarterly Meeting, Volume I, 1760-1900; Minutes of the Standing Committee of Eastern Quarter, Volume I, 1754-1823; and on records of the six North Carolina Monthly Meetings, minutes of two meetings not being extant. Volumes used are in the vault at Guilford College and consist of the following: Perquimans, Volume III, 1776-1794; Pasquotank, Volume I, 1699-1785, Core Sound, Volume I, 1733-1791 (belonging to the Eastern Quarter); Cane Creek, Volume I, 1751-1796; New Garden, Volume II, 1775-1782; and Deep River, Volume I, 1778-1807 (belonging to the Western Quarter). References to minutes are identified by dates in the text.

them without Resistance or anything more than to Petition or Remonstrate against them.

The epistle expressed the opinion that many engaged in present disputes with England were "Honest and Upright" but it also spoke of all "Plottings, Conspiracies, and Insurrections as works of Darkness" and reminded Friends that London Yearly Meeting had advised all Friends not "to interfere, meddle, or concern in those party affairs."²

North Carolina Friends had inherited a strong testimony against warfare. They did not expect to fight and they did not expect to meddle in party affairs. In the seventeenth century Quakers, under suspicion anyhow for their nonconformity, were often accused of complicity in plots; therefore their early leaders had charged them with much earnestness to keep clear of all "commotions and intrigues." In the century that had passed, there had grown up in the Quaker consciousness a belief that obedience to the existing government when such obedience did not run counter to conscience was a fundamental duty.³ God, for reasons known to himself, would set up and put down kings and governments and there was no need for them to be "Bussie bodies" concerning themselves with matters above their station. As far as possible Friends would ignore the struggle and proceed with business as usual. But this position had its difficulties. Even a passive obedience to ruling powers in America in 1775 and onward led the populace to believe that Quakers were Loyalist sympathizers.

Many problems arose as Friends endeavored to keep clear of present commotions and live according to their ancient testimonies. It was clear that they could not bear arms, pay muster fees or "draughting" fees, that they could not hire substitutes; and while a power (or government) was contending with arms their only connection with it came as they

² *The London Epistle of 1775* had been quite explicit entreating "Membership with us to enter as little into Conversation respecting present Heats and Commotions as possible and to seek for and abide under the influence of that Heavenly Principle which leads to follow Peace with all men." *The London Epistle of 1775*, 2.

³ Rufus M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Mac-Millan, 1911), 562-563.

exercised their right of petition and remonstrance, for they could not take an oath or affirmation of allegiance to it, pay tax which might support the military, or hold office.

Living a life wholly consistent with the "Peaceable Profession" was difficult; the clear cut issues began to take on shades of meaning not easily forseen. For example, could Friends use paper money issued by the contending government? The Standing Committee of Eastern Quarter finally decided (1-13-1776) that since Friends were on a "Level with their Neighbors and Fellow Subjects in Transacting Common Affairs of Business in this life" they were to be left free "to take or decline these bills according to the clear Freedom of their own minds."

Monthly Meeting minutes record many degrees of participation in the struggle in addition to the outright "bearing arms in a warlike manner"—as a survey of the minutes of the six monthly meetings existing during war years will show.

Perquimans, the first meeting set up in North Carolina, had troubles with Friends who enlisted or hired substitutes, and complaints against several men are recorded: Joseph Griffin for "listing as a soldier" 5-6-1776; William Townsend 9-3-1777 for "being a partner in hireing a Man to Serve in a Military Capacity to save himself from the Penalty of the Law in that case"; Frederick Nixon 1-6-1779 for "Gameing and hireing a substitute"; Demsey Elliott 1-6-1779 for "listing himself in Military Service"; John Charles 7-7-1779 for "agreeing to repay a person for paying a draughted fine"; Nathan Pierce 5-5-1779 for "attending a Muster and Voteing for Men to Act in the Military Service"; and Ephriam Griffin 6-6-1781 for "bearing arms in a warlike manner." The meeting also had trouble with members involved with privateering vessels. It was reported 12-6-1780 that Lemuel Murdaugh had "entered himself on Board an armed Vessell in order to retake Some Vessells that was Taken out of Poart by English privateers"; on 3rd month 5, 1783, Exum Elliott and Nathan Perry were complained of "for Entering on Board a Privateer"; and on 4th month 2, 1783, Solomon Elliott "who justified himself in consenting to his Sons Entering on Board a Privateer was disowned."

Pasquotank Meeting and Core Sound (also near the coast) were concerned about members on armed vessels. On 11-20-1782 Micajah Clark, who had requested a certificate to go to the West Indies, was refused by Pasquotank on the grounds that "the Vessell he Intended to enter on board of is to carry guns in order to make some defense." Core Sound Meeting in Carteret County on 11-14-1781 disowned John Harris who "contrary to Advice and Counsel of his Friends made a cruise on board a privateer Vessel of War, a practice so inconsistent with our principle and holy peaceable Christian proffession that we can do no less than publicly testifie against Such Anti-Christian practices."

Pasquotank Meeting disowned two men for enlisting: Benjamin Wood, 7-17-1776, and William Boswell, 7-16-1777; Thomas Newby and Caleb Hall, 7-19-1780, for hiring themselves in the Military Service (not as soldiers but as workers); James Newby, 8-21-1782, for consenting to hire a substitute. James Newby repented and regained membership as did Josiah Winslow, who on 9-16-1778 was complained of for "Informing the Sheriff of the County How to come at his Money, which being Demanded to pay Soldier Hired in Liew of frds."

The meeting which suffered most during the Revolution was Cane Creek, and Cane Creek had not yet recovered from the troubles brought on by the Regulators. Herman Husbands had been a member until 1766, when he was disowned, and he had been a center of controversy before and after that time; in 1771 eighteen men had been disowned, sixteen of them two weeks after the Battle of Alamance;⁴ Tryon had requisitioned six wagon loads of "flower" from the Quakers in Cane Creek,⁵ the Regulators intercepted it; thereupon Tryon's men recaptured it and took three addi-

⁴ At the Monthly Meeting held June 1, 1771, Benjamin Underwood, James Underwood, Joshua Dixon, Isaac Cox, Samuel Cox and his sons Herman and Samuel, James Matthews, John Hinshaw, Benjamin Hinshaw, William Graves, Nathan Farmer, Jesse Pugh, William Tanzy, John and William Williams were disowned. On September 7, 1771, Thomas Pugh and Humphrey Williams were disowned, the first for joining a company of armed men, the second for "aiding a company who were some of them contending the arms." No explanation is given for disowning the sixteen.

⁵ William Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), VIII, 610, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

tional loads from Dixon's mill, the "owner having favored and assisted the rebels."⁶ In 1773 the assembly disallowed their petition for payment.⁷ Simon Dixon, the owner of the mill, was the first settler in the neighborhood and a very influential man; he was also Herman Husband's brother-in-law and an acknowledged Regulator. In 1769 the meeting tried to disown him; he appealed to the Quarterly Meeting and was reinstated, no explanation of charge or decision being recorded.⁸ Two members of the meeting, Jeremiah and William Piggott, had been accused of informing Colonel Fanning that Dixon and Husbunds were leaders of the mob and had requested aid from Fanning in establishing their innocence.⁹ All in all, Cane Creek knew what the present commotions meant in the way of disunity, loss of members, and financial loss.

Then on 4-6-1776 John Hinshaw, the last of the Regulators to repent, condemned his action in "going in company with the Regulators so called," and on 10-5-1776 the first of the Revolutionary soldiers was disowned. The record of disownment shows details of the process and the spirit in which it took place:

The preparative Enters a complaint against Nathan Freeman for being guilty of going to places of diversion and dancing, and notwithstanding he was labored with by the overseers with desires for his Return, but to little or no purpose and since has went from us and listed himself a Soldier, all which being contrary to our Principles, this meeting therefore agrees to Shew their disunity with him and his disorderly conduct, and thereby minutes him no member of our Society untill he Reforms and Suitably condemns the Same, and that he may is our desire and that the Clerk upon his application is to give him a copy of this minute.

Disowning a member for bearing arms was the direct testimony against war which every meeting was expected to exercise. William Dunn on 11-1-1777, Joshua and Simon Had-

⁶ Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 20 volumes [16 volumes and 4 volumes of index compiled by Stephen B. Weeks], 1895-1914), XIX, 847, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

⁷ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 496-497.

⁸ Minutes of Western Quarterly Meeting, 5-5-1769, and 8-12-1769.

⁹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 745.

ley sons of Thomas on 6-5-1779, and in 1781 six more, John Freeman on 2-3, William and John Lacky on 3-3, Jacob Doan and William Vestal on 6-2, and John Vestal on 11-3 were disowned by Cane Creek before the war ended. Thus in a single decade Cane Creek disowned twenty-eight members (including its Regulators) who so far departed from their Quakerism as to fight with carnal weapons.

New Garden disowned two men who "assisted those called Regulators with a gun," Jesse Lane on 7-27-1771 and Edward Thornbrough on 8-31-1771, but Thornbrough condemned his action and was reinstated; in 1776 three members were disowned for "appearing in a warlike manner"; David Clark, 4-27-1776, and Jacob Brown and Micajah Wright on 11-30-1776. Jonathan Clark was disowned 9-25-1779 "for attending musters and hiring a man to go to the wars"; John Rudduck also "hired a man to go to war and assisted to drive away his neighbor's cattle for the use of the army" and was disowned 11-25-1780; and finally 8-31-1782 John Wright was disowned for "taking up arms in a warlike manner."

Deep River, which became a monthly meeting in 1778, disowned three men, the Harrold brothers, who bore arms in a warlike manner 12-4-1780. An additional member, Joseph Wilson, was prevailed upon 7-1-1782 to condemn his action "in going out with a company of men in a hostile manner to disarm some of his neighbors." These six meetings then had disowned a total of thirty-nine men, of whom twenty-one were involved in the Regulator movement; only a few ever resumed membership.

There was, however, some gain in membership during these years, and it is interesting to note that among those who came under the care of Friends there were some who very shortly requested a few lines which they could present to military authorities and claim exemption.¹⁰ Some of these new members remained in the Society, but not all, for meetings held

¹⁰ The law on granting exemption varied from time to time. In 1777 the law specified that Quakers who produced a proper authenticated certificate from Yearly Meeting or Quarterly Meeting were subject to a fine of £25 to be levied on their property or on that of the Society. Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 117. In 1778 Quakers were granted exemption from militia and from drafting, no fine being mentioned. Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 190 and 193.

high standards for their members and disowned freely;¹¹ it is impossible to know now how many of the new members had exemption as one of their reasons for joining, for the clerks very often wrote no more than this from minutes of Pasquotank 8-21-1782: "Job Brothers requests to be taken under frd^s. care it having come properly through the Preparative Meet^s. at Newbegun Creek frd^s. grant his request."

Occasionally someone under Friends' care was disowned for inconsistencies in conduct, and the entry throws some light on his motives and on the thinking of Friends. This minute from Pasquotank Meeting 7-17-1782 is a case in point: "It appears that William Price hath Joined himself in Marriage with a Woman not of our Society, he being under frd^s. care this Meeting agrees that his request be return'd to him & as he hath lately obtained a Certificate from this Meet^s. in order to Clear him from Military services, frd^s. think it Necessary to order a paper of denial against him."

When the certificate was requested after a person was drafted, that circumstance was apt to be mentioned in the minutes: Caleb Goodwin, under care of Perquimans Meeting, requested on 12-6-1780 to be admitted into Unity with Friends. ". . . as the said Caleb Goodwin has been sometime draughted as a Souldier, this Meeting thinks proper to give him a few lines setting forth that he is in unity." Three years later (10-1-1783) he was disowned for wearing a ring on his hand and other disorderly practices.

Core Sound Meeting rose up against a certain William Borden who "for a Small Season Sheltered himself under our holy profession, but could not Stand in it and beare his Testimony of the Truth when Suffering appeared near at hand." His offense was not active participation in war but "double dealing." He had been very desirous of being "Skreen'd from Mustering under our denomination a few years past" but "was willingly concern'd as commisary in Supplying Troops with Provision" and had "deny'd Friends acting we have reason to believe from motives of coveteousness and the love

¹¹ Of the 11 men who came under the care of Pasquotank Meeting during the last six months of 1782, two were disowned within a year, four more were members six to eight years before they were disowned, five remained members. All of them bore family names well-represented in the meeting's membership.

of Money (as it was a time he and other Friends were liable to have fines levied on their estates to hire a Soldier)." He was disowned 12-8-1778. There are a few other references in monthly meeting minutes concerning exemption of Friends from military service, but monthly meeting clerks did not record details on fines levied—they reported only the totals of these "sufferings."

Friends knew what they had to do with members who participated in war or showed inconsistencies in their peace testimony; if the member could not be brought to see and acknowledge his error, there was no course open but to disown him in a minute that pointed out his offense and often covered other misdemeanors and flaws in judgment as well. Matters connected with the relation of the Society of Friends to the State, the whole problem of neutrality or peaceful coexistence caused even greater difficulties than those brought on by individuals who "bore arms in a warlike manner" and indulged in "other disorderly practices."

A full view of these problems is given in the minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting 4-4-1778, for on that day three advices "or extracts handed down for the fulfilling the intention thereof" were read and considered.¹² The one from the Yearly Meeting session stated that Friends could not "consistantly with their principles Comply with the act of the assembly requiring an affirmation of allegiance to the State of North Carolina." A special form of the oath had been framed for Quakers, Moravians, Mennonites, and Dunkards which did not require them to defend the government, but Friends did not feel they could take an oath to a contending power. Failure to do so carried heavy penalties. The second advice of this sort came from the Quarterly Meeting and concerned the "payment of the present tax now Demanded." "In a Desire of our being preserved out of those things that may wound the Cause of truth, we do agree to Report as our Sense and Judgment that friends Cannot Consistant with our holy Profession Comply therewith."

The third came from the Quarterly Meeting Standing Committee appointed to Consider the State of the Society, and it

¹² These documents are also recorded in minutes of New Garden and Deep River and the Yearly Meeting advices referred to in minutes of Perquimans and Pasquotank Meetings.

instructed the monthly meetings that "Early Care be taken to advise their members against accepting any places of office or trust under the present Commotion and Confusion that now abound, and where any have accepted of the offices above Hinted that Such Should be labored with in a Spirit of Brotherly kindness and Charity in order to Convince them of the Inconsistency of Such a Conduct." Thus in one session, Friends at Cane Creek were faced with the major complexities of their position.

Later in the year (9th month, 1778) the Standing Committee of Western Quarter advised monthly meetings to "labor in a Spirit of Love and meekness with any of their members who had so far deviated as to act contrary to the wholesome rules and advices hitherto given by taking the present affirmation of Fidelity which hath brought pain and sorrow on many minds and we apprehend tends to lay waste our Christian testimony."

The oath or affirmation of allegiance had been altered by the Assembly in 1778 in order "to quiet the consciences and indulge the religious Scruples of the Sects called the Unitas Fratrum or Moravians, Quakers, Menonists, and Dunkards," the principal changes being the addition of the word "Fidelity" and the provision for "either an active or passive obedience to the Powers and Authorities of the government."¹³ In January 1779 the Standing Committee of Eastern Quarter addressed a petition to the Assembly thanking members for leniency but explaining that their "peaceable Principles to live as much as in us Lies a Quiet Honest and Inoffensive Life and to keep clear from joining with any party Engaged in disputes that are to be Determined by Military Forces" stood in the way of their taking the affirmation.

The Petition continued by stating that they had not the "Least Intention or design of taking any steps against the state," that they knew their scruples could bring "great Sufferings upon them and terminate in the Ruin of many Honest Families" but that they earnestly desired not to be considered as enemies to their country because they scrupled taking the Aforesaid Test.

¹³ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 219.

The delegation consisting of Thomas Knox, Thomas Newby, John Lawrence, and Caleb White was well received, and alterations were made to the affirmation but it was still not acceptable.¹⁴

All through the year 1779 and in the early months of 1780 the monthly meetings in accord with the advice received labored with members who had taken the oath. There is no record of a disownment—those whose only offense had been the taking of the affirmation condemned their action and remained members.

The first to act were Caleb Trueblood and Joseph Henly, members of Pasquotank Meeting, who on 12-6-1778 “fully and openly condemned their taking of the affirmation.” Other members of that meeting who also condemned their taking the affirmation were Daniel Trueblood 3-17-1779, James Newby, Fisher Trueblood, and Joseph Trueblood on 4-21-1779, and Thomas Pritchard who on 7-21 repented of that as well as his misconduct in hiring a Negro and “gaming.”

At Cane Creek 10-2-1779 Simon Hadley appeared and made an offering condemning his taking an affirmation, also his drinking to excess, and on 2-5-1780 Solomon Cox was disowned for taking the affirmation—but he had also been buying and selling Negroes.

New Garden Meeting dealt with all of its offenders at one session, that of 12-25-1779. The minute reads: “It being the united sense of our Yearly Meeting, (that in these times of outward wars, and commotions which prevail in our Land, and still to be determined by Military force), that we cannot consistently take our Solemn Affirmation of Fidelity to the present powers; but several amongst us through unwatchfulness have given way there unto; which hath been cause of deep sorrow to many minds; but through the favours of Divine goodness, those appear'd at our Monthly Meeting, and bore their Testimony against it, to the satisfaction of Friends: John Williams, Paul Macy, William Coffin, Reuben Bunker, Nathaniel Macy, Nathaniel Swain, Isaac Gardner, Joseph Swain, John Macy, Barzilla Gardner, Stephen Gardner.

¹⁴ Minutes of Standing Committee of Eastern Quarter, 1-9-1779, and 10-23-1779.

Action at Deep River was identical: five Friends, Daniel Bills, Seth Coffin, Richard and Sylvanus Gardner, and William Stanton, appeared at the session 2-7-1780 and three others, Latham Folger, John Macy Jr., and John Sweet, on 1-1-1781 and condemned their taking the affirmation. Only one was disowned for the offense, but he had just married out of unity and would have been disowned anyhow.

In 1780 (3-25 and 5-28) the Standing Committee petitioned the Assembly again laying stress on the fact that since they did not feel that they could take the affirmation "entries were being laid on their lands by different Persons, which may very likely terminate in the Ruin of many peaceable Families" and asking that as they had "conformed to the Laws either by active or passive Obedience," they might now be afforded relief. William Albertson and Mark Newby presented the petition to the assembly, it was favorably received and an act passed which provided that entries made upon the lands of persons "in unity with the people of their respective denominations" should be null and void.¹⁵ Quakers, however, continued to bear testimony against the affirmation of fidelity, often calling it "a Test to either party while contending" until the contending was ended and the war was over—then their opposition no longer had any point. At the Yearly Meeting of 1783 the following form was proposed and with some small additions accepted by the next Assembly:¹⁶ "I A. B. do Solemnly & Sincerely Declare & affirm that I will Truly & faithfully Demean myself as a Peaceable Subject of the Independent State of North Carolina, & will be Subject to the powers and authorities that are or may be Established for the good Government thereof not Inconsistent with the Constitution, Either by yielding an active or passive obedience thereto & that I will not abet or join the Enemies of this State by any means, in any Conspiracy whatsoever against the said state or the United States of America."

Neither New Garden nor Deep River found it necessary to disown a member for holding office in the unsettled state of affairs but Cane Creek had a prominent member who was

¹⁵ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 329.

¹⁶ Minutes North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 10-27-1783 and 10-25-1784.

engaging in several doubtful activities when they finally decided they must disown him: "Thomas Chapman Complained of in the first month last for taking a Justices Commission under the present unsettled state of public affairs Contrary to the advice of friends, and continuing to act therein after the time he informed friends his commission would be Run out and that he would not accept of another or act any thing of moment without acquainting friends therewith or to this import, but to the reverse of this has as himself acknowledges administered the oath, wrote tickets Relating to drafting as it is Called, Signed or granted a warrent or press to take guns for a millitary purpose. This meeting therefore disowns him (3-6-1779) after Repeated labor Extended." The echo of many serious conversations on Thomas Chapman's activities may be heard in that minute. "Repeated labor extended" is not an idle phrase. In 1783 Thomas Chapman condemned his misconduct and was restored to membership. Five months later (12-6-1783) he requested a certificate to New Garden Meeting, which had oversight of meetings farther west, and went on to Tennessee, where by 1785 he was clerk of the lower house of the State of Franklin.¹⁷

There were several reasons why "the payment of the present tax now demanded" mentioned in advices of 1778 had not seemed consistent with the profession of Friends—the law of 1778 required that those listing tax swear that their returns were correct, much of the tax was used for military purposes, and moreover Quakers who were refusing to take oath of allegiance were required to pay a three-fold tax.¹⁸ They gave a passive not an active obedience to the tax law and that means that they did not resist the collector who came and seized property to satisfy requirements. In 1780 the Quarterly Meeting Committee had some advice on their behavior. The Committee entreated Friends "to be exceeding careful in the course of their conduct when such persons may come to their houses as are appointed to collect the present tax that they baulk not the Testimony we profess to hold

¹⁷ Thomas W. Marshall, "Family of William and Rebecca Marshall, Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, Orange County, N. C." (Washington, D. C.: Unprinted genealogy, 1945).

¹⁸ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 294.

forth by a fractory conduct . . . but that we demean ourselves in all things as becomes the followers of Christ.”¹⁹

The committee raised another question as it referred to “Some Differences in the Sentiments of Some friends in Respect of giving in their Ratiabes to be taxed” and asked Friends “to consider in meekness and wisdom whether that is consistent with our peaceable principles.” In other words, could a Friend so far co-operate with the Government as to list his taxable property?

It is difficult to know how much tax was taken from Friends, for they usually included it in the total of their sufferings without specifying its amount. However, in 1779 Deep River Meeting reported £202:6:0 for taxes, in 1780 £203:7:0, in 1781 £230:8:0. The total sufferings (which included tax, fines and military requisitions) recorded in the Yearly Meeting minutes was £1200 in 1778, £2250 in 1779, £845 in 1780, £4134 in 1781, £741 in 1782, and £718 in 1783; thus in six years Friends reported sufferings amounting to £9888 “good money silver dollars at 8 shillings” as was specified in 1780 and 1781. Totals were also given in the epistles sent to London Yearly Meeting, but there is no evidence that English Friends relieved the sufferings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

The greater part of the £4134 reported in 1781 was for military requisitions, and three-fourths of it came from Western Quarter; that is, Cane Creek, New Garden, and Deep River.

Taxes and one fine	£ 345:18
Distress by American army	£2148: 8
Distress by British army	£ 675:18 ²⁰

War came into Western Quarter in 1781. The British Army camped on the 13th of March “at the Quakers Meeting between the forks of Deep River” to use Cornwallis’ phrase. On the 14th Cornwallis received intelligence that General Greene and General Butler were marching to attack the British troops and at daybreak on the 15th he marched to meet the enemy.²¹

¹⁹ Cane Creek Minutes. 1-5-1780. This advice was also read at other meetings.

²⁰ Minutes of Western Quarterly Meeting, 8-11-1781.

²¹ General Earl Cornwallis to Lord George Germain, Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 1,002.

The minutes of Deep River Meeting contain no direct reference to this visitation, but on 7-2-1781 six members of the meeting were appointed to join two others appointed by the Standing Committee "to examine into the necessitous circumstances of Friends that are, or may be reduced to a state of Indigence, by the Calamities of war now prevailing, in order that they may be relieved where needful" and to "inspect into the Sufferings of Friends."

What Cornwallis had to say about conditions has some bearing upon this minute: "This part of the Country is so totally destitute of subsistence that forage is not nearer than nine miles, and the Soldiers have been two days without bread," he wrote after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.²²

The British Army passed New Garden Meeting House and went on along the old Salisbury Road, the advance guard under Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton fell in with a corps of the enemy consisting of Lee's Legion and other troops which he attacked and defeated²³ and there along the road were buried the soldiers who fell in the combat.²⁴ About noon the two armies met at the place soon to be known as Guilford Courthouse. What New Garden Friends did during the day remains somewhat of a mystery. According to Carruthers, one Thomas White "a very clever and respectable Quaker" finding that "his house would come within the sweep of the contending armies" retired into his potato hole under the floor where "amid the roar of cannon the clash of arms and the fierce conflict of human passion" he could meditate on the horrors of war.²⁵ There are legends of much more activity

²² Cornwallis to Germain, Clark, *State Records*. XVII, 1,006-1,007.

²³ Cornwallis to Germain, Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 1,002.

²⁴ This is supported by local tradition related in Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clark and Company, 1880), 10, hereinafter cited as Coffin, *Reminiscences*; and by Elmina Foster Wilson, "Reminiscences of Childhood" (Manuscript), 9, hereinafter cited as Wilson, "Reminiscences." She adds a story of early students from New Garden Boarding School who, doubting the story, investigated and were shocked to discover that there were bones and buttons from a uniform in one of the low mounds along the road.

²⁵ *Interesting Revolutionary Incidents and Sketches of Character Chiefly in the Old North State* (Philadelphia, Pa: Hayes and Zell, second series, 1858), 162-163. New Garden Monthly Meeting Records, I, 159, contains the family record of Thomas White (died, May 10, 1832) and his wife Elizabeth (died, January 22, 1840, aged 79 years and 2 months) and the Minutes for October 26, 1771, mention White as having been received on certificate from the Monthly Meeting in "Cartrite" County together with his uncle, Isaac White, and his family. This could be the man referred to by Carruthers.

during the day, but if Quakers became "hunters" there is nothing to substantiate the suspicion—New Garden Meeting did not disown anyone for bearing arms at that time. Four months later (7-28-1781) William Edwards "appeared at the meeting and offered a paper condemning his conduct in appearing in a war-like manner"; he is the only person mentioned for so doing in the year 1781.

After the battle, however, Friends were fully occupied in the care of the wounded and the burial of the dead. General Cornwallis wrote to Colonel Baker that he left about eighty of the wounded Americans who fell into his hands at Guilford Courthouse and transported his own wounded in wagons and litters as far as New Garden Meeting House. Seventy of the most severely wounded were left there when he moved on as quickly as he could.²⁶ Cornwallis estimated the loss of the American forces at two hundred to three hundred left dead upon the field and said that the houses in a circle of six or eight miles around the battleground were filled with the wounded.²⁷

General Greene, a Quaker himself until the monthly meeting at East Greenwich "put him from under the care of the meeting" for attending a military parade²⁸ addressed a letter to the New Garden Quakers. "I know of no order of men more remarkable for the exercise of humanity and benevolence; and perhaps no instance ever had a higher claim upon you than the unfortunate wounded now in your neighborhood," he said. He also referred to the general belief that Friends were considered to be enemies of the independence, adding, "I entertain other sentiments both of your principles and wishes. I respect you as a people, and shall always be ready to protect you from every violence and oppression which the confusion of the times afford." Then he warned them that the British were deceiving them both "by flattering you with conquest and exciting your apprehension respecting religious liberty" and said: "There is but one way

²⁶ Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 1,006-1,007.

²⁷ Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 1,005.

²⁸ George Washington Greene, *The Life of Nathanael Greene* (New York: George Putnam and Son, 1867), 69-70.

to put a speedy end to the extremities of war, which is, for the people to be united.”

To this Friends replied:

Friend Greene: We received thine, being dated third month, 26th day, 1781. Agreeable to thy request we shall do all that lies in our power, although this may inform that from our present situation we are ill able to assist as much as we would be glad to do, as the American have lain much upon us, and of late the British have plundered and entirely broken up many among us, which renders it hard, and there is at our meeting house in New Garden upward of one hundred now living, that have no means of provisions except what hospitality the neighborhood affords them, which we look upon as a hardship on us, if not an imposition; but notwithstanding all this we are determined, by the assistance of Providence, while we have anything among us, that the distressed both at the Courthouse and here shall have part of it with us. As we have as yet made no distinction as to party and their cause—as we have none to commit our cause to but God alone, but hold it the duty of true Christians, at all times to assist the distressed.

Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina, Third Month, 30, 1781.²⁹

Friends buried the dead under the great oak in their graveyard, cared for the injured in their homes and in their meeting house. When in 1791 they built a new and larger meeting house suitable for the use of the Yearly Meeting, they used the blood stained boards from which the rude beds for the soldiers had been made, and in the years that followed these bloodstains taught a lesson on war. Elmina Foster Wilson (1827-1917) recalled them when she wrote her reminiscences³⁰ and a visiting Friend present in 1869 spoke of “having a good opportunity of examining the bloodstained boards of the ceiling, the finger marks distinctly showing then and

²⁹ Both letters were printed in *The American Friend*, II (1895), 307, and *The Friends Intelligencer*, LII, (1895), 4, with an introductory note by William H. Snowden of Fairfax, Virginia, saying that he had read them during his research and felt they would interest Friends. Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 2 volumes, 1855), 406, mentions Greene’s letter but not the reply. There is no reference to either in Minutes of New Garden Meeting.

³⁰ Wilson, “Reminiscences,” 8.

there where wounded soldiers during the Revolution made the sad signature of war."³¹

New Garden Monthly Meeting met as usual on the 31st of 3rd month 1781. There were undoubtedly wounded soldiers in the meeting house and in many homes in the neighborhood, but there is no reference direct or indirect to the calamities of war in the minutes. Meeting convened as usual, prepared two certificates of removal, disowned a member for marrying out of unity, complained of another for taking too much strong drink, quarreling and using bad language, accepted a paper from a member condemning his evil conduct, appointed two committees and a treasurer, and adjourned. Richard Williams, one of the first settlers in the community, died 5-6-1781 of smallpox contracted from a wounded British officer he was caring for in his home³² but the cause of his death was not recorded in the minutes.

After the battle at Guilford Courthouse terminated in a disastrous victory Cornwallis moved south. He camped with his army about thirty miles away at Dixon's Mill close to Cane Creek Meeting House and made Simon Dixon's stone house his headquarters.³³ Simon Dixon himself, whose reputation as a Regulator was well known, "deemed it prudent to leave home while the British Army was in possession of his house and his premises." The soldiers burned his fences for firewood, and rounded up cattle and sheep to kill for food—seventy-five cattle and two hundred and fifty sheep, says Thomas Dixon.³⁴ There is a strong local tradition perpetuated by many retellings that the meat was cut up in the meeting house itself and that the old benches used for many years afterward showed the marks of cutting knives and axes and

³¹ John Collins, "Among the Friends in North Carolina, 1870" (manuscript), 91-92.

³² Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 10. Richard Williams was Levi Coffin's grandfather. The home of Coffin's other grandfather, William Coffin, which was on the adjoining farm, was used as a hospital for American soldiers, he says.

³³ Colonel David Fanning in his "Narrative" speaks of visiting Cornwallis at Dixon's Mill a few days after the battle at Guilford Courthouse, Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 192; and Thomas C. Dixon, *Genealogy of the Dixon Family* (Guilford College: Pearson Printing Company, n.d.), 6-7, says that Cornwallis and the officers made Simon Dixon's rock dwelling their headquarters. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Dixon, *Genealogy of the Dixon Family*.

³⁴ Dixon, *Genealogy of the Dixon Family*, 7.

the stains of blood, but again the minutes of the meeting indicate nothing of the trials of the times.

British soldiers who died in camp were buried in the Friends' graveyard and in 1941—a hundred and sixty years later—a monument was erected in memory of the fallen “British troops.”

In September of the same year, 1781, a Tory army consisting of Loyalists under Fanning and Scotchmen under McNeil and McDougal was surprised at Lindley's Mill on Cane Creek. Fanning's account of casualties lists twenty-seven loyalists, twenty-four rebels; killed sixty loyalists and ninety rebels seriously wounded; says Fanning, “the inhabitants of Cane Creek buried the rebels.”³⁵ With the large Quaker population in the Cane Creek area, there could easily have been Quaker assistance after the battle, but no details survive.

A brief survey of the official advices in the “present commotions,” the loss of members who felt that “they must bear arms in a warlike manner,” the difficulties with the affirmation of fidelity, taxes and other financial sufferings, the care of the wounded and burial of the dead after the battle—all these details that were recorded are but a small part of the history of Friends as they struggled to live according to their testimony in troubled times.

³⁵ Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 207-208.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF STONEMAN'S LAST RAID

By Ina W. Van Noppen*

Part III

Salisbury

A guide book to Northwestern North Carolina published in 1878 pictured Salisbury as a "venerable mother sitting with her children comfortably settled around her." Located at a crossroads of westward and southward travel, it had enjoyed over a century of progress; as the county seat of Rowan County which had once contained all of Western North Carolina except that part occupied by the Cherokee Indians, it had been the mecca of lawyers and judges in that area. Judge Richard Henderson, Daniel Boone, and Andrew Jackson, each of whom played a vital part in speeding the growth of our nation, had spent their formative years there. Fine substantial homes, set back on lawns comprising as much as a city block in some cases, with beautifully planned gardens, faced upon streets colonnaded by splendid spreading elm trees. These homes bespoke a culture that had been generations building. As for industry, there were two newspapers, a bank, two iron foundries, a gas works, and several cotton mills.¹⁴²

Salisbury was still a crossroads city; the north-south railroad passed from Greensboro through Salisbury to Charlotte, and at Salisbury a line ran west to Statesville and had been completed to a point six miles from Morganton. Salisbury being a railroad junction, its people saw many soldiers passing through, and felt a responsibility for their welfare. During one month in the winter of 1864, more than 1,700 soldiers

* Dr. Ina W. Van Noppen is a Professor of History, Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone.

¹⁴² Fernando G. Curtland, *Southern Heroes* (Poughkeepsie, New York: Privately printed, 1897), 166, hereinafter cited as Curtland, *Southern Heroes*.

passed through the town, many of whom were disabled, others on furlough.¹⁴³

Salisbury was full of hospitals for the sick and wounded soldiers that were brought there by rail; Murphy's Hall, Barker's Factory, and Wayside Hospitals supplemented the post and general hospitals. As the need grew, fifteen buildings for hospital purposes were built in 1864, and in 1865 the churches were being taken over for use in caring for the ill and wounded.¹⁴⁴

To transfer disabled soldiers from trains to hospitals an ambulance corps was organized; members, consisting of older men and those not in active armed service, were organized in three shifts; and when the bell in the Presbyterian Church sounded a certain signal, the members of the shift on call were to hasten to the railway station with their conveyances to await an approaching troop train, the advance notice having been given to the station master by telegraph.¹⁴⁵

A Soldiers' Aid Society was organized in almost every community in Piedmont North Carolina. These organizations collected bandages and supplies of all kinds to be used in hospitals and to be distributed to soldiers at the front. The Rowan Society in Salisbury served as a clearing house for the work of women in the counties: Burke, Cabarrus, Caldwell, Catawba, Davidson, and Davie.

The Reverend A. W. Mangum wrote: "Salisbury, where I resided during much of the war, affords a specimen of every kind of war history, from a knitting society to a battle."¹⁴⁶

As late as April 10, 1865, the Soldiers' Aid Society and Ambulance Corps of Salisbury appealed to the people to send supplies in:

¹⁴³ *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), February 8, 1864, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman*. This reference is to the weekly issue; a daily issue was also published, the *Daily Carolina Watchman*.

¹⁴⁴ *Carolina Watchman*, February 8, 1864, through April 12, 1865. The hospitals were referred to in almost every issue during the war years. Copies of a number of the newspapers were examined through the courtesy of Miss Mary Henderson, Chapel Hill.

¹⁴⁵ The *Carolina Watchman* contained numerous references to these activities.

¹⁴⁶ A. W. Mangum to David L. Swain, July 11, 1866, David L. Swain Papers.

Let the ministers and members of the neighboring churches form assistant Societies, to collect and forward refreshments and bandages!

Let physicians lend their intelligence and zeal!

Let each and all do what they can and do it without delay. . . .

Send meal, flour, potatoes, butter, lard, eggs, chickens, hams, dried fruits, salads, milk, onions, pickles, sour kroust . . . anything that will nourish and strengthen and relieve. Any kind of wine, whisky or brandy, will be very acceptable. Bandages and soap, in large quantities, must be had. . . .¹⁴⁷

Every person who made a donation for the Army had the satisfaction of having his name and the amount of his contribution printed in the *Daily Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury).

In March, 1863, the Confederate Government decided to establish an ordnance work at Salisbury, and Major Addison Gorgas Brenizer was placed in command. It was designated as an arsenal of construction. At the close of the war 240 men were employed in the plant; they were also organized as a guard and could be called into active service if needed. Major Brenizer had difficulty in obtaining materials for the manufacture of arms. Advertisements appeared in newspapers of the region asking for scrap iron, old brass, copper, lead, and zinc. Old rope, bagging, waste cordage, and any kind of old hemp were in demand, to be mixed with raw cotton for the manufacture of cartridge paper. Poplar and black walnut lumber were purchased, the latter for gunstocks. All of the above were paid for in money or by jobbing work.¹⁴⁸

To supplement the work of the men at the arsenal, sixty women and girls were employed for making smaller cartridges; also, advertisements appeared regularly asking persons who had Negroes to hire as laborers at the Arsenal to contact Major Brenizer.¹⁴⁹

Salisbury was headquarters for the Commissary of Subsistence of the Fifth District of North Carolina, of which Major Abraham Myers was Chief Commissary. It was his duty to procure subsistence for troops, and he constantly

¹⁴⁷ *Carolina Watchman*, April 10, 1865.

¹⁴⁸ *Carolina Watchman*, March 4, June 29, October 6, 1863.

¹⁴⁹ *Carolina Watchman*, October 6, 1863.

urged the civilian population to send flour, meal, bacon, salt pork, and molasses, for which he agreed to pay market rates.¹⁵⁰ Persons possessing a surplus of these commodities were forbidden to sell them for speculative purposes, under a penalty of one hundred dollars, and for neglecting to pay the penalty ten days in the calaboose.¹⁵¹ A schedule of prices had been fixed by the Commissioners of Appraisement for the State of North Carolina, to cover every conceivable commodity, as well as for labor, teams, and wagons. These prices were paid by the Chief Commissary and by impressment agents.

It was the duty of J. S. McCubbins, Commissioner of Supplies for Soldiers' Families, to procure such supplies and distribute them. McCubbins offered to exchange cotton yarn and sheeting, grain and grass scythes, or specie, for corn, wheat, and flour.¹⁵² He had a regular schedule of days on which he met the soldiers' families in the different communities of his district once each month, to give them their allotments.¹⁵³

It was a matter of great regret to the people of Salisbury that the Confederate Government decided to locate a military prison in the town. The prison was described by a Federal Army Surgeon imprisoned there for three months in the summer of 1862.

It is quite a little village . . . on the site of an obsolete cotton factory which some deluded capitalist once tried to establish here. A high palisade fence encloses 15 or 20 acres, the large factory building, overseer's former residence, 3 little log houses, 3 small brick ditto, & a two story temporary wooden structure used as an hospital of which there is much need. Within, & about the centre of the large enclosure is a second containing an acre or two perhaps, 'a tumble down shanty or two: in which pen are confined citizens under various accusations affecting their loyalty. They are never allowed in the larger park & we cannot see them. Who they are, or how many we do not know; but their numbers are constantly being added to, & the officers we find here, tell us that dead ones are brought out almost daily. Poor

¹⁵⁰ *Carolina Watchman*, March 13, 1865.

¹⁵¹ *Carolina Watchman*, October 13, 1864.

¹⁵² *Carolina Watchman*, April 12, 1865.

¹⁵³ *Carolina Watchman*, January 28, 1865.

fellows; no hope of exchange to keep them alive. . . . Ridiculous guard lines, of course.¹⁵⁴

In the month of March, 1862, there were 1,427 prisoners, of whom 251 had been under medical treatment, and during that month only one had died. During that quarter of the year there had been 509 cases of sickness and three deaths.

When the cartel for the exchange of prisoners was agreed upon by commissioners of the two governments, all prisoners were exchanged after remaining at the prison only a short while, leaving Confederate convicts, political prisoners, and army deserters as permanent inmates.

Until the fall of 1864 the prison does not seem to have been a chamber of horrors. Citizens of Salisbury remembered hearing the singing of the prisoners, and sometimes they went out to the prison park to watch baseball games.¹⁵⁵

Dr. Grey complained of a scarcity of food, but he enjoyed a great deal of freedom, playing poker, "poker without money is much like watered milk," and a little drinking, "it is a mystery to me where the grog comes from," and "stories a little 'lushy.'" He enjoyed reading, when he could find books, but he remarked, "The 'Old North' [State] has never been noted for its literary tastes and it is said that several of the Commissioned officers of our Guards are unable to read or write," hence they had few books.¹⁵⁶

A Mrs. Johnston came to the gate frequently with something for the prisoners to eat. As she had a son in the Confederate service she was above suspicion.¹⁵⁷

As for the strength of the fence, Dr. Grey described it as flimsy and said:

We could easily carry this place so great is our number—without arms & without the loss of many lives; but to what end?

¹⁵⁴ Charles Carroll Gray Diary, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Charles Carroll Gray Diary.

¹⁵⁵ A. W. Mangum, "A History of the Salisbury, North Carolina, Confederate Prison," Mangum Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Mangum, "Prison." This is a typescript copied from an article in the *Daily Charlotte Observer*, May 28, June 4, 1893, which was published also in the *Publications of the Southern History Association*, III (Washington, D. C., 1899), 307-336.

¹⁵⁶ Charles Carroll Gray Diary.

¹⁵⁷ Charles Carroll Gray Diary.

We are so far from our lines & in a strange country; that we could not get away, & it would be a sacrifice, barren of result.¹⁵⁸

On July 4, 1862, the prisoners observed Independence Day. They marched in a parade to the grove "about a stone's throw, but what is 4th July without a procession?", listened to the reading of the Declaration of Independence by one prisoner, a prayer and Washington's Farewell Address by others, two original poems, and singing. The grove was one in which Cornwallis' army had camped when he was unable to pursue General Greene because of the swollen Yadkin. "Time brings about queer changes."

In the afternoon there were various sports such as sack and foot races, a wheelbarrow race, and a potential "pig race" which did not materialize because the "Cochin" borrowed for the occasion from the Confederates "would not run for Yankees."

The customary baseball match was played, a fine one on this occasion.¹⁵⁹ The Salisbury Prison is said to be the place where baseball was first played in North Carolina.¹⁶⁰ Dr. Grey said that a lot of money (theoretically) was staked on this particular match, and that he lost a set of Kingsley's novels. "The cheers given in the grove were of a sort never before heard in Salisbury, I opine."¹⁶¹

About the last of September in 1864 the Federal Government refused to observe the cartel for the exchange of prisoners. Part of the strategy being used was to reduce the number of soldiers available to the Confederacy, the Union having plenty of replacements for its captured ones. The number of prisoners at Salisbury increased to 5,000 and then to 10,000. It was necessary to increase the guard, and senior and junior reserves were utilized. There was a scarcity of tents, as only 200 were available. There were no tools, teams, lumber, nor guards to be employed in constructing cabins. It was difficult for Captain James M. Goodman, quartermaster of the

¹⁵⁸ Charles Carroll Gray Diary.

¹⁵⁹ Charles Carroll Gray Diary.

¹⁶⁰ Archibald Henderson, "Salisbury Prison Scene of Cruelty During War," *Salisbury Evening Post*, April 24, 1937, hereinafter cited as Henderson, "Salisbury Prison."

¹⁶¹ Charles Carroll Gray Diary.

prison, to obtain food for this great number of men. Fuel was needed to warm the prisoners, as winter was coming on. Goodman advertised: "Wood! Wood; I wish to purchase a large amount of wood."¹⁶² A train ran regularly on the Western North Carolina Railroad, and a detail of prisoners was sent to load and unload the fuel.

Thirteen thousand daily rations were needed. Mills for miles around were used for grinding meal, and supplies were impressed from the passing trains.¹⁶³

Robert L. Drummond, imprisoned at Salisbury in 1864, described conditions at that time:

When brought to the prison, each one hundred men were given a certain number of tents, which, by the closest crowding, would not accommodate more than half that number, the remainder had their choice: to remain out of doors or dig holes in the ground in which to stay. In company with four others of my regiment, . . . we went into the ground. . . . We built the tenement with a piece of broken case knife and the hands that nature had given us. . . .

We five boys would sit in the darkness and gloom through the long evenings and talk of every thing but home (a forbidden subject).

Being weak, they could not sit up long, and at a certain time I would put them to bed by causing the strongest of the four to lie next to the wall of our subterranean chamber, then pack the others on their sides in close order, then place our single piece of blanket over them. I constantly kicked my feet against the ground to keep them from freezing.¹⁶⁴

An especially bitter denunciation of the prison is found in the following description.

The guard was composed of boys from twelve to sixteen years of age, with a few men too old for field service. The prisoners complained mostly of these boys, who seemed very careless of human life, and often shot prisoners ten or fifteen feet from the dead-line!

. . . Reduced as they [the prisoners] were by starvation and exposure, they were sometimes overcome by the cold nights, and, in the morning, because motionless and helpless, were taken for

¹⁶² *Daily Carolina Watchman*, October 13, 1864.

¹⁶³ Mangum, "Prison."

¹⁶⁴ Quoted in Henderson, "Salisbury Prison."

dead. Their clothing was taken off, though sometimes the undergarments were left, any valuables about them were appropriated, and the body was put in the deadhouse, to be taken away when the dead-wagon should come for its load of corpses, which was every morning. . . . The custom of handling the bodies was rude in the extreme, and is another illustration of the demoralizing and brutalizing effects of the war system. As the dead-wagon was driven into the yard each morning, the driver called loudly: "Bring out your dead." Two men grasped each a hand and a foot of the supposed corpse, often swinging it to obtain united force, and then threw it, as we have seen dressed hogs thrown into a wagon . . . ; with a hook . . . the driver . . . would hook the body under the jaw and drag it into place in the wagon. The load was taken to a trench a quarter of a mile away on the hillside. Here a ditch had been dug, six to seven feet wide, and the emaciated bodies, with no tender hands, no casket, no winding sheet, were placed crosswise in the ditch side by side. Others were placed on top of these, and thus tier upon tier was formed until the ditch was nearly filled, and then they were rudely covered from the sight of men.

. . . The food . . . was usually Indian cornbread and soup. The meal was made of maize, ground with the cob and unsifted. The soup sometimes contained vegetables, and the beef, if any was issued, was of the poorest possible kind. On some occasions the prisoners were not given a particle of food for three or four days together. At other times one pint of this meal and two ounces of bacon (if there was any) per man were dispensed daily. The men had no means for cooking it. . . .¹⁶⁵

Men living under these conditions were willing to do almost anything to escape; among the prisoners were a number of foreign born, to whom deliverance was offered in the form of service in the Confederate Army. These recruits were commonly called "Galvanized Yankees."

Jefferson Davis later said that persistent and liberal efforts were made to secure the relief of the captives in Confederate prisons, even to sending General Robert E. Lee with a flag of truce to interview General Grant on the subject of the suffering and death of Federal prisoners held by the Confederacy, and to urge in the name of humanity the observance of the cartel. The appeal was turned down. Davis continued:

¹⁶⁵ Curtland, *Southern Heroes*, 166-174.

It appears from the reports of the United States War Department that though we had sixty thousand more Federal prisoners than they had of Confederates, six thousand more of Confederates died in northern prisons *than died of Federals in southern prison*.¹⁶⁶

Governor Zebulon B. Vance wrote in November, 1865, that he had been concerned about conditions at the Salisbury prison, and after getting the legislature to approve the sending of clothing to the prisoners, he had written to the Richmond authorities (to Judge Ould or the Secretary of War) and asked them to apply to the Washington Government to know whether the arrangements contemplated could be effected. He also wrote to General Bradley Johnson, in command of the prison at Salisbury, and offered him the clothing. General Johnson replied by sending the Governor an exhibit of the amount of clothing and provisions he was then receiving from the North for the prisoners and said that he believed he would need nothing but tents, which the State did not have to send. Almost immediately thereafter the prisoners were exchanged, which was the reason why no clothing was sent.¹⁶⁷

It seems not to have been generally known that in February, 1865, the prisoners, except those too weak or lame for transfer, were evacuated from the Salisbury prison. A letter written by Elbert Sherrill of Salisbury, February 22, 1865, described the removal.

. . . All the prisoners, white and black, left here to-day. All that were able had to march on foot. There was a string of Yankee prisoners and negroes about 2½ or 3 miles long. They were very cheerful and glad to leave and I think about five hundred [Confederates] went with them. . . . I feel . . . if old Sherman ever gets to Salisbury I would not wonder at his destroying everything in the place because of wickedness, for I do think it is a very wicked place indeed. I see so much of it daily, both men and women are very corrupt indeed. I mean, generally speaking, there are some . . . nice people here, but they are few in number.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ *Landmark* (Statesville), February 15, 1876.

¹⁶⁷ Zebulon B. Vance to Cornelia Phillips Spencer, November 1, 1865, Cornelia Phillips Spencer Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Spencer Papers.

¹⁶⁸ Quoted from Lewis A. Brown, "Prisoners Evacuated from Salisbury Just Before Stoneman Terror Came," *Salisbury Evening Post*, May 23, 1948.

About 500 prisoners, later confined in the prison, were moved to Charlotte just before Stoneman reached Salisbury. One objective of Stoneman was not realized: he did not liberate the prisoners at Salisbury.

In the Salisbury National Cemetery which is on the site where many of those who died in the prison were buried, one may read on metal plaques the following testimony that the hardship, suffering, bitterness, and acrimony of the war are buried with the dead:

On fame's eternal camping ground,
 Their silent tents are spread;
 And guards with solemn round,
 The bivouac of the dead.
 No more shall war cry sever,
 Or the winding river be red;
 They banish our anger forever
 When they laurel the graves of our dead.
 Under the sod and the dew,
 Awaiting the judgment day;
 Under the violets the Blue,
 Under the lilacs the Gray.

Salisbury was in a state of near-panic in late February of 1865. Sherman was expected to move from Columbia to Charlotte and Salisbury. Refugees from Columbia had scattered, many finding havens in Charlotte, others in Lincolnton and Salisbury, filling to capacity the unoccupied rooms in the homes until, "I have my house full of company," was a frequent complaint. One lady said: "I have nearly exhausted all I have to eat—my eggs but few left—and very little flour—I feel worn out. . . . My house is a perfect hotel . . . having but one room now as a parlor. . . ." ¹⁶⁹

When orders came to move all government property from Charlotte and Salisbury, many of the visitors moved on. Citizens began burying things that they wished to save.¹⁷⁰ One joke was enjoyed at the expense of a Mrs. Meroney. By burying her sugar and salt she lost it all—the rains reached it.

¹⁶⁹ Mrs. T. G. Haughton to Mrs. A. Henderson, April (?), 1865, letter in possession of Miss Mary Henderson.

¹⁷⁰ A. W. Mangum to Lucy Mangum, February 24, 1865, Mangum Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Mangum Papers.

Mrs. John Summerell had a slave make a deep trench, in which to plant grape vine cuttings which she had rooted. Returning to the house, she came back with an apron full of decrepit old shoes, which, she told the Negro, would make the cuttings grow better. She put the shoes at the bottom of the trench, then placed the cuttings, and had the slave fill in the trench. Hidden in the shoes was the family silver. Her husband, Dr. Summerell, gave his watch to old Mrs. Kress at the County Poorhouse, to keep for him. She was told to attach it to the inside of the waistband of her full dress-skirt. No one ever dreamed that Mrs. Kress had anything of value.¹⁷¹

General P. G. T. Beauregard, commander of the Confederate forces in North and South Carolina, had been replaced by General Joseph E. Johnston on February 22, 1865. Beauregard was to serve under Johnston to assist in concentrating all available forces and driving Sherman back. On February 23, in Charlotte, Beauregard issued an appeal to the citizens to come to the defense of their region.

To delay the advance of the enemy, until our troops can be massed in strength sufficient to crush them, I appeal to all good and patriotic citizens in the region of country threatened by the enemy to turn out in full force all available labor, with axes, spades, and mattocks, to destroy and obstruct roads leading toward Charlotte from the south, commencing first along the roads leading to Landsford, and other crossings between that point and the railroad bridge. . . . As far as possible the negroes will be employed at points not distant from their homes. They will be protected by guards, and assisted by the Home Guards of the State. . . .¹⁷²

This appeal was endorsed by Governor Vance, who urged North Carolinians to comply. Three days passed, and still General Sherman's intentions were not clear. General Beauregard knew that the Union forces were at Rocky Mount and Peay's Ferry on the Catawba, and it could not be determined whether they would advance upon Fayetteville or on Char-

¹⁷¹ Hope Summerell Chamberlain, *This Was Home* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1938), 116.

¹⁷² Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 2 volumes, 1884), II, 646, hereinafter cited as Roman, *General Beauregard*.

lotte. He directed General William J. Hardee at Cheraw to have his engineers repair the roads and bridges on the route from Fayetteville to Salisbury, including, especially, a new bridge across Rocky River, so that supplies might be sent in either direction to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. He directed General Bradley Johnson at Salisbury to be prepared to move everything valuable at a moment's notice.¹⁷³ Movement of supplies by rail at this time required much loading and unloading, since there was no standard gauge for the rails.

Sherman entered Fayetteville on March 11; his advance was contested by General Johnston. Salisbury breathed a sigh of relief. It was to be spared. Johnston's chief engagement with Sherman was a costly battle at Bentonville on March 20; after this Johnston camped at Raleigh and Sherman at Goldsboro.

Governor Vance began transferring the State records and military stores which he had accumulated in Raleigh, sending them to Graham, Greensboro, and Salisbury. The stockade of the prison was then used as a storehouse for Confederate supplies.

Meanwhile the Piedmont was suffering from very heavy rains. The Reverend A. W. Mangum, in Salisbury, wrote to his sister on March 20:

The mud here has been enormous. It together with the clouds and rains is enough to make anyone sigh for a quiet country home where he can get out of view of this sea of mud and water. Besides our excitement has been almost perpetual. The news comes in constantly—rumor after rumor—from various directions.¹⁷⁴

The troops that had made up John B. Hood's army in Tennessee had, after their defeat at Nashville, been assigned to Lieutenant General Richard Taylor, and then at the end of January they were directed to South Carolina to obstruct Sherman's march through that State, but they did not arrive in time. In March they were making their way into North

¹⁷³ Roman, *General Beauregard*, 658.

¹⁷⁴ A. W. Mangum to Lucy Mangum, February 24, 1865, Mangum Papers.

Carolina to combine with Johnston's troops. Cheatham's Corps passed through Salisbury in March, and Featherstone, of S. D. Lee's command, arrived there on April 1.

On March 30 Beauregard received a wire from General Joseph E. Johnston, saying that General Robert E. Lee expected movements from Thomas in Tennessee, and asking Beauregard to assume command of Western Virginia and Tennessee. Beauregard declined to leave his post as second in command to Johnston. A few days later General R. E. Lee directed Beauregard to assume command of all troops from Western Virginia and Western North Carolina within his reach, and he assumed this responsibility.¹⁷⁵ In an effort to utilize his troops to the best advantage, Beauregard did a great deal of traveling by rail. He was in Salisbury on April 1 when Featherstone arrived. Two days earlier a man named Macrae had arrived from Lenoir reporting a raid by a party of about 4,000 men, he supposed to be Stoneman's command.¹⁷⁶ Featherstone had two brigades in Salisbury and expected a cavalry brigade the following day. Beauregard directed him to fortify the bridge across the Yadkin about eight miles from Salisbury, and to hold it.¹⁷⁷

New reports began to pour in to General Beauregard that Stoneman was moving on Greensboro or Danville, and he ordered Featherstone's troops to the former town, planning to send others to Danville if they appeared to be needed.

A young lady in Salisbury on April 3 wrote:

. . . there is very little to tell you except that the people are looking for Stoneman to come here; his object seems to be to burn the bridge as the latest news was that he was going in that direction, they are now fortifying it. . . I have just heard that the Yankees were only thirteen miles from Mr. Harston's yesterday. [The Hairston plantation is in Davie County.] I suppose there is some truth in it for they have taken all the troops from here over the river—I don't know what they mean leaving Salisbury so unprotected but I suppose Generals know best. General Beauregard was here yesterday so I guess it was his orders. . . .¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Roman, *General Beauregard*, 382, 385.

¹⁷⁶ Roman, *General Beauregard*, 658.

¹⁷⁷ Roman, *General Beauregard*, 659.

¹⁷⁸ Mollie Cochran to John S. Henderson, April 3, 1865, Miss Cochran was a house guest of Mrs. Archibald Henderson, II, and wrote the letter to her cousin John who was in the Confederate Army.

By the time Stoneman's work in Virginia was finished, attention had been completely diverted from Salisbury. On April 9, Jefferson Davis, then in Danville, asked General Beauregard to "make the greatest possible despatch" in coming to Danville, as he was certain that Thomas's army was coming against that place at a very early period. Beauregard was on the point of going when he learned that General Lee had surrendered and that President Davis was on his way to Greensboro.

The *Daily Carolina Watchman*, dated April 12 but obviously published a day earlier, reviewed the various rumors that had come to the towns:

Rumors were very abundant and extravagant yesterday morning on our streets. They produced a rather feverish state of the public mind throughout the day. We were gratified to learn from what seemed to be a reliable source, that there were no raiders in the mountains in sufficient force to justify much alarm from that direction. It is now said that the force seen at the Blue Ridge consists of deserters and tories about 400 in number [Kirk's Regiment], not negroes, two regiments strong. That they are fortifying the Ridge, and evidently mean to assume a permanent position, from whence they may send out marauding parties into the country below.

There was also a rumor that Stoneman and his men were at Salem, or near there, on Monday, and not on the Yadkin in the more western counties. Indeed, we hear of Stoneman at several different points, making him rather ubiquitous for an ordinary being. Doubtless, he is hovering some where not very distant North of the Railroad between this point and Danville, seeking an opportunity to cut it.

But the most extravagant of all the many rumors was that Gen. Lee and his staff had been captured.

P. S. Since the above was put in type, a train from the head of the Western road arrived and brought a news report of the approach of raiders. We wish those about the head of the road would send us authentic news.

Also, we have a report that Stoneman has cut the N. C. Railroad at High Point. The telegraph is working no farther than Lexington, and the mail train due here at 2 o'clock has not yet arrived. Gen. Ferguson's Brigade of Cavalry passed through this place Monday morning, and must have camped near Lexington, Monday night. It is very likely that they will encounter Stoneman's party. . . .

At 4½ o'clock P.M., yesterday, a courier arrived here from Huntsville, in Yadkin County, to bring news of a small force of Yankees entering that place yesterday morning at 6 o'clock.¹⁷⁹

At noon on April 12 news reached General Beauregard's headquarters in Greensboro, that the "mail-rider" was captured by the enemy at or near Shallow Ford, and then released. He reported that Stoneman's main body had camped near Shallow Ford that night, on the west bank of the Yadkin. General Bradley Johnson, who had been sent with the troops from Salisbury to defend Greensboro against the anticipated attack, was ordered to return to the former place immediately, but his progress was delayed by the breaks in the railroad. Hence, when Stoneman reached Salisbury, it was practically undefended.

General Stoneman's official report briefly described the encounter two and half miles from Salisbury behind Grant's Creek on April 12. He said he ordered a general charge along the entire line, the result being the capture of fourteen pieces of artillery, and 1,364 prisoners, including 53 officers; the remainder of the force, being scattered, managed to escape to the woods.¹⁸⁰

General Alvan Gillem's account is much more detailed. With Colonel John K. Miller's Brigade in advance, the command came to the South Yadkin, a deep and rapid stream with but few fords. A few Confederates guarded on the north side of the stream but they offered no resistance to the invading horde. One fourth mile south of the stream the road forked, an old road and a new one both leading to Salisbury. The main column stuck to the western or new road, while one battalion of Kentucky cavalry was sent to create a diversion at Grant's Creek, which both roads crossed, two miles from Salisbury. The advance guard reached the creek just at day-break. Artillery and infantry on the Salisbury side of the bridge fired upon the invaders as they approached. The guard had removed the flooring from two spans of the bridge and piled the boards on the south side. The Union troops could

¹⁷⁹ *Daily Carolina Watchman*, April 12, 1865.

¹⁸⁰ *Official Records*, Series I, XLIX, Part I, 324.

hear trains leaving Salisbury on both the road to Charlotte and the one to Morganton.

General Stoneman divided his forces, sending 100 men of the Eleventh Kentucky to ford Grant's Creek two miles and a half above the bridge, cut the railroad, and capture a train if possible, after which they were to get in the rear of Salisbury to annoy the enemy. The Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry was to furnish 100 men to cross the stream still lower, and Lieutenant Colonel Smith with a party of dismounted men crossed even further down. Detachments of the Eighth and Thirteenth Cavalry relaid the floor of the bridge, and Colonel Miller charged across, followed by Brigadier General Simeon B. Brown. The forces on the Confederate side retreated; as the Union forces pursued, the Confederates scattered, and many concealed themselves in the forest. Miller's Brigade was sent to destroy the railroad eastward, and Major Hambright, provost-marshal, and Major Barnes of Gillem's staff, secured the prisoners and made a careful check of the location and quantity of stores in the town.¹⁸¹

A resident wrote: "His [Stoneman's] men, seven thousand strong, were riding into Salisbury by every dirt road that stemmed from the Blue Ridge Mountains, to attack General Beauregard's troops quartered in the town."¹⁸² This statement illustrates the complete bewilderment of residents of Salisbury; they thought the troops were coming from the Blue Ridge. Civilians in other areas were equally mystified when the raiders appeared among them.

Another resident wrote the following account of the battle which started at Grant's Creek:

As to the fight two miles and a half from Salisbury—'tis all A *myth*. The *highest* estimate of our troops is eight hundred—some reckon the number 200 fewer—! 'Twas a motley crowd—a hundred or more Virginians who happened to be here en route for some other point—several companies of foreigners or galvanized Yankees—who had sworn out of prison—a few companies of Lenoir reserves—some Home Guards—citizens etc—

¹⁸¹ *Official Records*, Series I, XLIX, Part I, 333-334.

¹⁸² Harriet Ellis Bradshaw, "General Stoneman's Raid on Salisbury, North Carolina: A Reminiscence of April 12, 1865," Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Bradshaw, "Stoneman's Raid."

Batteries were posted on various roads—and these troops scattered about so as to man these batteries—no where more than a hundred and fifty at a point. But little resistance was made—for it was so clearly of no avail—the town was “captured” by the Yankees riding into the public square with drawn swords in their hands and oaths in their mouths. Every one here falls into a giggle over the battle with the three thousand and the hosts of prisoners—a good many were taken—artisans in the government shops—some few prominent citizens—negroes etc—most of these came straggling back in a few days—some few were taken to Knoxville—or as far as Camp Chase only rule seemingly the humor of the officers who happened to have command of the various squads.¹⁸³

The “galvanized Irish” troops were of small help to the Confederate defenders of Salisbury. Wrote Weand: “One of the rebel batteries was manned by ‘galvanized Yanks’. . . . As they were charged by our men their cannon was fired over the heads of the charging party, who, as they came nearer, were greeted with cheers for the old flag.”¹⁸⁴

Dr. Beall pointed out that a few of the “galvanized troops” fought well but that when the majority of them went over to the Federals at the beginning of the battle the artillery was left without support and the weakness of the Confederacy was revealed.¹⁸⁵

Major Avery, whose battalion had been guarding the mountain passes, had come to Salisbury to have men join him in a night attack against Kirk at Blowing Rock. At Salisbury he learned that most of the troops had been sent to defend Greensboro, and that General Gardner was preparing to defend Salisbury against an attack by Stoneman, who arrived while Avery was there. The result was that Major Avery was among those captured in Salisbury and taken as a prisoner to Tennessee.

The command remained in Salisbury until 3:00 P.M. on April 13. These two days must have seemed an eternity to residents of Salisbury, although Stoneman's moderation in

¹⁸³ E. H. M. Summerell to Cornelia Phillips Spencer, September 4, 1866, David L. Swain Papers. Mrs. Summerell was a daughter of Elisha Mitchell, wife of Dr. John Summerell, and mother of Hope Summerell Chamberlain (see note 171 above).

¹⁸⁴ Weand, “Our Last Campaign,” 504.

¹⁸⁵ Beall, “Narrative.”

treatment of civilians evoked surprise and respect from southerners who had expected worse treatment, basing their fears on depredations of bushwhackers who called themselves soldiers and on newspaper accounts of Sherman's march through Georgia. Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer said that this was an example of gentlemanly conduct of a raid.¹⁸⁶ A resident of Salisbury wrote in September, 1865: "Salisbury people will always hold Stoneman in grateful remembrance for the strict control exercised over his troops. —Again and again he stated that no private property should be plundered —and his officers seconded him—whether willingly or not."¹⁸⁷

Before public stores were destroyed General Stoneman inspected them. Yet great anguish was experienced by the people when Salisbury was occupied by Federal troops, so different was their experience from that of Salem when occupied by Colonel Palmer. Troops camped in fields and on large lawns in and near the town. Archibald Henderson, II, an influential planter and statesman, was ill, and Mrs. Henderson succeeded in preventing the entrance of the first soldiers who threatened her home. Walking out on the piazza with a pistol in her hand, she threatened, "If you put one foot forward I will shoot you." The men retreated. A large number camped near the house, and Mrs. Henderson knew that eventually some would force their way into the house. With the help of her small son, Richard, she took all of the family silver to the garret, where in one place there was a space between the outside and inside walls. The mother and son ripped off enough boards from the inner wall for the child to slide through, and as she handed him the treasures the child deposited them on the rafters. Then the boards were replaced and the silver was not discovered, although the house was eventually ransacked.¹⁸⁸

Stoneman granted guards to many local families to protect them from the ravages of camp followers and privates who

¹⁸⁶ Cornelia Phillips Spencer, *The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina*, (New York: Watchman Publishing Company, 1866), 202, hereinafter cited as Spencer, *Last Ninety Days*.

¹⁸⁷ E. H. M. Summerell to Cornelia Phillips Spencer, September (?), 1865.

¹⁸⁸ Mrs. Lyman Cotten, Miss Mary Henderson, and Dr. Archibald Henderson all of Chapel Hill, children of Archibald Henderson, II, played in that attic as children and still have in their homes much of the silver that was saved from Stoneman's raiders.

as individuals or in small groups, preyed upon the citizenry. As most of the able-bodied men hid in the woods to escape capture, it was necessary for the women to walk to General Stoneman's headquarters to ask for guards. One example is the niece of the late Governor John W. Ellis, Mrs. Bradshaw. In her home the troops found a keg of corn whiskey and the thirsty men filled their canteens, one lieutenant filling his two times. As the men abandoned the home after emptying the keg, Mrs. Bradshaw sat down on the piazza on a pile of flour-filled sacks, which, with bags of cornmeal, barrels of turnips and of sweet potatoes and sides of home-cured bacon, had been hauled up the night before from the family plantation. These provisions were probably intended for use by the Commissary Department.

The Bradshaws had twin slaves, Victoria and Albert, aged twelve years. After the troops had ridden away Victoria came into the house crying. Albert had forsaken Victoria to ride away on the lead mule of the Bradshaw team which the raiders had "pressed" from the family. She never saw her twin again.¹⁸⁹

The train that was captured by the Eleventh Kentucky was burned on the edge of town, after the passengers had been removed. Mrs. Leonidas Polk, widow of the late Confederate general, and his daughters, were on board the train. The soldiers burned all of the contents of their trunks until they found General Polk's sword, which they kept possession of, after which the few remaining articles were saved.¹⁹⁰

One of the Irish prisoners fighting in the Confederate Army was shot in the lung but continued to reload and fire while he retreated, till he fell on Mrs. M. E. Ramsey's piazza. She hastened to him in spite of the balls that were whistling around her, and managed to get him into the house. All day Mrs. Ramsey nursed and stimulated the Irishman and at night she was able to have him removed to a hospital. His wound was believed to be mortal, but he returned to thank her for her kindness.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Bradshaw, "Stoneman's Raid."

¹⁹⁰ Mrs. Ellen Summerell (the same person as E. H. M. Summerell) to Cornelia Phillips Spencer, April 19, 1866, typed copy in the Spencer Papers, from the original in the State Department of Archives and History.

¹⁹¹ Beall, "Narrative,"

All of the government's shops, the foundry, steam distillery, arsenal, ordnance stores, and the prison were burned.¹⁹² All the railroad buildings of the Central and Western roads were destroyed. They comprised a large office building, an expensive passenger shed, a car shed, two freight depots, and a large machine shop. An extensive private tannery caught fire from the burning buildings and was consumed.¹⁹³ To spectators for miles around it seemed as though a terrible battle was being fought, as the exploding shells and magazines rent the air. All night on April 12 the sky was illuminated by the fires, and by 2:00 P.M. the next afternoon the destruction of rebel supplies was declared to be complete. General Gillem's report listed the destruction of the following stores: 10,000 stand of arms; 1,000,000 rounds of small ammunition; 10,000 pounds of artillery ammunition; 6,000 pounds of powder; 3 magazines; 6 depots; 10,000 bushels of corn; 75,000 suits of uniform clothing; 250,000 blankets (English manufacture); 20,000 pounds of leather; 6,000 pounds of bacon; 100,000 pounds of salt; 20,000 pounds of sugar; 27,000 pounds of rice; 10,000 pounds of salt peter; 50,000 bushels of wheat; 80 barrels of turpentine; \$15,000,000 Confederate money; a lot of medical stores, which the medical director said was worth \$100,000 in gold.¹⁹⁴

Colonel William J. Palmer wrote:

We burned down the infamous Salisbury prison as we came along that way. It is only necessary to see one of these prison lots to know that the suffering inflicted has been intentional. Why leave thousands of men without a plank to shelter them from the sun or storm, compelling them to burrow in the ground and live like muskrats, when there is a primeval forest adjoining Salisbury, from which a small daily detail of these prisoners could fit up substantial shelter in a week? You can see murder on the face of it.¹⁹⁵

A detachment was sent to destroy the railroad bridge over the Yadkin which General Beauregard had ordered fortified

¹⁹² *Official Records*, Series I, XLIX, Part I, 334.

¹⁹³ Beall, "Narrative."

¹⁹⁴ *Official Records*, Series I, XLIX, Part I, 334.

¹⁹⁵ Palmer to Jackson, Kirk, *Fifteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry*.

on April 1. Estimates of the number of men that guarded the bridge on April 12 vary, but they had entrenched the Davidson County side on high bluffs overlooking the trestle, and when the raiders approached, the Confederates cut loose their guns, and these plus rifle fire prevented the capture of the bridge.¹⁹⁶ The skirmishing kept up from two o'clock until nightfall.¹⁹⁷ A gentleman who went to ask an officer for a guard for his home heard another officer who dashed up say that they must have reinforcements at the bridge. Cannon captured in Salisbury were brought out to be used against the Confederate batteries, and heavy cannonading took place until the raiders gave up and returned to Salisbury. A memoir recounts:

Stoneman's pursuing cavalry was coming back to Salisbury after a battle lost. But no wild cheers, no war whoops of victory marked their return to town. General Beauregard's defenders had saved the Yadkin bridge.¹⁹⁸

Theories as to why the Union cavalry did not fight it out at the bridge are several: two are that Stoneman's orders were to avoid battles, and that they heard that Confederate troops were on the way from Greensboro.

A small party of Confederate soldiers who were on parole awaiting exchange happened to be in Salisbury just after the burning of the stores. One of them wrote:

Approaching Salisbury we meet many country people bearing off the remnants of half ruined articles, such as machinery, half burnt cotton, wool, etc. Stoneman appears to have destroyed immensely in the town, and the ruins are still smoking. And people in crowds are around the destroyed works, trying to save things from the smouldering wreck. The streets are very quiet and there are a few straggling soldiers to be seen here and there. Officers, too, there are, who appear not to know where to go or what to do.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Bradshaw, "Stoneman's Raid."

¹⁹⁷ Beall, "Narrative."

¹⁹⁸ Bradshaw, "Stoneman's Raid."

¹⁹⁹ Joseph T. Durkin (ed.), *John Dooley, Confederate Soldier, His War Journal* (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 1945), 192.

[To be concluded]

EUGENE CLYDE BROOKS AND NEGRO EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1919-1923

BY WILLARD B. GATEWOOD, JR*

On January 1, 1919, Eugene Clyde Brooks succeeded his old friend, James Y. Joyner, as State Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina. During the previous twenty years, Brooks had occupied almost every rung in the educational ladder. He had been a teacher, principal, city superintendent, clerk in the State Department of Public Instruction a director of Governor Charles B. Aycock's educational campaign, and editor of *North Carolina Education*. At the time of his elevation to the State Superintendency, he was Professor of Education at Trinity College, where his teacher-training program and pioneer extension courses for teachers in service had attracted widespread attention throughout the State and the South.¹

During his tenure as State Superintendent between 1919 and 1923, Brooks implemented a full-scale reorganization of the public schools. Basic to most of the changes was his success in gaining greater financial support for education. His central aim as head of the North Carolina schools was "to build a state system of public education with the county as the unit of administration." Therefore, under his direction the State assumed more direct control of the public schools. Brooks was never hesitant in utilizing his power over the distribution of educational funds in order to force local schools into line with legal requirements. Through the use of the financial lever, he wrought a veritable revolution in the qualification of teachers and in the character of local school administration. He established a comprehensive certification program and State salary schedule; implemented the 1918 constitutional amendment for a six months school term;

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

¹ Eugene Clyde Brooks, "Eugene Clyde Brooks: An Autobiographical Sketch" (typewritten), D. H. Hill Library, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Brooks, "Autobiographical Sketch."

launched a \$10,000,000 school building program; streamlined the organization of the Department of Public Instruction; encouraged the consolidation of small, local school districts into larger units; and re-codified the State school laws. That Brooks accomplished so much in four and a half years testified to his "educational statesmanship," his ability to work with the legislature, and his diverse talents in human relations.²

The education of North Carolina Negroes was one of the most complex tasks that confronted State Superintendent Brooks in 1919. His previous attitudes and actions indicated what approach he, a State official, would take. Born and reared in the Black Belt of eastern North Carolina, he had come into close association with Negroes during his early life. His training at home and his classes at Trinity College under such instructors as Edwin Mims, John Spencer Bassett, and Stephen B. Weeks had instilled in him a healthy respect for the fundamental rights of all human beings. These early influences seem to have affected, rather significantly, his later attitudes toward the negro race.³

As superintendent of the city schools in Monroe and Goldsboro, Brooks attempted, as much as possible under the circumstances, to equalize the educational opportunities of white and negro children.⁴ Then, after joining the Trinity College faculty in 1907, he expressed through various channels his interest in the Negro. He headed a committee of the Trinity College Historical Society "to study the Negro in Durham." The purpose of this inquiry was to discover the causes for the "remarkable success" of Negroes in that south-

² Brooks, "Autobiographical Sketch"; *State School Facts* (July, 1949), 1.

³ Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," Eugene Clyde Brooks Papers in the possession of Mr. B. L. Smith, Greensboro, hereinafter cited as Brooks Papers, Greensboro. See also Brooks, "Stephen B. Weeks," *North Carolina Education*, XII (June, 1918), 12; Grade Book, 1893-1906, Central Records Office, Duke University, Durham; Edwin Mims to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., April 26, 1956.

⁴ See *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina to Governor Robert B. Glenn for the Scholastic Years 1904-1905 and 1905-1906* (Raleigh, 1907), and the *Biennial Report for 1906-1907 and 1907-1908*. These reports are variously entitled for the years cited, however they will hereinafter be cited as *Biennial Report* followed by the year of reference.

ern town.⁵ In 1909, Brooks stoutly defended Superintendent Charles L. Coon of Wilson, when Coon's public denial that negro education was a burden to white taxpayers aroused the ire of the press. Brooks complimented the Wilson school board for "rising above the hysterics of the crowd" by supporting its superintendent.⁶ In 1918 Brooks delivered a series of lectures to the Trinity College Young Men's Christian Association on the "Negro problem in the South." He emphasized the need for a change in the white man's attitude toward the Negro—a change from "contempt to an attitude of interest and service." According to his view, better housing facilities and educational advantages were the most pressing needs of the Negro. The time was at hand, he concluded, when the Negro would no longer be willing to "serve as an ox," and education of the race was now imperative.⁷ Further evidence of Brooks's sympathetic interest in the Negro was his activity in the Southern Sociological Congress which undertook to solve "the race question in a spirit of helpfulness to the negro and of equal justice to both races."⁸

Although Brooks showed concern for the negro's welfare, he was by no means prepared at this time to remove segregation barriers. While he adhered to the doctrine of "separate but equal" schools, he was probably as much concerned with the "equal" as with the "separate" aspects. He understood thoroughly the various ramifications of the "problem" of negro education in North Carolina and realized that as State Superintendent he must move cautiously in order to accomplish his aims.⁹ In seeking legislative support for the schools, he insisted that native North Carolinians, fully acquainted with the racial situation, should supervise and direct negro ed-

⁵ *Trinity Chronicle* (Trinity College newspaper), March 23, (1911,) hereinafter cited as *Trinity Chronicle*; Minutes of the Trinity College Historical Society, 1911, Duke University Library.

⁶ Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., "Eugene Clyde Brooks: Educational Journalist in North Carolina, 1906-1923," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVI (July, 1959), 319.

⁷ *Trinity Chronicle*, March 13, April 10, 17, 1918.

⁸ *The Call of the New South: Addresses Delivered at the Southern Sociological Congress* (Nashville, Tennessee: 1912), 7-9; W. W. Kitchin to Brooks, April 8, 1912; Locke Craig to Brooks, April 5, 1913; T. W. Bickett to Brooks, July 19, 1917, Eugene Clyde Brooks Papers, Duke University Library, hereinafter cited as Brooks Papers, Duke.

⁹ Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

ucation in the State. This, he argued, could be accomplished only through greater State support of negro schools; otherwise Negroes would continue to look for direction from "foreign" agents of philanthropic boards who did not always understand local conditions. Brooks publicly declared that the tendency had been for "negroes to look to forces outside the state for guidance rather than to the state itself. The effect of this could not be wholesome. . . . If any group of people depend upon foreign agencies for guidance, it will lose its allegiance to the state itself." Nevertheless, Brooks continued to seek financial aid from the philanthropic boards; indeed, his program for Negro education could hardly have succeeded without it. But he always attempted to gain for the Department of Public Instruction a greater voice in the use of such funds.¹⁰

In 1919 Brooks was fully aware that the improvement of negro schools would require the full utilization of all resources at his command. The progress of such schools had been exceedingly slow between 1902 and 1919. However, his predecessor had labored under peculiarly unfavorable political circumstances. At the end of Joyner's administration, according to one writer, "the Negroes had school houses not much improved over those in 1902; their rural school terms were usually no longer than the minimum requirement; and their school equipment remained crude, meager, and inadequate." Nor was there a single standard negro high school or farm-life school in the State in 1919. A major source of encouragement for negro education continued to come from such agencies as the Slater Fund, the General Education Board, the Jeanes Foundation, and the Rosenwald Fund.¹¹

In addition to the backwardness of negro education, circumstances produced by the First World War further complicated Brooks's task. He entered office shortly after the

¹⁰ *Biennial Report, 1920-1922*, 34.

¹¹ Albert Tripp, "James Y. Joyner's Contribution to Education in North Carolina as State Superintendent of Public Instruction," (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1939), 168. See also Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal; Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915* (Chapel Hill, 1958), 103-134, hereinafter cited as Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*; Ullin W. Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education* (Nashville, Tennessee: 1930), 119-149.

signing of the Armistice; Negroes soon began to return home from military service, where they had tasted equality and associated with members of their own race who had had superior educational advantages. Obviously, such Negroes upon their return were not complacent about their inferior educational facilities in North Carolina. Moreover, the post-war scene was clouded by such extremist movements as the Ku Klux Klan and Garveyism. Racial tension ran high; riots and other forms of violence exploded in various parts of the country.¹² Brooks believed that if such developments occurred in North Carolina, the implementation of a progressive program of negro education would be delayed and possibly permanently impaired. Therefore, he made every attempt to allay racial friction in the State. Of course, he was by no means alone in his efforts. To Nathan C. Newbold, who had been State Agent for Rural Negro Schools since 1913, belonged a large share of the credit for establishing a more comprehensive school program for Negroes.¹³ President William Louis Poteat of Wake Forest College, Chairman of the State Interracial Committee, and Professor Howard W. Odum and his associates at the University of North Carolina also labored tirelessly in behalf of better race relations.¹⁴

Brooks, fully cognizant of the pressing need for better negro schools, was convinced that the matter could not be left to local officials. They had already demonstrated their inability or unwillingness to grapple with it. Some other agency, preferably the State, must furnish the stimulus necessary for

¹² Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in the United States: A Brief History* (Princeton, New Jersey: 1957), 69-77; W. J. Cash, *Mind of the South* (New York, 1954), 312-315, hereinafter cited as Cash, *Mind of the South*; Monroe N. Work (ed.), *The Negro Year Book, 1921-1922* (Tuskegee, Alabama: 1922), 73-84.

¹³ See Samuel L. Smith, *Builders of Goodwill: The Story of the State Agents of Negro Education in the South, 1910-1950* (Nashville, Tennessee: 1950), 12-13, 53-62.

¹⁴ See Paul Benjamin, "The North Carolina Plan," *The Survey*, XLVIII (September 15, 1922), 705-707; Cash, *Mind of the South*, 326-327; C. Chilton Pearson, "Race Relations in North Carolina: A Field Study of Moderate Opinion," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXIII (January, 1924), 1-9; William H. Richardson, "No More Lynchings: How North Carolina Has Solved the Problem," *American Review of Reviews*, LXIX (April, 1924), 401-404; *The North Carolina Club Yearbook, 1919-1920* (Chapel Hill, 1921), 83-95. See also Howard W. Odum (ed.), *Journal of Social Forces* which was first published in 1922. Brooks was a contributing editor for several years.

building a reputable system of public schools for Negroes. Brooks's broad and tactful approach to the task was largely responsible for providing that initial stimulus. In discussing the matter with Julius Rosenwald, the philanthropist, Brooks insisted that as long as the Negro "was expected to be helpless, he will be helpless." Only through co-operation and assistance from the white man would Negroes in the South be stimulated to assume the responsibility for "re-making their own race."¹⁵ Brooks recognized too that changes in the attitudes of whites and Negroes toward each other were basic to the achievement of this goal. He believed that the starting point should be in bi-racial efforts to foster negro education. The time had come, he concluded, for white men "to talk to negroes and not about them."¹⁶

Within a month after becoming State Superintendent, Brooks gave practical application to this principle by arranging meetings between staff members of his Department and negro leaders. He discussed his plans for negro education at a gathering of Negroes in Winston-Salem in February, 1919. In April, he again explained his program at a meeting with the Jeanes industrial teachers. These conferences apparently assured the Negroes of his sincere desire to improve their educational advantages. Moreover, his words were followed by immediate action. The Legislature of 1919 passed his amendments to the school laws which made "possible the establishment of county high schools for negroes."¹⁷ These schools were essential, in Brooks's opinion, in order to qualify Negroes for college and especially for positions as elementary teachers. Writing in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* in 1919, Brooks insisted that county high schools were necessary to provide "teachers and leaders of the colored race; otherwise they will be trained elsewhere and by other people, who may

¹⁵ Brooks to Julius Rosenwald, December 30, 1921, Correspondence of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Public Instruction Correspondence.

¹⁶ Brooks to C. C. Spaulding, September 11, 1920, Public Instruction Correspondence.

¹⁷ Brooks to Wallace Buttrick, March 5, 1919; Brooks to S. G. Atkins, February 18, 1919, Public Instruction Correspondence; *North Carolina Education*, XVIII (May, 1919), 5.

not understand what is essential to the harmony and well-being of the two races."¹⁸

The meetings that Brooks held with Negroes early in 1919 convinced him of the value of such exchanges of opinion. At this time negro leaders in North Carolina were also anxious to present their "case" to responsible white citizens. C. C. Spaulding, a Negro businessman of Durham, insisted: "We feel that our white friends do not understand us and if they knew more about the real conditions and along what lines we are thinking, we are sure we would receive better treatment at their hands."¹⁹ Brooks fulfilled his need, at least in part, by calling a State-wide conference of prominent Negroes. Newbold and Dr. James E. Shepard, President of the National Training School in Durham and a leader in the Negro State Teachers' Association, assisted in the organization of this meeting. Brooks wrote Shepard:

. . . it is my judgment that we should discuss ways and means by which we may eliminate much of the distrust that seems to be in evidence . . . in our state. I think that it would be wise for you and your committee to be considering some platform that both white and colored people might stand on that would be of mutual interest to all concerned.²⁰

Brooks, then, initiated what he believed to be a fundamental step toward more adequate state-supported negro schools, that is, a clarification of the attitudes and desires of the Negroes themselves.

On September 26, 1919, members of the Department of Public Instruction and Negro leaders from throughout the State met in Raleigh. Brooks opened the proceedings with an outline of his plans for Negro education which focused upon teacher-training facilities, salaries, and schoolhouses. He made a plea for racial co-operation in putting these plans into effect. Then the thirty-eight Negroes discussed the aims of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

¹⁸ Brooks, "North Carolina's New Educational System," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XVIII (October, 1919), 285-286.

¹⁹ C. C. Spaulding to Charles N. Hunter, May 21, 1921, Charles N. Hunter Papers, Duke University Library, hereinafter cited as Hunter Papers.

²⁰ Brooks to J. E. Shepard, September 15, 1919, Public Instruction Correspondence.

People and proposed meetings of whites and Negroes whenever feasible to improve race relations. They also adopted a Declaration of Principles as a guide in creating "an unprecedented era of good feeling" between the races in North Carolina. Brooks considered it a "common ground of safety upon which the leaders of both races can stand" in the development of negro schools. The Declaration condemned lynching, riots, legal injustices to Negroes, and "intermingling of the races on terms of social equality." It endorsed Brooks's leadership and declared that "there never was a time in North Carolina when the State was so ready to give educational opportunities to Negroes." Therefore, colored men were advised to "quit harping on the injustices done previously by the white man and realize that he is ready to help."²¹

At Brooks's request the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly heartily endorsed the Declaration of Principles and improved the legislature to provide more funds for negro schools. It also urged white citizens to assist Negroes "in their attempts to raise the intellectual and moral level" of their race.²² Both Brooks and the negro leaders believed that the Raleigh conference was influential in dissipating prejudice and promoting tolerance and confidence between the races. So effective did Brooks consider it that he called similar conferences annually throughout his administration.²³

The scope and attendance of such meetings increased significantly in following years. In 1921 a large group of white and negro leaders met for two days at Shaw University to discuss the State's programs in education, health, and welfare for Negroes. Brooks and Newbold presided; Dr. James H. Dillard of the Jeanes and Slater Funds was the special guest. Dillard praised North Carolina for its "progressive" attitude toward Negroes and declared that the State was achieving

²¹ *A Declaration of Principles by Representative Negroes of North Carolina, September 26, 1919* (Raleigh, n.d.); Outline of the Conference, September 26, 1919, Public Instruction Correspondence.

²² *North Carolina Education*, XIV (February, 1920), 3.

²³ E. E. Smith to Brooks, October 15, 1919; C. C. Spaulding to Brooks, October 13, 1919; Brooks to W. P. Few, November 1, 1922; Public Instruction Correspondence; Charles N. Hunter to Brooks, October (?), 1919; Brooks to Charles N. Hunter, October 28, 1919, Hunter Papers.

racial harmony by "knocking away the underpinnings of ignorance." Brooks then told the mixed gathering:

I am proud of North Carolina, whose white and negro groups are working for better trained teachers. . . . We shall go forward unless too much selfishness creeps in. Mistakes made either by white or by colored people will be corrected. All of us must adopt a policy of sanity toward defects, sanity toward progress, and sanity toward social relations. . . . We are ushering in an era of good feeling in North Carolina. We are now spending for Negro education almost as much as we were spending fifteen years ago for white and negro education. Let us remember that ignorance is a cure for nothing. Let us pledge ourselves to carry out the Preamble to the United States Constitution—"to promote the general welfare and to insure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."²⁴

In 1922 the fourth annual inter-racial conference, sponsored by the Department of Public Instruction, was attended by almost three hundred persons. Brooks and Newbold this time focused the attention of the group upon ways of gaining "grass roots" support among whites for negro schools and eradicating local hostility to projects for negro advancement.²⁵

In the meantime, Brooks figured prominently in various other activities designed to improve race relations in the State. He worked closely with a commission, appointed by Governor Thomas W. Bickett in 1920, to investigate and recommend to the legislature "what the State ought to do to better the physical, moral, and mental status of the negroes." Its efforts undoubtedly influenced the General Assembly in the following year to establish a reformatory for Negro boys and to increase State funds for Negro schools. Brooks also participated in a conference in 1921 called by Governor Cameron Morrison to discuss means of improving race relations

²⁴ "North Carolina's Negro Program," *The American Schoolmaster*, XV (May 15, 1922), 192-193. See also "Negro Education in North Carolina," *The Southern Workman*, L (October, 1921), 440.

²⁵ N. C. Newbold, "Conference for Negro Education in Raleigh," *Journal of Social Forces*, I (January, 1923), 145-147; Newbold to Brooks, October 26, 1922; Newbold to John Park, October 30, 1922, Division of Negro Education Papers, State Department of Archives and History; Newbold, "A Statement Read at the Conference on Negro Education in North Carolina, November 3-4, 1922," Hunter Papers. For biographical sketches of five prominent Negro educators, see Newbold, *Five North Carolina Negro Educators* (Chapel Hill, 1939).

and "increasing . . . the contentment of our negro population."²⁶ In the same year Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, went on a speaking tour in North Carolina that was sponsored by the Department of Public Instruction. His treatment of the race question, according to Newbold, contributed significantly to the improvement of "feelings" between whites and Negroes in the State.²⁷

The dealings between Brooks and negro representatives were always characterized by frankness and a spirit of mutual trust and confidence. For example, Charles N. Hunter, a North Carolina educator born of slave parents, felt free to explain to Brooks the aims of Negroes.

If there be any white people [Hunter declared] who are laboring under the delusion that negroes are seeking social equality, I would disabuse them to the impression by the most emphatic disavowal. . . . Negroes contemplate nothing of the kind. . . . They desire nothing so much as they do the friendship of the white people. They do want justice. They do want the protection of the law . . . better educational advantages . . . [and] better living conditions. They simply want a "square deal." These the great and powerful white race can generously afford to guarantee.²⁸

Brooks appreciated such statements and in turn frankly presented his own ideas to Negroes. He realized, however, the framework of prejudice within which he must operate; therefore, he attempted to keep his program for Negro education within the realm of the possible. To try to move too rapidly might prove his undoing. Certainly, Brooks never gave Negroes the impression that he was complacent about the plight of their schools. In 1921 he wrote a negro college professor: "I know there are many defects and I know there are many injustices . . . [but] it is necessary for us to cooperate in correcting these defects in both races. In my judgment, the best

²⁶ R. B. House (ed.), *Public Letters and Papers of Thomas Walter Bickett, Governor of North Carolina, 1917-1921* (Raleigh: Council of State, 1923), 75, 318; Brooks to Wallace Buttrick, December 8, 1920; Cameron Morrison to Brooks, June 6, 1921, Public Instruction Correspondence.

²⁷ N. C. Newbold, "Dr. Moton in North Carolina," *The Southern Workman*, L (June, 1921), 253-256.

²⁸ Charles N. Hunter to Brooks, October (?), 1919; Brooks to Charles N. Hunter, October 28, 1919, Hunter Papers.

method to pursue is to hold up the good until we have the habit of believing there is more good than evil in both."²⁹

As soon as Brooks assumed office, he came to the conclusion that the primary need of negro education was an adequate supply of competent teachers, especially for elementary schools. This, of course, required additional teacher-training facilities. In 1919 the State supported three negro normal schools located in Winston-Salem, Elizabeth City, and Fayetteville, and ten counties with the aid of the Slater Fund and the General Education Board provided county training schools for Negroes. These were actually industrial schools offering courses in teacher-training on a very elementary level.³⁰

Brooks immediately initiated plans for expanding the negro teacher-training program by procuring aid from the philanthropic agencies. He concentrated his attention upon the General Education Board and succeeded in winning the confidence and admiration of President Wallace Buttrick and Secretary Abraham Flexner. Throughout his administration he kept these men fully informed of educational developments in the State and of his plans for the future. In his frequent conversations and correspondence with them, Brooks demonstrated his acute insight into the educational needs of Negroes and employed tact and honesty in requesting financial assistance from the board. But his approach was never that of a beggar. In replying to one of Brooks's proposals in 1919, Flexner wrote: "Your proposition—as well as yourself—are, we think, entirely sound. We are delighted to assure you of our cooperation." The cordial relations between Brooks and the officials of the General Education Board were vividly expressed in the Board's increasing financial aid for the training of negro teachers.³¹

²⁹ Brooks to John D. Wray, May 28, 1921, Public Instruction Correspondence.

³⁰ *The John F. Slater Fund: Proceedings and Reports, 1918*, 15-16; Brooks to J. S. Manning, April 20, 1922; Brooks to Wallace Buttrick, March 5, 1919, and December 8, 1920; Brooks to Abraham Flexner, August 30, 1919, Public Instruction Correspondence. See also Harold F. Brown, "History of the Education of Negro Teachers in the State Normal Schools of North Carolina from 1877 to 1943" (M.A. thesis, East Carolina Teachers College, Greenville, 1943).

³¹ Abraham Flexner to Brooks, September 1, 1919, Public Instruction Correspondence; Abraham Flexner to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., November 21, 1956.

At Brooks's request the General Education Board provided \$11,650 for county training schools for North Carolina Negroes in 1919-1920. This sum coupled with aid from the Slater Fund enabled Brooks to establish nine additional training schools within one year. At the same time, he attempted to reorganize the three negro normal schools, which were sadly lacking in faculty, equipment, and buildings. He candidly described the sorry plight of these schools to the General Education Board and enlisted its support in their reorganization. The Board provided \$12,500 for the improvement of the Slater State Normal and Industrial School in Winston-Salem and granted Brooks's requests for financial aid for summer schools for Negroes. The Anna Jeanes Foundation, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund also gave valuable assistance to his program through their donations for teachers' salaries and school buildings.³²

In 1917 the legislative appropriation was only \$3,300 for the expansion of each of the three negro normal schools. Brooks, however, persuaded the legislature of 1919 to appropriate \$90,000 for the permanent improvement of these institutions and to increase the maintenance fund to \$35,000. With a view toward improving "the efficiency of colored teachers," he used a considerable portion of a \$50,000 appropriation for teacher training in 1919 for Negroes. In that year eight county summer schools were conducted for negro teachers without college training for the purpose of aiding them to improve their qualifications. These were joint summer schools with almost every county in the State sharing in their support.³³

Brooks's certification program and salary schedule, established between 1919 and 1921, included negro teachers. His jurisdiction over State funds for the payment of salaries of

³² Brooks to E. C. Sage, June 2, 1919; E. C. Sage to Brooks, March 6, 1919; Brooks to Abraham Flexner, June 26, 1919; Brooks to S. G. Atkins, June 28, 1919, Public Instruction Correspondence.

³³ *Report of the Superintendent of the State Colored Normal Schools and the Cherokee Indian Normal School, 1918-1920*, 7; *Report of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors, 1918-1920*, 9; Brooks, *Administration of the Public School System, 1919-1920*, 9-10, hereinafter cited as Brooks, *Administration of Public School System*; Brooks to S. G. Atkins, July 12, 1920; Brooks to E. C. Sage, March 6, 1919; E. C. Sage to Brooks, March 6, 1919, Public Instruction Correspondence.

superintendents, principals, and teachers enabled him to enforce the salary schedule for Negroes. This, of course, provided considerable incentive for Negro teachers to raise certificates through summer school training, because more training usually meant higher salaries. Shortly before the meeting of a special session of the legislature in 1920, which authorized a revised salary schedule, Brooks declared: "It is my desire to see that justice is done the negro teachers, and my purpose in pleading for a new salary schedule for negroes was that they might at least receive the same per cent increase that white teachers receive." He first thought that one State salary schedule should include all teachers, both white and Negro. But he later became convinced of the feasibility of establishing separate schedules and of raising proportionately the salaries of negro teachers with lower certificates in order to meet the demands of Negro schools. Actually, then, the difference in the salaries of white and negro teachers with lower grade certificates was slight, whereas the salaries of white teachers with higher grade certificates were considerably higher than those of Negroes with similar certificates. This arrangement resulted in a somewhat larger salary increase for Negroes than for whites, because the former usually lacked the requirements for higher certificates. Brooks did not emphasize this point before the legislators, who authorized him to inaugurate a new salary schedule.³⁴

The negro leaders, however, immediately appreciated the significance of the boost that the education of their race would receive from Brooks's salary schedule. A Negro insurance executive of Durham declared that Brooks was "tearing away the rubbish of inefficiency to lay a broad foundation for better educational conditions in the State." S. G. Atkins, principal of the negro normal school in Winston-Salem, assured Brooks that "the colored race have for you an increasing appreciation and sense of gratitude for the broad progressive policies which you are proposing and carrying forward successfully." A Rosenwald agent wrote Brooks: "I feel very proud of the

³⁴ Brooks to C. H. Moore, May 11, 1920; Brooks to Frank Bachman, May 31, 1920, Public Instruction Correspondence; *Teacher Salary Schedule of North Carolina, 1920-1921* (Educational Publication No. 30); Brooks, *Administration of Public School System*, 6-7.

fact that the Negroes of the State have an advocate 'at court' who is a broad and sympathetic friend of the poor and much-discriminated-against colored teacher."³⁵

During the regular session of the General Assembly in 1921, Brooks achieved his greatest success in reorganizing negro education. He persuaded the Budget Commission to approve an unprecedented appropriation of \$400,000 for buildings and equipment at the three negro normal schools in addition to a maintenance fund more than double that of 1919. It was passed by an economy-conscious legislature without serious opposition. The fund of \$400,000 was more than the total building appropriations for the negro normal schools since their establishment. In addition to this amount, Brooks managed to obtain considerable sums from the General Education Board, the Rosenwald Fund, and negro contributors. Moreover, he gained direct control over the negro normal schools through a legislative act in 1921 that placed the State normal schools under the State Board of Education. The financial support provided in that year coupled with another large contribution by the General Education Board in 1922 enabled Brooks to convert these institutions into real normal schools with facilities adequate to prepare Negro teachers for higher grade certificates.³⁶

In 1921 Brooks also induced the legislature to establish a Division of Negro Education in his Department with an annual appropriation of \$15,000. On March 15, 1921, this new Division was organized with Newbold as Director. By the end of Brooks's administration it contained a staff of nine persons, both white and Negro, a group larger than the entire number of employees of the Department of Public Instruction of a decade earlier. Indeed, few of Brooks's accomplishments were a greater source of personal pride than the organization

³⁵ A. M. Moore to N. C. Newbold, August 11, 1920, Division of Negro Education Papers; S. G. Atkins to Brooks, August 28, 1920; C. H. Moore to Brooks, May 10, 1920, Public Instruction Correspondence. Dr. James E. Shepard wrote Brooks about the same time: "I wish you could . . . know the genuine love which the colored people have for you. It would certainly cheer your heart." Shepard to Brooks, June 18, 1920, Public Instruction Correspondence.

³⁶ Brooks to Abraham Flexner, December 27, 1920; Memorandum to Jackson Davis, January 26, 1922; Brooks to Abraham Flexner, March 15, 1921; Brooks to Jackson Davis, April 19, 1921; Brooks to the General Education Board, April 16, 1923, Public Instruction Correspondence.

of this division, which undertook to supervise and promote the education of a large segment of the State's population hitherto grossly neglected. Newbold, possessing "the confidence and support of both races," was eminently qualified for his new position, which placed him in charge of all phases of negro education. This new division also fulfilled Brooks's desire for a native agency to direct the education of Negroes.³⁷

The establishment of a reputable system of public schools for Negroes was necessarily beset with many problems. But the Division of Negro Education attained success at several crucial points. It exposed those "spurious" institutions that posed as teacher-training centers, energetically promoted harmonious race relations, and provided competent supervision of Negro schools.³⁸ According to one student, "public secondary schools for Negroes developed slowly until the Division of Negro Education was organized. . . .," then their growth became "constant and fairly rapid throughout the State."³⁹ Discussing the division in 1922, Brooks stated, perhaps exaggeratedly, that "a greater harmony prevails between the races, and the relationship existing at this time is . . . the best to be found in any state in the Union, and this is due in a large measure to the fine supervision by the members of the Division of Negro Education."⁴⁰

In the General Assembly of 1923, Brooks continued his fight for negro schools; he again concentrated upon teacher training facilities. Through his efforts the legislature provided a bond issue of \$500,000 for the negro normal schools and authorized the purchase of the National Training School in Durham, which was to be converted into a teacher training institution. In 1920 Dr. James E. Shepard, president of the Durham school, had discussed with Brooks the feasibility of a fourth negro normal school under State control. At that time Brooks insisted that the State "should make the institu-

³⁷ *Public Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1921*, 421-422; *Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1922-1923*, 41; Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*, 108n; Brooks to Abraham Flexner, March 15, 1921; Abraham Flexner to Brooks, May 27, 1921, Public Instruction Correspondence.

³⁸ *Biennial Report, 1920-1922*, 34-36.

³⁹ Hollis Long, *Public Secondary Education for Negroes in North Carolina* (New York, 1932), 104. See also Dennis Cooke, *The White Superintendent and Negro Schools in North Carolina* (Nashville, Tennessee: 1930), 19.

⁴⁰ *Biennial Report, 1920-1922*, 34-35.

tions already established *real* normal schools before attempting to establish another." By 1923 he felt that the time was ripe for undertaking State support of another teacher training center. The Durham institution was transformed into a State school for Negroes in that year and soon became the only State-supported college for Negroes whose graduates could receive Class-A teaching certificates in accordance with the standards of the North Carolina College Conference. Brooks, however, hoped to raise the Slater State Normal School in Winston-Salem to be a four-year institution "within the near future."⁴¹

Nevertheless, teacher training facilities for North Carolina Negroes remained inadequate, especially for those who desired work beyond the two-year normal course. Brooks therefore enlisted the support of private negro colleges and by late 1922 had effected a plan whereby teachers trained in such institutions could receive State certificates. In that year also Hampton Institute in Virginia announced its decision to offer a four-year teacher training program. This action resulted in part from the efforts of Brooks and Newbold who had urged such a program for several years and had appeared before the Hampton trustees in behalf of its adoption. Brooks realized that Hampton would be easily accessible to North Carolina Negroes.⁴²

Despite his energetic efforts, the development of negro education was necessarily slow and gradual. Brooks was building negro schools from the ground up, and his financial resources were never large enough for a complete and sudden transformation. Nevertheless, there was significant progress in almost every phase of negro education during his administration. The number of negro teachers increased from 3,511 in 1918 to 4,871 in 1923, and the average monthly salaries rose from \$28.97 to \$63.94. The value of Negro school prop-

⁴¹ Brooks to Trevor Arnett, March 2, 1923; Brooks to J. E. Shepard, December 6, 1920, Public Instruction Correspondence; *Institutions of Higher Learning in North Carolina* (Educational Publication, No. 58), 17; Elizabeth Seay, "A History of North Carolina College for Negroes," (M.A. thesis, Duke University, 1941), 62-67.

⁴² James E. Gregg to Brooks, February 20, 1922; N. C. Newbold to J. E. Davis, January 5, 1923, Division of Negro Education Papers; "Annual Report of the Principal of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute," *The Southern Workman*, LI (June, 1922), 272-273.

erty was augmented more than three-fold in the same period. In fact, more State funds were used for Negro school buildings and sites under Brooks than had been expended between 1900 and 1918. The gap was gradually closing; but from the standpoint of relative status, an unequal division of State funds continued to exist. Only at the end of Brook's administration did Negro high schools warrant a place in the report of the State High School Inspector, although it was his sixteenth annual report. There were at that time only eight standard public high schools for Negroes with a total enrollment of 1,488 students. But the number of county training schools increased from 10 in 1918 to 25 in 1923, largely because of Brooks's success in gaining financial aid from the General Education Board. The Negroes also shared rather generously in federal and State funds for vocational agriculture. In 1922, no less than 1,000 negro men participated in part-time classes in agriculture and 190 negro women enrolled in home economics courses.⁴³

The most extraordinary development in negro education under Brooks was the improvement in the qualifications of teachers. The number of negro teachers with high-grade certificates⁴⁴ increased from 647 in 1920 to 1,876 in 1923, and when Brooks left office there were 1,550 negro teachers enrolled in approved college summer schools and 2,609 in county summer schools. He sincerely believed that the "harmony and prosperity" of both races depended largely upon continuing the effort to close the gap between the educational opportunities of whites and Negroes. He had worked toward this end for four and a half years by co-operating with negro

⁴³ *Biennial Report, 1918-1920*, 80-81, 96-97; *Biennial Report, 1922-1924*, 53, 74-75, 96-97; *Annual Report of the Federal Board of Vocational Education, 1922*, 189-190; R. E. Malone, "Vocational Agricultural Schools in North Carolina," *The Southern Workman*, L (July, 1921), 205-210; *Slater Fund: Proceedings and Reports, 1923*, 14-15; N. C. Newbold to Brooks, November 9, 1920, Public Instruction Correspondence. In 1917-1918 Negroes in North Carolina constituted 32 per cent of the school population and received eight per cent of the public funds for school buildings; in 1922-1923 they constituted 31 per cent of the school population and received 11 per cent of such funds. See also "Negro Education in North Carolina," *The Southern Workman*, L (October, 1921), 439.

⁴⁴ For the meaning of various State teaching certificates, see James E. Hillman, "The Story of Teacher Education and Certification in North Carolina," *Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes*, XXI (January, 1953), 21-26.

leaders, courting the favor of philanthropic agencies, and utilizing skill and diplomacy in presenting the question to the legislature. His program elicited little or no criticism in political quarters. In fact, Governors Bickett and Morrison heartily supported it, and such influential legislators as Victor Bryant of Durham, John G. Dawson of Kinston, and H. G. Connor, Jr., of Wilson championed it in the General Assembly. With the aid of these men and the constant assistance of Newbold, Brooks had laid a solid foundation for a progressive program in negro education by the time that he left the State Superintendency in 1923 to become president of North Carolina State College.⁴⁵

No group was more aware of his accomplishment than the Negroes themselves. *The Southern Workman*, a Negro publication, pointed with pride to the "new era" in North Carolina, where State officials, had "looked to the future and laid their plans for a system of public education which will offer the same opportunities to all children . . . whether black or white."⁴⁶ Upon Brooks's resignation in 1923, James E. Shepard wrote him: "By your wise . . . management and far-reaching vision, you have done more for the education of all classes than any previous State Superintendent of Public Instruction."⁴⁷ In short, Brooks had inaugurated what has been called the "golden period of Negro education in North Carolina."

⁴⁵ *Biennial Report, 1918-1920*, 96-98; *Biennial Report, 1922-1924*, 90-91, 96-97.

⁴⁶ "The Spirit of North Carolina," *The Southern Workman*, LII (October, 1923), 477.

⁴⁷ James E. Shepard to Brooks, June 1, 1923, Brooks Papers, Duke.

DIARY OF THOMAS MILES GARRETT AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1849

EDITED BY JOHN BOWEN HAMILTON*

PART III

[78] August 2nd

There is probably no one who does not exalt in quiet at some times and prefers a release from accustomed duty. It is sweet thus to make himself awhile a slave to his appetites and inclinations, for there is greater slavery in the dominion of passion than of law, and a release from duty is not freedom when it is obtained at the price of succumbing to perverted and licentious inclinations I make these remarks as relating in particular to one incident of the day—a release from the duties of College to attend the election. It is curious to observe human nature in this matter How [79] soon it asks relief from irksome duties! how it longs to be let loose from the restraints and exults in its freedom, and further how soon freedom degenerates into licentiousness. How soon men loose all selfrestraint when that of law and order is withdrawn. In college I may say there has been more idleness to day than for many before Several sprees have come off intirely satisfactory to the parties engaged. I see a considerable stir about college all day, a great deal of sitting upon the door steps of the buildings chit chatting about nothing. I could not bring my mind to delight in such things. I involuntarily turn in disgust from them. I close my eyes and my door against all such things. I found more enjoyment even in reading the early part of English history, I dare say than I could by attending the polls, of the election, or any other than the company of Hume, although it operated almost as a dose of opium in the evening, for I found myself despite of all my efforts often nodding. . . .

August 3rd

In consequence of a recommendation of the President of U. States this day was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer, in consequence of the Cholera in the Country, that by humbling ourselves before God, we might propitiate the God of nations [80] and of men, and by his help avert the evil which afflicts the nation. The faculty announced in the Chapel that the exercizes of College would be discontinued to day except divine worship,

*Dr. John Bowen Hamilton is an Associate Professor of English, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.

which would be held in the Chapel. Accordingly another idle day has passed with the students. Having not those restraints which are holy one of the Sabbath imposes upon every man who knows the command that it comes from God, they broke forth as usual in those wild and unbridled sports with which they always employ idle times. And, instead of converting the day into one of holy character festivity was the pervading and prevailing enjoyment of the day. . . .

[83] August 8th

To day my class have been employed in the study of [natural] philosophy. The lesson contained a discussion of the law of specific [84] gravity and descriptions of instruments used in finding it. It would seem at first sight that it would be a matter of mere curiosity, and not of any practical value to put ourselves to the trouble of so accurately measuring the specific gravity, but one circumstance alone renders it most useful and even indispensable. A law that all articles of commerce shall be taxed according to its specific gravity has rendered it quite necessary that rules should be discovered and instruments invented in order to obtain with accuracy the specific gravity⁹⁰ Many interesting subjects are comprehended under Hydrostatics and Hydraulics. The observations or rather demonstrations, if it is appropriate to give such a name to reasonings so faulty, nevertheless prove highly interesting and instructive. The text-book Mr. Olmstead is "the bone of contention" continually.⁹¹ The faculty instead of striking it out entirely and getting a better one, choose rather to cavil about daily and I may say almost hourly. There is scarcely a recitation at which the Professor does not find something erroneous or faulty in some respect. The author seems not to have known much about the subject, as traces of his plagiarism are remarked very often.

. . .

[85] August 10th . . . I feel mirthful and vivacious During these times I may count some of the happy hours of my existence. We had, besides, Rhetoric for our recitation which I have become

⁹⁰ The office of the Attorney General of the State of North Carolina advises the editor that this allusion ". . . might well refer to taxation in the form of internal excise duties upon spirits. The 'proof' concept as a basis of levying excise taxes upon spiritous liquors may very well have been introduced at about this time . . . proof, referring to alcoholic content, has a direct relationship to 'specific gravity.' . . . In North Carolina, during the period before 1849, our State taxation in respect to the general field of liquors and spirits, ordinarily consisted of taxing or licensing the privilege of dealing in such commodities. Our State Revenue Act in force did not specifically contain provisions for alcohol taxation of stocks or supplies of spirirtual beverages, as such." Letter to the editor, July 28, 1958.

⁹¹ Denison Olmsted, *An Introduction to Natural Philosophy*.

very fond of—the text book is such a good [86] one, and the subject well discussed, we had a lecture this morning on Taste, this evening on criticism and the pleasure of taste. Our author had occasion in illustrating his remarks on grandeur and sublimity, to introduce examples, taken from the object of external sense while he introduces also remarkable displays of magnanimity, courage, firmness, and others. All these conspired to render the lecture highly entertaining. . . . A young man of very good appearance and apparently of intelligence from the conversational power which he exhibited announced that he was a candidate for admission into College. It is a matter of [87] regret that such rivalry should exist between the two literary societies connected with the College, and I regretted to see an excess of those solicitations put forth for the procuring of new members. The members of the Dialectic crowded around him & would not let any one have access to him, and it was found impossible that we should be able to save him if we did not make some prompt effort. By an artifice which though it would have been impolite in some cases, though justifiable in this, we seduced from their company, and spoke to him on the subject and pretty soon got him to promise to join our society. I hope to see this succeed as the members of the sister society are growing insolent from their late success, having procured a majority of fifteen or twenty of the candidates for College.⁹²

(Aug. 11-16 entries consist of speculations on his health, on the dangers of alcoholic overindulgence, and on his readings in history.)

[94] August 17th . . . Quite a disastrous catastrophe occurred to day in the campus. An old man from the country had come in with his waggon loaded with watermelons &c. which he was endeavoring to sell to the students. He had driven up the waggon near the belfry, when the bell tolled the hour for dinner, the loud ring so near, frightened the horses which remained still hitched to the waggon. They pitched frantically off, the waggon behind, making a rattling noise, and the students adding their noisy cries to that. A general shout arose, the horses, students, waggon, scattered in every direction, running hooping, and hollowing. The horses ran against a tree, and made a smash of waggon gear, &c, thus ending the scene. I attended upon the hall this evening and was very much entertained by the debate. One gentleman made a very interesting speech, at which I was much

⁹² See note 70, above.

gratified, there being present a transient member, before whom a little display would be of much service.⁹³

August 18th . . . I attended the Hall this morning, which was rendered verry agreeable by one circumstance. A gentleman from Tennessee, making application for the professor-ship of Rhetoric, logic & Belles Lettrs in the University to be vacated soon by Dr. Green,⁹⁴ had occasion to visit the Hill. He came from his country with the great Bishop Owtey,⁹⁵ who, as they came along requested him to become a member of the Philanthropic Society. Dr. [John T.] Wheate⁹⁶ the gentleman of whom I speak according to the instruction of Bishop Owtey joined this morning as an "honorary member." He made a few remarks expressive of his gratification in becoming a member as well as for the membership, as for following the instructions of his Bishop. . . .

[98] August 21st

I have had Latin lessons to day, which are verry delightful. We read Cicero's Cato and Selius or de senectute,⁹⁷ a little disquisition which has always attracted admiration. Contains many useful lessons of morality from which both the young and old may profit. It exhorts to temperance, and self-rule, restraint of passion and subjection of the will, resignation, our ills and gratitude for our blessings, and to contentment. The character of its author holding such estimation in the minds of all men, is heightened to almost sublimity, by expressing such divine sentiments. The purity of morals which he professes belongs more properly to a Christian age. So high, his philosophy! So sublime his precept! I have read but little to day—to morrow I may [99] do more.

⁹³ Visitors provided the student with a fresh audience and gave the "show-off" an additional stimulus; see the entry below for August 18, 1849.

⁹⁴ William Mercer Green (1798-1887), born in Wilmington; graduated, 1818, second distinction; afterwards Bishop of Mississippi and Chancellor of the University of the South, D.D., LL.D.; responsible for building the first church in the village, the Episcopal, finished largely with his own funds. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 258, 455-456, 546-547.

⁹⁵ Bishop James Hervey Otey, Episcopal Bishop of Tennessee, 1834-1863; tutor at the University, 1820-1821. Battle, *Sketches*, 80.

⁹⁶ Reverend John Thomas Wheat, D.D., professor of rhetoric and logic, 1850. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 524, 581, 617-618.

⁹⁷ One of the "Tusculan Disputations," written between 45-44 B.C., a dialogue on old age, imitated in part from the conversation of Socrates and Cephalus in Plato's *Republic*. Cato "The Censor" (234-149 B.C.) is made the main interlocutor in the dialogue, explaining how the burdens of old age may best be borne, concluding with a reasoned statement of his conviction of immortality of the soul. It is characteristic that Garrett, beset as he now was by financial worries and physical isolation, orphaned, and a ward of his brother, should be attracted to this consoling philosophy.

August 21

This morning our lesson was in Philosophy,⁹⁸ and as I expected to be called upon to recite, I committed verry thoroughly. I was called upon as I expected and made a pretty good recitation. I am now free for three or four lessons. The class is so large that each student does not recite but about every fourth time and the Professor is so regular that we can always tell when we are going to be called on to recite. Reading over my lesson to keep up the connection of thought is sufficient for me for several times, as I have had time to day to read a script of Hume. . . .

[100] August 22nd

I cannot stop to make Enquiries [entries ?] about any regular duty which I have to perform in College. I deem it entirely unnecessary to state that I had lessons in Philosophy to day, in French yesterday and &c, unless I meet with something extraordinary [101] or worthy preserving the remembrance of. When therefore a day passes by which has brought with it nothing of interest out of the general course of events I call to mind a remark which was made to me by one of my friends to whom I communicated my determination of keeping a journal. He was of the opinion that the events of a life at College were not sufficiently importante to render the exercize agreable. And I imagine that if I were to relate the rotine of college duties as they pass daily I should render this exercize monotonous enough. Instead of writing them out in full I should invent such initials and abbreviations as I have done for denoting my attendance of prayers. I can not find time every day to devote to any thing else but my text-books. . . .

August 23rd

I have occasion to render the observation made a few days ago that when men have been subjected to rigid discipline, and suddenly freed breath[e] forth in those unhappy irregularities, which disgrace them. This gives rise to the mistrust of the capacity of man for self-rule. This remark was suggested by a circumstance, which happened to day. In the afternoon near the hour for recitation a heavy rain set in, and fell for about an hour verry fast. Just before the hour expired a message was received at the recitation room that the duty of prayer would be dispensed with this evening. And then what a noise! The room was in an instant in a violent [102] uproar with the applause of the students. Though the bell had not wrung, the Professor was obliged

⁹⁸ It is obvious from this that modern education did not invent all of our poor teaching practices, as it has been accused by some of doing. The double entry here for August 21 seems clearly to be merely that, the second being a continuation of the first.

to let them retire, so impatient were they to break the restraints of authority. A cry arose from every part of the Campus, which was prolonged until the students reached the hotel. Nor did the noise cease there. They burst into the dining room in the utmost confusion, heedless alike of all cause of propriety and decency, as of the respect due to the presence of a lady. They even went so far as to use indecent and profane language in the hearing of Miss Nancy, who however familiar she may be with the students has not lost all claim to respect. When I see such violences committed upon decency and good breeding, I become more and more thoroughly convinced of the utter destitution of good sense amongst a large portion of my species. I come to scorn and despise them. I do indeed believe that such displays of the want of good sense has been the principle cause of the multiplication of the number of misanthropists in the world. Nothing could drive me sooner into solitude, and into forgetfulness of my fellow creatures than some of the rude and detestable practices of which they are guilty. But this indecent behavior was attended with another circumstance which renders it still more gross. It was the intermission of the duty of prayer only, which caused this violent disturbance. Each one should hide his face in shame and confusion for the confession of joy, at being freed from attending upon Divine worship.⁹⁹ . . .

(Most of the entries from August 24 through August 30 are devoted to a summary of reading in history.)

[110] August 31st

The day has been highly interesting, teeming with new and interesting events all of which I shall I fear be unable to relate. Early in the morning the class repaired to recitation room of the President who in consequence of the indisposition of the Professor of Rhetoric [met the class] This recitation was decidedly the most entertaining that we have yet had. I marked the contrast. Dr. Green, although a verry good and pious man, is considered but verry ordinary in intellectual capacity. When his mind takes hold of a subject to investigate it, it seems that

⁹⁹ See note 51, above, in this connection, and Knight, *Documentary History of Education*, III, 281. The Board of Trustees finally became aware of the situation and relinquished the rule to the degree that “. . . communicants within ten days after entrance, on notifying the faculty of their wishes, could attend the church of their own choice, but could not change during the session. The Faculty should require attendance by all somewhere as a University duty. . . .” Battle, *History of the University*, I, 520. This statute prevailed for ten years, communicants only being excused from Chapel worship. Later, William Mercer Green managed to wring from the Trustees for the students an option of attending church in the village or in Gerrard Hall, on the campus. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 547.

it restricts the view to one point.¹⁰⁰ The author of these lectures for an instance appears to disadvantage under the instruction of this man. When I go in the recitation I have impressed upon my mind in a clear [111] light the views of the author, the view is regular and consistant, perspicuous and closely divided. The connection is permanently marked between the parts subject or ends of the lecture. But when we have Dr. Green to labor on it, our view is drawn to one or two points, they may be however more prominent. But instead of this Gov. Swain when he cases¹⁰¹ a subject, with elastic wing his mind springs above its common level, he lays before you a view at first large grand and beautiful, he talks on and your vision is extended, he seems to scan the landscape and horizon. He talkes on new beauties before unseen rise up to view. We seem to be surrounded by a landscape of thought, and all dispersed over its uneven surface the bold features of mountains and hills of widespread forest and extended planes of fields. It is singular that two minds should place any thing in such different postures.¹⁰² The hour for second recitation in the day was taken for composition, we were highly entertained with the reading of these. But the hour which afforded still more delight was that of the third recitation.¹⁰³ Gov. Swain instead of

¹⁰⁰ Garrett's impression of Green is confirmed by Battle: ". . . He was a good teacher, as far as he went, but his heart seemed to be in his clerical duties more than in his department. In his Chapel preaching he carefully refrained from inculcating doctrines peculiar to his denomination. His sermons were always sensible and interesting, but he could not be called eloquent. His delivery was smooth and graceful, but not energetic." Battle, *History of the University*, I, 546. With reference to the matter of sectarian indoctrination, see Appendix F.

¹⁰¹ Modern dictionaries record no use of this word this way except for the criminal cant, "to case the joint" meaning to make a thorough survey, for the purpose of robbery.

¹⁰² David Lowry Swain (1801-1868), Governor of N. C., 1832-1835, President of the University, 1835-1868, was always referred to as "Governor." A bright conversationalist, he was given to puns; he had a facile memory, genial manners, a kind heart; not an extensive reader, his learning was accurate as far as it went; slightly deaf, he would sometimes enter a student's room soon after knocking without waiting for the invitation to enter and catch a roomful of card players; the cards were always confiscated and added to the basketful he said he always had in his room; physically he was knock-kneed, round-shouldered, and homely; the main subjects he taught were constitutional law, intellectual philosophy, and moral science; he opposed entry of the railroad into Chapel Hill on the grounds that it would aid students in running off during term! Battle, *History of the University*, I, 528-537.

¹⁰³In the earliest days of the University the student's school day began with sunrise prayers, except during the period from November 1 to February 15, when they were held at 7:00 A.M. From prayers to 8:00 A.M. there was a break, followed by a study hour from 8:00 to 9:00; three hours of classes followed until noon; study or classes recommenced at 2:00; evening prayers came at 5:00, followed by a break until 8:00, following which, students were required to be in their rooms, no departure without consent. Saturday morning was an exception to this, it being reserved for speaking, reading, and exhibiting compositions. Orations were also given in the eve-

making the lesson in Rhetoric the subject of the recitation, took occasion to read to us a portion of the address delivered by Judge Gaston¹⁰⁴ at this place together with a sermon delivered by Dr Wm Hooper, late Professor of Languages in the University upon the force of habit.¹⁰⁵ . . . [112] We had a highly interesting meeting this evening. The question was debated at considerable length. Some of the gentlemen, however who were prone to bombast and vain show were verry disgusting.¹⁰⁶

ning after prayers in the halls of the Societies. In the 1840's changes included one by the Board of Trustees which ordained on December 10, 1842, ". . . that the number of recitations attended by each class in the institution shall be sixteen during each week . . ." and the faculty was to so regulate classes that there would be at least one recitation or lecture on each day of the week, including Sunday. Trustee Minutes, December 10, 1842. Battle (*History of the University*, I, 559) gives a vivid description of the conditions prevailing when Garrett was a student. "There were no recitations before breakfast on Saturdays and Sundays, and consequently students could, after attending prayers, sleep until breakfast hour. On these mornings particularly the spectacle was by no means edifying. Numbers would rush into the Chapel with faces unwashed and hair uncombed, clad only in chamber wrappers, great coats, or counterpanes, and as soon as the longed for Amen was pronounced, hurry back to bed." During Garrett's time the first recitation, Monday through Friday, came before breakfast, the second at 11:00 A.M., the third at 4:00 P.M. in the winter and 5:00 in other seasons; from afternoon recitations, all went to Chapel for prayers. Study hours were from 9:00 to 12:00 noon, and 2:00 to 5:00 in one term, and 8:00 to 12:00 noon and 3:00 to 6:00 in the other. By 8:00 or 9:00, depending on the season, students were supposed to be in rooms either sleeping or studying.

In 1842 students petitioned the faculty to abolish Saturday classes and this was approved, provided the Di and Phi would have their own meetings on Saturday morning, including declamations and compositions, preceded by debates on Friday night, participation being compulsory, of course.

¹⁰⁴ Judge William P. Gaston, trustee (1802-1844), and representative in Congress for a time.

¹⁰⁵ William M. Hooper (1792-1876), professor of rhetoric and logic, 1825-1828, and professor of ancient languages, 1828-1837. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 436-438.

¹⁰⁶ Clearly the Societies were not social organizations and only a little intuition assures one that the meetings were on occasion dull. The real function of the debates, however, can be seen through examination of Garrett's activities as recorded in the Minutes of the Philanthropic Society, 1847-1853, University Archives. There were three kinds of activities as noted above: writing, reading of compositions (which were graded and criticized on both the oral reading as well as on the actual composition), and debating. The Minutes are entered only by date, meetings being held on Friday nights.

The following topics, debated on the dates shown, are in all cases practically related to classroom recitations; this can often be confirmed by comparing the debate topic with a comment by Garrett on his classwork for that day. The list is illustrative only, and not complete.

August 4, 1849 "Were the Mexicans justifiable in imprisoning the Texans [*sic*] captured at Mina[?]?" Garrett defended and won for the negative.

August 11, 1849 (Saturday morning) Garrett declaimed, no topic given.

August 25, 1849 Garrett composed (wrote and read a composition, no topic given).

[113] Sept. 3rd

I awoke this morning refreshed by the sleep of last night, but was unhappy to find no water in my pitcher. I was obliged to go of to prayers without my toilet made, or even begun. The servant I hope will not grow so negligent again, as this is of great inconvenience to me. It not only break into my regularity of habit but renders me dull sleepy and stupid. . . .¹⁰⁷

[116] Sept. 5th

I have studied Philosophy principlly to day, and could find time for little else. I read some English history but however anxious I may be to remark something upon the events [117] that have

August 31, 1849 Garrett conducted several new members to the hall, then debated, "Ought the governments of Europe to recognize the independence of Hungary?" Garrett successfully defended the affirmative.

September 22, 1849 Composed.

September 28, 1849 Debated, "Have the advantages, immediately arising from the Crusades, been sufficiently numerous and beneficial to compensate for the injustice and misery attendant upon them?" Garrett was defeated for the negative; vote against him was 10 to 5.

October 19, 1849 Garrett appointed corrector. According to Phi laws and regulations (see Connor, *Documentary History*, I, 480-483), correctors were chosen by ballot every six weeks and their duty was ". . . to inspect the compositions of the members in the course of each week and report their corrections or remarks at the ensuing Society [meeting]." This activity has, perhaps unfortunately, been almost completely taken over in modern college freshman composition classes by the instructor.

October 20, 1849 Composed.

October 26, 1849 Garrett defended and lost the negative of "Would it be advantageous to our Union to take Canada into the Confederation?"

February 2, 1850 Read a composition, no topic given.

February 16, 1850 Declaimed, no topic given.

March 2, 1850 Read a composition, no topic.

March 29, 1850 Missed his first meeting since joining the organization September 1, 1849.

On March 12, 1850, as supervisor for the meeting, Garrett reported on the state of the library and the treasury; he found insufficient seriousness of attitude by the librarian; reported conduct and morals of the membership as a whole good except for the freshmen—for whose poor behavior the upper classmen were, he asserted, clearly to blame because they did not furnish the freshmen with good examples. The obvious inconsistency in his report apparently did not appear to him.

One can conclude that the classroom deficiencies of Garrett's University training were to some degree compensated by his Society activity, especially in view of the following quotation from the regulations (Connor, *Documentary History*, I, 480-483): "Debating on a question shall be regularly performed at each meeting; the debates shall be opened by two persons appointed for that purpose, under the penalty of a fine; and after they have done, all the members have a right to join in the Debate." Thus, after formal debate, the floor was thrown open for general debate, and participation by the whole Society.

¹⁰⁷ Besides "Doctor" November (see note 42, above), there were other servants who attained some degree of renown in Chapel Hill; one was a licensed woodcutter named Tom Jones who sold corn liquor under the name of "lightwood," or fat pine! Sam Morphis, a mulatto slave, was allowed to hire out his own time by paying his master, James M. Morphis (who left and went to Texas) a stipulated annual sum—obviously an illegal procedure, but no one objected.

passed in review to day time will not suffice. Some portion of my time has been spent in preparing to speak upon the next query. I think I am able to give some reasons why the independence of Hungary should be acknowledged.¹⁰⁸

Sept. 6th

The subject of electrical phenomena in natural philosophy has become one of interest. The attractive and repulsive energies of the electrical fluid especially when they are found to be causes for many of those phenomina which take place in the material world, are truly wonderful. It is from this circumstance that men have been willing to attribute so much more than is due to electricity. Especially since the identity between electricity and lightning has been discovered men have been prone to exaggerate. They make it an efficient cure for all diseases, a cause for all changes and different appearances in nature, for even the motions of the heavenly bodies, and finally for animal existence itself. But mankind have not yet reached those advantages and almost total mastery over nature which they have expected. The philosopher's stone has not yet been discovered and the probability is that it will remain so. But men have raised their hopes too high, and the consequence is that the disappointment must be proportionally great. Nevertheless, if their bright dreams and prospective visions told the hour of the coming millenium the disappointment should not entirely dissipate the hopes that have been [118] excited. They did not in a former century dream that news would in the nineteenth century be carried by and with the speed of lightning. Thus all those expectations which have been excited among men may not be verified and still more than any sanguinary visionaries can expect, be accomplished. There is not a doubt but that some of those phenomina which occur in nature may be found to have their ultimate cause in this. Indeed the simularity between some of [the] appearances of electric and magnetic phenomena has excited the expectation that at some future time and not far distant there will be found to exist an intimate connection between the two fluids which have been supposed to be the cause of the phenomina in both cases. How far the science of galvanism has proceeded I am unable to say, but there must have been found very intimate connexions, which have raised this to the dignity of a separate and distinct science. This is assigned to the department of Chemistry and therefore we have not been able to study it.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Garrett won his debate; see note 106, above.

¹⁰⁹ The modern compartmentalization of subject matter was yet a long way off; the assignment of electricity to a chemistry class, however, was quite consistent with the belief that it was a fluid and like other fluids, presumably, to be analyzed chemically.

Sept. 7th

The day has been one of exciting interest. Not only have the recitations in Rhetoric—a subject always interesting—afforded a solid enjoyment, but there have arisen several circumstances which have more particularly been a subject of excitement. I allude to the exercises of the Hall. I was appointed principle debater for to night, in opposition to a gentleman who had acquired some reputation as a pretty speaker and sound reasoner. I entertained that opinion [119] which gave me some anxiety. The idea of the shame which I must of necessity feel if to use a vulgar phrase “I had been taken through,” kept me vacillating between two opinions. I could not at first determine whether it would be better to drop the subject entirely or make my most desperate effort. But reflecting that in the former case my disinclination to debate as begotten by fear of my rival, would of itself subject me to ridicule and contempt. I chose the latter as the most easy for avoiding that which I most dread—ridicule—but as the most disastrous, if I should fail. After this remark I must say that I did speak, and so far from being driven from my position, the shock of the gentleman’s powerful battery, more powerful from reputation than fact, perhaps was not able to make any impression upon my [mind]. I established three distinct claims which the state of Hungary has to the recognition of her independence. The gentleman replied, but his remarks were totally unfounded in fact, barren of reason and argument, a vast conglomeration of broken sentences and distorted figures, a species of bombast which I have not heard equaled for some time. These are not my opinion of this gentleman’s speech, for whom I have the utmost respect and with whom in fact I have extreme intimacy. Otherwise I would not have spoken in this manner, lest I might be accused of self-attestation and vanity. . . .

Sept. 8th

[120] . . . At twelve I repaired to the Library to return my books, and while there attempted to spend the hour in catching at some thought. I seated myself upon a divan and commenced reading, but presently some gentlemen had the room sounding and re-echoing the shrill note of their whistle. This is the kind of disturbance which I can in no wise bear. I could not request them to hush, for this they would deem impolite, yet I must be allowed to say there should be a rule among men to which all should conform, a strict observance of silence in the presence of those who are reading. . . .

[125] Sept. 12th

I hear this morning something of a spree which some of the [126] students got in. I say I heard of it because I did not participate.

This was the occasion of the visit of a circus at Hillboro about twelve miles from this place. About fifty or if I exaggerate, about thirty after attending evening prayers, put out for the place of exhibition, turned over their carriages several times, broke a few wheels and C.[?] Arrived they engage in drinking and carousing, each endeavoring to outstrip the other in the velocity of his inebriation, the height of liquor in his glass &c. Unfortunately pretty soon several found themselves in that state of insensibility that they could not exercise any of their senses, and poor fellows! piteous creatures! their money gone, no circus to be seen, and unable to move an inch toward home without the kind assistance of a friend. But the most ludicrous scene is yet to occur. The Circus has closed and all are in a hurry to fly home, to be able to answer to their names at prayers. In the hurry and bustle, better say the inability on the part of the students themselves, the drivers throw their senseless bodies into the carriages, pell-mell and crossways, a heavy load indeed. They get home past midnight bereft of sleep and repose, except such as had been artificially procured. But what was more vexatious, not content with losing their own allotted hours of sleep in midnight revel, began to disturb their fellow students by ringing the bell. I awoke and looked out at the window to see if it was day but instead of finding the bell ringing for prayers was obliged to come to the uncomfortable conclusion [127] that some fool who doubtless often exercises his physical strength, mental strength he has not, had hold of the [s]tring. Some one who like myself, I was told this morning, threw a rock at him but did not succeed in their purpose. I had thought of this I should have probably thrown a few at the gentleman, at the fool,—no gentleman will willfully disturb another in this way. Bad lessons to day have been the consequence of all this.¹¹⁰

Sept 13th

This day has been entirely taken up with the science of Optics in Philosophy, a subject quite interesting indeed; but I would willingly escape from the duty of studying it in the language of the author. . . . It is plain that the author had not a distinct idea of what he was writing about, while the collocation of his words and phrases render his language almost unintelligible. I experience more difficulty in finding the meaning of his language, than the truth of this demonstration.

¹¹⁰ It would be interesting to know how many readers of this diary recognize from their own days at their own alma maters the scene described here.

Sept. 14th

The day has been highly agreeable, especially in the evening. . . . [128] the most interesting part of the meeting was witnessing the debut of a freshman into the flowery fields of oratory. Now we like modesty so that it manifested not too much at the expense of some other quality, but we do detest vanity in all shapes. This novice had the presumption to get upon the floor no less than four times. This it is true may be pardoned in him, because he is a new member, and does not know that the most dignified and parliamentary usage is to speak only once, and never to interrupt the speaker unless it be for a gross misrepresentation which he makes. This gentleman however, acquitted himself honorably. He battled successfully with a Junior both in wit and argument. . . .

Sept 15th

. . . [129] In the morning I attended on the Hall, heard some beautiful declamation and composition. Some one had been so industrious as to make some very sarcastic remarks upon the debate last night, which were deposited in the box and read before the Hall.¹¹¹ The authors however seemed to be greatly devoid of sense of propriety . . . which rendered the piece very personal. I regretted that I did not interpose my own voice and have the reading of the piece stopped, but the worst had come as I thought before it was possible for me to do so. Another piece subscribed "Elbow" gave a few hunches to the inexperienced freshmen, warning them against the insidious designs of a man here who is held in very low repute for his mean character. He holds sometimes secret communication with the inmates of rooms by means of key-holes. The rascal betrayed the guilt in his face. I am sorrow to say that I once had an intimacy with him. I read in the evening about a hundred pages of the Treatise of Voltaire on Toleration. This is a remarkable piece of composition. Its loose arrangement may at first pre-dispose one to think that there is any argument in it but upon nicer discrimination it will be found to contain a great deal of argument.¹¹² . . .

[134] Sept. 20th

I have at last found a subject for composition, exercise in which I mostly intend this diary.¹¹³ I have for the subject of my com-

¹¹¹ See Appendix B for an explanation of the function of the "box" referred to here, and its connection with the existing methods of teaching students how to read, write, and think.

¹¹² One wonders whether Voltaire on "Toleration" made Garrett any more tolerant of the acts of his classmates whom he criticizes so frankly.

¹¹³ This little "set piece" is included as a good example of the kind of composition which was required of the student in his rhetoric classes; about five hundred words long, it is doubtless the ancestor of the modern freshman, unique (thank heavens!) exercise called a "theme."

position for Gov. Swain to day the noted aphorism of Lord Bacon. "Reading makes a full man., conversation a ready man, and writing an accurate man." I regarded it in my composition which I have prepared to hand in as a complete system of education and from some remarks made by the President I must use the vanity of stating that he coincides with me, while others of the students tooke different, or if different only assented to the propositions. No perfect system of education has ever been formed, such a system as would lay down easy and simple propositions, carry the mind by a gentle and almost imperceptible gradation from proposition to proposition from truth to thruth & from principle to principle, and make the way to knowledge smooth and delightful. Far from it. The best systems are attended with difficulty, and all knowledge must be acquired by the most strenuous exertion. The renown of having given the best system to the world is due to Lord Bacon a system which is as comprehense and as easy as the imperfections of the human intellect will allow, one instance only is necessary for illustration. Reading makes a full man. But what does reading imply ? Does it merely mean that one should pronounce the words and run through the sentences of an author ? If it comprehends no more than this the proposition would be utterly false. But further, does it imply merely the [135] acquiring the sense ? Evidently one could not be termed a full man who read only with this view. It implies some thing infinitely greater. It presupposes in the first place habits of attention, training the mind in elementary truths, and a knowledge of the laws of generalization and analogy. This must be the preperation, in order that after discovering the sense and gaining a knowledge of events their relation may be observed, & their effect discovered the dependance of one fact upon another, reworked, and deductions drawn. In fine there must be a full and perfect exercize of the reasoning faculties Comparison and causiality must enter largely as digesting materials in the mas of rubbish and crude matter. Besides Reading implies a use of memory. For of what advantage would it be to gain facts, and methodise the relation of circumstances or draw deductions and establish truths, if indistinctly imprinted upon the memory they are soon blotted out. Reading therefore although it may be an amusing exercise at some time, yet to read for instruction is a work of the greatest difficulty employing the attention to discern, reason to apply, and memory to retain what we read. Such an exercise as this can not fail to be the most instructive Conversation also if it do mean mere tatling and writing if it do not imply scribbling are also exercises which can not fail to improve Indeed there is not probably a single instance of the rise of any great men, or at least any well ballanced mind

who has not employed these three means of [136] acquiring knowledge in their just proportion Gov. Swain mentioned the name of Gov. Graham of this state as an instance of a great man who has ballanced his education according to the maxim of Lord Bacon. His writings and speeches show that he has not neglected Rhetoric, nor has he failed to employ his time in useful reading.

[139] Sept 22nd

The day has been exceedingly dull as almost all Saturdays are [140] at College¹¹⁴ I did nothing in the morning although I had intended to read several pages of Hume. This was the fault of one of my new alliances, I mean that one [of] the new students having contracted a friendship for me as I am glad to mention, requested me most earnestly to call upon him at some leisure hour and he would gratify my verry intense delight in a game at backgammon. . . . We played untill we could quit on even grounds. I was glad of this fortune of the game, for my natural propensity to exult in success might be too overbearing for my new fledged companion at least it would have been impolite, with as refined a little fellow as he is. His name is Shepherd.¹¹⁵ In the evening I spent a few hours in the Library of the Dialectic Society . . . supposing that I might find some book which might make a valuable addition to my catalouge which I shall read while I am here. I found none scearcely except what we have in our library. I think the selection is not superior to that of the Philanthropic, the arrangement not half as good.

[145] Sept. 28

The middle of the session has arrived and the time for sending out reports to the parents and guardians of the students has come. Great excitement prevails in College with regard to them.¹¹⁶ It is most amusing to see the Freshmen gathering about in crowds and squadrons, discussing the respective [146] merits of each

¹¹⁴ This is a characteristic "college Saturday" for Garrett, with the possible exception that he seldom "played" this much.

¹¹⁵ Possibly Frederick Charles Shepard, 1849-1851, from Raleigh; Garrett's condescending attitude suggests a freshman which Shepard would have been at this time. Battle, *Sketches*, 206.

¹¹⁶ The University regulations provided for seven levels of grades at the time Garrett was there: "very good," "good," "very respectable," "respectable," "tolerable," "bad," "very bad." Battle, *History of the University*, I, 553. A student also received marks as to degrees of distinction if his marks were good enough; there were three grades of these: first distinction, if all or nearly all grades were "very good"; if they all averaged "good" the result was second distinction; if the average was "very respectable," third distinction was awarded. For Garrett's student record, see the biographical sketch and note 7, above. It is impossible to tell with absolute accuracy when Garrett ceased being a freshman, a sophomore, or a junior, but judging from records referred to in the biographical sketch he is now, September, 1849, a junior.

their rank in the class, and what each one claims for himself. Here is a verry good oportunity for investigating that folly of all men, vanity. . . . We had a fine display of eloquence this evening in the Hall. Such grand conceptions! . . . To give an instance, one debator was in favor of a rail-road to cross the Rocky mountains, and connect the lakes of the north with the pacific, by which the commerce of Europe might be exported up the St. Lawrance, scale the waterfalls of the roaring cataract, undismayed, mount the steep heights of the Rocky mountains, and empty herself in the Pacific. Grand conception! worse than the Bentonion.¹¹⁷

Sept 29th

This day has been one eventful in one respect probably the most eventful that I have passed at College.¹¹⁸ A peice this morning was read from the box. It accused a man of evesdropping, under the same name as one which was read a few weeks ago. The man whom it accused rose upon the floor and charged me with the authorship in a language peculiarly agravating. When he took his seat I arose and charged him with evesdoping me. This was a literal deduction from the Course which he [147] presumed. I could do nothing more, but emediately upon this he advanced towards and drew from his breast a pistol but droped it before he could get a chance even to cock it. The President ordered that he be put out of the hall which was immediately executed. Upon the house coming to order I stated to the President that I did write the piece. The matter stood in this position untill night. McDuffie a man for whom I have hitherto regarded verry highly came to my room to settle the matter. He stated as a reason why his roommate charged the authorship to me was that he had heard a report that I had accused him of the charge made in the piece. True I did. I had reason founded on circumstantial evidence to suspect him. I did not however try to traduce a man's character for nothing. I warned my friends who have lately come

¹¹⁷ A sarcastic reference to Benton Utley; see note 35, above. The St. Lawrence seaway was finally completed and opened to traffic in July, 1958, one hundred years after Garrett's remarks.

¹¹⁸ This week, ending October 5, was a momentous one in Garrett's University life. Duelling was forbidden by the early bylaws of the University, yet relatively common. Battle records that two students were expelled for the offense in 1803. *History of the University*, I, 198. The Faculty Journals for this period are spotted with instances of students being punished for pulling dirks and pistols on classmates, especially in the first three decades of the nineteenth century; such activity did, however, decrease as time passed. For some unknown reason there is no evidence in University records that Garrett's episode was brought to the attention of the faculty in such a way as to punish any of the participants; the intermediary in the affair, referred to immediately below, is probably Malcom J. Macduffie, freshman declaimer in 1848, graduated with second distinction in 1851 in the same class with Garrett. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 510, 521, 624, 803.

to college against the insidious designs of this mean fellow and in giving plausibility to this I related the circumstances to them upon which I founded the disgraceful charge. When McDuffie attempted to settle the difficulty, I told him all that I have said with regard to him, told him that it was a matter of indifference to me whether he committed the crime or not. I only wished him to make an explanation to the public who would acquit or condemn him if it was or was not clear. I did not consider that I was injured, if such had been the case, only those who do not want a rascal at their door catching their secrets through the key-hole

Sept. 30th

This the Sabbath but it does not appear like a Sabbath to me. [148] At every step I am in danger of being attacked. I know not in what way, whether from behind a wall in the open field, whether by myself or in a crowd. One attempt at my life is a sufficient excuse for my going armed. I felt not right however. The idea of going to church with means for killing a man if he should attack me is the most unpleasant business I hope indeed that no one will think me wrong in this matter. I will act honorable if I can. I shall take the advice of those who are most respected, and who have firmly engrafted in them gentlemanly principles. I hope I may be excused from writing further my feelings and thoughts do not prompt it.

Oct 1st

I had entered upon my duties this week with much alacrity. I had so far as I could cast aside the thoughts of a few days ago, when an incident occurred unparalleled in the history of my life. The fellow with whom I had a slight broil and with whom I reflected the charge must be burdensome made an attack upon me this evening. He demanded a statement of the charges which I had reported him to be guilty of. It was with effort it appeared that I could get him to place the right construction upon the matter. Actuated by a feeling of fear or cowardice, he was about to go off without requesting me to do any thing but not to speak to him. I told him in rather a jocular manner, or least contemptuous, that I should not have done that at any rate. This inflamed him, and seeing his friend start to turn back, who had left us speaking in the road, he did not hesitate to attack thinking it impossible that he would [149] get whiped before he could come to his assistance. He struck me first in the eye and bruised it considerably. I engaged with him but found my strength not sufficient to make any impression upon him and that he would severely injure me. I got myself disengaged. This however was

affected principally by the aid of my friend Moore¹¹⁹ who was with me in my walk. McKay's¹²⁰ friend for such is the name of this man, had hold of me and when I found what I was about, I raised upon my knee, and seeing my antagonist about ten steps in the hands of my friend. I requested him leave him, and I immediately drew a pistol and determined to shoot him, but the cap passed and the pistol snapped.¹²¹ I can not now say that this was fortunate though I may be inclined to think so, as my friends tell me, in after life. McKay made his threat that he would take my life upon first sight. While his friend says I passed the same threat, but I am firmly convinced that I did no such thing. Moore says I did not who was perfectly cool. White was frightened verry much, and his testimony ought not to be relied on much. When I came up to College I met John Manning,¹²² my friend who advised me to arm myself and on the first aggressive movement to shoot him. This is what I have determined to do. But before I go to bed to night the scene changes. McDuffie comes to me and ask on the part of McKay that I retract my threat I told him that if [I] made any threat it was the fartherest from my intention, which I deemed as much as I could admit. I told him further that it was my privilege to demand the first retra[c]tion He told me that McKay had determined not to put [150] his threat into execution. I did not think he would, for he is too much coward for that, he knew that I would be too quick for him. I do not however feel any more safety at present, for I can not depend on his word. I think he is mean enough to shoot me from ambush I should not probably think this, but others concur with me In this position the matter stands. The fellow however will not attempt any thing verry serious I hope, I should regard.

Oct. 2nd

I did not go to prayers this morning. I slept with my friend Moore last night, who did me such great service on the battle field last

¹¹⁹ John W. Moore, Hertford County, graduated in 1853. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 804.

¹²⁰ It is difficult to identify Garrett's assailant accurately, since the incident appears not to have come to the attention of the two Societies or faculty. One Neill McKay, sophomore declaimer, 1849, and trustee of the University from 1862-1868, is a possibility; Battle, *History of the University*, I, 521, 825; also, one Neill McKay, Jr. from Memphis, freshman declaimer in 1848, graduated with third distinction the same year as Garrett may be the attacker; Battle, *History of the University*, I, 625, 803. We cannot eliminate Daniel N. and John A. McKay from Cumberland County, who graduated in 1853 as "next best scholars" in that year; *Battle, History of the University*, I, 636, 804.

¹²¹ Garrett's sentence structure in this entire passage may suffer from the emotion involved; it is difficult to determine, for example, the antecedent of the three "him's" in this particular sentence.

¹²² John Manning, Jr., graduated, 1850; declaimed his senior year on "The Influence of Religion on Law," Battle, *History of the University*, I, 616.

evening. He is a brave boy, cool and collected, yet active and resolute. His excitement only puts him into action without tending to paralyze any of his efforts. My feelings this morning were very disagreeable. My intention was fixed that if I saw any movement towards an attack, the least motion I should not hesitate to kill the man who so wantonly disturbed my peace. No sign however has so far been perceived by which I might judge that he had the least intention of killing me, and indeed he looked upon me rather suspiciously than otherwise. But if he expects that I shall attempt his life he sets a higher value on it than I do. He is a dishonest and a dishonorable man, and while I can not meet him under these circumstances upon a field of honor, the dishonor of attacking even a dog without giving him notice, would even deter me from making the least aggressive movement. The intense excitement which pervades college has not scarcely seemed to decline. I [151] have already been fatigued with the solicitations of my friends for my safety. I say for my own Credit too that I am supported in my conduct by the largest part of the students. The least expression of distrust on my part, that I have not acted right and honorable, has always been met almost invariably by the exclamation "You did perfectly right," or some similar one.

Oct 3rd

The intense excitement under which I have labored for sometime has completely deranged my thoughts. The disposition of my time has been quite irregular. I can [not] read, or study with much advantage.

Oct 4th

It is only after the storm has passed that the mariner is able to estimate the wounded and shattered condition of his vessel, thus it is only in calm tranquility that we are able to judge of the proprieties of our own conduct, it is at that time alone that prudence is allowed to dictate to men what is demanded of them. In reviewing my conduct for the last week in an affair of a very serious nature I am led to conclude that I have made a most fortunate escape an escape not from the hands of my antagonist, but an escape from crime and probably from disgrace. When experience teaches that although men may plead self-preservation, honor, and the like as incentive to kill a man, although they may shield themselves against the arm of the law, and against the reproaches of some, yet that there is something which dwells in the name of the murderer, which [152] will drive away peace, and repose, honor and respect, which will always traduce the character of a man in public estimation, men should look with

distrust upon the instrument of death. When I reflect upon my peculiar situation, attempting to procure a liberal education, by the assistance of kind friends, having nothing to sustain me but my own good name, and when I reflect that it must have been most mortifying to my pride, to be tried for murder, however freely and honorably acquitted I can not but regard it fortunate that the pistol which I snapped did not take fire. Passion prompted on the occasion. This is what I plead, yet I say that I was cool and collected, and snapped the pistol deliberately. It was not in a violent transport of rage that I did it. This is a degree to which I am scarcely ever raised. And after all, after considering that some of the opprobrium belonging to the murderer belongs also to him who endeavors to commit it I can think that I have transported myself beyond the bounds of reason and sense. I shall never probably look upon my conduct as wrong but as resulting entirely from necessity. I shall probably do the same thing and may-be a little worse, if ever an occasion calls for it. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and I have it as an old maxim "Follow nature she is the best guide.[""]¹²³

Oct 5th

I have not been entirely free from disturbance to day, my mind has not recovered from its distraction. When I attempt to study some incident of the almost tragical scene through which [153] I have passed last week, involuntarily rushes into my mind. I hope that I shall not be longer disturbed. I will endeavor to forget it as far as I can. The only thing that I have performed to day has been to get my lessons in Rhetoric. I shall always find delight in them, and by study of this art I hope to attain to the greatest success. Gov. Swain expressed to the class the idea that the whole and sole object of study was to express our thoughts in the best language either in speaking or writing. I may be able to attain perspicuity and purity, but very little of the elegance and grace of composition.

(October 6-9, inclusive, are devoted by Garrett to summaries of his reading, primarily history.)

[159] Oct 10th

I have been almost devoted to figures to-day. The Class has got to that part of the course of studies when they take up Calculus. We had a dissertation, I will call it on infinitesimals, a most curious piece of reasoning. I do not profess to have gained much

¹²³ Garrett's unenviable self-satisfaction emerges in entries like this, as does his sense of self-righteousness in others; see also entries for October 13 and November 3, 1849, below.

of the sense that was intended, but it must be most sublime. One circumstance alone renders it truly sublime. When we have any immense object before us which requires the utmost tension of the human faculties to grasp, scarcely ever does the mind attempt to raise itself to a contemplation of it without feeling an awful and elevating sensation. Warm imaginations often wrapt in transport and ecstasy. I by no means insinuate that merely reasoning with the author excites such an emotion, yet when I lay aside my book and quietly contemplated infinity for a moment I felt a slight creeping on of that sublime sensation. Contemplations of this character are often delightful—nothing is better calculated to refine the feelings, and elevate the tone of sentiment than frequent adorations of the wonders which God has made.¹²⁴

[165] Oct. 13th

I failed to mention a few days ago what report the Faculty have given me this session. How much soever of honor it may gain me I must be allowed to transcribe it.—In French Verry respectable, in Latin and Mathematicks good, and in Rhetoric very good, taking in its course all the distinction which the College confers. 3d 2d and 1st I made my observation also upon the untutored Freshmen which was entirely satisfactory. [166] Carried away by their natural propensity—vanity—they never cease to praise and blame. They have not learned to conceal their vanity, and while they concede that their reports were entirely satisfactory, yet the Faculty had not done them justice. Others not even knowing the art of bragging, rant and rave, they become in an instant almost furious, and finding no other way to vent their spleen the[y] swear that they will appeal to the class, no wise doubting that they will judge more favorably of their standing. Oh ! vanity Vanity ! vanity ! But lest I show this disgusting trait by dwelling on it too long I will stop for the present.

(October 14-18, inclusive, readings in history. A prolonged rainstorm began October 18.)

[175] Oct 19th

The rain has continued to day. All faces look gloomy and dull Cloaks umbrellas, and overshoes are thing much in vogue, the wind is quite still and the rain nothing but a drizzle. Every body is confined within doors No one can be seen passing across the campus, except when the hour for recitation arrives [176] . . .

¹²⁴ This discussion in mathematics class may well have led to Garrett's perception of the relationship between mathematics and religion, expressed below on October 24.

The debate in the Society this evening was quite short, and if I may not give offence by my sarcasm I will say not verry deep.

...

Oct. 20th

It seems that the students driven almost to dispair had got, in their last extremity, a new impulse. The rain continued to day and kept them close Confined, but when night arrived, they hit upon a plan by which they imagined they would be able to break the bars that surrounded them. Having taken in them a sufficient quantity of liquor to render them to some degree insensible to outward and probably inward things, they began to brave the fury of the storm Forgetting hat cloak umbrella or any thing to protect them, they marched boldly forth under the dark canopy of a cloudy night, and more that they minded the rain as little as did the bull the great when he alighted upon his horn. . . .

Oct 21st

I did not attend prayers this morning on account of the rain which continued to fall. When for mercy's sake will the rain cease ? I am so tired of staying in my room that I am unable to do any thing at all. . . . Indisposition from my cough which is but little improved adds another to the already unbearable ills of the hour I have endeavored to write something to day but find that it was utterly impossible. . . .

[179] Oct 23rd

I entered this evening upon the first Phillipic of Cicero.¹²⁵ The plain and simple style of his orations make them easy to translate. I regreted somewhat that we had finished the *de senectute* and *de amicitio*¹²⁶ of the same author, for during two weeks we have been reviewing these and as I was able to read them upon the spur of the moment, I did not apply my time to reviewing them at my room. This afforded me an oportunity to read, in which I am now very much interested The taking up of Cicero's Phillipics at this juncture had something of discomfiture in it,

¹²⁵ Delivered in September, 44 B.C., against the policy of Marc Antony, a conciliatory speech favoring peace. Restoration of the commonwealth was Cicero's aim—and so Garrett may have seen his own desire for preservation of the Union reflected here.

¹²⁶ Garrett's senior declamation, "Virtue Alone Makes Men Free," doubtless had its beginnings in this, the *De Amicitia*, and the fifth of the Tusculan Disputations, which discuss whether virtue alone is sufficient for happiness; Cicero—and Garrett—adopts the Stoic view that the virtuous man is always happy. The *De Amicitia* is concerned with the nature of friendship and its governing principles—founded on and preserved by virtue, it owes to virtue the harmony, permanence, and loyalty which are its essential features. It was one of the two books where Dante sought and found consolation after the death of Beatrice.

but after reading a little I find that far from being dry they are highly interesting and contain some as valuable historical information as any book which I could read. I am more content to read them therefore as serving my double purpose¹²⁷

[182] Oct 25th

This evening I had the pleasure of a verry agreeable walk with a friend of mine and my room mate. I can not say that they give me peculiar delight by their social intercourse, but the conversation turned upon a singular subject, one which is interesting on the present occasion on account of the seeming unfitness for the time and circumstance. Truely all would say than an evening strole was not a fit occasion to discuss infinity. This should be the subject of thought in the retired and secluded corner, where stilness invites to meditation, . . . How wonderful is space ! how dificult ! how impossible to conceive an utter void, where reigns nothing, and is nothing, filling and coextensive with eternity. How numberless the stars ! how vast the spaces of their orbits. How omnipotent is God ! Can any one doubt but that there is a God when he sees all these demonstrations of his will and his power ! Oh inconceivable mystery ! Better were it that man even in pride should bow in humble and devoted belief, than employ his weak faculty of reason in solving such wonderful works. It is enough that when he sees the demonstrations of some infinite power, he reason there must be some being who has formed these things, and resolve the tide of the [183] universe in God. . . . The man that says he reasons further, has lost the use of the faculty, has basely perverted its purpose. . . . Such the conclusions that we attained. I can not myself see that men have perverted reason. Let us endeavor to grasp the universe in our conception. We suspect that there are numberless worlds disposed throughout immensity—mark that we can not reason about that which is numberless from its multiplicity—or from its countless divisibility. But stop. Ours is a solar system comprehending within its bounds several planets, ours may be a planet, along with many, to another system, that to another, and this to another, and this to another and this to another and this to another, but if we repeat untill the end of time we can not conceive that we have numbered a particle of universal space much less can we grasp those repetitions already made, and have in our view the chain of worlds and systems they comprehend Evidently we can not reason about that of which we have no conception. Man without education has been called a reasoning savage,

¹²⁷ It is interesting to note that nowhere does Garrett comment on the contribution of Latin to his handling of English; the reason may be that the usefulness of Latin was such a foregone conclusion that its relationship to English writing had not yet been questioned.

but is but this, with it. The greatest amount of knowledge, the most clear and comprehensive mind, can not but enable him to see God in his works¹²⁸

Oct. 26th

. . . I participated in the debate this evening following in reply to Mr. Johnston of the Senior Class.¹²⁹ He expressed and supported the opinion that "all laws in direct opposition to the will of a majority of those whom they are designed to govern should be repealed" I did not get the separate arguments of the gentleman and did not reply directly to him. I can not give myself the honor of making an off-hand reply to arguments that have been digested by one so able to reason and to judge. I declared my own opinion against the proposition and mainly supported by the train of reasoning. Instead of debating the question in the form in which it stands above, I resolved into one which did not admit of ambiguity and which is entirely the meaning intended to be expressed by the first, that whether the opposition of a law to the will of a majority of those whom they are intended to govern be repealed? In the first place I made the observation that there were but two elements in every state so far as rights were concerned, individuals and society. I conceive of society as being endowed with will and action, and life and strength, capable of exercising her own power for her own promotion and security, as possessing rights and privileges which she is at liberty to wield in any way she may see fit within the limits of justice. That individuals in the formation of society reserved some of their natural rights, which it were not prudent, nor just to deliver up, and that justice is contract which sets limits to the encroachments of both, to authority of their actions. Ought a law conformable to this contract be repealed, does the opposition to the will of the majority afford a reason why it should be repealed? [185] Evidently the majority as an active agent in government is the representative of society and must be restrained within the limits of the authority of society. If Society has no right to violate individual right, it is highly wrong that the representative having only the measure of her authority should do so. . . . All laws which secure individuals in the possession and

¹²⁸ This statement of rationalism could stem from any one of the several sources of it in Garrett's reading or classroom discussion; most likely is Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Times* (1711), a copy of which was among the first books in the University Library. Connor, *Documentary History*, II, 38.

¹²⁹ The following entry is further evidence of the convictions on which Garrett's political creed was to be based, leading to, perhaps, his failure to gain the military rank he sought in the Confederate army; the senior he answers is William H. Johnston, from Tarboro. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 802.

exercise of the natural priviledges which they have reserved for themselves, and for securing such an end a portion of natural power had been given to society, should not be repealed, nor should laws be enacted which serve to destroy the original purpose of society. These laws seem at first sight but few in number but they are in truth many, not only extending themselves to the rights but to the interest of mankind. But the original question whether the opposition to the will of the majority be any reason why a law should be repealed, I conceive is answered, that the majority have not stability sufficient. Their judgement in the experience of mankind is fickle, that is borne and dying with the blest tone which made it.

(October 27-November 2 devoted to plans for a chronological table for correlating historical events, and summaries of readings in Elizabethan history.)

[201] Nov. 3rd

I shall notice to day our labor on our Chronological Table.¹³⁰ We did not get to work to day untill the evening, . . . We had not been employed at it more than an hour when one of the students interupted us with the unwelcome inteligence that some ladies wished to visit the library that evening, and we must leave it. We gathered up all the books which we were using, and notwithstanding the inconvenience of the place determined to go to our friend's room I mean my copartner in this work, but vexation worse than ever, the room was full of gamesters, [202] this is the misfortune against which I warned my friend when first I saw him engage in play, that his room would be full of gamesters, and impolite dogs they would sit and bore a man all day. . . . I advise my friend throw every gaming instrument out of his room and admit none of these bores afterwards, plainly tell them that he must not be interupted. He might loose a little mushroom popularity, but he would gain an incalculable advantage. I would not have a game played in my room upon no conditions under the sun. I would meet the man at the door and drive him back were he to attempt to come into my room with a gameing instrument. Nor would I be vaguerous [gregarious?] enough to go into another man's room and play without being invited.

Nov. 4th

This is the Sabbath and a verry pleasant day it has been. . . . I had only one [203] cause that I remember which would create disgust. I could not were I in a situation to do so with effect use

¹³⁰ This was a historical table, similar to those in modern school texts, showing the degree of contemporaneity of certain authors or events.

more reproachful words or be moved with stronger disgust, at any thing than at misconduct in Church. It is true that I have been at College long enough to see the unmanly practice of lying down on the benches and going to sleep in church, untill my senses have become somewhat blunted. I do not now feel that overwhelming contempt with which I first regarded this practice. I sought relief from it by going to the Chapel in the village where the tranquility of the place, the stillness which pervades every thing about, invited to calm thought, and peaceful feeling, but two young men this evening gave me a shock which in that place I was little prepared to bear. I was sitting listening verry attentively to the first lesson, some one brushed me violently as the[y] passed along the aisle near which I was and into which my elbow was extended. They who passed were two young men students in verry high standing among the rest, they were d[r]essed in verry fine style approaching somewhat to the dandy, magnificent collars standing above their cravats which they had purposely got alike pressing up their heads so as to cause them to assume what they thought might seem dignity, their hands covered with white-kid gloves which they seemed careful to extend that they might be seen, but what was still worse they had painted their faces, extending on their upper lip what they vainly though might be taken for a fine mustach. Unfortunately for their credit however one had red hair or rather light auburn, which coresponded most [204] unnaturally with the black lips. These foolish mocking youth could not content themselves with a seat with the rest of the congregation, they went up to the side of the altar in a most conspicuous place, and took seats almost in front of the rest of the people I can not conceive that they can excuse themselves upon the plea that they have a right to go to church as they please, that they can dress as they please that they can sit in church where they please. Every man is bound to observe those rules of decency and propriety of conduct which Society establishes, and whoever transgresses them should be cast of[f] the pale of gentlemen, they should meet the scorn and indignation and contempt of the whole circle in which he lives Much more severe reprehension should he meet who goes to Church to mock and deride, who shows disrespect to that service which God has ordained for his Church.¹³¹

[206] Nov. 7th

I have to note to day my resolution of remaining on the Hill this vacation. I own that I am free from any of those childish whims which make many long for home. I know too that that for me

¹³¹ The Faculty Journal has no entry on punishment for this; possibly the minister had a sense of humor and considered the source!

is not a place of comfort and happiness, that I can easily forget the joys but not the sorrows connected with my home I have no inducement but to see Aunt. I can forego this to keep from me the recollection of my sorrows. I have then no inducement to go home, there are many that I should remain here. I have an extensive library for my use. I have collected in it a heap of happiness which I wish to drain. I can imagine to myself a warm fire and I sitting reading regardless of the raging storm without. Can there be a purer happiness, a more void-filling joy than this Love of education is worth any thing, it must be its power of dispensing some such joy as this.—I am convinced indeed that my time will pass profitably and happily. I shall content myself with the decision of Bro. Preston, to whom I have written for that purpose.¹³²

[210] Nov. 11th

The Sabbath has again come and gone. I have gone my usual round of duties. I can not say religious, although they consist in such as attending prayers and church, recitation in the Bible & C. I could wish that those duties went down with more grace.¹³³ I am of opinion that religious duties at College are not attended with much good [if] they are performed as a task, they make to students the chains of slavery; which in whatever form they come are disagreeable. Often disgust and contempt and disrespect to religion are engendered, they not only serve to deter them from performing the duties which become all men, but bring along in their train those more fatal consequences of corruption, always attendant upon want of reverence Infidelity seizes hold of the infatuated and dizzy intellect, the whole nature becomes changed. From Character loving virtue and fearing God, they are lewd, licentious. The moral courage capable of resisting temptations, is found wanting.

Nov. 12th

I shall devote this page to a notice of the next chapter of the excellent reflections upon the rise and fall of the ancient republicks comprising a view of Athens. . . . [211] The fatal error of lodging too much power into the hands of the people, so as to give

¹³² University regulations as early as 1796 permitted students to remain in the rooms during vacation, subject to all rules except payment of tuition. Connor, *Documentary History*, II, 29. Apparently the faculty felt that only the most serious would elect to remain. See also entry for November 24, 1849, below. If Garrett ever heard from his brother he does not record the fact; the exact nature of the decision cannot be determined, other than that implied—whether to remain in Chapel Hill during the vacation period.

¹³³ This section is included as typical of several such frank and revealing criticisms Garrett makes of the conduct of the religious life of the University. Even his pious nature began to rebel.

this estate a preponderance in a mixed government [,] the encouragement given to factions and demagoguism, had finally their ruinous consequences. Never was there ever witnessed in any state such turmoil and strife and party contention—a state although not entirely inconsistent with [the existence of] freedom, completely destructive of the enjoyment of its blessings. The interest of the country was often disregarded, even prostituted to that of party. Ambitious leaders and factious demagogues kept the city in [212] utter confusion, no wise regarding the rights of citizens, if they obtained their avaricious designs. Liberty must soon take her flight from such a region. The fact which our author takes hold of as the basis of an argument, speaks much for Athenian taste and genius, but shows how deeply luxury and licentiousness had imbued them with vices the most destructive to liberty. That a fund should be supplied by the state for the public exhibition of the theatre, while the people affected a cruel indifference to all matters connected with the peace and safety of the country, must manifest a state of morality utterly inconsistent with liberty, which must be purchas[ed] at the price of the morals of each individual citizen. Passion for any particular thing is easily caught and disseminated among a people. There may be a large number who will assume an attitude of defiance if they see any thing in its approach dreadful, but these stout hearts will be gradually overcome. The general tenor of feeling and sentiments will change, that which might have seemed the monster of hideousness may perhaps become the darling of the public, that which seemed delightful will on the contrary assume the aspect of deformity. No time can be more dangerous than when some evil passion has been excited, and has become the impulse to action.¹³⁴ It is thus in a people, as it is with the sober. The former impeded by the common motive to action, press on, bearing down all before them, breaking through every restraint that does oppose them committing every excess of which the heart is capable, until grown dizzy with these very excesses, they [213] go their round, senseless, unconscious, obeying they know not how the blind impulse of passion. . . . Some silly fellow's voice from a window of the adjacent building suggest an illustration very apt. Having collected round him a crowd of admiring associates he is singing to them in very audible tones a negro song yes one of those real negro songs which some senseless booby of Africa has made, yes a student of the University of N. Carolina, singing a fine negro song, turning and twisting the tune into all kinds of shapes as most suited his fancy, and bless his fancy! has a bad one for I am sure it is not so pretty as it came originally from the thick lips of some darky I am inclined to believe that this young man's taste and

sense are perverted grossly. He may excite surprise, with some, but with whom besides with those by whom he is surrounded will be ever excite admiration? A sonet will never hang upon his lips. He will probably find better employment in some kitchen with others of his inward if not outward hue. He is not and never will be striving to attain noble ends by noble means. How important to have [214] right objects in view? for as much power and strength are commonly employed in striving after a bad thing as well as a good one. . . .

(Entries from November 13-19 are devoted wholly to summaries of and reflections on readings in Greek and Roman history, plus a summary of a Sunday sermon.)

[228] Nov. 20th

The amusement which college affords at this time is verry little the improvement has never been much. I have been verry unhappily situated this session with regard to room, and the general state of spirits. I have been here without the means of paying the debts which I have contracted for my expenses, a situation truly annoying, especially when we consider that debtors are here continually dunned [;] my feelings are embittered by the continual recollection of a broil with a man who is now infamous.¹³⁵ But for the fact that my room mate is the dispenser of comfort in all situations, I might probably have sunk under the accumulated weight of so many misfortunes I was so fortunate as to receive last mail money for the payment of my debts. I feel much more comfortable. May heaven avert the return of a like state of misfortunes.

Nov. 21st

I can express gratification at seeing a duty which the students owe to Dr Green who is about to leave College, to take charge of the Bishopric of Mississippi, fulfilled.¹³⁶ A meeting was held a few weeks ago to propose a suitable present to testify to him our respect and regret at his leaving. A silver was voted, which has been made to order. The Pitcher is a verry neat one [229] indeed. It bears the inscription "Presented to Dr. Wm. M. Green by the Students of the University of N Carolina Nov. 1849." It was presented to day, but I regret to say in a verry informal

¹³⁴ This little essay on "passions," a favorite topic in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, shows—among other things—the stuffy side of Garrett's personality; he seems to feel distinctly above what he considers the cheap amusements of his classmates.

¹³⁵ This undoubtedly refers to the duelling episode recorded on September 29-October 4.

¹³⁶ William Mercer Green; see note 94, above.

manner, a committee only being appointed to be bearers of it to him at his house. He returned a verry pretty letter as a fare-well address to the Students Dr Green will depart soon for his destination. Many regrets will follow him. He is eminently pious, kind, and benevolent.

[233] Nov. 26th

. . . . This is the first day of the week of the examination at College.¹³⁷ The bustle and hurry which such an exercise is attended have driven away from me to day all serious reflection. We were buzzy all day so that I did not have time to visit the Library. The laws of the society forbid books to be taken from the library. This week of a consequence has been quite dull.

[234] Nov. 27th

The examination of the students continued through this day. The ambition of some to raise their distinctions and of others to hold to what they have already, and the apprehension of some that they will be disapproved, have excited considerable bustle in the walls of College. Instead of remaining quiet in their rooms and doing their duty to their studies by reviewing, most of them are filled with the utmost consternation, runing wildly about and endeavoring to gain from the older students their thoughts of the probable results of a trial of their knowledge in the various departments. Few I perceive know how to be calm in the midst of doubt and danger. Still less do they know how to exert the abilities which they have, in the proper direction for usefulness and safety. If we may judge according to the old adage that the drift of the straws tells the direction of the current, in as simple a

¹³⁷ Except for annual examinations, there were apparently no fixed examinations, comparable, for example, with the modern college's mid-terms. Annual examinations were fixed by bylaws of 1810 as being on June 22, or if that day were Sunday, on June 23. According to Battle, examinations in the 1840's were little more than single recitations, sometimes oral, sometimes written, lasting from an hour to an hour and a half; when held during Commencement week, in the presence of the Trustees, nervous tension was great. The bylaws of 1796 encouraged invitation of parents and guardians to the event.

Cheating on examinations when the object was only to pass and not to get an honor was not considered dishonorable, but rather a trial of wit between class and professor, it being considered good fun to win. One of the ingenious means devised was boring a hole in the floor before the examination and passing questions on a string, written out, to a student below who was well-prepared; the answer was returned by the same means. Also, rocks, with questions on a piece of paper wrapped around them, were thrown out windows, answers being returned similarly. The following example of an entry connected with cheating, found in the Faculty Journal, University Archives, for Friday, January 26, 1849, is interesting: "David W. Fisher and William G. Little [admonished] for refusing to surrender a translation from which they were reciting to the tutor of languages."

matter as [an] examination, we see how dependent some make themselves upon the exertions of others, how they use servile and cunning means for the promotion of their fame, and how they substitute superfluosness for profundity

[235] Nov. 29th

I have shaken hands with most of my friends from whom I am to sepperate for six weeks. When I hear the sounding of the horse hoofs over the hard walk, as he trotted glibly off with some one or other of those with whom I have enjoyed the simple amusements of a college life, and who was endeared to me by the ties of acknowledged friendship, I felt the childish wish rise up in me that I might be permitted to partake in the pleasures which to him a vacation might bring. I checked or endeavored to check such idle whims, but I allowed no envy of their happiness. I do hope that all may enjoy those delights which they have gone to seek, I will remain at College where I can have access to an elegantly furnished library and will turn even these six weeks to my profit as well as pleasure. I have moved my lodging Instead of the verry incomfortable room on the first floor, I have occupied one on the third story, with two windows looking to the east. The site of the building is elevated which affords me a delightful prospect, extending about ten miles in the direction of Raleigh. The quiet of the place is already afforded me some comfort. I prefered a social mate than to be alone. Mr. Neely will keep me company for the vacation.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ No such person appears in the available records at this time.

[To be concluded]

BOOK REVIEWS

Charles Brantley Aycock. By Oliver H. Orr, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 394. \$7.50.)

This sympathetic but scholarly and palpably honest biography of North Carolina's famed "Educational Governor" fills a significant gap in the State's history. Not least among the obstacles which confronted Professor Orr, who teaches at North Carolina State College, is the sad paucity of Aycock materials. His long years of research in newspapers, the personal papers of Aycock's contemporaries, and in other sources probably goes about as far in filling out the main lines of the biography as is possible; but the softened, and often eulogistic, reminiscences of Aycock's contemporaries are a poor substitute for on-the-spot, heat-of-the-moment reactions.

The man who emerges from this study is, above all else, Aycock the orator. The pattern began early—at Chapel Hill the young man almost flunked out but made his mark speaking—and lasted until the very end, which came suddenly while the ex-governor addressed a Birmingham, Alabama, audience in 1912. A warm charming personality rather than a deep thinker or bold doer, Aycock poured no less fervor and contagious emotion into his famous white supremacy crusade than he did into his later appeals for universal education.

In the economic area, Orr shows Aycock to have been surprisingly conservative. He supported the Farmers Alliance's sub-treasury scheme and Federal regulation of railways only until "the radical farmers" had left the Democratic party to become Populists; despite a somewhat expedient conversion to the silver cause, Aycock always felt more loyalty to Grover Cleveland than to William Jennings Bryan. As his senatorial ambitions kindled toward the end of his life Aycock spoke in the fashionable progressive phrases of 1912, but one wonders if a 1900 statement had not been closer to his life-long,

and increasingly antiquated, view: "Good government and very little of it is the best government."

In line with this philosophy, Aycock's principal contribution to the cause of education is depicted as having been his oratorical exhortations in behalf of local rather than State support for the public schools. Orr interestingly relates Aycock's earlier Goldsboro experience with Negro and white schools to his later career, and frankly describes the incongruities involved in a convivial drinking man's eloquent efforts in behalf of state-wide prohibition.

In his preface, the author writes of "the work of the man" and the "power of the legend." If he perceives inconsistencies or ambiguities in the relationship of these two aspects, he is nowhere explicit about the matter. But Professor Orr has furnished abundant evidence for contemplation about a colorful human being and important political figure.

Robert F. Durden.

Duke University.

Eugene Clyde Brooks: Educator and Public Servant. By Willard B. Gatewood, Jr. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1960. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. ix, 279. \$6.00.)

This book is not the first written about a distinguished educational leader of North Carolina but it is certainly one of the best. Historians are slowly but surely recognizing that much of the State's progress is founded upon the work of those men whose chief characteristic has been their devotion to the causes of public education. Professor Gatewood's account of *Eugene Clyde Brooks: Educator and Public Servant* is substantial and at times eloquent testimony of that recognition.

The career of Brooks is traced from an impressionable childhood on a farm in Contentnea Neck in Lenoir County to his death in 1947. After graduating from Trinity College he worked briefly as a reporter for Josephus Daniels' *News and Observer*. Following this he was principal and superintendent of several schools. In 1903 he became assistant super-

intendent of schools under James Yadkin Joyner. His chief contribution in this office was made as executive secretary of Governor Aycock's Committee for the Promotion of Public Education. He soon returned to Goldsboro as superintendent of city schools but from 1907 to 1919 he served as professor of Education at Trinity College. As professor he was instrumental in making Trinity College a leader in the field of education. Meanwhile he had established a reputation as an author and as an editor. For seventeen years he edited *North Carolina Education*.

In 1919 he was appointed by Governor T. W. Bickett as State Superintendent of Public Instruction to fill the unexpired term of Superintendent James Yadkin Joyner. In 1923 Brooks resigned as superintendent to accept the presidency of State College.

Most people know of Brooks as a college teacher, State superintendent, and president of State College, but few are aware of his leadership in modernizing county government and in promoting the great Smoky Mountain National Park. In both of these fields he distinguished himself.

What was Brooks' greatest contribution to North Carolina? It was his leadership during the reactionary and early depression years, 1919-1923, that kept North Carolina from turning its back on two decades of progress toward a sound financial basis for a "general and uniform system of public education." Dr. Gatewood does not claim that Brooks alone was responsible for the movement toward State control and State support, but he does tell in a most effective manner how Brooks withstood the forces of reaction in education and led the forces of progress. If Brooks had done no more than this—and he did many other things—he would deserve to be ranked as one of the educational statesmen of North Carolina.

The book attractively printed is the product of painstaking research in the original sources which are listed in footnotes. Its scholarly objectivity does not keep Professor Gatewood from passing judgment and drawing conclusions.

The history of education in North Carolina during the past century has not been written, but *Eugene Clyde Brooks: Ed-*

ucator and Public Servant, is a step in that direction. It will appeal to the general reader as well as to the student and teacher.

D. J. Whitener.

Appalachian State Teachers College.

Thomas Wolfe: An Introduction and Interpretation. By Richard Walser. (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc. 1961. Pp. viii, 152. \$1.00.)

This paperback book needs a more permanent binding because of its value. One of the *American Authors and Critics Series*, it is published under the general editorship of Foster Provost and John Mahoney of Duquesne University with the sponsorship of the University.

Richard Walser, the author—one of the vital, productive and perceptive scholars on the North Carolina scene—is Professor of English at State College, Raleigh. Long a student of Thomas Wolfe and his writings, he has both a scholar's knowledge of and approach to Asheville's famous native son, the author of *Look Homeward, Angel* and other novels.

Professor Walser, in his new work on Wolfe, serves a useful purpose in co-ordinating the life and career of a literary figure whose great assets did not include orderly processes of living and writing.

The author of this new study, in a chapter on America and poetry, finds a pattern in Wolfe's novels—"a constant progression from romanticism toward realism, from rebellion toward maturity, from youth toward responsibility." It is a valid finding, for "he who was born Thomas Wolfe in the mountains of North Carolina in 1900 came out of the wilderness and poetry and wonder of America" as one who sought discovery, and an evaluation of what he found.

Tom Wolfe did see America as a land of paradoxes, of frightening loneliness but bright with promise; withal, a vital, moving America of haunting beauty.

Professor Walser helps the student find sense in Wolfe's life about which so much nonsense has been written.

This book has a useful Wolfe chronology, an excellent short biography and evaluations and interpretations of his novels. In *Look Homeward, Angel* Walser sees a lyrical quality rare in fiction. For those who criticize the lack of discipline, he answers that "without his ways, he would have been another writer entirely, minus richness and sensuousness and abundance." That is true.

Wolfe is identified with the American Dream, one that encompasses an ideal and a promise for young people everywhere in this land. He discovered through experience, Walser holds, that his lot was common to that of all men.

"Out of his life and out of this discovery came the books," Walser maintains. Perhaps that sentence should be amended to read: "Out of his life and out of his books came this discovery."

George W. McCoy.

Asheville.

Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Luther Hartwell Hodges, Governor of North Carolina, 1954-1961. Volume I, 1954-1956. Edited by James W. Patton. (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina. 1960. Pp. xxxiii, 691. Illustrations, and index. Free.)

This is the first volume of the official papers and addresses of Governor Luther H. Hodges of North Carolina. This stout tome covers only his first two years in office. A judicious biographical sketch by the editor, Professor James W. Patton of the University of North Carolina, outlines the remarkable career of a man who rose from humble origins to become vice-president of the Marshall Field textile empire. Though politically unknown, Hodges delved into politics upon his retirement from business and at the age of fifty-four waged a successful campaign for Lieutenant Governor of North Carolina in 1952. Within less than two years, the death of Governor William B. Umstead placed him in the Executive Mansion. Elected Governor for a full term in 1956, he thereby has served in that capacity longer than any other man elected to that position in the history of the State.

Hodges' approach to State government was that of a hard-headed businessman. With a view toward efficiency and sound fiscal management, he endorsed, and in most cases implemented, significant changes in budgetary, highway, prison, and higher education affairs. But his desire to raise the standard of living and per capita income of North Carolinians through industrialization will undoubtedly remain one of the chief distinctions of his administration. In a sense, Hodges was a North Carolina Henry Grady. A prodigious public speaker generally, he was an effective publicist for the cause of industry in particular. Therefore, the editor has justifiably included in this volume numerous papers which highlight various aspects of the Governor's industrial expansion program.

Ironically, however, the "overshadowing problem" of his first two years in office was not so much economic as social. It concerned racial segregation in the public schools. Professor Patton's skillful selection of papers on this problem gives a candid portrayal of the Governor's reaction to the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 and his strategy to "save" the public school system through a plan of "voluntary segregation on the part of both races." Considerable attention is focused upon the so-called Pearsall Plan and the Governor's numerous, sometimes controversial, remarks on the issue. Of especial interest are those items concerning the famous incident at A&T College and the Governor's defense of I. Beverly Lake in 1955.

The general excellence of this volume is all the more remarkable when one considers the vastness and variety of materials that confronted the editor. The choice of items, explanatory notes, and effective use of political cartoons in this work demonstrate Professor Patton's unusual editorial talents. His product offers a tantalizing survey of North Carolina during two turbulent years in the mid-fifties.

Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.
North Carolina Wesleyan College.

New Hanover County Court Minutes, Part 3, 1786-1793. Abstracted, compiled, and edited by Alexander McDonald Walker. (Bethesda, Maryland: Privately Printed. 1960. Pp. v, 121. \$5.00.)

In this volume, Mr. Walker has continued abstracting, compiling, and editing the minutes of the New Hanover County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. Reviewed in the January, 1960, issue of this publication, his first two volumes covered the periods 1738 to 1769 and 1771 to 1785. The original documents, repaired and rebound as necessary, are on file in the State Department of Archives and History.

No other single source is so rich in early county and local history as the minutes of the County Court. Inherited from England, this powerful administrative and judicial body functioned in each of the counties in North Carolina throughout the Colonial Era and until 1868 when the Constitution provided for the county commissioner form of government and revised the court system, thereby eliminating the county court.

Of particular interest is the fact that the court had cognizance over the appointment of administrators, executors, and guardians, and of the inventories and reports of settlements of these appointees, also the probate of wills, deeds, and other legal instruments, and the appointment of various county officials. The action of the court in all such matters was recorded in the minutes. The justices of the peace comprising the court were among the most prominent men in the county and the jurors were also men of prominence. Consequently, their names listed in the minutes constitute a veritable Who's Who of the times.

As usual, Mr. Walker has done a faithful and meticulous job of abstracting, compiling, and editing these minutes. In his apparent zeal for brevity, he has used a few abbreviations the meaning of which may not be readily apparent, but this is of minor significance and detracts little from the general excellence of his book.

A very good index increases materially the usability of the volume.

Adm. A. M. Patterson (Ret.).

State Department of Archives and History.

Whipt 'em Everytime: The Diary of Bartlett Yancey Malone. By Bartlett Yancey Malone. Edited by William Whatley Pierson, Jr. General Editor, Bell Irvin Wiley. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1960. Pp. 131. \$3.95.)

When Bartlett Yancey Malone of Caswell County, North Carolina, entered the Confederate service on June 18, 1861, he kept a remarkably objective diary until he returned home on March 5, 1865. A member of Company H of the well-known Sixth North Carolina Infantry, he documented without detectable rancor some of the daily impressions of a fighting soldier in the Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania campaigns until he was taken prisoner of war by the Federals on November 7, 1863. He was transferred to Point Lookout, Maryland, and continued his entries while in prison.

The diary was first edited by Dr. Pierson and published in 1919 by the University of North Carolina Press in the *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*. Dr. Pierson has written a preface to the new edition which is more complete than his introduction to the 1919 edition. Dr. Wiley, in the foreword, correctly values the diary as a significant contribution, especially in its phonetic spelling, preciseness, humility, honesty, and readability.

Not only did Malone record weather conditions, which seems to be the hallmark of many diaries, he also recorded such things as distances travelled, battles, rumors of troop movements, prison conditions, and sermons. The reader quickly detects that he was a good soldier and a man of integrity.

As a prisoner of war, Malone was far more objective than most diarists. Although he was inwardly a very brave man and dedicated to the Southern cause, he seldom let his emotions, which must have been aroused by the harsh treatment, color his perspective.

Reprinting of the interesting diary, with additions of photographs, index, and more descriptive preface and foreword, makes available in more readable form this informative link with the Confederate soldier.

T. Harry Gatton.

Raleigh.

Birth of a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains. By Carlos C. Campbell, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 155, \$5.00.)

This slender volume is, in large part, the memoir of a man who for years figured prominently in the struggles for a national park in the Great Smoky Mountains. The author, Carlos C. Campbell, is a Knoxville insurance agent and Great Smokies enthusiast who wrote this book at the request of the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association which considers itself the original sponsor of the park movement. Written in an informal, easily readable style, the volume gives an account of the park crusade in Tennessee from the "birth" of the idea in 1923 to the dedication of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in 1940. Mr. Campbell ably describes the fund-raising and publicity campaigns, tedious negotiations and surveys, protracted litigation, and other bewildering problems involved in securing the park. He is at his best in tracing the park movement through the maze of Tennessee politics—a trail strewn with political chicanery, factional squabbles, and fist fights in the State legislature.

Since the author took part in the events that he describes, his book embodies both the strengths and limitations of such works. Under the circumstances his treatment is admirably objective, although at times his strong sympathy for the "original" park organization and its leaders, especially David C. Chapman, produces an uncritical appraisal of both. Similarly, his description of the Great Smokies park as "a gift of the people to Uncle Sam" is somewhat misleading because Uncle Sam and the Rockefellers provided more actual cash for the project than the combined contributions of Tennessee and North Carolina. Understandably enough, his primary concern is the role of his native Tennessee in the park crusade after 1923, but unfortunately the earlier park movement in North Carolina, launched in 1899, is disregarded as being of no consequence to the realization of the park. The birth and development of the Great Smoky Mountains Park idea was not the work of a single group or State; it was part of a movement of much greater scope and significance than that described in this book. Nevertheless, this work, as a primary

source, constitutes an important addition to the slim literature on the history of conservation of natural resources in the South.

Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.

North Carolina Wesleyan College.

With Sherman to the Sea. A Drummer's Story of the Civil War as related by Corydon Edward Foote to Olive Deane Hormel. (New York: The John Day Company. 1960. Pp. 255. \$4.00.)

Among the youngest members of the Federal army during the Civil War were the drummer boys. The drum was still an officer's means of giving orders, and it was the drum that kept up the tempo and spirits on tiring marches. Of the hundreds of northern youths volunteering for drummer duty, some were no more than thirteen years of age.

So it was with Corydon Edward Foote of Flint, Michigan. "To his mother's anguish and his father's pride," he enlisted in the Tenth Michigan Regiment the day after his thirteenth birthday. Putting away "his bird's eggs and baby rabbits," he went off to war. Young Foote scarcely looked his few years in a baggy uniform and with a drum almost touching the ground.

Foote's mentor and close friend was a Mexican War veteran called "Old Lacy." The two of them drummed the Tenth Michigan into the battles of Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain and then under fire served as water carriers and stretcher-bearers. In the spring of 1864 "Old Lacy" was mustered out of the service because of his age, but young Foote went on to march with Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta and then on to the coast.

In his famous "March to the Sea" (Atlanta to Savannah, November-December, 1864) General Sherman was dependent upon the countryside for supplies. The army, in order to subsist, was permitted to forage freely as it moved through the fertile lands of Georgia. Meeting only token resistance from the enemy, the troopers turned the march into a wild holiday. The weather was fine, the food was plentiful, and the order to forage freely was interpreted by some as the

right to pillage and burn. Although Foote was never officially designated as a forager, he did go on one foraging expedition and engage in some looting. The next day he felt terribly ashamed of himself for what he had done. At Savannah Foote's term of enlistment expired and much to his dismay authorities would not let him re-enlist. He was too young and too small they said. So with much reluctance the youthful drummer boy returned to Flint to await the end of the war.

Foote lived to be ninety-five. Shortly before his death he related his war experiences to Olive Deane Hormel who wrote them down. These reminiscences contain nothing new about the Civil War, but they are interesting and the story is exceedingly well told.

John G. Barrett.

The Virginia Military Institute.

The State Records of South Carolina: Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congresses of South Carolina, 1775-1776. Edited by William Edwin Hemphill and Wylma Anne Wates. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1960. Pp. xxxiv, 299. \$8.00.)

Volume II of *The State Records of South Carolina* maintains in both format and content the high standard of excellence set by the South Carolina Archives Department under the direction of the late J. H. Easterby. Two informative prefaces serve to introduce the Extracts. One by Director Easterby outlines the evolution of the State Government and the other by Editor Hemphill analyzes the Congresses and traces the history of the "lost" Journals and the rare *Extracts*. A title page of the *Extracts* printed in 1776 is reproduced as a frontispiece and the volume itself is somewhat in the nature of a facsimile reproduction. The Extracts cover both sessions of the First Provincial Congress (January 11-17 and June 1-22, 1775) and of the Second Provincial Congress (November 1-29, 1775, and February 1-March 26, 1776). An Appendix lists the officials elected March 26-28, 1776, under the newly-promulgated State Constitution. There is a complete Index to enhance the usefulness of the book and the annotations in

the volume preface, and occasionally in the text, are full.

Recorded in this volume is the troubled but successful transition in South Carolina from a collapsing colonial regime to a fledgling State sovereignty through the efforts, actions, and decisions of a fairly representative body led and sustained by a hard core of responsible and substantial men. The Extracts reveal them concerned with and acting on a multiplicity of matters from those of Continental and Provincial significance to those of purely local or individual concern or concerned with the minutiae of detail. Congress and its committees gave considerable attention to election, organization, attendance, and pay of members. They provided for recruiting, organizing, staffing, paying, supplying, and mustering the Provincial military forces. They looked to the defense of the Province—particularly of Charleston and other threatened points. They corresponded and co-operated with the Continental Congress and with other Provinces, especially Georgia and North Carolina, with which they exchanged intelligence and made mutual defense arrangements. They took measures to deal with British officers and ships operating in South Carolina waters. They issued currency and provided for payment of bills for materials and services. They voted on resolutions and chose committees, council members and military officers. They dealt with insurrection in the Back Country, with Loyalists and other disaffected individuals and groups, by means of force, confinement, surveillance, and amnesty. They approved and justified supplying small amounts of ammunition to the Indians as a calculated risk in stabilizing the Frontier. They controlled exports and encouraged with premiums the erection of manufactories of gunpowder and its components, iron, lead, textiles, paper, and salt. They listened to sermons preached by member divines at Sunday sessions and observed days of fasting. They prepared extracts of their Journals for printing. Failing to get any conciliatory response from their King, despite their protestations of loyalty while defending their rights, they drafted a constitution for an independent State.

Lawrence F. Brewster.

East Carolina College.

"Porte Crayon": The Life of David Hunter Strother. By Cecil D. Eby, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 258. \$5.00.)

In 1959, *The Old South Illustrated* of "Porte Crayon" (D. H. Strother) was edited for publication by Dr. Eby of the Department of English at Washington and Lee University. The book reprinted a number of engaging travel articles on southern life written by a Virginia artist for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in the 1850's. As corollary to this valuable addition to southern letters, Dr. Eby now presents a definitive biography of Strother. Soon the Civil War journals of Strother, never before printed, will complete the series.

That Strother has been unaccountably neglected will be apparent to any student of regional culture, and thanks are due both Professor Eby and the University of North Carolina Press for the fulsome plan undertaken and now two-thirds completed. The man who made sketches of backwoods life and then wrote descriptive passages to accompany and vitalize them was not only an important artist and writer; his unusual and often tragic life, as Dr. Eby details it, had in it the elements of serious drama.

Strother came from a part of northern Virginia formed in 1863 into the new State of West Virginia. He was closely connected to eminent families of the area, for instance to that of John Pendleton Kennedy. When, as a lad, he evinced a talent for drawing, his indulgent father provided him with several years of art study in Europe. After his return home, it soon was clear that painting as a profession provided neither financial stability nor the assurance of what was considered dignified for a southerner to have as his life's work. Though even authorship was suspect, for a while he made a living at it from *Harper's*. Then came the War. Strother sided with the North and thereafter was for the most part ostracized from his prominent family connections within the Confederacy who never forgave his participating with the Yankees in the Valley Campaigns.

Today Strother is considered in the first rank of early West Virginia writers. Dr. Eby has written a carefully-researched,

highly-documented, and pleasantly-readable book, one which will be conned to assess the place of "Porte Crayon" in American literature.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College.

Harpers Ferry: Prize of War. By Manly Wade Wellman. (Charlotte: McNally. 1960. Pp. vi, 183. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. \$3.50.)

During the Civil War Harpers Ferry, located at the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers where "the states of West Virginia, Virginia and Maryland come together" and surrounded by Maryland Heights, Loudoun Heights, and Boliver Heights, was truly a "Prize of War." Chosen in 1794 by President George Washington as one of the national armory sites the arsenal produced in 1859 between 1,500 and 2,000 guns a month. The bridge across the Potomac connected the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad north and the Winchester and Potomac Railroad south. Strategically situated, forming a natural gateway north and south, the town figured prominently in the battles of Antietam and Gettysburg and to a lesser degree in the battles of Manassas, Chancellorsville, and the Shenandoah Valley campaigns. Surrounded by the heights the town with a pre-war population of 2,000 changed hands nine times during the war—"a fortress impossible to hold, which must be held."

The author presents the history of a town from colonial days, when the spot was named for Robert Harper's Ferry, to the present-day town part of which is now preserved as the Harpers Ferry National Monument. In the 1780's Thomas Jefferson described the scene at Harpers Ferry as "worth a voyage across the Atlantic."

For the most part the book is devoted to the Civil War era commencing with John Brown's raid in October, 1859, and ending with the town's virtual death at the end of the war. The narrative is enlivened by incidents in the lives of the residents such as the poet and historian, Joseph Barry, and

the famous Confederate guerrilla cavalryman, John Mobley, who at only twenty was finally ambushed and killed by the Federals just four days before Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Other participants in the Harpers Ferry drama reads like a Who's-Who gallery of famous personalities, namely: Robert E. Lee, Thomas J. Jackson, Joseph E. Johnston, George B. McClellan, Ambrose E. Burnside, Jubal A. Early, Joseph Hooker, George G. Meade, and Philip H. Sheridan.

Wellman is a prolific writer with "some thirty titles to his credit." In this volume he used W. J. McNally's notes but drew his own conclusions which at times differ from both McNally and the interpretation of the staff at Harpers Ferry National Monument. Surely, *Harpers Ferry* is popular history well worth reading, skillfully written, adequately researched, and well footnoted.

Ava L. Honeycutt, Jr.

State Department of Archives and History.

Why the North Won the Civil War. Essays by Richard N. Current, T. Harry Williams, Norman A. Graebner, David Donald, and David M. Potter. Edited by David Donald. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 129. \$2.95.)

In 1915, one hundred years after Waterloo, an English scholar examined the reasons for Napoleon's military successes in an obscure work entitled *How Wars were Won* and observed that while battles "are always profoundly interesting . . . it should be remembered that in reading military history battles are sometimes the least important part. What is vital is what led up to them. . . ."

This is true also of the Civil War, and as we approach the centennial five distinguished American historians here attempt to explain the reasons that led to the ultimate victory of the North. Their answers are as different as their fields of interest. Professor Current, for example, maintains that because of the absolute material superiority of the North, nothing short of divine intervention could have produced a Southern victory. "As usual, God was on the side of the heaviest

battalions" (p. 22). Professor Williams, on the other hand, claims that superior leadership made possible the Union victory. In Grant and Sherman the North developed two commanders who understood the spirit of modern warfare better than their opponents. Lee was a gifted general, but like many of his contemporaries he tended to adhere too closely to the conventional maxims of warfare as expounded by Jomini, the foremost apostle of Napoleon.

Professor Graebner in an admirable essay on the foreign policy of the North credits Seward's diplomacy for making possible eventual victory. "If after the summer of 1862 it was still within the power of the Old World to bring injury to the North, it was beyond its power to bring salvation to the South" (p. 75). Professor Donald entitles his obituary of the Confederacy "Died of Democracy," while Professor Potter argues convincingly that the personal failure of Jefferson Davis looms large in the Confederate defeat.

The distinctive value of this book lies in the questions considered rather than in any specific answer provided. As a matter of fact, the contributors themselves are not always in agreement. Did the South actually "die of democracy" as Professor Donald contends? If so, then how is it that the war "vindicated the democratic system," as Professor Graebner would have us believe (p. 60)? Perhaps the Confederate Army, composed of "liberty-loving" individualists, was not as well organized or disciplined as the Union Army (p. 82), but are we to conclude that Lee's army therefore was inferior as a fighting force, or that the farm boys in Sherman's army were less democratic by nature than their southern cousins? Professor Williams undoubtedly is correct in his estimate of the extent of Jomini's influence, but in his thoughtful analysis of the intellectual background of the Civil War generals he does not have time fully to explore this subject. Why, for example, would Union generals tend to stress Jomini's idea "of places as objectives" while the Confederates, with similar training, more often emphasized his principle of the offensive? And who is to say whether McClellan's caution stemmed more from disposition or indoctrination?

Why the North Won the Civil War is one of the most stimulating books on the Civil War to appear in recent years. Not all readers will agree with all of the opinions expressed, but the book ought to go far to dispel the illusion that the war was won—or lost—in a single day's battle. Reasons for the outcome of the war are apparently as complex as the reasons for the war itself, and the five contributors have done a real service by indicating possible new fields to reconnoitre.

Jay Luvaas.

Allegheny College.

Herbs, Hoecakes and Husbandry: The Daybook of a Planter of the Old South. Edited by Weymouth T. Jordan. (Tallahassee: The Florida State University. Florida State University Studies, No. 34. 1960. Pp. 137. Footnotes, suggested reading list, and index. \$3.00.)

This "edited version of a document entitled 'Martin Marshall's Book' . . ." is offered by Dr. Jordan as an excellent source of information about the social and agricultural life of the Old South (1815-1860). His scholarly editing of what, in reality, was Martin Marshall's scrapbook adds to the too scarce social history of the first half of the nineteenth century. Popular remedies and cures, farming advice, household hints, and recipes were collected by this rural Alabamian. The man may have been an ordinary man; his book is an extraordinary book. In addition to his own formulas he clipped pertinent items from newspapers, journals, almanacs, and other printed matter. Marshall was a weaver, therefore, there are many notes on weaving, dyeing, and related subjects.

Marshall had recipes for cement, an ant trap, and a "paste that is a paste," presented in the chapter, "A Fine Gloss in the House." One chapter, "Beat Fourteen Egg Yolks Half an Hour," is a rich mine of cookery which will be read merely for pleasure in this age of yoghurt and Metracal. Instructions are given for beer and brandy, along with those for pound cake and preserves.

“Take a Decoction of Cockleburs” is a chapter chock-full of folk remedies which, like many of today’s atomic cures, were as stringent as the disease. The cure for baldness, “Rub . . . morning and evening with onions until [the head] is red, and rub afterward with honey, “is proof that man pursues the unanswerable in every century.

Other chapters are “This Root is a Powerful Sudorific,” which describes the use of plants and roots as medicine for “man and beast”; and “Dig Your Own Potatoes,” which contains advice on agricultural and veterinary problems. Many of the “hints” are plain commonsense applicable in any age.

A reading list and good index are included. The title intrigues; the editor clarifies; the reader is delighted! When the presses are daily rolling out weighty volumes filled with bloodshed and biographies of the Mars-like warriors who led the conflicts, it is refreshing to read this book reflecting a man’s problems and pleasures in a bygone era.

Elizabeth W. Wilborn.

State Department of Archives and History.

Jacksonian Democracy in Mississippi. By Edwin Arthur Miles. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, XLIII, 1960. Pp. viii, 192.)

This book is an account of the political struggles in Mississippi during the Jackson era. Miles paints vivid pictures of “Piney-Woods Politician,” Franklin Plummer; George Poindexter, “The Senator of Lofty Bearing”; and Richard Walker, the “Jackson Star.” Miles includes informative descriptions of the geographical division and the economic development in Mississippi. He shows real understanding of the complex banking situation. *Jacksonian Democracy in Mississippi* is an interesting study and a readable book.

In some ways the historical pattern in Mississippi was similar to that in North Carolina. “Old Hickory” was a tremendously popular figure in both States, and his popularity

was based on his military reputation. In neither were there very clearly defined political parties prior to 1834. In neither State was a furor created when Jackson vetoed a bill re-chartering the national bank, but in both States the withdrawal of deposits set off an extremely bitter struggle. In both States majority opinion definitely opposed nullification, but by no means did all Jacksonians support the force bill and in both States most of the nullifiers already were enemies of Jackson. Miles found the coalition of National Republicans and nullifiers much less of a true Whig party in Mississippi than was the case in North Carolina.

While Miles' major contribution is telling the story of politics in a southwestern State from 1824 to 1839, he makes additional worthwhile observations. His study shows effectively the actual result of national banking developments on the people of the Southwest. Miles also shows the relationship of the heavy land speculating "flush times" with partisan politics. He shows how immigration from other States changed the political structure and placed pivotal power in the areas formerly inhabited by the Choctow Indians. He shows the growing of white democracy and the new effectiveness of "manufacturing public opinion." Serious students of the Jackson period should look to scholars like Miles for information on the period rather than turning to economic determinists who cite uninfluential economic theorists of the day.

Ed Miles, formerly of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History and now at the University of Houston, deserves to take his place with the top Jacksonian specialists. All persons interested in the history of Mississippi or the politics of the Jackson period will want to read this book.

William S. Hoffmann.

Delta College, Bay City, Michigan.

The Sociology of Colonial Virginia. By Morris Talpalar. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1960. Pp. xi, 371. \$6.00.)

Those who are interested in the social history of Virginia are in for dismal disappointment when they try to read this book. It consists of thesis and argument repeated endlessly with no sustained development to relieve the dull monotony. Very little evidence is marshalled to support the thesis presented and most readers will be both exhausted and disillusioned before they finish the second chapter.

If sociology is a way of life, as Mr. Talpalar says, then this book should be a balanced history of life in colonial Virginia. Unfortunately, a preoccupation with the laws regulating landholding distorts the author's perspective. A legalistic approach leads to neglect of some of the most vital aspects of life in the Old Dominion. The mind of the colonial aristocrat, who had large tracts of land, and the labor base of the colony—slaves were real property—are discussed in some detail, but the approach is theoretical rather than realistic.

Broad generalizations are often unsupported by facts, even when they are true, and many generalizations are open to attack. Error is compounded by such slips as the statement that log cabins were built at Jamestown and that vestrymen were elected periodically by parishioners.

William M. E. Rachal.

Virginia Historical Society.

More Traditional Ballads of Virginia. By Arthur Kyle Davis, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Pp. 371. \$7.50.)

The author of *More Traditional Ballads of Virginia* continues his superb scholarship, following his former collection and published volume, *The Traditional Ballads of Virginia* (1929), by producing the present volume. This book is part of the record of a later collection of some 148 more versions or variants, with 101 authentic tunes of forty-six of the ancient ballads suitable for singing. The tunes in themselves make

this volume of outstanding interest and value, since genuine, traditional tunes are difficult to come by. Moreover, the flawless musical notations are based mainly upon phonographic or tape recordings and are therefore scientifically verifiable. Their genuineness is attested further by the fact that Professor Davis recorded most of these himself from the native singers in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia and elsewhere in that State. Most of the ballad texts were, of course, taken down by the author at the same time, and certainly represent some of the best texts available of the ancient ballads.

This volume of *More Traditional Ballads of Virginia* (There are several ballads from North Carolina included.) is carefully edited and interpreted. Each ballad presented is preceded by a very readable, yet scholarly headnote, giving full information regarding not only that particular ballad, but also giving its place and standing in relation to balladry in general, with frequent references to other published collections, including their standing with regard to the classification of Professor Francis James Child of Harvard, the first scholar ever to undertake the subtle and exacting task of classifying the traditional ballads of the English-speaking peoples.

Several new ballads not appearing in the *Traditional Ballads of Virginia* are to be found here, such, for example, as the following: "The Elfin Knight," "Babylon," "King Orfeo," "The Whummil Bore," "Sweet William's Ghost," "The Unquiet Grave," "Jellon Grame," "Bonnie James Campbell," "Henry Martyn," and others. Included in this volume also are several of the more unusual and rare ballads which, in their traditional forms, have long since vanished from England and Scotland, and have been reserved in oral circulation only by families that migrated to America as pioneers. Especially exciting and noteworthy is the variety of melodic lines and stanzas to be found in such ballads as "The Two Brothers," "The Cruel Mother," "The Jewses' Daughter," "The Seven Sleepers."

Besides these rare variations of some of the fairly well known, traditional ballads, there are a number of the "risque" or ribald nature, not usually included even in the scholarly

editions. None of these will prove offensive, because some are not quoted in full; but the ones given will delight the connoisseur—such, for instance, as “The Trooper and the Maid,” “The Jolly Beggar,” “The Gaberlunye Man.” Other ballads of particular interest because of their starting dramatic qualities, some with question and answer dialogue, are the splendid versions of “Edward,” “The Farmer’s Curst (scolding) Wife,” “The Wife of Usher’s Well,” “Lizie Wan,” and many others.

The tunes also present a variety of modes ranging from the more commonplace pantatonic patterns to the rich Dorian modes, as in “The Seven Sleepers,” or the fine Mixolydian tunes of “Sir Hugh,” and “The Two Sisters.” This opinion agrees with that expressed in a letter to C. Alphonzo Smith, the first president of the Virginia Folklore Society, by the noted ballad collector Cecil Sharp, when he wrote: “I have found the tunes in Virginia extraordinarily beautiful; I think of greater musical value than those that I have taken down elsewhere in America.”

Artus Monroe Moser.

Swannanoa.

The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776-1790. By E. James Ferguson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. Pp. xvi, 358. \$7.50.)

This is a reappraisal or revisional interpretation of the financial history of the United States from the outbreak of the Revolution to the Hamiltonian funding program in 1790.

To eighteenth-century Americans, the power that held the purse strings ruled. To them popular control over taxation ensured the rights of individuals. Prior to the Revolution, colonial legislatures manipulated their control over taxation to wrest authority from the British governors. After independence, the balance of power between the States and new central government rested primarily on the same issue. The war for independence gave rise to a large debt. Until 1787 the movement to strengthen the Union was almost wholly directed toward settling the debt upon Congress and grant-

ing Congress the power to collect taxes. This temporarily failed adoption but with the ratification of the Constitution and the enactment of Hamilton's financial program in 1790, the movement toward stronger national government was consummated as Congress acquired both the debt and the authority to tax.

During the struggle for control of the purse strings, disputes over financial policies generated into divergent social philosophies as merchants and other creditors sided against agrarians large and small.

The Power of the Purse sheds new light on public finance during the Confederation era as "it places the Nationalist movement under Robert Morris in larger context" and in its treatment of the ownership of public securities affords a factual background to the present dispute over the economic interpretation of the Constitution. Although the "book is essentially history rather than economics," adequate treatment is given to the various financial expedients utilized by Revolutionary America, i.e., paper money, loans, impressments, taxes, and import duties as well as price-fixing and speculation.

Professor Ferguson has written a well-documented and provocative book from original sources. Political and social historians, along with economists and political scientists, should find the study to be of great interest. The last chapter, "The Threads Tied," is an excellent interpretative summary. The numerous tables throughout the book, the appended bibliographical essay, and an adequate index greatly enhance the value of this study.

Richard C. Todd.

East Carolina College.

Emotion at High Tide: Abolition as a Controversial Factor, 1830-1845. By Henry H. Simms. (Richmond: William Byrd Press, Inc. 1960. Bound and Distributed by Moore and Company, Baltimore. Pp. viii, 243. \$5.00.)

In pursuing his investigation of the elements of controversy in the pre-Civil War decades, Professor Simms offers an

analysis that not only is valuable for the period under study, when the Anti-Slavery Movement was entering its more aggressive phase, but also is pertinent to today's emotion-producing controversy over segregation. The dangers inherent in emotional debate of public questions are real at any time. Especially is this the case when hatred is transferred from institutions and practices to persons. A more hopeful aspect then, and, perhaps for today, although unfortunately not productive in 1860-1861, was the presence of moderates on both sides. They could, and did, see some merit in each other's views, cross each other's lines to meet on common ground. Northern and southern conservatives, also, were sometimes in alliance then, as now. It would appear, however, that Abolitionists and Pro-Slaveryites fed upon each other's violence. Naturally, there was much dissension within each group and section. Abolitionists were in conflict with Colonizationists; Garrisonians were at odds with Anti-Garrisonians; Quakers were divided among themselves; southerners debated the slavery question pro and con in the 1830's. There were other complicating and contradictory factors involved in attitudes and alignments, especially in politics and religion. This the author points out as he pragmatically discusses the "Legal Aspects of Distribution of Abolitionist Literature," the rather devious course of "The Petition Controversy" debates, the connection between "The Abolitionists and the Texas Question," and the controversy's effects on the Churches.

Based on extensive research and well documented, this rather involved study is presented in a style that is not facile but lets contemporary material reveal personalities and feelings and recreate the atmosphere of the times. The grammatical and typographical errors that appear (page 4 *n.4*, 57, 68 *n.30*, 91 *n.38*, 117, 119, 171, 196, 206, 219) and the somewhat miscellaneous and anti-climactic character of the concluding chapter, which gathers up some international aspects of the subject, do not seriously detract from an otherwise painstaking and solid account.

Lawrence F. Brewster.

East Carolina College.

American Suffrage from Property to Democracy, 1760-1860. By Chilton Williamson. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 306. \$6.00.)

The author, an Associate Professor of History at Barnard College, has attempted to trace the evolution of American suffrage from colonial times to the Civil War. The study is begun by establishing the British origins of our political system and by properly recognizing the great political philosophers who contributed the ideas which are manifest in this system. Democratization of suffrage has been a slow and undramatic process: the American Revolution did not produce revolutionary changes in the methods of election and during the ante-bellum period no section or faction seems to have been dominant in the march toward universal manhood suffrage. The Whig party was, on the whole, more reactionary than the Democratic Party, but, the author has shown that the Pioneer West was no more progressive than the Eastern Seaboard when it came to the matter of suffrage. This, of course, refutes one of the theses elaborated by Frederick Jackson Turner. Freehold qualifications, and in some cases tax qualifications, were abolished in the South in order to consolidate the entire white population on the slavery controversy—a unique example of the utilization of a liberal action to gain a reactionary end. In the concluding chapters, the failures to broaden the suffrage beyond universal white manhood suffrage are discussed and the importance of universal education as an adjunct to universal suffrage is mentioned.

The history of American suffrage is actually a history of one of the components of the progressive movement as it exhibited itself in the several States. To divorce it from other similar movements and then to interlace the history of suffrage in each State with the history of suffrage in all of the other States is indeed a difficult problem. One has the feeling that a “vertical” rather than “horizontal” study—that is, a study confined to a single State and extending from the smallest election unit up through the State unit—would have been just as illuminating and much easier for the reader to follow. The sample intensively studied could then have been more easily collated with other States or regions.

This is a scholarly work, thoroughly documented and written in a manner which combines dignity and objectivity with scientific integrity. On page sixty-four, near the top of the page, is a sentence which has apparently been scrambled by the printer. Also, it must be noted that if the author is to bother to mention the fact that a city in Pennsylvania and a county in Georgia were named for John Wilkes he might have added that both a county and a town in North Carolina bear the same distinction.

Edward W. Phifer, M.D.

Morganton.

The Territorial Papers of the United States, Volume XXV, The Territory of Florida, 1834-1839. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1960. Pp. v, 790. \$6.00.)

This fourth volume in the Florida series begins with President Jackson's letter of April 24, 1834, that certified John H. Eaton as Territorial Governor and ends with President Van Buren's cryptic endorsement to Secretary of War Poinsett's complaint against Governor Richard Keith Call: "Let Gov. Call be superceded and Judge Reed [Reid] appointed in his place." The more than 650 pages of text between these documents relate to a multiplicity of activities and problems during Eaton's term of less than two years, Call's three-year administration, and his second term which ended with dismissal on November 29, 1839.

The writings of Call, who at various periods served as a lawyer in land cases, brigadier general of territorial militia, commander of federal troops, and receiver of public money, in addition to his almost four years as governor, compose a large part of this volume. His letters and reports demonstrate ability and weakness as an administrator, bitter response to local criticism, resentment toward the national administration, and a shift to the Whig party. Call, however, was not as partisan as his predecessor, Eaton, in evaluating men or events. Unfortunately, the famous Peggy Eaton evidently

left no records worthy of being recorded during her stay in frontier Florida.

Events rather than personalities capture the attention of the student interested in this period of the territory. Plans for Indian removal, fears of Indian resistance to being moved from his homeland, the massacres that started the long and costly Seminole War, and the repeated failures of army commanders are faithfully reported. Since many of the sources already printed are not reproduced, the value of this volume for the Seminole War lies in filling gaps rather than presenting the complete documentary evidence. The same generalization holds for another important development, the movement for statehood which led to the Constitutional Convention at St. Joseph, but footnote references give the location of documents which supplement the materials herein printed. In economic activities the backgrounds for the development and failure of territorial banks as well as sources on internal improvements, especially railroads, are sandwiched among reports of land surveys and sales, unsuccessful attempts to found colleges, and hundreds of other activities of Floridians.

There is a wealth of source material in these territorial papers for the student of Florida history. Adequate footnotes and a detailed index continue the high standard set in earlier volumes.

Rembert W. Patrick.

University of Florida.

A History of the United States from the Age of Exploration to 1865. Edited by Hugh T. Lefler. (New York: Meridian Books, Inc. 1960. Pp. 410. \$1.55, paperback.)

This Meridian paperback is not "just another" book of documents. Documents there are aplenty—243, to be exact—but they have little significance *per se*. They are parts of a whole, skilfully knitted into an absorbing narrative of American life from Leif Ericsson's voyage to Robert E. Lee's surrender. They add spice and meaning to the story, but the story's the thing.

Professor Lefler has garnered many of his documents from sources known to scholars but inaccessible to the general reader. He has dutifully—almost apologetically—included the “basic” constitutional and political items, but he has generously seasoned them with delightful snippets from letters, diaries, and newspapers which mirror the life of the common people. Through these intimate sources the reader can vicariously experience the thrill of an explorer sighting a new land, the horrors of an Indian massacre, a near-mutiny of starving soldiers at Valley Forge, the religious frenzy of a camp meeting, the pell-mell flight of panic-stricken troops at Bull Run, and Lee’s sorrowful parting from his devoted army. Or, he can debate with contemporaries the exciting moral and political issues of the past: religious freedom, bundling, the Constitution, women’s rights, slavery, and secession. All in all, the documents, which the editor has modernized for easier comprehension, make fascinating reading.

There are few if any major flaws in the book. Professor Lefler ignores several important judicial documents (*Marbury vs. Madison*, for instance), but he gives a plausible reason for doing so. His treatment of the colonial period is disproportionately long, and some of his oversimplifications, especially his dogmatic assertion that “the colonial era of American life came to a swift, almost surprising close early in the morning of April 19, 1775,” are debatable, but the overall quality of the book is excellent. The connecting narrative—with its penetrating insights and felicitous style—is a thing of beauty.

Students and professors alike should welcome this lively—and inexpensive—supplement to arid texts and lectures.

E. Bruce Thompson.

Baylor University.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Confederate Centennial Commission

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission announces the formation of four new county centennial committees in Cabarrus, Cleveland, Gaston, and Nash counties. The Commission and the Village Theater in Raleigh jointly sponsored a preview showing of the MGM film, "Gone With the Wind," on April 5. Special guests for the preview were members of the General Assembly, the press, radio, and television. From April 9 through April 13 Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the Commission, attended the third meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference, of which he is Secretary-Treasurer, and the fourth assembly of the National Civil War Centennial Commission in Charleston, South Carolina. He was accompanied by Miss Carolyn Myers of his staff. During the past quarter he spoke to the following groups on the program of the Commission: Durham Kiwanis Club, April 17; Rockingham County Fine Arts Festival, Reidsville, May 5; Goldsboro United Daughters of the Confederacy, Confederate Memorial Day ceremonies, May 7; Charlotte Rotary Club, May 8; United Daughters of the Confederacy, "House of Memory" services, Raleigh, May 10; and Peace Junior College Alumnae Association, Raleigh, May 29. On April 27 a meeting of the full Commission was held in Raleigh. The Commission sponsored a Confederate Festival on May 19 and 20 in Raleigh. This event, marking the official beginning of the four-year commemoration in North Carolina, included a reception at the Governor's Mansion on Friday afternoon; a typical drama of the Civil War period, "Major Jones' Courtship," presented Friday evening; a devotional service, Saturday morning; a joint Armed Forces Day-Confederate Centennial parade, which featured units representing both groups; a program of exhibits and military demonstrations at the State Fairgrounds; and a Grand Ball in Reynolds Coliseum on Saturday evening at which 55 Confederate belles

and their escorts were presented to patrons and guests. On May 25-27 Mr. Larson was in Washington, D. C., and visited the battlefield at Manassas to confer with officials about the battle re-enactment.

Mr. Richard W. Iobst, Historian for the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, visited Roanoke Island on April 4 and Averasboro on May 28 in connection with the Confederate marker program. He spoke to the Thomasville Rotary Club on April 12 on the bombardment of Fort Sumter (South Carolina) and the activities of the Confederate Centennial Commission. He participated with other members of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment at the dedication of Alamance Battleground on May 16 and in the Festival parade on May 20. Mr. Iobst, who received both his B. A. and M. A. degrees in history at the University of North Carolina, joined the staff of the Commission on January 16.

On March 28 Mr. Larson presented his request for an appropriation of \$122,720 for the biennium (1961-1963) before the Joint Appropriations Committee of the General Assembly. He was accompanied by Col. Hugh Dortch of Goldsboro, Chairman of the Commission, and Mrs. D. S. Coltrane, Mrs. H. P. Williams, and Mrs. Charles U. Harris, members of the Commission.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

Important steps have been taken by the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission in the organization of the four districts of the Committee on Commemorative Events. A meeting of the county representatives of District I was held in Williamston, April 4, with Mr. L. S. Blades, Jr., Chief of District I, presiding. The organizational meeting of District III, Dr. Henry W. Jordan serving as District Chief, was held in Lexington, May 26. District II convened March 17 in Raleigh.

Some progress has also been achieved with respect to the project to produce a series of pamphlets dealing with topics related to the history of North Carolina during the period 1663-1763. Miss Lois Edinger, chairman of the subcommittee on schools of Dr. H. H. Cunningham's Committee on Pro-

grams in Schools, Colleges, and Universities, organized a panel of secondary school teachers and other interested persons to formulate recommendations for the project. The panel on school pamphlets met in Raleigh, May 13. In addition to their suggestions, several topics were recommended by Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina as a result of a conference with the Executive Secretary, Gen. John D. F. Phillips. These proposed monographs will be made available for use in North Carolina schools to supplement the study of colonial history in the eighth and eleventh grades.

On May 4, 1961, the revised edition of the Charter Commission's informational brochure was released. It revealed that a total of 133 persons have accepted assignment on one or more of the six committees of the Commission. In addition to this number, there are now 29 college representatives and 111 school superintendents on the Committee on Programs in Schools, Colleges, and Universities. This brochure may be received upon request to the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

During the past two months, efforts to generate a favorable climate for Senate Bill 198 in the General Assembly continued. This legislation requests an appropriation of \$194,990 for the Charter Commission for the biennium 1961-1963. A hearing in behalf of this legislation was held before the Joint Appropriations Committee of the General Assembly on March 28, 1961. Members of the Executive Committee present were Mr. Francis E. Winslow, Chairman of the Commission, who spoke briefly in support of the proposed legislation, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, and Dr. H. H. Cunningham. In addition to associate members of the Charter Commission, residents of Raleigh and vicinity who were present included Mrs. A. M. Fountain, Mrs. Charles Lee Smith, and Miss Mary Thornton. Mrs. James M. Harper, Jr., of Southport also attended.

The legislation itself was introduced by Senator J. Emmett Winslow on April 13. It is noteworthy that Senator Winslow secured the signatures of 37 of his colleagues as co-sponsors of the bill which was being considered by a subcommittee of the Joint Appropriations Committee.

Gen. Phillips, the Executive Secretary, spoke to the members of the Society of County and Local Historians, March 22; to the Rotary Club at Washington, April 13; and to the Round Table Book Club in Raleigh, April 18. He also attended the Inglis Fletcher Day celebration in Edenton, April 14.

On May 4 Mrs. A. M. Fountain, chairman of the music subcommittee of the Committee on the Arts, addressed the annual convention of the North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs in Asheville, informing them of the objectives of the Charter Commission and soliciting the Federation's co-operation during the Charter Tercentenary. Mrs. Fountain reported that her remarks were cordially received and that action was initiated to develop the requested co-operation. A resolution was adopted conveying the Federation's support of the Charter Tercentenary program to the General Assembly.

On June 9 the Charter Commission held its quarterly plenary meeting in Raleigh. The main item of business was a review of the progress report submitted to the Commission which covered the period from September 1, 1959, through June 30, 1961.

Director's Office

The bill, sponsored by the North Carolina Society for County and Local Historians, which encourages more effective teaching of North Carolina state and local history in the public schools, was introduced by Senator John Jordan of Wake County as SB 268. Dean D. J. Whitener of Appalachian State Teachers College is Chairman of the Committee which approved the bill which would have carried an appropriation of \$32,392 for 1961-1962, and \$43,892 for 1962-1963. The bill passed the Legislature with one important amendment—the total appropriation was eliminated.

On April 8 a meeting of the full Tryon Palace Commission was held in New Bern. Following the business meeting formal dedication of the Maude Moore Latham Memorial Gardens, a part of the Tryon Palace Restoration, was held.

On May 10 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, attended a meeting in Washington, D. C., of the Board of Trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. At that meeting

the Board approved revised bylaws drawn up by a committee of which Dr. Crittenden is chairman. The revised bylaws will be voted on by the membership at a meeting to be held in New York in October. On May 13 Dr. Crittenden spoke briefly at the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace dedication and presented the key to the house to Miss Mamie Spears Reynolds, hostess for the day.

On June 5, at graduation exercises, The University of North Carolina awarded an honorary degree—Doctor of Laws—to Dr. Crittenden for bringing “. . . to the position he held for a quarter of a century, a wealth of training and talent which have placed his department in the forefront of the nation.”

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, has been appointed to a three-man Union List of Newspapers Committee of the Association of Southeastern Research Libraries. The Committee will establish policies and procedures for the compilation of union lists of newspapers in each of the southeastern States. On April 4-7 Mr. Jones attended the National Microfilm Association meeting in Chicago, and from April 8-15 he visited the various archival agencies in the States of Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and West Virginia in connection with his work as Chairman of the State Records Committee of the Society of American Archivists. Mr. Jones is editing for publication the Committee's *Survey of State and Provincial Archives* for 1961.

The Division of Archives and Manuscripts on May 15 acted as host for a meeting of history graduate students and faculty members from the University of North Carolina and Duke University and staff members of the Southern Historical Collection, North Carolina Collection, and State Department of Archives and History. The informal meeting consisted of a dinner, a briefing session on the work of the Division, and a tour through the Archives. Approximately seventy persons attended. Mr. Jones, Dr. Crittenden, Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Kenan Professor of History at Chapel Hill, and Mr. Cyrus B. King, Assistant State Archivist, appeared on the program. On April 26 the Social Studies Club of Needham Broughton High

School was given a tour through the Archives, and on May 23 a group of history students from Meredith College was taken through. Mr. W. R. Williams, head of the Federal Records Center at Atlanta, visited the Division.

In the Archives Section, Mr. Cyrus B. King, Assistant State Archivist (Archives), attended the Institute on the Preservation and Administration of Archives in Washington, June 6-30. The Institute is sponsored by the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the American University, and the Maryland Hall of Records.

Mr. A. Winfred Hall joined the staff of the Newspaper Microfilm Project on May 22 as microfilmer, replacing Mr. B. C. Walters who resigned. Additional titles recently completed in the project and ready for positive printing are the following: *Greensborough Patriot*, 1826-1900; *Little Ad* (Greensboro), 1860; *Southern Telescope* (Greensboro), 1837; *Way of the World* (Greensboro), 1862-1864; *Lexington and Yadkin Flag* (Lexington), 1855-1857; *Morning Clarion* (Oxford), 1876; and *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), 1832-1900.

Because of the fact that the General Assembly was in session, there was little activity so far as the inventorying of records is concerned. Most State agencies prefer having this work done at other times of the year; however, Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Assistant State Archivist (State Records), did confer with the responsible persons at the Woman's College in Greensboro concerning the inventory of the records of that institution. Though the final copies have still not been signed, there is hope that the completed copies will soon be reviewed and signed by the new chancellor. A report from the Board of Nurse Registration and Nursing Education indicated that the inventory is being reviewed by members of the Board; a final decision on the part of the agency is to be reached at the June meeting of the Board. Several amendments to inventories were adopted during the preceding quarter, but no new inventories or revisions were undertaken.

During the quarter which ended March 31, 1961, a total of 2,167,005 images were microfilmed at the Records Center. The filming was done for seven State agencies. Weeding of records from the State Ports Authority, the Eugenics Board, the Alcoholic Rehabilitation Program, the Department of Ad-

ministration, and the State Board of Education was done during the first quarter of 1961.

During this same period the Records Center staff answered requests for service of records 835 times for 12 agencies; representatives of nine agencies used records at the Records Center a total of 111 times. Agencies sent to the Records Center 1,615 cubic feet of records, and 843 cubic feet of records were removed during the three months.

Mrs. Blackwelder spoke to the Greensboro chapter of the National Office Management Association on the State records management program on April 13. She attended the Association of Records Executives and Administrators in New York in May.

The permanently valuable records of fifteen North Carolina counties have been microfilmed and work is now in progress in Bladen and Onslow counties. Also as an important feature of the Department's program of microfilming and repairing valuable county records, approximately 18,000 pages of county records have been laminated and 107 volumes have been rebound during the past quarter.

Records have been received for permanent preservation in the Archives from counties as indicated: two cubic feet of Alamance County court papers, wills, and deeds, contained in the Parker papers and transferred to the Department by the Duke University Library; fifty-six volumes and four cubic feet of papers from Carteret County; and forty-three volumes and six and one-half cubic feet of papers from Pasquotank County.

Under the editorship of Mr. H. G. Jones and Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, U. S. Navy (Ret.), the new Municipal Records Manual has been completed and sent to the printer. It will be ready for distribution in early August.

Admiral Patterson represented the Department at the Hoke County Golden Jubilee celebration on May 15. He also assisted in the preparation of a historical sketch of Hoke County which was included in the official program of the celebration.

Mr. Donald L. White was employed on March 13 as a temporary Archivist I and on March 15 Mrs. Jean R. Miller was employed as an Archivist I.

Division of Historic Sites

Mrs. Patricia B. Council of Clayton joined the staff as Stenographer II on April 7, replacing Mrs. Richard P. Broadwell who had resigned. Mrs. Council attended East Carolina College and until March was employed in California.

Mr. Richard D. Goff, Ph. D. candidate at Duke University, has rejoined the staff as Researcher (temporary) for the Historical Highway Marker program which is being reactivated briefly.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, reports the formal opening of the Alamance Museum-Visitor Center and the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace (for details, see below). Due to increasing interest in Civil War sites located in North Carolina, the Division of Historic Sites has instituted an emergency development program to provide interpretive exhibits at these projects. Funds for the program were provided by an appropriation of \$10,000 from the Contingency and Emergency Fund, and \$5,000 from the Richardson Foundation Grant. The sum will be allocated as follows:

Fort Anderson—clearing, seeding, and erection of signs and trail exhibits	\$6,000
Fort Fisher—construction of small pavilion and installation of exhibits	3,000
Bentonville Battleground—restoration of interior of Harper House as a museum	4,000
Bennett Place—installation of interior and exhibits	1,500
Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace—installation of outdoor sign and exhibits	500

At Fort Anderson clearing and excavating have revealed an almost completely preserved fort, on which the scars and pits of hostile bombardment may be seen clearly. The Fort Fisher allotment of \$3,000 was supplemented by a like amount raised in New Hanover County and by \$1,000 contributed from a number of private sources. On June 13 bids were accepted for the construction of the exhibition pavilion. The staff of the Hall of History has prepared exhibits for inclusion when construction is completed.

On May 16, the one hundred and ninetieth anniversary of the Battle of Alamance, the dedication of the battleground and the formal opening of the Museum-Visitor Center were held near Burlington. More than 700 people attended the ceremonies at which Lt. Governor H. Cloyd Philpott was the principal speaker. He was introduced by State Senator Ralph H. Scott who recognized Mrs. George A. Kernodle of Burlington, who has been instrumental in the completion of the site. Dr. H. H. Cunningham, Dean of Elon College, presided and the invocation was given by the Reverend W. J. Andes. Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, presented the site on behalf of the Department and Mr. Philpott accepted it for the State. Mr. Walter R. Wootten, Historic Site Specialist at Alamance, reports that since the opening hundreds of sight-seers have visited the site.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at the Fort Fisher site, reports that the theme for the Azalea Festival held in Wilmington, April 6-9, was centered around the beginning of the Civil War Centennial Commemoration. Fort Fisher was represented by two floats in the parade and by an exhibit in the Cottage Lane Art Show. The floats were used again on May 20 for the Confederate Festival parade in Raleigh. Displayed at the State Fairgrounds were exhibits from the four Civil War sites in the State—Forts Fisher and Anderson, Bentonville Battleground, and the Bennett Place. Mr. Honeycutt took the following trips: March 12, participated in a field trip to Fort Branch with the Battleground Stompers of Durham; March 18, attended Confederate flag-raising ceremonies, Louisburg; March 21-April 1, did research on Fort Fisher in the National Archives and the Library of Congress; April 23, attended ceremonies, Confederate Centennial, Richmond, Virginia; May 13, attended Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace opening; May 16, attended the Alamance Battleground dedication. It is hoped that when the pavilion at Fort Fisher is completed regular guide service will be provided for visitors. Many residents of the Fort Fisher area have already loaned or given their personal collections of site artifacts for display in the exhibits. A brochure by Mr. Honeycutt on the

Fort Fisher site will be ready for distribution in the near future.

The Bennett Place Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy has presented a flagpole and flags for the Bennett Place Memorial Park. Mrs. C. H. Daniels is President of the group which is helping in the restoration of this Civil War site.

The Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site on the Reems Creek Road near Weaverville in Buncombe County was dedicated on May 13, the one hundred and thirty-first anniversary of Vance's birth. Approximately 700 persons were present for the ceremonies. Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, presented the site to the State on behalf of the Department. Mr. Edwin Gill, State Treasurer, accepted the gift for the State and delivered the principal address. Mr. Albert S. McLean, President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, accepted the site for residents of the mountain region who have participated in the restoration project. Dr. Glenn L. Bushey, President of Asheville-Biltmore College and program chairman for the opening, presided at the dedication and distinguished guests were introduced by Col. Paul A. Rockwell, immediate past president of the western association. The performance of an authentic Civil War military drill by the Confederate Squad of the Pershing Rifles from the University of Kentucky was a highlight of the program. In addition to the dwelling house, a smokehouse and springhouse to the rear of the house were opened. Slave quarters, now under construction, should be completed by midsummer. Present plans for the restoration include the construction of a barn, corn crib, museum, caretaker's house, and possibly a loom house. The site is now open for visitors on Tuesday through Friday from 9:00 A.M. until 5:00 P.M.; Saturday and Sunday from 2:00 P.M. until 5:00 P.M. It is closed on Monday. Mr. Robert O. Conway is Historic Site Specialist for the Vance Birthplace.

The burial house under construction at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site has been completed except for roofing. The actual excavation of the graves contained in this mortuary structure was begun in late June, according to

Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Historic Site Specialist at Town Creek. This structure will be a popular point of interest to visitors as it will house a group of *in situ* burials which are to be opened permanently for public viewing. An interpretation of burial customs of the Peedee Period will be a functional part of the burial house. The right-of-way for paving State Road 1120 was recently secured and work began in early July. This improvement will make the site accessible during inclement weather. Mr. Keel attended the joint meeting of the North Carolina-Virginia Archaeological Societies in Clarksville, Virginia, on May 6. A field school in archeological techniques was held at Town Creek Indian Mound from June 5 through June 7. The school was sponsored by the Charlotte Children's Nature Museum and was conducted by Mr. Keel and Mr. Helmut J. Naumer, Director of the Museum and a former Site Specialist at Town Creek. Visitors to the site have averaged about 500 per week during the winter and more than 1,000 per week during the spring and early summer. Counted visitors from January 1 through May 31 totalled 12,155. Less than half the visitors sign the register; nonetheless, 29 states, the District of Columbia, and four foreign countries are represented to date.

Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Site Specialist at the Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site, has presented slide-lectures on North Carolina's part in the Civil War (with emphasis on Bentonville) to the following groups: Smithfield Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, November 28, 1960; Pullen Memorial Baptist Church's Boy Scout Troop, Raleigh, December 5, 1960; Johnston County Historical Society, Smithfield, January 15; Bentonville-Harper House Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, January 24; Meadow School, Seymour Johnson Air Base, Goldsboro, January 26; Goldsboro Optimist Club, February 13; Seventh Grade, Josephus Daniels Junior High School, Raleigh, February 16; Smithfield Junior Chamber of Commerce, February 24; Eighth Grade, Williamston School, March 1; Oxford Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, March 8; Goldsboro Kiwanis Club and Wayne County Historical Society, April 10; Newton Grove News Club, April 25; and Westminster Presby-

terian Church's Cub Scout Pack, Raleigh, May 24. Mr. Bragg and members of the Johnston County Historical Society on February 5 presented to area legislators, Senators Seth B. Hollowell and Adam J. Whitley, Jr., and Representatives Tom Newman and Roy C. Coates, their requests for appropriations by the 1961 General Assembly. On February 19 Mr. Bragg met with the Sampson County Confederate Centennial Committee to give a progress report on Bentonville and gave the same report on February 25 at the Confederate Centennial Workshop. He was at Fort Branch (on the Roanoke River, near Hamilton) on March 13 and 14 excavating the old fortification for Civil War artifacts and attended the district meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy on March 15 in Smithfield, which was followed by a tour of Bentonville Battleground. From March 21 to March 25 he was in Washington, doing research in the National Archives on the Battle of Bentonville. Mr. Bragg and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan represented the Department at the pilgrimage to Colonial Edenton on March 14, attending the festivities of Inglis Fletcher Day. On May 7 Mr. Bragg participated in a Confederate Memorial Day program at the Harper House sponsored by the Harper House-Bentonville Battleground Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. When the members of the General Assembly met in Smithfield, May 10, for dinner, they used placemats designed by Mr. Bragg, depicting Bentonville Battleground which had been published in co-operation with the Smithfield Chamber of Commerce. On May 20 Mr. Bragg, Mr. William R. Britt, Chairman of the Johnston County Civil War Centennial Committee, and Mr. Harold Creech, Manager of the Smithfield Chamber of Commerce, co-operated in presenting a float on Bentonville in the Confederate Festival Parade. A four-room museum is being installed in the Harper House to serve until funds for a museum-visitor center become available. Approximately 150 persons have visited the site weekly since it opened February 19. The Harper House is open Tuesday through Saturday from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., and on Sunday from 2:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M. It is closed on Monday. A scale map of Bentonville Battleground was completed recently,

showing the location of the 29 battle markers which tell the story of the conflict. They may be secured by writing Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Box 1881, Raleigh.

The Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site has received the following donations for site improvement: fir lumber for three picnic tables, Mr. Bryon Bryan, Calypso Veneer Company, Calypso, donor; labor to build tables, Mr. John Tart and FFA group, Grantham High School, donors; garbage cans, Mr. Ben R. Lewis, Smith Hardware Company, Goldsboro, and Mr. Frank Peacock, Peacock Builders and Supply, Fremont, donors; seven boxwood plants, Fremont Garden Club, donor; 42 cedar trees, Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Griffin, Jr., donors. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at the Aycock Birthplace, on April 16 acquired 140 books belonging to Governor Aycock for the museum to be built when the funds become available. Mrs. L. P. McLendon of Greensboro, one of Aycock's daughters, made the books available for display. Mr. Sawyer is requesting that any person having access to other Aycock items—papers, books, personal effects, correspondence, or pictures—donate or loan these mementoes to the site museum. He may be contacted at 309 N. Virginia Ave., Goldsboro. On April 18 Mr. Sawyer prepared an exhibit of mementoes of Governor Aycock for the Goldsboro Public Library in connection with the Rotary Club's Authors' Luncheon, at which Governor Terry Sanford reviewed the recent Aycock biography by Dr. Oliver Orr. A reception followed at the library. Mrs. Henry Belk of Goldsboro and Mr. Sawyer served as judges of the Junior Historian Club exhibits at Goldsboro Junior High School on May 8. The David Williams Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution met on May 17 at the Aycock Birthplace at which time Mr. Sawyer talked on the restoration project and led the group on a tour of the site. The group passed a resolution to hold an annual meeting each May at the Aycock Birthplace.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist at Brunswick Town State Historic Site, reports that clearing of the underbrush from the two batteries of gun emplacements at Fort Anderson has been completed and grass planted on Battery B. Hun-

dreds of tourists are now visiting this well preserved Confederate fort, one of the most impressive Civil War forts in existence. A nature trail around the lake at Brunswick Town has been opened recently and a bridge—crossing the lake at one point—affords a stand for viewing wildlife. There were more than 1,000 visitors present at the ruins of St. Philips Church on April 9 for a service at which Dr. E. Lawrence Lee of The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, spoke. Music was provided by the Second Marine Division Band and Chorus of Camp Lejeune. Mr. South attended the annual meeting of the Society of American Archaeology at Columbus, Ohio, and participated in the Symposium on Historic Sites Archaeology. He served as a member of the faculty at the fourteenth annual Seminars on American Culture, July 2-8, conducted by the New York State Historical Association. He and Mr. John Witthoft, Archaeologist for the State of Pennsylvania, collaborated in teaching a course, "Amateur Archaeology Contact Period."

Division of Museums

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, attended the March 22-30 meetings of the Southeastern Museums Conference Council in Tallahassee, Florida, and New Orleans, Louisiana, and met with members of the Bennett Place Memorial Commission at the Bennett House on April 5. From April 9 to April 13 she was in Charleston, South Carolina, for the meetings of the Confederate States Centennial Conference and the South Carolina Civil War Centennial commemoration. On April 20 she visited "Fairintosh," ante-bellum home of the Camerons near Durham, which was opened to the public to raise money to assist in restoring Colonial Bath. She was present for the opening of the Bennett House on April 23 as a part of a tour by members of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians and attended the opening of the Bennett House to the public on April 30. On May 8 Mrs. Bonnie Walker, a member of the staff of the Hall of History, served as a judge for the Junior Historian Club Exhibits in Goldsboro. Mrs. Jordan attended the Detroit, Michigan, meetings of the American Association of Museums

from May 23 to May 29. She was elected to the Council to fill the unexpired term of Dr. Christopher Crittenden, who had resigned.

Division of Publications

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications and a member of the staff of the Department for more than thirty-seven years, retired on June 30. He will continue to be associated with the Department as a consultant. Having graduated from the University of North Carolina with a B.A. degree in history and education, he joined the staff of the State Historical Commission on April 1, 1924. Since 1935 he has served as Managing Editor of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and has compiled and edited twelve volumes, including the public papers and addresses of nine governors. The educational program of leaflets and pamphlets for use in the public schools has been developed extensively under his supervision, and he has written several of the pamphlets himself. He is a member of and has served as an officer of numerous State and National historical organizations. As Chairman of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association's Committee on Local Historical Societies, he has assisted in the formation of many county societies.

Mr. Corbitt married Miss Alma Jordan of Chatham County on October 10, 1927. They make their home at 1207 Cowper Drive, Raleigh.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Richard Bardolph, Head of the Department of History of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, announces that Dr. Franklin D. Parker has been awarded a Fulbright Lectureship on American Politics in Peru for the fall semester, 1961-1962. Dr. Carl G. Anthon has accepted appointment as Professor of History and Chairman of the Department at the American University, effective September 1. Dr. John H. Beeler addressed the April Greensboro World Affairs Forum and read a paper at the Kentucky Foreign Language Conference in Lexington. Dr. Jordan Kurland spoke during the winter and spring to many social

groups, organizations, and women's clubs on his recent year's stay in the Soviet Union. Dr. Barbara Brandon has been elected Vice-President of the State section of the American Association of University Professors, and Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson is serving on a committee of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

Dr. Carl H. Pegg, Chairman of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina, was named to one of the first five Distinguished Alumni Professorships recently established at the University. Kenan Professor Loren C. MacKinney read a paper at the meeting of the American Association of the History of Medicine held in Chicago, May 18-20. Kenan Professor Fletcher M. Green delivered his presidential address at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held in Detroit, April 20. His paper was entitled "Cycles in American Democracy." Dr. James R. Caldwell, Jr., one of the first winners of the Tanner Award for Excellence in Teaching, has won the award this year for the second time.

Dr. John S. Ezell, Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, will be Visiting Lecturer in History during the first term of the Wake Forest College Summer Session of 1961. Dr. Balkrishna G. Gokhale, who is in charge of the Asian Studies Program, will be Visiting Lecturer in History and Political Science for the same term. Three new members will join the staff in September: Dr. James Edwin Hendricks as Assistant Professor; Mr. Richard C. Barnett, Ph.D. degree candidate at the University of North Carolina, as Instructor; and Mr. Clarke W. Garrett, Ph.D. degree candidate at the University of Wisconsin, as Assistant Professor. Dr. Percival Perry, Dean of the Summer Session, and Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, Chairman of the Department of History and Director of Graduate Studies, will continue as members of the Department on a part-time basis.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Head of the Department of History at Duke University, and Dr. William Cartwright have edited *Interpreting and Teaching American History*. The volume, published as the thirty-first yearbook of the National

Council for Social Studies, contains chapters on various subjects and periods of American history written by distinguished historians including Dr. Robert Durden of Duke and Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson of The University of North Carolina. Dr. Alfred Tischendorf is the author of *Great Britain and Mexico in the Era of Porfirio Diaz*, recently published by the Duke University Press. Dr. Robert I. Crane of the University of Michigan will join the staff as a Professor of History in September to teach courses in Indian and South Asian history on both the graduate and undergraduate levels. Dr. J. H. Stewart Reid will serve as visiting Professor of Commonwealth History for the fall semester. He is currently Executive Secretary of the Canadian Association of University Teachers. On April 12 the Joint National Security Policy Seminar of Duke University and The University of North Carolina held a symposium on the history of airpower in co-operation with the Air Force Historical Foundation. Representatives from the Air University, the University of Colorado, Goodyear Aircraft Company, the Library of Congress, and a number of other agencies attended, as well as private scholars.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting at Meredith College on April 7. Dr. Alice B. Keith and Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, faculty members, were in charge of arrangements.

STATE, COUNTY, and LOCAL GROUPS

Mr. R. L. Cox of Mount Olive was re-elected President of the Wayne County Historical Society on April 10. Also re-elected were Col. Hugh Dortch, First Vice-President; Mr. Conway Rose, Second Vice-President; Mrs. N. A. Edwards, Secretary; Mr. B. G. Stowe, Treasurer; Mrs. E. Charles Powell, Historian; and Dr. C. Irving Lewis, Chaplain.

An observance on April 12 in Halifax marked the 185th anniversary of the signing of the Halifax Resolves, the action of the North Carolina Provincial Congress calling for the severing of ties with Great Britain. Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic

Sites Superintendent, spoke from the courthouse steps as part of the ceremonies.

The Caswell County Historical Association on April 12 commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Civil War. A display of Civil War materials—documents, medals, photographs, and mementoes—was arranged by the association in the county courthouse where the meeting was held. Several local persons spoke and the diary of Bartlett Yancey Malone, *Whipt 'em Everytime*, was reviewed. Malone was a Caswell native.

The Bladen County Historical Society met on April 14 in the courthouse with Mr. Hector H. Clark, President, presiding. Mr. Louis E. Parker presented a program on Bladen's part in the War Between the States. Officers were re-elected as follows: Mr. Clark, President; Mr. C. E. Crawford, Vice-President; and Mrs. Wanda Campbell, Secretary.

Dr. Frenise A. Logan, Professor of History and Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences at Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, has been awarded a grant-in-aid from the American Association for State and Local History. He will use the grant to continue his study on the Negro in North Carolina from 1876 to 1894. Dr. Logan received the R. D. W. Connor Award in 1959.

A group of 14 persons met in Swansboro on April 26 to organize the Swansboro Historical Association, Inc., with the purposes of establishing a community museum and promoting historical restorations in the area. Mr. Tucker R. Littleton, who called the meeting, was elected temporary chairman. Mrs. Clara Baker will serve as secretary until permanent officers are elected.

The Johnston County Historical Society met on April 22 at the Centenary Methodist Church in Smithfield and heard Dr. Luby F. Royall talk on pre-Civil War homes in Johnston County. Mrs. Maggie Hester of Wendell described the Earpsboro area homes near Wendell. Mrs. W. B. Beasley, President,

reported on the Bentonville Battleground restoration. The July meeting will be held at the Harper House on the battleground.

Mr. Francis E. Winslow, Chairman of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, discussed the granting of the Charter of 1663 at a meeting of the Northampton County Historical Society on April 26 in Jackson. Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson of Pendleton introduced the speaker. Mr. Barham Fleetwood of Severn is President of the Northampton group.

Clay County began its centennial celebration on May 1. The festivities, which will continue through July, are planned to show the county's 100 years of progress.

The Martin County Historical Society met on April 20 and elected the following officers: Mrs. N. C. Green of Williamston, President; Mrs. A. P. Barnhill of Robersonville, Vice-President; Mrs. Vella A. Wynne of Williamston, Secretary; and Mrs. William A. Gray, Sr., of Robersonville, Treasurer. Mr. F. M. Manning, who has been President since the society was organized in 1957, will serve as Historian.

The Moore County Historical Association met at the Shaw House on May 2 and elected officers as follows: Mr. Norris L. Hodgkins, President; Mrs. Katherine McColl, First Vice-President; Mrs. Ernest L. Ives, Second Vice-President; Mr. Colin Spencer, Third Vice-President; Mr. John L. McPhaul, Treasurer; and Mrs. L. T. Avery, Recording Secretary. Mrs. Talbot Johnson and Mrs. A. P. Thompson of Pinehurst reported on Shaw House and the Tea Room respectively, and Mrs. Ives gave a report on the Alston House (House in the Horseshoe) during the past year. Many donations were made including a gift of \$1,000 for planting and care of the trees in memory of the late author and winter resident, John P. Marquand. The Antique Fair sponsored by the association made a profit of over \$300, according to Mrs. W. P. Bodine.

Services were held on April 22 and 23 in the Emmanuel Church in Warrenton commemorating the departure of the

Warren Guards and Warren Rifles in April, 1861. The services featured original Civil War songs, and the acolytes for the Saturday sunrise service and the regular Sunday morning worship service were descendants of Warren church leaders of the Civil War period. A breakfast in the Parish House and the presentation of an original pageant, "Flags of America," written by Mrs. Henry F. Twitty, were other features of the April 22 commemoration.

On June 11 members of the Wilkes County Historical Society were hosts to residents of the area at a tour of historical sites in the Traphill community. Places visited were the site of old Fairview College, the site of Traphill Institute, the Joseph S. Holbrook residence, the cottage of Miss Beatrice Holbrook, where museum items were displayed, and the graves of two Revolutionary War soldiers.

The 1961 pilgrimage to Colonial Edenton and countryside was held April 14-16, with April 14 set aside as Inglis Fletcher Day. The following places were opened: "Barker House," "the Old Bond House," "Mulberry Hill," "Beverly Hall," "Coffield House," Chowan County Courthouse, "Bandon Plantation" (home of Inglis Fletcher), "Clement Hall," the James Iredell, Jr., House, the "Cupola House," the Customs Houses (one on Blount Street, another on the Court House Green), "Paradise," "Greenfield," the Charlotte House, St. Ann's Church, St. Paul's Church, Yeopim Church, "Sycamore Plantation," the Iredell House, and the Masonic Temple.

The *News Bulletin of the Moravian Music Foundation* (Vol. V, No. 1) has articles on John Antes; a note on the release of a new recording of Moravian music; a tribute to the late Richard S. Hill of the Music Division, Library of Congress; and a news note on the 1961 Early American Moravian Music Festival, which was held June 22-25 in the Tuscarawas Valley of Ohio. The event, sponsored by eight Moravian churches in the Valley, had Mr. Thor Johnson as Music Director for the second year.

The Randolph County Historical Society met on March 23 in the courthouse with Mr. Harvey Luck presiding as temporary chairman. Officers elected were Mr. Hal Hammer Walker, President; Mr. A. I. Feree, First Vice-President; Mr. T. F. Bulla, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Hal Worth, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. Howard Dunlap, Assistant Treasurer. Mrs. Worth presented a brief report on past activities of the group, and a resolution was adopted citing the work of the late Dr. J. E. Pritchard and Mrs. W. C. Hammer.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin, official organ of the Gaston Society, for March (Vol. 7, No. 1), has articles on the unveiling of the marker on January 31 to the late Governor, R. Gregg Cherry (1945-1949); the history of Linwood College; the final installment of the Dickson family history; and the Index to Volume 6 (1960) of the *Bulletin*.

The Perquiman's County Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin for March (Vol. 1, No. 2), carried a report of the January meeting; a story of "Sycamore Grove," an early eighteenth-century home; some recipes from an 1859 domestic magazine; and a story about the "mystery safe" which stood for years in the lobby of the Old Perquimans County Courthouse. The safe, recently unlocked by the county commissioners in cooperation with the Perquimans County Historical Society, had many old papers, paper money issued by the State of North Carolina and Perquimans County during the War Between the States, old maps, and minute books of the county Democratic executive committee.

The Bertie County Historical Association met at the Episcopal Church parish house in Windsor on April 22, with Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of the Woman's College, Greensboro, as guest speaker. His topic, "Cultural Renaissance in North Carolina," stressed the new interest in local and county history. Mr. John E. Tyler, Historian of the association, spoke briefly on the restoration of "Hope," home of Governor David Stone. Mrs. Ernest L. Ives of Southern Pines visited the home recently to assess the condition of the dwelling. A new committee was appointed to revive interest in the project.

Dr. W. P. Jacocks of Chapel Hill reported on the progress of the county history being prepared and noted that the Town of Windsor would celebrate its two-hundredth anniversary in 1966. The group also discussed plans for an adequate county library which might contain an assembly room and a museum room. The President, Mr. Thomas F. Norfleet of Roxobel, presided. More than 50 members and guests were present. *The Chronicle*, bulletin of the Bertie Association, for April (Vol. X, No. 1), has historical article on Grace Church, St. Francis Church, "Scotch Hall," and Colerain Beach.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association held its spring meeting at the Waynesville County Club on April 22, at which time the following officers were elected: Mr. Albert S. McLean, President; Dr. Edward W. Phifer, Vice-President; and Miss Cordelia Camp, Secretary-Treasurer. The Thomas Wolfe Memorial Trophy was awarded to *The Asheville Citizen* for its special ninetieth edition, published July 17, 1960. Miss Camp reported a donation by the Association for furnishings of the Vance Birthplace. Mr. Clark W. Medford read a paper, "Haywood County during the Civil War," and Dr. Emmett T. Clark read a paper, "Francis Asbury in North Carolina."

A program dealing with the beginning of the Civil War and a character sketch of Capt. J. S. Pender was presented at the quarterly meeting of the Carteret County Historical Society on April 22 in Morehead City. President F. C. Salisbury and Mrs. Salisbury gave a slide-lecture on the Battle of Fort Sumter; Miss Amy Muse presented character sketches of several Confederates; and a visit to the Waterfront Museum, which opened in May, completed the program. A summer meeting at Cedar Point in July for the annual watermelon feast is planned.

The *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc.*, *Bulletin* for May (Vol. IV, No. 3), carried a message from President Leslie N. Boney, Jr.; a report of gifts to the society; minutes of the May 12 meeting; notice of proposed historical tours in

the area; and a lengthy article, "The Reverend Augustus Foster Lyde (1813-1834)," by Caroline D. Flanner.

The Roanoke-Chowan Daily News of Murfreesboro and Ahoskie is participating in a survey to collect old newspapers of that section of the State. In the May 7 edition numerous titles of papers were listed, as well as a brief listing of diaries kept by individuals.

The Daily Independent Magazine, a Sunday supplement to the Kannapolis paper, is concentrating its features on stories of local, county, and State interest. The May 14 issue contained an article on the "Fairntosh" Plantation open house, which was held to aid in restoring Colonial Bath.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians sponsored a tour on April 22 of the Bennett Place, historic site of the surrender in 1865 of the army of General Joseph E. Johnston to General William T. Sherman. The Hon. R. O. Everett was director of the tour and he and Mrs. Everett entertained the group later. Mrs. R. B. Cooke and a committee were hosts at the site.

On May 21 the annual spring tour of this Society was held in Dare County with Mr. David Stick, Chairman of the Dare County Board of Commissioners, speaking briefly at the Waterside Theater, Fort Raleigh, which served as a point of departure. Other points visited included the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, the site of the Battle of Roanoke Island, Coquina Beach of Cape Hatteras National Seashore Park (with luncheon in the Bodie Island Natural History Museum), and the Wright Brothers National Memorial and Visitor Center.

Two copies of *The Tidewater Rambler*, a publication devoted to people and places of interest in Tidewater North Carolina, have been received by the Department. Mr. J. Winfield Stanley of Swansboro is editor. Articles on "Tryon Palace" and "Whaling on the Tar Heel Coast: A Major Industry for Two Centuries," both by Mr. Tucker R. Littleton, are in the issues received. The magazine sells for \$1.50

for twelve monthly issues. Subscriptions should be addressed to Mr. Stanley at the Onslow Print Shop, Swansboro.

R. A. Sentelle: Educator, Preacher, and Public Servant by Mr. W. Clark Medford was recently issued by the Mountaineer Press, Waynesville. The 39-page booklet about Sentelle, who served as school superintendent of Haywood County, contains excerpts from his diary begun in 1882. Sentelle taught about 62 years in the mountain section of North Carolina and at the age of 84 attended summer school. His diary was kept until 1933 and reflects the progress of the schools, libraries, and churches of the area he served.

Dr. Charles Crossfield Ware, Curator of the Carolina Discipiana Library at Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, is the author of *Pamlico Profile*. This is another in Dr. Ware's series of church histories and the 63-page pamphlet relates brief sketches of 21 churches in the Pamlico Union. In addition, Dr. Ware lists ministers and church leaders of each church when available. The book sells for \$1.00, and may be ordered from Dr. Ware, Box 1164, Wilson.

The History of the Charlotte, N. C. Machine Gun Company in World War I, Company D, 115th Machine Gun Battalion, 30th Division by Captain Robert H. Morrison and Sergeant Eugene B. Graham, Jr., has been received by the Department. The 24-page booklet contains rosters of the company as a unit of the First North Carolina Infantry, after it was drafted into the Army of the United States and when it sailed for overseas duty. A brief resumé of the service it performed, a casualty list, and selections from the diary of Sgt. Willis M. Dorton complete the book.

Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson, a member of the staff of the Department of History at the Woman's College, Greensboro, is the author of *Battles and Engagements of the American Revolution in North Carolina*, published and sold by the Lafayette Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution (Raleigh). The purpose of the 23-page booklet is to "see the various battles and engagements, fought on North Carolina

soil, placed in their proper perspective." Dr. Robinson treats briefly the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, the Cherokee Expedition, the Battle of Ramsaur's Mill, Wahabs, the Defense of Charlotte, King's Mountain, Cowan's Ford, Pyle's Massacre, Wetzel's Mill, the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, Beatty's Bridge, the House in the Horseshoe, the Battle of Elizabethtown, Raft Swamp, Fanning's Raid on Hillsboro, and the Battle of Cane Creek. The book is written in a readable style and is concise and useful.

The Department has received *Cross and Cockade Journal*, Volume 2, Number 1 (spring, 1961), from Col. Paul A. Rockwell of Asheville, elected official historian and public relations representative of the "Escadrille Americaine" during World War I, an assignment he still holds. The 96-page book contains detailed information on the Escadrille Lafayette, a squadron of volunteer aviators who flew for France during the early days of the First World War. Biographical sketches of the heroic members of this unit with numerous photographs are included, as well as a brief history of the formation and accomplishments of the group. North Carolinians will be interested in the sketches and pictures of both Kiffin Yates Rockwell, who was killed during the war, and of Col. Rockwell, who participated in both World Wars I and II. The quarterly is the official publication of the Society of World War I Aero Historians. Subscriptions are available for \$6.00 per year, and correspondence should be addressed to George H. Cooke, Business Manager, 10443 S. Memphis Avenue, Whittier, California.

MISCELLANEOUS

Dr. F. B. Joyner, Professor of History at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, has recently compiled a calendar of some of the letters of General Braxton Bragg. These letters are a part of the Samuel Richey Confederate Collection of the Miami University Library. They will be of value to any student of Civil War history and will be of special interest to North Carolinians, as Bragg was born in Warrenton. There are sixteen letters written by General Bragg between July 17, 1864,

and March 17, 1875; and there are thirty-three letters to Bragg. Many notables of the period are represented, including Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Zebulon B. Vance, John Bell Hood, and William Chase Whiting.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association announces the receipt of a \$5,000 grant from the Ford Motor Company Fund. Dr. Fletcher M. Green, President of the Association at the time of the grant, accepted the check from Mr. H. E. Edmunds, Manager of Ford's Research and Information Department. The fund is to be used to encourage research on the history of American transportation; \$2,000 to be given as a prize to the author of the best publishable book-length manuscript in that field; and the remaining \$3,000 to assist in publishing the book. This is the first grant of this kind made by Ford. Further details may be obtained by writing Dr. W. D. Aeschbacher, Secretary-Treasurer, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1500 R. Street, Lincoln, Nebraska.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that one of its post-doctoral fellowships will be available beginning in the summer of 1962; the appointment is for a three-year term at a stipend beginning at \$5,400 per year. The recipient will share in the program of the Institute and carry a teaching maximum of six hours per year. Travel funds will be available for research and for attending professional meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to the Director, the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia. Inquiries concerning the two \$1,000 Manuscript Awards—the Institute Manuscript Award and the Jamestown Foundation Award which are offered on alternate years—should be directed to the Editor of Publications at the above address. The Institute award is given for the best unpublished work dealing with any phase of American history during the period from ca. 1760 to ca. 1815. The winner will be announced in May, 1962. The Jamestown Foundation Award will be given for the best unpublished work in any phase of American history dealing with the period from discovery to ca. 1760. The winner will be announced in May, 1963. The winning manuscript is

assured of publication for the Institute by The University of North Carolina Press. There are no special entry forms for the competition but full details are available upon request.

The American Association for State and Local History will make two separate groups of grant-in-aid awards in 1961. Applications for the first group of awards were due prior to April 15; applications for the second group must be submitted before October 15. Manuscripts for the first \$1,000 annual prize will also be accepted at the latter date. Requests for information should be sent to Dr. Clement M. Silvestro, Director, American Association for State and Local History, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

The Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland announces that it will award a prize of \$500 for a manuscript on Maryland colonial history, or some phase thereof, in the period between May 13, 1607, and April 19, 1775. All manuscripts must be submitted before October 1, 1963. Inquiries regarding rules and conditions should be addressed to Mr. Braxton Dallam Mitchell, Secretary, Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland, Mount Royal and Guilford avenues, Baltimore 2, Maryland.

Forest History (Vol. 5, No. 1, spring, 1961), published by the Forest History Society, 2706 West Seventh Boulevard, St. Paul, Minnesota, had an article, "Trailblazing in the Southern Paper Industry," an interview with Mr. Reuben B. Robertson. Mr. Robertson has been associated with the Champion Paper and Fibre Company of Hamilton, Ohio, for many years and after having served as both president and chairman of the board, he has retired and maintains an office in Asheville.

Applications for grants-in-aid for research projects at the Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, should be made to Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director, prior to October 1. This will permit recipients to work during the winter months.

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Entered as second class matter September 29, 1928, at the Post Office at
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—By W. C. White; Betterworth's *Mississippi in the Confederacy*, Volume I, *As They Saw It* and Silver's *Mississippi in the Confederacy*, Volume II, *As Seen in Retrospect*—By Horace W. Raper; Jones' *Confederate Strategy from Shiloh to Vicksburg*—By Rembert W. Patrick; Van Tassel's *Recording America's Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607-1884*—By Raymond Muse; Frick's and Stearn's *Mark Catesby: The Colonial Audubon*—By Harry T. Davis; Stover's *American Railroads*—By Percival Perry; Link's *Wilson: The Struggle for Neutrality, 1914-1915*—By George C. Osborn; and Silvestro's and Davis' *Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada*—By William S. Powell.

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