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COVER—The French Broad River from Strawberry Hill, one mile below Asheville. This photograph is one originally owned by Chase P. Ambler of Asheville and is in the Appalachian Park Collection, State Department of Archives and History. For a story on the park movement at the turn of the century, see pages, 38-65.

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OPINION IN NORTH CAROLINA REGARDING THE ACQUISITION OF TEXAS AND CUBA, 1835-1855

BY GEORGE H. GIBSON*

Part I

“South of the Border, Down Mexico Way” could have been as big a hit tune in 1835 as it was in 1939. For in 1835 Americans looked with longing across the Mexican border into Texas and, rather than *senoritas* with flashing eyes, saw vast tracts of fertile soil ripe for the plow and the American flag.

French claim to the area of Texas was established in about 1685 when a Canadian seigneur planted a colony on the Texas coast. The territory was vaguely included in the uncharted region known as Louisiana which went to Spain in 1763, reverted to France in 1801, and was sold to the United States in 1803 in the Louisiana Purchase. In 1819 the United States Senate ratified a treaty with Spain in which the United States gave up its claim to Texas. Spain's hold on Texas was of short duration, however, because Texas became a province of Mexico in 1821 when Mexico secured its independence from Spain.

Presidents John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson attempted to open negotiations for the purchase of Texas. Texas was not for sale. The Mexican government was afraid it would topple if it sold the territory. Mexico which was too poor to develop or defend the land was too proud to sell it.

A large tract of Texas land was granted to Moses Austin in 1821—the first of many grants leading to a large migration

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of Americans into the area. Fifteen thousand Americans moved to Texas between 1825 and 1830. By 1835 Texas contained 30,000 Americans, 14,000 Indians, and 5,000 Negro slaves.

When the province broke into open rebellion, General Santa Anna, dictator of Mexico, marched into Texas and annihilated two hundred Texans at the Alamo in March, 1836. Another group of Texans led by General Sam Houston surprised the overconfident Mexicans during a siesta and defeated them at San Jacinto in April. Santa Anna promised to cease fighting but renounced the promise upon returning to the Mexican capital. Texas was thereafter independent since the Mexican government was too weak to conquer the province.

At the beginning of the Texas Revolt in 1835, some southern newspapers called for volunteers to fight on behalf of the agrarian reformers. Four North Carolina newspapers responded to the call by denouncing it. The Whig *Raleigh Register* said, "If people choose to leave their own country to settle in a foreign land, they must abide the consequences of their own act." The Democratic New Bern *Sentinel* added, ". . . it is a struggle in which we cannot rightfully take part."¹

Texas was too far away for anyone in North Carolina to become enthusiastic enough to volunteer for the fighting, but the realization that a group of people was struggling to be free from alien domination struck a sympathetic response. The citizens of Charlotte assembled at the courthouse to celebrate Texas independence. Fireworks were exploded and transparencies with the words Liberty, Texas, Houston, and Independence were carried through the throng.²

The question of officially recognizing Texas as a free and independent country was debated in Congress. North Carolina Senators Bedford Brown and Willie Person Mangum endorsed recognition of Texas independence if independence

¹ *New Bern Spectator and Literary Journal*, October 9, 1835, hereinafter cited as *Spectator*; *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), January 16, 1836; *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, November 3, 1835, hereinafter cited as *Raleigh Register*; *North Carolina Sentinel* (New Bern), November 4, 1835.

² *Raleigh Star and North Carolina Gazette*, June 16, 1836, hereinafter cited as *Raleigh Star*.

could be maintained without the assistance of the United States.³

Although Mexico never re-established its authority over Texas after the battle of San Jacinto, sporadic fighting took place along the border, angry threats of invasion emanated from the Mexican capital, and Mexico maintained that a state of war existed between the central government and the province of Texas. President Andrew Jackson followed a neutralist policy lest the United States be drawn into war. By March, 1837, however, relations between Mexico and Texas were placid and Andrew Jackson recognized Texas independence.

The North Carolina newspapers reacted to recognition quite differently. In Salisbury a toast was offered on July Fourth to "the infant Republic of Texas, may she establish her independence without further bloodshed."⁴ The *Hillsborough Recorder* referred to Texas as the "Paradise of Liberty."⁵ The *New Bern Spectator and Literary Journal* described the fight between Texas and Mexico as the "war of the land speculators" and referred to Texans as the "dross and scum of our country." "Alas for the claims of justice in this age of corruption," it wailed.⁶ The Asheboro *Southern Citizen* thought that the recognition of Texan independence was "inconsistent with neutrality, highly improper and no less impolitic."⁷

On August 4, 1837, Texas sent a representative to Washington with a petition asking for annexation to the United States. Although the idea of annexing Texas had been mentioned in the North Carolina newspapers, no opinion concerning the matter was expressed until after the Texas representative made his announcement. The *Star*, a Whig paper in Raleigh, spoke unhesitatingly for annexation. It said that the "annexation of Texas is essential to the future safety and repose of this Confederacy. . . . Texas will be a valuable acquisition

³ *Register of Debates in Congress* (Washington, D. C.: Gales and Seaton, 14 volumes, 1825-1837), XII, 1,530-1,533.

⁴ *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), July 15, 1837, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman*.

⁵ *Hillsborough Recorder*, July 14, 1837.

⁶ *Spectator*, March 17, April 7, 1837.

⁷ *Southern Citizen* (Asheboro), April 8, 1837, hereinafter cited as *Southern Citizen*.

to the Union, and its admission, to the *South especially*, a question of the greatest moment.”⁸ The last sentence of this quotation was reprinted without comment in the *Raleigh Register*, another Whig paper.⁹

The *Hillsborough Recorder* spoke against annexation. “We are among those who believe that the event would be one of the greatest evils to befall our country.” It would be a “breach of public faith and honor towards a nation with which we are at peace.”¹⁰ Two other Whig newspapers, the *Asheboro Southern Citizen* and *Charlotte Journal*, also supported this view.¹¹

President Martin Van Buren instructed Secretary of State John Forsyth to reject the Texas request for annexation because it was inexpedient, unconstitutional, and because Texas was still at war with Mexico, a country with whom the United States had a treaty of amity.

The Democratic *Tarboro' Press* declared, “. . . the objections urged by the Secretary of State against such a step under existing circumstances, we view as insuperable.”¹² The *Star* lamented, “We believe there are Southern men who oppose Texas honestly but, surely they must be aware that they are aiding the cause of Abolition.”¹³

The discussion of annexation subsided in North Carolina. After 1838 the issue dropped out of public discussion entirely and was not revived until 1844.

North Carolina newsmen and congressmen had not been generally aroused by the Texas Revolution. Although some Whig papers opposed recognizing the independence of Texas, most expressions of opinion indicate that North Carolinians favored recognizing Texas as long as it did not involve the United States in a war with Mexico. When the question of annexation arose, only the *Raleigh Star* spoke out strongly

⁸ *Raleigh Star*, August 23, 1837.

⁹ *Raleigh Register*, August 28, 1837.

¹⁰ *Hillsborough Recorder*, August 29, 1837.

¹¹ *Southern Citizen*, November 11, 1837; *Charlotte Journal*, December 15, 1837.

¹² *Tarboro' Press*, October 21, 1837.

¹³ *Raleigh Star*, November 8, 1837.

and repeatedly in behalf of the proposition.¹⁴ Correspondence during the period reveals a lack of interest or comment. The annexation of Texas was not a political issue in North Carolina between 1835 and 1838. No political campaigns were fought over the issue and no State political party took a stand on the question. Nationally the proponents of annexation thought they could secure the annexation of Texas when the time was more appropriate, and the opponents were glad to let the matter rest without further discussion.

In the fall of 1843, President John Tyler for political reasons instructed Secretary of State Abel P. Upshur to reopen negotiations for the annexation of Texas by treaty. Sam Houston, President of Texas, proceeded with caution and deferred Upshur's offer. In January, 1844, Upshur assured Houston that a two-thirds majority for an annexation treaty could be obtained in the Senate, and Houston agreed to negotiate the treaty.

Although no official announcement was made, rumor whispered that negotiations for the annexation of Texas were in progress. The national political parties had not adopted an official position, but some Tar Heel editors began to express their opinions. Generally the Democratic presses were for annexation, and the Whig presses were against it.

In the spring of 1844, Henry Clay, prominent Whig Senator from Kentucky, visited the South to sample opinion regarding political issues and to survey his chances as a presidential candidate. He visited Wilmington and Raleigh, North Carolina. Clay made no reference to Texas in his speech before a large gathering in Raleigh on April 17, but in a letter to Willie P. Mangum penned the observation, "Indeed through-

¹⁴ Four historians of party politics in North Carolina, Clarence Clifford Norton, *The Democratic Party in Ante-Bellum North Carolina, 1835-1861* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 109; Herbert Dale Pegg, "The Whig Party in North Carolina, 1834-1861" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1932), 231; Joseph Carlyle Sitterson, *The Secession Movement in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939), 36; Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, *State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina, 1776-1861* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1906), 70, state that a majority of North Carolina Whigs favored the annexation of Texas in 1837. This conclusion is inaccurate. They quote only editorials of the *Raleigh Star*. Other Whig newspapers as quoted above were in complete disagreement with the *Star*.

out the whole of that portion of the South, which I have traversed, I have found a degree of indifference or opposition to the measure of annexation which surprized me."¹⁵ Clay's observation is interesting because it shows that the annexation question was not prominent in the South until it became a political issue.

Shortly thereafter Clay issued a public statement indicating his opposition to annexation. Martin Van Buren, candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency, also expressed opposition to annexation, and both he and Clay hoped to remove Texas from the list of issues so that the presidential campaign could be fought on traditional ground.

In February, 1844, negotiations between Upshur and Houston were proceeding satisfactorily when Upshur was killed in a freak accident. John Caldwell Calhoun succeeded Upshur as Secretary of State and completed the negotiations. The treaty was signed and submitted to the Senate accompanied by a special message from President John Tyler urging annexation in the national interest and for the security of the southern States. Calhoun at this time wrote a vigorous letter to the British government defending the institution of slavery. These two events solidified northern abolition voters against the treaty. Southern Whig Senators did not wish to repudiate Henry Clay, consequently the treaty was defeated. Senator Mangum voted against the measure, and North Carolina's Democratic Senator, William Henry Haywood, voted for the measure on June 8, 1844. Congress adjourned without annexing Texas and left the issue open for the approaching political campaign.

The Whigs had come to power in North Carolina in 1835 on a program of public schools, a deaf and blind institute, an insane hospital, State aid to internal improvements, and democratic revision of the State constitution. Whig strength was largely among the small farmers, merchants, and business men of the agricultural western part of the State and the east coast. The party leaders were from the wealthy, educated,

¹⁵ Henry Thomas Shanks, *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 5 volumes, 1950-1956), II, 437, Henry Clay to Willie Person Mangum, April 14, 1844, hereinafter cited as Shanks, *Mangum Papers*.

aristocratic class. An authority in North Carolina history described the Whigs of the period in this way:

The Whigs had the more effective party organization, abler leaders, more and better newspapers. In national politics North Carolina was one of the strongest Whig states in the South. And, despite the emphasis of Whig leaders on state improvements, national rather than state issues continued to dominate many of the political campaigns.¹⁶

A State Whig Convention was held in Raleigh on December 7, 1843. William Alexander Graham was nominated for governor and Henry Clay was endorsed for president. The platform placed emphasis on national issues and supported a national bank, sound currency, a tariff for revenue with fair protection for American industry, honest and economic administration of the national government, and an equitable distribution among the States of the proceeds from the sale of public lands. The annexation of Texas was not mentioned in the platform. The national Whig Convention met in Baltimore on May 1, 1844, and nominated Henry Clay for president and Theodore Frelinghuysen for vice-president. The platform made no mention of the Texas question. Whatever the annexation sentiment was among the Whigs, it was not powerful enough to override loyalty to Clay and a desire for Whig harmony.

Largely out of office since 1835, the North Carolina Democrats fought hard to obtain political control of the State. The Democratic Party drew its strength from the middle eastern counties, the tobacco-growing section on the Virginia border, and the cotton-growing region on the South Carolina border. As a group the Democrats favored a strict interpretation of the constitution, State rights, a rigid economy, and governmental inactivity.

In Raleigh on December 17, 1843, the party nominated Michael Hoke for governor. The platform condemned a national bank and protective tariff. It favored properly regulated State banks based on specie capital. The national Demo-

¹⁶ Hugh Talmage Lefler, *History of North Carolina* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 2 volumes, 1956), I, 334-335.

cratic Convention met in Baltimore on May 27, 1844. The first dark horse candidate in the nation's history, James Knox Polk, born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, and living in Tennessee, was nominated for president and George Mifflin Dallas was nominated for vice-president. They ran on a political platform which resolved that "the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures, which the Convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union."¹⁷

The annexation issue between the Whigs and the Democrats was the consequence of a series of circumstances rather than a fundamental difference of opinion. John Tyler built an issue upon which he thought he could be elected president, but Polk was nominated by the Democrats instead, and he inherited the issue. At the time of the national convention, the question had not profoundly stirred the political consciousness. Texas was still remote to most Americans. It was up to the politicians and editors to engender interest and create an issue for the approaching election.

North Carolina editors, candidates, and orators discussed the Texas question. Whigs said that Texas had a valid claim to the territory, and the Democrats countered that Texas was a sovereign nation whose independence was recognized. The Whigs claimed that to annex Texas would violate treaty obligations with Mexico and lead to war; whereas, the Democrats said war was preposterous. Whig adherents feared a breach between North and South that would lead to a dissolution of the Union, but the Democrats said Texas could be acquired and the Union preserved. According to the Whigs, Texas annexation would extend the boundaries of the United States beyond reasonable limits, but the opposition averred that the United States could never have enough territory. To the Whigs, Texans were lawless adventurers and land speculators, but to the Democrats they were Americans with the same heritage as North Carolinians. Whigs feared that Texas cotton would flood the domestic market; however, the Demo-

¹⁷ Kirk Harold Porter (comp.), *National Party Platforms* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924), 6.

crats declared that if Texas remained independent it could fall into Great Britain's economic orbit and the British could manipulate cotton prices to the detriment of the South. It was believed among Whigs that a large migration to Texas could lower land values in the upper South. Democrats wanted to acquire Texas to extend the blessings of democracy. The effect of annexation on slavery was not often discussed. The Democrats maintained that Texas could be divided to balance western States; however, the Whigs declared that only one-fourth of Texas was suited to slavery and therefore one slave State and three free States could be carved from the territory. One Whig orator stated that the extension of slavery was not the object of the Whig Party.

The political campaign of 1844 for the election of a governor and an electoral college from North Carolina began in May. William A. Graham, Whig candidate in the August gubernatorial election, was ill during the month of May and his opponent, Michael Hoke, started the canvass in the predominantly Whig mountain counties. Born in Lincoln County, Hoke represented himself as a candidate of the western people and attempted to implant the impression that a westerner could vote for a fellow westerner even if he were a Democrat. Hoke dwelt on local issues while in the mountains. He discussed the removal of a county courthouse, the division of an old county to make two new ones, and the appointment of officials. Hoke neglected national issues in his attempt to impress the mountain folk with the idea that he was a good fellow, only incidentally a Democrat, in order that he might cut Graham's guaranteed majority in the West and then build up his own guaranteed majority in the East.

In the last half of May, Hoke visited the Piedmont counties where, although he spoke largely on topics of local interest, he began to discuss national issues. Majorities for Whig candidates were expected during the period from Piedmont counties, but the majorities were not as large as in the mountains. Hoke probably felt that if he were to make any inroads into Whig strength in the Piedmont it could be done through arguments on national issues. He denounced the tariff, distribution, and a national bank. Hoke's approach was largely

negative in that he tried to destroy the Whig program. The Texas question was one on which he had taken a positive position, but in Stanly, Cabarrus, and Rowan counties he gave no arguments for or against annexation and made Texas a side issue.

By the first of June, Graham recovered from his illness and met Hoke for joint debates in the Democratic strongholds of the East. Graham spoke in favor of traditional Whig principles and Hoke attempted to crush them. Such a negative approach does not produce a lively campaign or an enthusiastic following. The Democrats of the East wanted something to shout for and not against. Hoke seized upon the Texas question as a positive issue and the Democratic newspapers and voters supported him enthusiastically. Texas became a prominent issue in the East. Democratic meetings in practically all the eastern counties passed resolutions recommending the immediate annexation of Texas. One Whig, writing from Louisburg, declared, "The Political Atmosphere in this neighborhood seems to be strongly impregnated with effluvia from the Ponds of Texas. Polk and Dallas are also much boasted of in this Democratic county."¹⁸

Graham made an extended trip through the Piedmont and mountain counties to promote party harmony, friendship, and a large Whig turnout at the polls. He proclaimed the traditional Whig principles and the dangers of annexation. He was accepted wholeheartedly by the West.

The candidates left the field toward the end of July but the newspapers continued to beat the political drums until August when the gubernatorial election was held. Graham received 42,586 votes and Hoke received 39,433. Graham's percentage of the total vote was one-half of one per cent less than that of the Whig governor elected in North Carolina in 1842. Elections for the Senate and House of Commons of North Carolina were held at the same time. In 1842 the Democrats had a combined majority of twenty-four seats,

¹⁸ Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, IV, 163, John B. Bobbitt to Sally Mangum, July 27, 1844.

whereas in 1844 the Whigs obtained a majority of twenty-one seats.¹⁹

The *Carolina Watchman*, extolling the victory, addressed itself to the editor of the *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh) and said, ". . . you are all done for, and we expect daily to hear of your cutting for Texas."²⁰

About the first of September Graham made another tour through the State thanking the people for their votes and urging that the electors of Henry Clay be chosen in the November election. Michael Hoke died from malaria contracted during the gubernatorial canvass and Graham was alone in the field as a statewide speaker. Democratic newspapers attempted to fill the gap with political editorials and exhorted the Democratic voters to go to the polls. Most of the campaigning during September and October was done on the county level with the Democratic and Whig electors meeting at courthouses, country stores, and political clubs. The proceedings of these local meetings were seldom reported in the newspapers and the electors have left no personal papers. It can be surmised, however, that they discussed national political issues on the same general lines discussed by Graham and Hoke. The Democrats had some hope for the results of the national presidential campaign, but they had small hope of carrying the State, for it was evident to them that the Whigs could maintain their control.

Henry Clay defeated James K. Polk in the North Carolina election. Clay received 43,232 votes and Polk got 39,287. There was no significant change in the vote from the August election, but Clay's majority was 792 votes larger than Graham's.

Eight gubernatorial and presidential elections were held in North Carolina between 1840 and 1848. The Whigs won all eight elections. The table below attempts to place the election of 1844 in proper arithmetic and historical perspective.

¹⁹ *Carolina Watchman*, August 31, 1844.

²⁰ *Carolina Watchman*, August 10, 1844.

		Whig	Democrat	Whig Majority	Whig Percentage
Governor	1840	44,484	35,903 ²¹	8,581	55.34
President	1840	46,376	33,782 ²²	12,594	57.86
Governor	1842	37,943	34,411 ²³	3,532	52.44
Governor	1844	42,586	39,433 ²⁴	3,153	51.92
President	1844	43,232	39,287 ²⁵	3,945	52.39
Governor	1846	43,486	35,627 ²⁶	7,859	54.97
Governor	1848	42,536	41,682 ²⁷	854	50.51
President	1848	43,421	34,869 ²⁸	8,552	55.46

The mean Whig percentage of total vote is 53.84 per cent.

One sees the effect of real issues on popular vote when one notes that the Whig majority in the presidential election of 1840 was based on antipathy to Martin Van Buren. In the presidential election of 1848 Zachary Taylor was a southern war hero. The Whig decline in the gubernatorial race of 1848 was due to a State issue involving the abolition of the requirement of owning fifty acres of land to vote for State senator. Thus the influence of significant issues can be seen in election results.

The Texas question did not seem to influence the results of the election of 1844 in North Carolina, for no great change

²¹ *Journals of the Senate and the House of Commons of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at its Session in 1840-41* (Raleigh: Thomas J. Lemay, 1841), 428, hereinafter cited as *Journals of Senate and House*.

²² Edward B. Dudley to General Assembly of North Carolina, November 28, 1840, Legislative Papers of North Carolina, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Robert Digges Wimberly Connor (comp.), *A Manual of North Carolina, 1913* (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell Company, 1913), 996, has a set of returns for the 1840, 1844, and 1848 presidential elections in North Carolina which purport to be official; however, they are inaccurate for they do not agree with the official returns as contained in the State Archives. Only the official records from the Archives are quoted in this article. Connor's incorrect returns are widely quoted in studies of party politics in North Carolina and have frequently led to false interpretations.

²³ *Journals of Senate and House, 1842-1843*, 546.

²⁴ *Journals of Senate and House, 1844-1845*, 477.

²⁵ Compilation of election returns in Legislative Papers.

²⁶ *Journals of Senate and House, 1846-1847*, 356.

²⁷ *Journals of Senate and House, 1848-1849*, 458.

²⁸ William Alexander Graham to General Assembly of North Carolina, November 18, 1848, Legislative Papers.

was made in party voting strength. The issue was more prominent than important in the campaign. Indeed this was true in the 1844 canvass from a national point of view also. A county election map does not show a sectional vote in the presidential election. The campaign as a whole was so confused and the margin of victory so narrow, that Polk can hardly be said to have received a mandate on anything, much less the acquisition of Texas.

In his fourth annual message to Congress on December 3, 1844, President John Tyler declared that the popular election for president showed the opinion of the people toward the annexation of Texas and that the election was a mandate to acquire that territory. He proposed, therefore, that a joint resolution of annexation be passed by Congress. A resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives which North Carolina Whig Thomas Lanier Clingman declared was "only intended to make political capital for the southern [congressional] elections." Clingman denied that the presidential election was a mandate for annexation. He declared the election was a Democratic fraud which proved nothing.²⁹ Kenneth Rayner, another Whig representative from North Carolina, stated:

The proposed annexation, upon mere party grounds, and in a shape utterly at variance with the forms of the Constitution, is well calculated to alarm every friend of his country, not only because it shows an utter disregard of that sacred charter of our liberties, but because it threatens us with the horrors of war.³⁰

John Reeves Jones Daniel of North Carolina said on the floor of the House of Representatives that the arguments against admitting Texas to the Union were based on too narrow an interpretation of the Constitution and, although he as a Democrat was a strict constructionist, he believed that annexation by joint resolution was constitutional.³¹ Senator

²⁹ *Congressional Globe*, Twenty-Eighth Congress, Second Session (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1845), XIV, 97, hereinafter cited as *Congressional Globe*.

³⁰ *Congressional Globe*, XIV, 359-363.

³¹ *Congressional Globe*, XIV, 189.

William Henry Haywood of North Carolina introduced a resolution into the Senate "for the annexation of Texas to the United States and to restore the ancient limits of the Republic," but it was one of many rejected by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.³² The *Standard* pleaded, "We go the full length for Texas. If the measure is lost at this session, (which God forbid!) we shall redouble our efforts, and call upon every democrat in North Carolina to rally for the next effort. . . . We would struggle as if the storms and perils of the days of '76 were about us."³³ The *Mecklenburg Jeffersonian* declared, ". . . he who now opposes annexation . . . will hereafter be regarded as a traitor to the welfare of his country."³⁴

On January 25, 1845, the House of Representatives passed a resolution for the annexation of Texas in a vote of 120-93. North Carolina's five Democrats voted with the majority and North Carolina's four Whigs voted with the minority. A compromise resolution was approved by the Senate 27-25 with North Carolina's vote split. Haywood was for the joint resolution and Mangum was against it. The final vote in the House of Representatives on the compromise Senate resolution was 132 to 76 with North Carolina's representatives voting as they had voted previously.³⁵ The *Standard* announced that the resolution finally passed with "the Whig members from North Carolina voting with John Quincy Adams and the Abolitionists!"³⁶

"It is with a thrill of joy," said the *Mecklenburg Jeffersonian*, "that we announce to our readers, that the joint Resolution has passed."³⁷ And it was "with a heart filled with overflowing with a pleasure that words cannot express" that the *Wilmington Journal* made the same announcement.³⁸ However, the *Carolina Watchman* made its announcement "with

³² *Congressional Globe*, XIV, 154-159.

³³ *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), February 19, 1845, hereinafter cited as *Standard*.

³⁴ *Mecklenburg Jeffersonian* (Charlotte), February 7, 1845, hereinafter cited as *Mecklenburg Jeffersonian*.

³⁵ *Congressional Globe*, XIV, 362, 363, 372.

³⁶ *Standard*, March 5, 1845.

³⁷ *Mecklenburg Jeffersonian*, March 7, 1845.

³⁸ *Wilmington Journal*, March 7, 1845.

feelings of deep mortification.”³⁹ The *Raleigh Register* solemnly predicted that war with Mexico would be one of the certain results of annexation, but the *Standard* said, “The prediction of the Register will fall to the ground and he will be considered a croaker of the first magnitude.”⁴⁰

In June the Texas Congress accepted the terms of the joint resolution and called for a constitutional convention which met in July and drafted a constitution which was adopted by the people of Texas in October by popular referendum.

Let be examined the congressional election of 1845 in North Carolina to determine whether the Whig position on the annexation of Texas affected the results. In 1842 a Democratic majority in the North Carolina General Assembly successfully gerrymandered the State’s nine congressional districts so that in the 1843 election the Democrats won five of the nine seats in spite of the fact that the Whigs polled a total of 33,507 votes while the Democrats received only 24,197 votes.⁴¹

In the 1845 congressional election the districts were the same as they had been in 1843. The First District was composed of nine Whig mountain counties. James Graham (a brother of Governor William A. Graham), who served in the House of Representatives from 1833 to 1843, filed as an independent Whig two weeks before the August election. Graham got the small Democratic vote and split the Whig vote to defeat the incumbent Whig Thomas L. Clingman by three hundred votes in an election in which ten thousand votes were cast.

In the Second Congressional District Daniel Moreau Barringer, Whig, ran a close race with Charles Fisher, Democrat. Barringer had served in the House of Representatives from 1843 to 1845 and Fisher had served from 1839 to 1841. The campaign was fought over national issues including tariff, expenditures, taxes, corruption in the Post Office Department, and the acquisition of Texas and Oregon. Local

³⁹ *Carolina Watchman*, March 8, 1845.

⁴⁰ *Standard*, March 5, 1845.

⁴¹ *Tarboro’ Press*, August 19, 1843; *Hillsborough Recorder*, August 24, 1843.

issues also were involved. Barringer was accused of failing to support the Charlotte branch of the United States Mint in a crucial vote in Congress. Whig interest in State internal improvements was criticized by Fisher. Some Whigs were dissatisfied with Barringer and wanted a stronger candidate. Fisher was an adroit tactician and exploited every conceivable issue and was defeated by Barringer by only twenty-six votes.

The Fourth District was composed of seven counties with almost solid Whig constituencies, and two Whigs, Alfred Dockery and Jonathan Worth, opposed each other on personal issues. One Whig observed, "Dockery and Worth did nothing to elevate the character of politics, in their canvass for Congress and the number and enthusiasm has been impaired by it."⁴²

The Third, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Congressional Districts were arranged so that there was a clear Democratic majority before the candidates were announced. The Democrats ran strong men with legislative experience, whereas the Whigs realizing that defeat was inevitable had difficulty finding persons willing to engage in the contests. A national bank, tariff, distribution, support for President Polk, acquisition of Oregon, and the annexation of Texas were spotlighted as national issues. Appropriation of funds for local projects was discussed as the chief local issue. Personalities were also involved as demonstrated by the fact that the editor of the Washington *North State Whig*, Henry Dimock, and the Democratic candidate in the Eighth District, Henry S. Clark, went across the State boundary into Virginia to fight a duel over "gross personal abuse."⁴³ No specific issue emerged from the newspaper reports of these perfunctory campaigns as a primary consideration in the canvasses. The Democrats easily won all districts.

The Ninth District was represented from 1839 to 1845 by Kenneth Rayner, a Whig and strong opponent of annexation. He decided not to seek re-election in 1845 for personal

⁴² James W. Osborne to William Alexander Graham, October 22, 1845, William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

⁴³ *Tarboro' Press*, July 16, 1845.

reasons. William W. Cherry was selected to be the Whig candidate against Asa Biggs, prominent lawyer and past member of the House of Commons. Cherry died early in the campaign and a hassle ensued among three aspirants for his position. David Outlaw, also a lawyer and past member of the House of Commons, was finally selected as the candidate but only after a bitter fight which disaffected and divided the Whig strength. Outlaw had once supported an independent treasury and free trade. He now advocated the traditional Whig concepts of a national bank and protective tariff and was blasted by Biggs for his inconsistency. A Ninth District Whig lawyer and school teacher confidentially wrote in his diary that Biggs was the more capable and intelligent man. He lamented the fact that the whole Whig ticket was thrown into disrepute when it was discovered that Willis H. Riddick, a Whig candidate for solicitor of the judicial district, had poisoned his wife.⁴⁴ Biggs won by almost 150 votes. It would be unrealistic to conclude that the acquisition of Texas had any major role in Biggs's victory. His personal strength and the dissension among the Whigs must be credited with the Democratic victory.

The Democrats won six seats in Congress and the Whigs won three, in spite of the fact that the Whigs garnered a total of 41,867 votes to 34,092 for the Democratic candidates.⁴⁵ The Whig majority was reduced from 9,310 in the 1843 congressional election to 7,775 in the 1845 election. It would be unrealistic to conclude that dissatisfaction over the Whig policy toward the acquisition of Texas was demonstrated in the 1845 election, especially when so many local issues and personal factors were involved in the Second and Ninth districts where a shift to the Democrats was indicated.

After the joint resolution passed Congress in March, 1845, the Mexican minister to the United States closed his Washington office and Mexico severed official connections with the United States. President Polk sent troops into Texas to protect that country against attack until the annexation could be

⁴⁴ Entries of August 16, 21, 1845, William D. Valentine Diary, Southern Historical Collection.

⁴⁵ *Hillsborough Recorder*, August 28, 1845.

consummated. In October Polk sent John Slidell as his personal representative to restore diplomatic relations with Mexico. Slidell was to release Mexico from its obligation to pay \$2,000,000 in claims awarded to United States citizens by a mixed commission in return for a Rio Grande boundary line for Texas. Slidell was authorized to offer \$25,000,000 for California. The Mexican government refused to receive Slidell or hear his offer. Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to advance from his position on the Nueces River across the disputed territory to the Rio Grande which he did on March 28, 1846.

President Polk called a cabinet meeting on May 9 and announced his wish to prepare a war message for Congress since it appeared to him that the United States could collect payment of the adjudicated claims only by force. A cabinet officer indicated he would feel better satisfied if the United States were attacked by Mexico. Then one of the most coincidental incidents in American history took place. That night Polk received a dispatch from General Taylor stating that the Mexicans had attacked his cavalry, killed some troops, and captured others. Polk now had a case and he prepared a war message for Congress in which he declared, "As war exists, and, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself, we are called upon by every consideration of duty and patriotism to vindicate with decision the honor, the rights, and the interests of our country."⁴⁶

The Whigs claimed that war would not have come if Polk had not sent troops into the disputed territory. The Democrats offered a bill in Congress to authorize the president to accept the services of volunteers and prefaced it with the statement, ". . . by the act of the Republic of Mexico a state of war exists between that Government and the United States." Two North Carolina Whigs voted against the preamble but voted for the bill as a whole when it passed 174 to 14. In the Senate Willie P. Mangum stated that he was

⁴⁶ James Daniel Richardson (comp.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 10 volumes, 1897), IV, 442.

opposed to the preamble but voted for the whole bill which was adopted 40 to 2.⁴⁷

The editor of the Raleigh *Standard* rued the day he wrote, "Editors who are perpetually croaking about the dangers of war in the midst of peace . . . are wanting either in intelligence, in honesty, or in patriotism."⁴⁸ But he covered up his error by declaiming fiercely against the Mexicans. America has been attacked and "the civilized world will bear witness that the people of the United States are not justly responsible. . . . Blood has been shed on American soil, and that blood must be signally avenged."⁴⁹ The *Carolina Watchman* asserted, "We are in the midst of a war—brought upon us by the rashness of James K. Polk."⁵⁰ And the *Charlotte Journal* declared, "Thus has the country been drawn unnecessarily into a war with Mexico."⁵¹ Smarting under the "I told you so" attitude of the Whig press, the *Standard* called the whole matter "miserable humbug" and said that if Clay had been elected president he could not have done any better.⁵²

After making their point, the Whigs took the position that since war had come they would join forces with the Democrats and conclude the war as quickly as possible.

A gubernatorial election was held in North Carolina in 1846. William A. Graham ran for a second term against James B. Shepard, the Democratic candidate. Graham defended his administration, supported State internal improvements, supported the traditional Whig policies on national issues, and blamed Polk for the war with Mexico. Shepard decried extravagance in State spending and supported the Polk administration and the Mexican War. A week before the election Democratic Senator William H. Haywood resigned his Senate seat rather than vote against his party on a tariff measure. Graham received 43,486 votes to Shepard's 35,627 votes. The Whigs maintained a majority in both houses of the legislature. The Raleigh *Standard* blamed the

⁴⁷ *Congressional Globe*, Twenty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVI, 794, 795, 804.

⁴⁸ *Standard*, December 17, 1845.

⁴⁹ *Standard*, May 13, 1846.

⁵⁰ *Carolina Watchman*, May 22, 1846.

⁵¹ *Charlotte Journal*, May 22, 1846.

⁵² *Standard*, June 10, 1846.

Democratic loss on Whig lies and slanders, the resignation of the "apostate and deserter" William H. Haywood, the war with Mexico, and Democratic apathy.⁵³ The last three reasons were probably valid.

In May, 1846, President Polk requested Governor Graham to raise ten companies of infantry. The quota was quickly and greatly overfilled, and lots had to be drawn to determine who would go to war. The volunteers waited at their homes for six months. Then the War Department asked for a regiment of volunteers for the duration of the war. Graham's second call was met without enthusiasm, and it was January before the companies were full.

A bill to equip the North Carolina volunteers was introduced in the North Carolina General Assembly and the Whigs were able to push it through with a preamble which stated, ". . . by the action of the Executive and the subsequent sanction of Congress, this Republic is involved in a Foreign War. . . ." ⁵⁴

The Mexican War ended on February 2, 1848, with the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which established the southern boundary of the United States at the Rio Grande and by which Mexico ceded to the United States the territory from the Rio Grande to the Pacific Ocean for \$15,000,000.

The Whig platform for North Carolina for the election of 1848 scolded the Democrats for an "unnecessary and unconstitutional Mexican War begun in a spirit of selfish ambition, and persisted in with a view to party triumph."⁵⁵ The Democratic platform endorsed the policy of the national administration in fighting the Mexican War, praised those who fought in the war, and denounced the Whigs for "encouraging the enemy."⁵⁶

The Democratic candidate for governor, David Settle Reid, electrified State politics by advocating the abolition of the requirement of owning fifty acres of land to vote for State senator. The attention of the State focused on Reid and free

⁵³ *Standard*, August 12, 1846.

⁵⁴ *Journals of Senate and House*, 1846-1847, 138, 498, 517, 522.

⁵⁵ *Raleigh Register*, February 26, 1848.

⁵⁶ *Standard*, March 10, 1848.

suffrage. By strong leadership and organization the Whig candidate won the election by 854 votes. Zachary Taylor, Whig candidate for president, carried the State by 8,552 votes.

Because of the narrow margin of Whig victory it was apparent that the Democrats had at last found an issue that threatened the long Whig supremacy in the State. In 1850 the same two candidates ran again on the same issue and Reid won by 2,743 ballots. A State issue had been needed by the Democrats for years and, now that they had found one, a new generation of aggressive, vigorous, young men with a forward looking, progressive program marched on to victory after victory.

During the period immediately after the Texas Revolution, North Carolinians were content to allow Texas to follow its own destiny as an independent republic. When the proposition for Texas annexation arose, one newspaper editor advocated annexation but his advocacy was largely ignored and the whole Texas situation was forgotten in the rush of daily living. In 1844 annexation was revived by the national Democratic Party as a campaign issue. The North Carolina Whigs consistently followed a positive State program and the Democrats were content to snipe at Whig policies. Michael Hoke adopted annexation as an issue in his race for governor of North Carolina in 1844 and succeeded in making the issue prominent but not important. The issue did not significantly affect the results of the election. Subsequent elections indicated that the Whig position on annexation and the Mexican War had little or no effect on the election results. It was only when a positive program and imaginative leadership emerged within the Democratic Party that the Whigs were defeated.

[To be concluded]

MONEY, BANKING, AND BURKE COUNTY IN THE ANTE-BELLUM ERA

BY EDWARD W. PHIFER*

Shortly after New Years, 1795, John Brown, a land agent from Lewistown, Pennsylvania, appeared in Burke County, his pockets sagging with hard money which he had hoped to exchange for State currency in order that he might, through certain machinations, make purchases of public land. This "prock" or proclamation money he found hard to come by. The paper money introduced during the Revolutionary and Colonial periods had been repudiated and was almost completely worthless. In place of continental currency and State bills of credit or "state dollars," the legislature had authorized, in 1783 and 1785, the emission of £200,000 of paper money. In addition, the State had issued certificates to remunerate soldiers for back pay, for bonuses or for bounty and these also were considered acceptable as currency. An occasional coin of the United States or a few Spanish-milled dollars circulated in the community and even a note of the Bank of the United States at Philadelphia or the Bank of South Carolina at Charleston might rarely be encountered. Due bills of individuals and certain institutions were utilized by people searching frantically for a medium of exchange.¹

At this time there was not a commercial bank in the State. If Brown had returned ten years later he would have found the situation little changed. The Bank of the Cape Fear and the Bank of Newbern had been chartered in 1804. A branch

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¹ A. R. Newsome (ed.), "John Brown's Journal of Travel in Western North Carolina, in 1795," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XI (October, 1934), 290-291, and *passim*; William K. Boyd, *Currency and Banking in North Carolina, 1790-1834* (Historical Papers, Series X, Trinity College History Society, 1914), 4-10; Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, Raleigh, and Charlotte: The State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *The Colonial Records* and *The State Records*], 1895-1914), XXIV, 475, 722.

of the Bank of the Cape Fear was established at Salisbury in 1808 and by 1814 this same banking house had established offices at Charlotte and Salem. But no attempt was made to extend banking service west of this Salem-Salisbury-Charlotte line until the agency of the State Bank of North Carolina was established at Morganton more than ten years later.² Meanwhile, a chaotic and fluctuating currency system existed which could only act as a depressant to healthy economic advancement. Other factors arose to complicate the currency problem and add to the confusion. In the early eighteen thirties Morganton was reputed to be a "nest of counterfeiters," the most notorious of these being a man named Twitter who was aided and abetted by his son and also by a certain Hooper. As one transient observer wrote waspishly to his brother in New England:

This county [Burke] and that of Bunkome [sic] are situated amidst the Blue Ridge and the inhabitants are a set of cut throats and savages, with some exceptions. There has been a set of counterfeiters, here for more than 20 years, and they have within a few weeks seized one of them old Twitter, who has carried on the business for nearly forty years [prior to 1833].³

Furthermore, there was a world-wide and nation-wide scarcity of gold and silver before 1830 and this was a much aggravated condition in agrarian North Carolina. Specie flowed from the undeveloped Piedmont, down the navigable rivers to the bustling centers of commerce and trade. In western Carolina, an excess of imports over exports on both a regional and national scale, which is technically referred to today as an "adverse balance of payments," created a constant drain on gold coin and the Spanish milled dollar. Emigrants carried it with them as they moved further west and like Long

² James S. Brawley, *The Rowan Story* (Salisbury, 1953), 105, 274; *Star* (Raleigh), June 21, 1811; *Catawba Journal* (Charlotte), January 31, 1826, and November 27, 1827; Colin McIver, *The North Carolina Register and United States Calendar* (Raleigh, 1822), 82; Branson B. Holder, "The Three Banks of the State of North Carolina, 1810-1872" (unpublished dissertation, University of North Carolina Library, 1937), 177n, hereinafter cited as Holder, "The Three Banks of the State."

³ B. C. Steiner (ed.), "The South Atlantic States in 1833, as seen by a New Englander (Henry Barnard)," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIII (1918), 344-345.

John Silver's parrot, Cap'n Flint, the merchants and farmers in the western counties cried out continuously for "pieces of eight." In spite of all this, the three years prior to 1818 were considered to be years of extraordinary trade activity in North Carolina.

Finally, in 1810 a charter had been granted to permit the establishment of The State Bank of North Carolina with a threefold purpose in mind:

First, to retire the State treasury emissions of 1783 and 1785 with simultaneous issuance of State Bank notes which would circulate at par value outside the State as well as inside.

Second, to create revenue for the State, which would be derived from the dividends on the bank stocks it had purchased.

And lastly, to unify the banking system of the State through absorption of the two other banks then in operation within the State—namely, the Bank of Cape Fear and the Bank of Newbern.

The principal office of the State Bank was established at Raleigh with William Polk, a cousin of James K. Polk, as the first president and with Jacob Johnson, the father of President Andrew Johnson, as the first janitor. Branches were initially placed at Wilmington, Fayetteville, Edenton, New Bern, Tarboro, and Salisbury. The capital of the bank, including all its branches, was not to exceed \$1,600,000 divided into one hundred dollar shares. The westernmost branch at Salisbury was capitalized at \$200,000. In 1817 a branch of the Bank of the United States was located at Fayetteville.⁴

Thus the matter rested until the middle of the eighteen twenties when an agency of the State Bank was established at Morganton with William Willoughby Erwin as agent. About sixty years of age, Erwin had been Clerk of the Superior Court of Burke County for forty years. An active churchman, father of a large family and successful businessman-farmer, he gave to the office integrity and respectability, but there is no reason to presume that he had any prior knowledge of banking. Furthermore, these were trying

⁴ Holder, "The Three Banks of the State," 101, 206, 407-408.

times in the banking business. The period from 1826 until the middle 'forties was a time of financial distress in North Carolina. Economic conditions had improved in 1823 following the collapse of 1819, but by 1826 a state of economic depression had again set in exemplified by low farm prices and emigration from the State. The bank had paid a dividend of 10 per cent in 1817 with a 17 1-2 per cent extra dividend and had continued to pay 8-10 per cent until 1827 when the dividend was reduced to 6 1-2 per cent and in 1828 to 2 1-2 per cent.⁵

After that, "the bloom was definitely off the rose." Soon it began to curtail its operations and call in its loans preparatory to liquidation, and it announced publicly in May, 1829, that, "Col. Isaac T. Avery has been appointed to close the business of the office of Discount of the State Bank at Morganton, in the place of Col. William Erwin, resigned. . . ." ⁶ Avery was William Erwin's son-in-law, and at forty-four years of age was a prosperous farmer and widely-known State politician. Apparently, however, his only previous contact with the banking business had occurred in the legislative session of 1810 when he had cast his vote as a representative against chartering The State Bank of North Carolina. Yet it became his duty to liquidate the holdings of this Bank and almost simultaneously to establish an agency of a new bank called The Bank of the State of North Carolina, which was chartered in 1833 and began operations in 1834. At the time of Avery's appointment in 1829, the Morganton agency held discounted notes equal to slightly less than \$90,000, of which amount it was estimated that the bank would fail to recover almost \$12,000. This estimated loss was slightly greater than the estimated loss on notes held by all branches of the bank. The Morganton agency held no real estate or bills of exchange, however, where the estimated loss was 23 per cent and 52 per cent respectively. The estimated loss on total assets of the bank was 14 per cent which is approximately the same as that of the Morganton agency. In spite of all

⁵ Legislative Document, 1831-1835, Number 8, "Report of Select Committee on Amount of Dividends and Bonuses."

⁶ *North Carolina Free Press* (Tarboro), May 15, 1829.

this, the ultimate sum total of the liquidating dividends on the State Bank stock amounted to at least \$100 a share.⁷

When the second State bank began operations in 1834, Isaac T. Avery was elected cashier of the Morganton agency and Adolphus Lorenzo Erwin, a Morganton lawyer and William W. Erwin's oldest son, was elected president. The main functions of the agency were to make loans and receive deposits since it was not authorized to issue bank notes—an operation which was performed only by the branches. In 1844 Adolphus Erwin moved from Morganton to Pleasant Gardens, McDowell County, and Robert Caldwell Pearson was elected president of the Morganton bank. Pearson was an able executive with a reputation for probity and he piloted the bank through some of its most profitable years.⁸

Throughout the 'thirties, the Bank of the State was whipsawed by political controversy and economic depression. Capitalized at \$1,500,000, it began operation in 1834 with four branches and five agencies none of which were in the west except those at Charlotte and Morganton.⁹ Duncan Cameron was elected president of the principal bank at Raleigh and Charles Dewey was elected its cashier. On September 26, 1833, United States President Andrew Jackson issued an order for the transfer of the deposits of the federal government from the Bank of the United States to certain State banks which he designated. This was the climatic move in his conflict with Nicholas Biddle, the president of The United States Bank. Jackson's enemies felt that this precipitant action had an unsettling effect on the economy of the nation and was largely responsible for the contraction of credit which occurred during the 'thirties. Says a modern authority with the wisdom of hindsight, "The current distress was due, moreover, not merely to the amount of credit cur-

⁷ Holder, "The Three Banks of the State," 251-254.

⁸ Turner and Hughes, *North Carolina Almanac*, 1838-1860, *passim*.

⁹ Branches were at New Bern, Fayetteville, Tarboro, and Elizabeth City. Agencies were at Charlotte, Morganton, Leaksville, Milton, Windsor, and Wilmington. The only records that have been preserved from either of the branches or agencies of either of the three banks are those of the Elizabeth City branch of which John C. Ehringhaus was cashier.

tailment but to the destruction of confidence.”¹⁰ Undeniably Jackson’s act destroyed the federal system of central banking and left the nation bereft of any instrument with which to create and maintain a uniform, stable currency. Business leaders in western North Carolina felt that this was a particularly critical period for their section. They were extremely anxious to develop the gold-mining industry and were in dire need of credit expansion to produce capital for the enterprisers. Instead they found the State banks, as well as the federal bank, calling in their loans and notes in anticipation of liquidation and the newly chartered banks of the State were not yet in operation. This created an abnormal scarcity of currency and credit. In the fall of 1833 it was noted that “Bills of exchange drawn on the house of James Hamilton and Son, by the Gold Mining Company of Burke, consisting of Robards, Turner, Robert Hamilton and P. Hamilton, and payable to the Chemical Bank at New York, have been put in circulation in the western part of the State, and from the known wealth and integrity of the company and the great dearth of State money, are answering a great public convenience.”¹¹ This generous gesture afforded some relief but the effect was partially vitiated due to the fact that these bills were not acceptable for taxes, could not be considered currency by the banks, and therefore always circulated at a discount. The people were forced to resort to outmoded and risky methods of exchange as when Thomas Lenoir took a personal note “payable in Salt at \$2.00 pr. bu.” and reluctantly accepted “a very ragged bad looking S. C. [South Carolina] bank Bill” as payment on a personal note which he was holding.¹² It became necessary to pay for goods and services with promissory notes and leading merchants accumulated these in large numbers. Loans made by the agency of the

¹⁰ Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, 1957), 435, hereinafter cited as Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America*.

¹¹ *Free Press* (Tarboro), November 15, 1833.

¹² Thomas Lenoir Diary, 1833-1849, intermittent, entries of June 16, 1834, and January 3, 1835, Lenoir Family Papers Southern Historical Collection University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.



Bank note for ten dollars of the Morganton branch of the Bank of North Carolina



bank were often in default and it was common practice to resort to the courts for collection.¹³

Bank note speculators or brokers operated in the vicinity but "were largely concerned in the trade with Georgia Money. . . ." It must be explained that because of the shortage of United States and North Carolina bank money, there was a heavy influx of bank notes from adjoining States. However, the Bank of Macon had failed a short time before and, consequently, "Georgia Money" was not acceptable to many people in this locality. As one contemporary Burke County writer put it, "a Miner would perish in this Community, with his pockets full of Chatahooche [*sic*] Notes. . . ." ¹⁴ Nor did it help matters any, when, in 1834, the United States Mint established a new ratio of silver to gold of sixteen to one. This undervalued silver and drove it out of the country.

In March, 1834, Morgantonian Samuel Hillman, with a canny eye for blaming the "mess in Washington" on President Jackson, wrote indignantly to Senator Mangum:

I stated to you in my last that the notes of the Bank of United State's were fast receding from circulation among us, that our local banks are on the eve of winding up their business and had been for some years collecting in their notes, that the agency of the State Bank at this place had been discontinued—and that a note on either of our State Banks was now rarely to be met with—I stated further that our principal markets were Charleston and Augusta and that for some time past our principal circulating medium in this part of the State had consisted of Georgia and South Carolina Bank notes—That since the removal of the Deposits the usual Bank accommodations were withheld at both those market towns the consequence of which had been a great depression in the price of produce and that Southern money was becoming very scarce and that we were left almost entirely without a circulating medium.¹⁵

¹³ See Erwin-Avery Papers, in possession of Adelaide Erwin White, Morganton; see also Henderson-Caldwell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Henderson-Caldwell Papers. Items in these two collections verify the prevalence of negotiable personal loans and the frequency of court actions to collect the bank's loans.

¹⁴ Henry T. Shanks (ed.) *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 5 volumes, 1950-1956), II, 107-111, Isaac T. Avery to Willie P. Mangum, February 28, 1834, hereinafter cited as Shanks, *Mangum Papers*.

¹⁵ Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 112-115, Samuel Hillman to Mangum, March 1, 1834.

Because of the removal of the deposits, large-scale farmers as well as business and professional people of the county quickly became disenchanted with the Jacksonians, and moved to defend the national bank. In a public meeting at the courthouse during the January term of court, 1834, resolutions were adopted condemning the act and petitioning Congress for counteraction.¹⁶ These resolutions were widely publicized and were presented to the United States Senate by Senator Willie P. Mangum. Senator Bedford Brown, a Jackson supporter, denied that the resolutions represented the sentiment of the majority of the people of Burke County and they were denounced by the Jacksonians and by Senator John Forsyth of Georgia in particular. Whereupon, a second meeting was convened during March term of court, at the courthouse in Morganton, when a second set of resolutions were adopted, the right of petition defended, and the behavior of Brown and Forsyth condemned. The resolutions committee particularly found cause to vent their spleen on Senator Forsyth who evidently had referred to their initial document as "a miserable petition gotten up by pot house politicians."

Actually, the petition was supported by the best informed men in the community including the former congressman Samuel P. Carson; his brother, the physician John W. Carson; the lawyers Adolphus Erwin, Samuel Hillman, Burgess S. Gaither, and William Roane; the schoolteacher William Greenway; the merchant John Caldwell; the local bank cashier Isaac T. Avery; the clerk of the county court Joseph J. Erwin; and the successful farmers William Dickson, Charles McDowell, David Corpening, and William B. Hawkins.¹⁷ The most able local champion of the administration position was Joshua Forman of Rutherfordton.¹⁸

¹⁶ Twenty-Third Congress, First Session, House Document Number 117; Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 82 n.

¹⁷ Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 81-83, 112-115, Samuel Hillman to Mangum; II, 107-111, Isaac T. Avery to Mangum; 127-130, copy of Burke County Resolutions; 135-137, John W. Carson to Mangum; Henderson-Caldwell Papers, Folder Number 11, G. W. Stinback to John Caldwell.

¹⁸ Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 107-111, Avery to Mangum, February 28, 1834. Joshua Forman (1779-1848) came to North Carolina in 1829, having already distinguished himself in his native New York by his bold resourcefulness and energy in matters pertaining to industry, commerce, and fi-

With this economic picture in the background, it is not difficult to imagine the handicaps under which the Morganton bank labored in managing its loans and discounts and the hazards to which it was subjected in executing currency exchange. However with regard to the old problem of metallic reserves, it was now placed in a most favorable position due largely to its geographical location. The banks at Charlotte and Morganton were the only branches or agencies in the gold-mining area. Gold was first discovered in Burke and Rutherford Counties in 1828 but it was not until July 31, 1829, that yields became sufficiently large to entice the Morganton bank to begin to engage in the purchase of bullion. In a period of eight months thereafter, the agency purchased 300,000 pennyweight of gold bullion at eighty-four cents a pennyweight and in the months immediately following this, the purchases averaged in value more than one hundred dollars a day.¹⁹ Large purchases continued to be made until 1835, when "the high price of cotton drew off the greater portion of the [labor] force to the southwest."²⁰ Nevertheless, some bullion continued to be bought by the bank until well into the eighteen forties. Contemporary accounts of how these gold transactions were handled are unusually vague but from them the careful reader can glean a general impression. It seems fairly definite that the bank purchased bullion at the mint value and was compensated for the interest on the "advance" which it made to the seller and for the "risque of transportation" by receiving a premium on the mint certificate which, in turn, it received from the mint in payment for the gold.²¹ Prior to 1835 the gold was minted at Philadelphia but after this date it was handled at the branch mint in Charlotte. Due

nance. His keen perception of banking is well demonstrated by the state-wide Safety Fund Act which he proposed in New York and which was adopted with some modifications. The act embodied the seminal principles of deposit insurance which were finally utilized by the Franklin Roosevelt administration in 1933 and have been an important adjunct to the banking system of the nation since that time. Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America*, 556-559.

¹⁹ Twenty-Second Congress, First Session, House Report Number 39, 23, Isaac T. Avery to S. P. Carson, April 3, 1830.

²⁰ John H. Wheeler, "Report on Gold Mines of North Carolina," *The American Almanac*, 1841 (Boston: David H. Williams), 211-217.

²¹ Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 107-108, Avery to Mangum.

to this traffic in gold, the Morganton bank was relatively immune to the antics of the bank note brokers, so long as most of the other banks in the nation remained on a specie paying basis, but once this ceased to be the case, any bank which attempted to maintain specie payments suffered an alarming drain on its gold reserves. Accordingly, the Bank of the State of North Carolina did suspend specie payments in 1837, 1839 to 1842, and for a short time in 1857.

The depression beginning in 1837 struck bottom in 1842. The low point in note circulation, number of banks in the nation, specie on hand, and loans made, all occurred in this year. Some time prior to 1846, the Morganton agency was converted to a branch bank with a capitalization of \$100,000.²² As early as 1846, it began to circulate its own currency.²³ According to the charter, the note circulation of each branch of the Bank of the State of North Carolina was limited to twice the amount of paid-in capital. The note circulation of each branch was reported annually and these figures show that the circulation of the Morganton branch never exceeded \$180,000 and often was below \$100,000. Usually the circulation of all branches combined was less than \$1,500,000.²⁴

Thus it can be seen that at no known time did the Morganton branch exceed its privileges under the charter with regard to currency circulation. The decrease in the late years was associated initially with the depression of 1857 and subsequently with the anticipated expiration of the charter. In the early history of the State Bank, it was bitterly criticized for making large loans to directors and major stockholders. In November, 1844, the Morganton branch reported that of all "Bills and Notes Discounted" there was "due by Directors \$4,700.00" and "by other Stockholders none." This is the only

²² J. B. D. DeBow, *The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States* (New Orleans, 1852), 176.

²³ Photocopies of notes of Morganton branch dated 1846 are in possession of writer, as are copies of several borrower's notes and stockholders certificate.

²⁴ Legislative Documents, 1854-1855, Document Number 7, 15; Legislative Documents, 1857-1858, Document Number 23, 25; Legislative Documents, 1858-1859, Document Number 23, 75; Legislative Document, 1860-1861, Document Number 14, 75. Note circulation for Morganton branch each November was as follows: 1849-\$123,015; 1851-\$178,362; 1853-\$167,016; 1854-\$155,438; 1857-\$95,000; 1858-\$93,224; 1859-\$91,798.

extant record of this type of report from the Morganton branch.²⁵

Due to the fact that the stockholders could not be satisfied with regard to the terms of the renewed charter, it became necessary to liquidate the Bank of the State in 1860. This process was carried out without difficulty. The period from 1850 to 1860 had been one of great prosperity in North Carolina and the bank was in excellent condition. Its assets and obligations were transferred to a newly chartered bank, which was called The Bank of North Carolina, after liquidating dividends amounting to 104 per cent had been paid to its stockholders. During the late 'thirties and 'forties, it had paid an annual dividend of five per cent to eight per cent after taxes and during the prosperous 'fifties it had paid 10 per cent to 15 per cent annually.²⁶

The new bank was capitalized at \$2,500,000. George W. Mordecai, who had served as president of the Bank of the State since the retirement of his father-in-law, Duncan Cameron, in 1849, became president of the Bank of North Carolina when it was chartered in 1859. The charter stipulated that the issuance of notes be limited to twice the paid-in capital or three times the specie reserve, whichever proved to be smaller. Branches were established at Wilmington, Fayetteville, Tarboro, Windsor, Milton, Charlotte, Morganton, and later at Salisbury and New Bern. Agencies were established at Statesville, Goldsboro, and Warrenton. An initial incomplete stock subscription of \$60,000 was obtained in the town of Morganton. The branch located there was capitalized at \$150,000. The directors were Thomas George Walton, Dr. Samuel Tate, William M. Walton, John Rutherford, and William Crawford Erwin. The president of the bank, Thomas G. Walton, was to receive a salary of five hundred dollars a year and the cashier, Edward Jones Erwin, was to receive a salary of twelve hundred dollars a year.²⁷ Erwin was a son of the first agent of the State Bank; was a brother of Adol-

²⁵ Legislative Documents, 1844-1855, Document Number 23, November 23, 1844.

²⁶ Hershhal L. Macon, "A Fiscal History of North Carolina, 1776-1860," 376 (doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina Library).

²⁷ Thomas G. Walton Papers, Box 2, University of North Carolina Library.

phus Erwin, the first president of the Bank of the State; and was a brother-in-law to Isaac T. Avery, the recently retired agent and cashier of the Morganton bank. The president, Thomas G. Walton, and the director William M. Walton were brothers, and were sons of Thomas Walton, a prosperous merchant. William C. Erwin was a merchant-farmer and a brother-in-law to Thomas G. and William Walton. The other two directors were not close relatives of the coterie that had controlled the bank since its conception, thirty-five years before. Tate was a retired physician and land speculator, Rutherford was a wealthy farmer with his home at Bridge-water on Muddy Creek.²⁸

The Bank of North Carolina had a short life. All of its branches and agencies were closed by August 9, 1865. With the collapse of the Confederacy it became obvious that the banks of the South could no longer continue to operate. The assets of the Bank of North Carolina consisted largely of notes and bonds of the State of North Carolina and of the Confederate States, all of which were worthless. Its slow process of liquidation continued for long after the war and was not complete until 1874.

As has been seen, the Morganton bank of the ante-bellum period was a very small and insignificant financial institution when judged by present-day standards, but, of the large number of commercial banks which have subsequently served the area, none were so urgently needed or performed so many vital functions under such adverse circumstances.

Even its structure was awkward. For forty years it operated in a continuous fashion—first as an agency and later as a branch—bound by three different charters, confused by repeated liquidations and reorganizations, baffled by its tenuous relationship to its fellow-branches and to other banks. Its economic environment was never secure. The currency lacked either uniformity or stability, and the economy often followed the rule of “boom and bust.” After the destruction of the federal Bank, a system of central banking no longer exist-

²⁸ Seventh Census of the United States, 1860, Schedule One (Free Inhabitants), Burke County, microfilm copy, State Department of Archives and History.

ed in the Nation; such regulation of currency and credit as existed was largely the responsibility of the State banks—and many of these were totally irresponsible. During the time that the Bank of the United States functioned as a federal bank, it was able to stabilize the currency by presenting bank notes for specie payment to any bank that appeared to be overstepping its bounds. But the Morganton bank functioned only a short time under this system.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that banks were viewed with suspicion and distrust by the yeoman farmers of the back-country counties. Burke was no exception. All three of their State legislators had voted against the State Bank Bill of 1810 and Mark Brittain, a Burke County legislator, had been a signer of the Potter Report which had flagrantly attacked the bank in the legislative session of 1828.²⁹

As far as can be determined, the Morganton bank performed three major functions in the economic community in which it existed: the extension of deposit credit and bank note credit through loans, the purchase and sale of exchange, and the purchase of gold bullion. "The essential banking function" is, according to Bray Hammond, "the creation of credit to be transferred by check and to serve as money."³⁰ There is little available evidence to suggest that either checks or checking accounts were widely used by the patrons of the Morganton bank. Loans were customarily extended in the form of bank notes, in contradistinction to deposit credit. It is a reasonable assumption that the agency at Morganton issued the notes of the principal bank at Raleigh prior to the time that it began to issue its own notes. Loans were ordinarily made for eighty-eight days or six months; the charters restricted the interest charges to six per cent per annum which was retainable in advance. Borrower's notes were made out payable to the cashier and were not negotiable at the bank unless so stated on the face of the note. There were no restrictions on the total amount of loans the bank could make. Loans were supposed to be automatically controlled, however, by the restrictions placed on the issuance of bank notes.

²⁹ *Yadkin and Catawba Journal* (Salisbury), January 27, 1829.

³⁰ Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America*, 194-195.

For example, the charter of the second bank restricted notes to twice the amount of its paid-in capital and the charter of the third bank to twice the amount of capital as well as to three times the amount of specie reserve. Thus the principal of reserve requirements was evidently recognized. The issuance of bank notes was an important function of the Morganton bank for it not only provided a method of credit extension but also furnished a circulating medium for Burke County and adjacent areas. The bank was required by the charter to redeem its notes in specie. However, the notes were redeemable only at the branch of issue. Thus, the Morganton bank was required to redeem only the notes issued at Morganton; in this respect each branch of the bank was autonomous. No notes were issued for less than three dollars by the second bank and none for less than five dollars by the third bank. As a consequence, since Bechtler's coins were issued in one-dollar, two-and-one-half-dollar, and five-dollar denominations, there was little overlapping and less tendency for the bank notes to drive the gold coins out of circulation. Likewise the purchases of gold bullion executed by the bank at Morganton during the eighteen thirties and early 'forties strengthened the banking system of the State; this steady building up of metallic reserve played a vital role in counteracting the chronic adverse balance of payments which had plagued the State Bank during the early years.

So it is obvious that the bank necessarily performed several important functions of an essential nature which are outside the field of operations of the modern day commercial bank—functions which are now relegated to the Federal Reserve Banks. By the same token, our modern banks offer services that were not even considered by the ante-bellum banking house such as letting of safe deposit boxes, managing of trust funds, receiving savings accounts, and providing investment management.

A final glance at the over-all administration of the Morganton bank is in order. It has been authoritatively stated that there occurred no "instance of dishonesty or breach of trust on the part of one of its officers"³¹ and nothing has been

³¹ *Banker's Magazine*, XIII (April, 1859), 824.

recorded that would tend in any way to contradict this appraisal. It is a certainty, however, that the persistent practice of nepotism in the bank's officers and directors restricted its sphere of influence to a marked degree in a geographical area where there was little or no competition.³² Even though they may have been sufficient and devoted servants of the bank, it still gave much the appearance of a family operation to the potential customer who had no representation in the management and might well live a hundred miles away. In spite of this flaw, it cannot be denied that the bank served as a solitary outpost that created credit in the western Piedmont where "steam and credit" were the crying needs of the day.

³² No other bank existed in the State west of Charlotte and Salisbury until 1845 when the Bank of the Cape Fear opened an office in Asheville. Additional banks did not come into the area until 1860.

THE APPALACHIAN NATIONAL PARK MOVEMENT, 1885-1901

By CHARLES DENNIS SMITH *

Although thousands of people make the acquaintance of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park each year, no historical markers spell out to them the story of the heroic struggle of a band of Asheville citizens and their supporters who, long before the present park was created, dreamed of the day when the scenic beauties of western North Carolina would be preserved for posterity. Today, as one walks the Appalachian Trail which pierces the heart of the Appalachians and holds them in a timeless proprietorship, the question comes to mind: From whence came the first expressions of a need for a national park in western North Carolina? Indeed one listens wonderingly to the lingering faint echoes of the cry which rang so strongly through these forests at the turn of the century: Why was this cry not heeded at the time?

As we look back down the trail to the year 1885 there is clearly visible the first advocacy in print of the establishment of a national park in the Appalachians. It is literally what the doctor ordered! In a paper discussing the mountains of western North Carolina as a health resort and read before the American Academy of Medicine in New York on October 29, 1885, Dr. Henry O. Marcy, a physician of Boston, said:

The pure air, water and climate hold out a hopeful helpfulness to invalids from every land. The wise legislator, seeking far-reaching results, would do well to consider the advisability of securing, under state control, a large reservation of the higher ranges as a park. Its cost, at present, would be merely nominal. Like the peaks and glaciers of Switzerland, its sanitary advantages would be of a value incalculable to millions yet unborn.¹

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¹ From a reprint of Dr. Marcy's paper, "The Climatic Treatment of Disease: Western North Carolina as a Health Resort," appearing in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (Dec. 26, 1885), Appalachian National Park Association Collection, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Appalachian Park Collection.

What process was to be employed in securing national title to this land, which had long since passed into private hands, was not mentioned.

By 1892 destruction of the forests in the Southern Appalachians was disturbing visitors there and one such vacationist noted that the once magnificent view from the summer resort on the summit of Roan Mountain, North Carolina, had been marred within the past twenty years by the cutting of the forests in the Toe Valley leading down from the mountain. Pointing out that Roan Mountain, lying eighty miles northeast of Asheville, was only thirty hours ride from New York, his home town, the visitor complained that in Toe Valley ". . . twenty sawmills and a dozen tanneries strung along the line of the narrow gauge railroad have done their work effectively."²

Referring to the New Yorker's comment in an editorial in *Garden and Forest*, Charles S. Sargent became the first person to present in print a plan for the creation of a national forest reservation in the Southern Appalachian Mountains. The year previous, Joseph A. Holmes,³ State Geologist of North Carolina, had suggested to Gifford Pinchot the idea of such a great national forest reservation in that area. While he envisioned a similar purchase by the United States government of a large tract of land for the purpose of practicing forestry on it his idea was not publicized at the time. Doubtless the current Pinchot-directed Biltmore Forest experiment in practical forestry had a great deal of influence on the thinking of both Pinchot and Holmes in regard to a similar federal project. Sargent, however, whatever his source of inspiration, was the first to give prominence to the idea of a southern national forest reserve.⁴

² "Roan Mountain—A Summer Resort," *Garden and Forest*, V (July 13, 1892), 333-334. See also Karl Mohr, "The Hardwood Forests of the South," *Garden and Forest*, I (March 14, 1888), 34-35.

³ Holmes, a mining engineer, was North Carolina State Geologist, 1891-1907. He was instrumental in the creation of the United States Bureau of Mines and was its first director, 1910-1915. Dumas Malone and others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 20 volumes and index [with Supplementary Volumes XXI and XXII] 1928-), IX, 167-168. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*.

⁴ Charles S. Sargent, "A Suggestion," *Garden and Forest*, V (July 13, 1892), 325-326, hereinafter cited as Sargent, "A Suggestion"; Gifford

Whereas Pinchot was looking at the possibilities of a southern forest reserve from a forester's point of view, Sargent was interested in the botanical aspects of the proposition. The belief that the best cherry and walnut trees of the region had been bought up and the best tulip trees cut from the most remote valleys plagued him. Consequently Sargent's suggestion for a national forest reservation was based on the desire to see examples of deciduous and coniferous groups preserved for the benefit of future generations in order that they might see the marvels of vegetable growth. The *New York Tribune* immediately seconded his proposal.⁵

While Pinchot and Sargent toyed with the idea of a national forest reserve, the North Carolina legislature became interested in the proposed national park, and on February 9, 1893, passed a resolution in favor of securing such a park in the Southern Appalachians. This action was soon followed by the North Carolina Press Association's meeting at New Bern, where on April 28 a memorial petitioning Congress to establish a park in the area was drawn up. Later presented to the House on March 27, 1894, by Representative John S. Henderson, of North Carolina, it was referred to the Committee on Public Lands. That was as far as the proposal went in the Fifty-Third Congress.⁶ Evidently public opinion was not yet strong enough to force Congress to show any concern about the matter, but one thing is sure, the New York mountain-lover was no longer alone in his mourning.

Pinchot to B. M. Jones, Secretary of the Asheville Board of Trade, November 11, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection. See also Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York, 1947), 47, hereinafter cited as Pinchot, *New Ground*; and Joseph A. Holmes, Society of American Foresters, *Proceedings*, X, (July, 1915), frontispiece. Only a few people, including Pinchot, knew of Holmes' idea at the time and most of them thought the project to be visionary. Gifford Pinchot (ed.), *American Conservation*, I (June, 1911), 153. Not so Pinchot! He said, "It was a great plan and neither he nor I let it drop." Pinchot was not so sure in 1947 as to the year the suggestion was made, but he remembered that it was broached at "The Brick House" in Biltmore Forest, Pinchot, *New Ground*, 56. For an interesting description of the Biltmore Forest experiment in practical forestry, see Pinchot, *New Ground*, 47.

⁵ Sargent, "A Suggestion," 324-326; *New York Tribune*, July 18, 1892.

⁶ George W. McCoy, *A Brief History of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Movement in North Carolina* (Asheville, 1940), 6-8; *Congressional Record*, XXXVI (March 28, 1894), 3,260. McCoy is here quoting Charles A. Webb, one of the charter members of the Appalachian National Park Association and therefore familiar with the background of the movement.



*Appalachian Park Collection
State Department of Archives and History*

Fairfield Inn from the top of Mt. Toxaway, Sapphire

*Beautiful
Fairfield*

This mourning period was to last for five years then be broken only by another set of "doctor's orders." The first organized agitation for national legislation to set up a federal park in the Southern Appalachian Mountains was begun by Dr. Chase P. Ambler of Asheville, North Carolina. He presented his idea of a national park to a friend from Ohio, Judge William R. Day, while both were on a fishing trip in the Sapphire area of western North Carolina in June, 1899. Several days later Judge Day gave Ambler some notes of a plan for securing the desired park. Although these notes were subsequently lost, Day's proposal became the basis for an organized drive to create such a park in western North Carolina. Day's proposition embodied an Asheville organization which, assisted by the Asheville Board of Trade, would press for a national park to be set up in the Asheville area. On his return from the fishing trip Ambler immediately discussed the matter with A. H. McQuilkin, Asheville print shop owner and magazine publisher, who became very much interested in the project.⁷

By August, Ambler and George H. Smathers of Asheville, were working hard at getting the project of a southern national park before Congress.⁸ After enlistment of the aid of Senator Jeter C. Pritchard of North Carolina, Ambler's plan called for the organization of a drive to interest the southern press, doctors, lawyers, and others in the project by setting up a separate committee for each of these groups. Those people contacted would be asked to sign a petition addressed to Senator Pritchard asking him to use his influence to have a Congressional committee appointed to investigate the feasi-

⁷ Chase P. Ambler, *Activities of the Appalachian National Forest Association*, 2-4, Appalachian Park Collection, hereinafter cited as Ambler, *Activities*. An analysis of the Appalachian Collection indicates that Dr. Ambler was the leader in, and most conscientious worker for, the Appalachian national park. A physician, he moved to Asheville from Ohio in 1899 and early became interested in the preservation of the beauty of the region by State or national action. Details of the fishing trip and the similarity of Ambler's and Day's views on the proposed park are shown in the correspondence between the two men. See Judge William R. Day to Ambler, October 31, November 10, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection. McQuilkin was publisher of *Southern Pictures and Pencilings*.

⁸ Clipping in A. H. McQuilkin Scrapbook, "The Movement for a Southern National Park," *Southern Pictures and Pencilings*, Appalachian Park Collection.

bility, necessity, and advantage of such a national park.⁹ This petition, as prepared, listed many reasons why the project of a southern national park should be undertaken: While the "North" has Yellowstone National Park the South has none. Scenery, climate, and forests draw thousands of visitors to this western North Carolina locality each year, not only from neighboring States but from New York and the deep South as well, since neither of the latter areas are over twenty-four hours travel time away. Not only is there plenty of mountain land available in many counties, but the cost will be small because from twenty to forty thousand acres of it can be bought for an average of one dollar per acre. The location presently being sought by the Surgeon-General for a tuberculosis hospital for Army and Navy men is to be had right here in the proposed national park. Moreover, action to preserve a tract of this country in its primeval state in order to save forests, game, and fish is imperative, for lumbermen are buying up options and laying the mountain bare! Indeed, natural game is becoming extinct and the native mountain trout is gradually disappearing, due largely to lumber operations. Now tanneries ruin both forest and game, and one has been set up lately at Asheville with another soon to be in operation at nearby Waynesville. Finally, such a park will not only do wonders for both State and nation, but will also be a monument to the Senator.¹⁰

In early September, Senator Pritchard agreed to help forward the project as outlined to him by Ambler, stating ". . . I shall do all in my power to secure the necessary appropriation."¹¹

⁹ Ambler to Senator Jeter C. Pritchard, August 19, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection.

¹⁰ A copy of the petition, dated August 30, 1899, is attached to Ambler's letter to Pritchard of August 19, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection. The main reasons given in the petition for the park had appeared previously in McQuilkin's article in *Southern Pictures and Pencilings*. He set the price of land, however, to be purchased at a more conservative figure of from one to three dollars per acre.

¹¹ Pritchard to Ambler, not dated, Appalachian Park Collection. The date is certainly early September, since in the letter Pritchard was ". . . disgusted with an article which appeared in the Asheville Citizen the other day in which he [the editor] sought to convey the idea that I was hostile to the proposition, his purpose being to do or say something that would weaken me politically." In the process of castigating him for not speaking

As soon as it was recognized that Senator Pritchard, being from western North Carolina and having the confidence of the dominant party, was the man to lead the fight, an organization to back him was demanded.¹² At the same time, the Asheville Board of Trade, seeing that influential men in the section were interested in the park, began planning to set up their own national park committee to direct the work.¹³ Recognizing that a State organization and a State movement were needed in order to attain the objective, the Board of Trade sought the support of neighboring towns by organizing, on October 9, a Parks and Forestry Committee with McQuilkin as chairman and Ambler as secretary.¹⁴

The movement for the southern national park had now become organized. The Parks and Forestry Committee first solicited the aid of the newspapers in North Carolina and adjacent States in giving publicity to the movement.¹⁵ This action was followed immediately by an attempt to get a wider circulation of the petition, copies addressed to Senator Pritchard being distributed through the public schools.¹⁶ Although county and city superintendents of schools were contacted in North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia, the best response by far came from North Carolina schools, while a Georgia State law forbade using its schools for such purposes.¹⁷

Following the publicity in schools and newspapers, the Parks and Forestry Committee in October sent out reprints of

up in the interest of the proposed park, the editor observed that perhaps the Senator had not yet reached ". . . the monument-erecting period of his career, . . ." *Asheville Citizen*, September 2, 1899.

¹² *Asheville Citizen*, September 29, 1899. The editor was now evidently convinced that Pritchard was for the project after all.

¹³ *Asheville Daily Gazette*, September 24, 1899.

¹⁴ *Asheville Daily Gazette*, October 8, 1899.

¹⁵ Circular One, Appalachian Park Collection. Notations by Ambler on this circular indicate that 1,000 of them were eventually sent to various newspapers.

¹⁶ Circular Two, Appalachian Park Collection. One thousand, according to Ambler's notation, were sent to the Asheville schools alone.

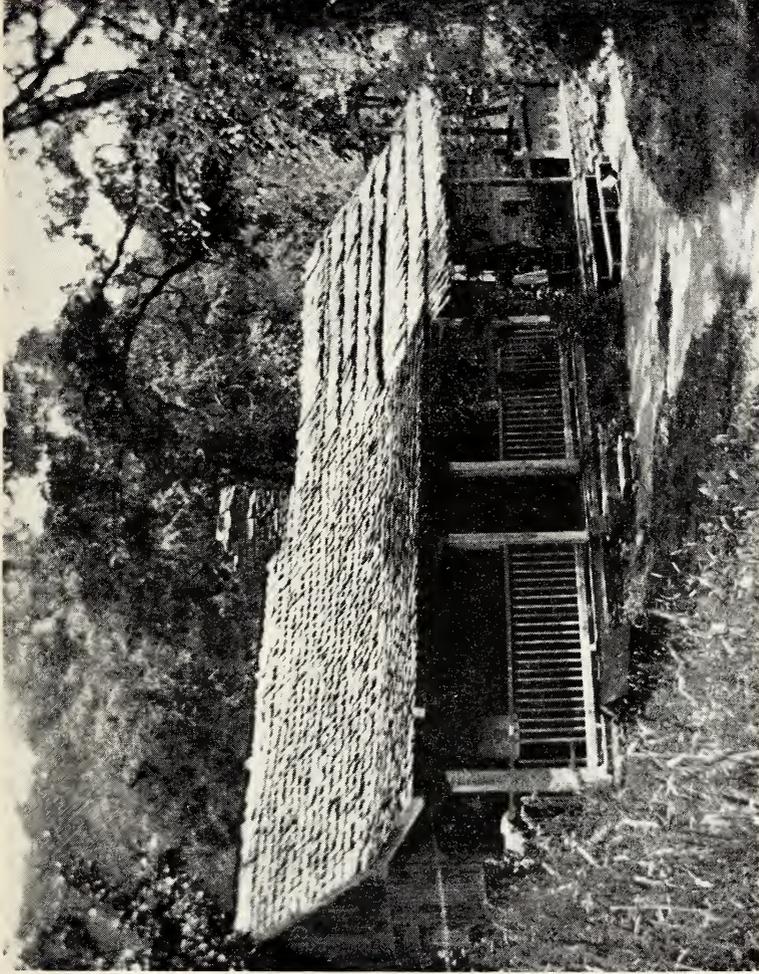
¹⁷ There are several letters in the Appalachian Collection setting forth reactions to the circulation proposals. For typical letters see: C. B. Gibson, Superintendent of the Columbus, Georgia, Public Schools, to Ambler, November 2, 1899; J. King of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, Superintendent of the Rutherford County Public Schools, to Ambler, November 9, 1899; D. Matt Thompson, Superintendent of the Statesville Public Schools, to Ambler, November 14, 1899. Notations by Ambler indicate that 5,000 of these petitions were eventually circulated through the schools and other media. Circular Nine, Appalachian Park Collection.

an article which had earlier appeared in McQuilkin's *Southern Pictures and Pencilings* to North Carolina residents, as well as to people in adjacent States. While the article followed the same general pattern of information as the petition, greater emphasis was placed on the need for the practice of conservative forestry. It also paid some attention to arguments that were being heard to the effect that farmers and timber holders would be against the park because its creation would make them lose money. After pointing out that owners would receive a fair price for their land, the article went on to say that lumbermen and bark gatherers would be assured of a future supply of timber and bark, since the forests would be under scientific management.¹⁸ The value of forests in preventing floods by controlling the run-off was also cited.

It was becoming increasingly clear that to launch an attack on a State-wide sector was not enough frontage to achieve the desired objective of a national park. Limited local successes, while gratifying to the leaders of the movement, did not necessarily mean that the desired Congressional action would ensue. As George W. Vanderbilt of Biltmore Estate saw it at the time, the need was one of including parts of North Carolina, Tennessee, and adjacent States in a great eastern national park.¹⁹ Statements such as this, coupled with an obvious lack of real response from outside North Carolina, must have made it clear to the Asheville Board of Trade that a local organization could not successfully call for outside aid. In any event, it decided that a meeting should be called in Asheville for November 9, 1899, of interested people from North Carolina and surrounding States to set up a

¹⁸ Circular Three, Appalachian Park Collection. For a similar concern with this anticipated opposition and an identical answer, see the *Asheville Daily Gazette*, October 10, 1899.

¹⁹ *Asheville Citizen*, October 10, 1899. Vanderbilt soon disassociated himself from the movement since his land near Asheville was in the area of the proposed park. Biltmore Forest, near Asheville and owned by Vanderbilt, was at that time under the management of C. A. Schenck. It was at Biltmore that Gifford Pinchot had earlier made the first experiment in conservative forestry in America. See again Pinchot, *New Ground*, 47 ff. Biltmore Forest had made a deep impression on the thinking of Asheville men active in the movement and certainly on Pinchot, who was one of the most tireless fighters for a southern national forest. Biltmore Forest became the nucleus of the first Appalachian national forest in 1916.



*Appalachian Park Collection
State Department of Archives and History*

Front View of a Mountain Home



national organization for the promotion of the park. On October 18, 1899, fifty letters were sent to various governors, senators, and representatives in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Virginia asking permission to use their names in a call for such a convention to organize a national park association.²⁰ The call was to be made for a meeting in Asheville on November 9, 1899, to set up the organization and to take action to persuade Congress to acquire an area in the Blue Ridge or the Great Smokies for a national park like Yellowstone. States, cities, and all civic organizations were asked to send delegates.²¹ Response to this request for the use of their names brought a variety of answers from those reached ranging from enthusiastic approval to flat refusal.²²

Senator Pritchard thought it best that he not be identified with either the call or the meeting. While he insisted that he would do all in his power to induce Congress to make a sufficient appropriation to have the matter thoroughly investigated and meant to leave no stone unturned in his efforts to secure the establishment of the park, he thought ". . . it will give the movement more strength if it is understood that it comes from the people direct."²³

The call, with the amended meeting date of November 22, 1899, was duly sent out by the Park and Forestry Committee of the Asheville Board of Trade ". . . for the purpose of organizing an association for the promotion of a Southern National Park and Forest Reserve. . . ." ²⁴ The use of the term "Forest Reserve" indicated that the appeal was not being made solely for a local Asheville park. This broader approach

²⁰ Joseph H. Pratt, "Twelve Years of Preparation for the Passage of the Weeks Law," *Journal of Forestry*, XXXIV (December, 1936), 1,028. See also the *Asheville Citizen*, October 20, 1899.

²¹ A copy of this invitation is in the Appalachian Park Collection.

²² There are several letters in the Appalachian Park Collection relating to the call. See especially: George W. Taylor, Congressman from Alabama, to the Asheville Board of Trade, October 21, 1899, and Theodore F. Schultz, Congressman from North Carolina, to the Secretary of the Forestry Committee, Asheville Board of Trade, November 13, 1899. The slowness of the response, shown by the dates of the letters, was probably the reason why the meeting was not held until November 22-23, 1899.

²³ Pritchard to Ambler, October 23, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection.

²⁴ Appalachian National Park Association, Minutes of Meetings 1899-1905, 5, Appalachian Park Collection, hereinafter cited as Appalachian Park Association, Minutes.

was very pleasing to Pinchot, now Chief Forester, Federal Bureau of Forestry, who wrote:

The object you have in view is one in which I have long had a very real interest. . . . I have become increasingly impressed with the great desirability of such a Park. While I do not underrate the difficulties in the way of your undertaking, it is a project thoroughly worthy of all the energy and enthusiasm you will devote to it and you have my heartest wishes for its success. If I can be of use, I hope you will let me know.²⁵

Asheville awoke on the morning of November 22, 1899, to find itself host to many out-of-town visitors. At the Battery Park Hotel some forty-two men and women were gathering, among them such people as Alfred M. Waddell, Mayor of Wilmington; S. Whittkowsky, President of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce; Josephus Daniels of the *Raleigh News and Observer*; J. C. Garlington, Editor of the *Spartanburg, South Carolina, Herald*; N. G. Gonzales, Editor of the *Columbia, South Carolina, State*; M. V. Richards, Land and Industrial Agent of the Southern Railway; Moses S. Cone, of Cone Export and Commission Company, Southern Cottons, New York; Senator Marion Butler of North Carolina; Charles McNamee, of the North Carolina Geological Board; Congressman W. T. Crawford of North Carolina; ex-Congressman Richmond Pearson of North Carolina; George S. Powell, A. R. McQuilkin, E. P. McKissick, Charles A. Webb, and Dr. Chase P. Ambler, all of Asheville.²⁶

The first morning session saw N. G. Gonzales elected chairman and Dr. Chase P. Ambler secretary of the convention.²⁷ Senator Butler and Congressman Crawford both pledged themselves to support the matter in Congress; Secretary Ambler passed around copies of the petition for each member who so desired to sign. Bylaws were adopted after a somewhat extended debate as to the exact title by which the new organization should be known. It was finally decided that it

²⁵ Pinchot to H. Claybrook Jones, November 11, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection.

²⁶ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 5, 30.

²⁷ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 5, 9.

should be called the Appalachian National Park Association.²⁸ The bylaws of the Association said of it: "Its object shall be the establishment of a national park somewhere in the Southern Appalachian Mountains."²⁹ Officers were to consist of a president, twenty-five vice-presidents, and a board of twelve directors. This board was authorized to set up auxiliary branches, wherever practicable, of the national organization with the same object and aim as the parent group.

The resolutions adopted called upon Congress to ". . . investigate this movement, become conversant with the necessity of establishing such a park, and to use their utmost endeavor to enact such legislation as will secure the establishment of a park in the mountains of western North Carolina."³⁰ It was also resolved that the citizens of southeastern States be called upon to lend their assistance to the movement by joining auxiliary branches of the Association. The press of the country was to be asked to lend its aid in placing the matter before the people, keeping up interest, and in urging Congress to act when the proposed park was brought to its attention. George S. Powell, a retired merchant of Asheville, was elected President and Ambler, who had already done so much for the movement, Secretary.³¹ The second session, which took place on the following morning, was a short meeting. It resulted only in the passing of addi-

²⁸ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 7ff. "Eastern Park" was turned down because it was thought that this would bring the Adirondacks in as a competitor. "Southern National Park" was eliminated because it was felt to be sectional and might work against the scheme. "Blue Ridge National Park" did not pass because it was noted that some of the finest mountains in the section were not in the Blue Ridge. "Southern National Park and Forest Reserve," presented by Dr. Ambler, was rejected. The term "Appalachian" was accepted because, even though it was believed that the Appalachians extended to New England, it was felt that there was no competition to be had from the northern end of the mountains. There seemed to be no question but that the project should be a national one and in the form of a park, not a forest reserve.

²⁹ Appalachian Park Collection, Minutes, 10.

³⁰ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 28. Josephus Daniels, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported that the only matter of dispute on the resolutions in committee was whether to recommend a park in the western North Carolina mountains or in the Southern Appalachians. Daniels, the only member of the committee from North Carolina, was also the only one who voted for the resolutions to ask for action in the Southern Appalachians. All the others voted for western North Carolina. On the committee were two men from Georgia, one from Illinois, and one from New York.

³¹ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 28.

tional resolutions asking the ladies to co-operate in the movement. After the gathering was dismissed, members of the Association enjoyed a drive through the beautiful Biltmore Estate, where its main points of interest were visited.³²

The southern press lauded the objectives of the Association and spoke highly of the officers selected, promising that ". . . they may rely with confidence upon the united sympathy and support of the South and Middle States."³³ Great stress was placed on the fact that the twenty-five vice-presidents chosen from North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky included senators as well as governors. The apparent strength shown for the park at the meeting led to the comment: "If it is ever to be done, now is the time."³⁴ Another call to action read: "Let us at all events preserve samples of these splendid forests so that the succeeding generations can at least see in imagination the glorious heritage which their fathers destroyed."³⁵ The Association concentrated at once in securing as much favorable publicity as possible for the movement. Dr. Ambler was soon busily circulating copies of the petition originally addressed to Senator Pritchard but now directed to Congress. At the same time, red stickers reading, "Push the Appalachian Park Movement" were being sent out for use on business and private correspondence. *Southern Pictures and Pencilings* having become the official organ of the Association, an issue of it devoted to the park movement was widely distributed. While McQuilkin, Ambler, and Powell were writing for the various newspapers who had asked for material concerning the work of the group, a drive for increased membership was under way, as some forty towns were contacted through let-

³² Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 32.

³³ *Raleigh Post*, November 25, 1899.

³⁴ *State* (Columbia, South Carolina), November 26, 1899. The same issue noted the formation of the Appalachian Apricot Club on November 23, 1899, by Major E. P. McKissick, proprietor of the Battery Park Hotel, and his guests under the heading, "First Child of the National Park Movement Born at the Battery Park."

³⁵ *Charlotte Observer*, November 22, 1899. See also *Charlotte Observer*, November 23, 1899; *Forester*, V (December, 1899), 289; and "In the Southern Alleghanies," *Forester*, V, (December, 1899), 283.

ters to their mayors. Powell was especially active in trying to collect donations for the cause.³⁶

Early results of the publicity campaign were heart-warming. Railroads, eager to help, offered to distribute circulars, and one railway went so far as to contribute money to the cause as the President of the Southern Railway sent one hundred welcome dollars. M. V. Richards, Land and Industrial Agent of the same railway and one of the charter members of the Association, with his office in Washington, was very active in the early days of the movement. While newspapers were definitely interested in publishing material concerning the proposed park,³⁷ ladies were also making their contribution as the South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs offered any assistance to the Association that might be asked. Word of the proposed park was certainly getting around for a Rochester, New York, resident offered himself as caretaker of the new enterprise.³⁸

But all was not rosy! Although Powell was able to raise some money through solicitation, the membership drive was disappointing. It was Powell's feeling that little money in membership fees could be expected outside of the mountain towns. A canvass of Asheville and adjacent towns in person by those on the membership committee was ordered by the executive committee in the hope of thus securing the needed new members.³⁹ The idea of the park as a local proposition was still paramount in the thinking of the leaders of the movement at the time. Indeed, to some people it was really

³⁶ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 35 ff. Between November 22 and December 13, Ambler wrote and mailed 297 letters, distributed 2,000 of the red stickers, and circulated an undetermined number of the petitions.

³⁷ Sunday Editor Marshall of the *New York Herald* to Richards, November 28, 1899; W. B. Gwyn to Jones, December 11, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection.

³⁸ Charles Lang: "To whom it may concern," December 3, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection. Somewhat confused as to the type of park contemplated, he nonetheless outlined his plan of operation in some detail: ". . . the first thing to look to is to Put a few trail roads all round your mountantops, and at the same time see to distroying all small Blood suckin anamal, at the same time Put in a few ackers of Nursery stock . . . and all this is no youse unless he [the caretaker] know all about the Nursey Busness, and also all about Raisin game and Procting it, such as trapps and trap-pin. . . ." It is unfortunate that Ambler did not keep carbon copies of outgoing correspondence at this time. The answer he sent must have been an interesting one.

³⁹ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 40.

only a drive for a city park. Others, however, such as N. S. Shaler, thought "... that to be most fully effective there ought to be three or four National Preserves in the Appalachian Region and that such should be a part of our policy."⁴⁰ Still others, like the Governor of Virginia, were just not interested at all.

While publicity work was progressing, attention was being given to the preparation of a memorial to Congress. Powell and Charles McNamee were hard at work on the arguments to be included in the petition. The difficult task of gathering descriptive material to be submitted with the memorial fell to the lot of Ambler.⁴¹ Gifford Pinchot, who was still very much interested in the project, was again called upon for aid. Earlier requests of a similar nature, as has been seen, had not brought the desired information, so this time Pinchot sent a North Carolina geological survey bulletin describing the timber trees and forests of North Carolina.⁴² A topographical map of western North Carolina, on which the timber areas had been inked in green, was sent on request by the Director of the United States Geological Survey. It was indicated by the Director, Charles D. Walcott, that the map would give only a general idea of the region, since much of the work had been done merely by reconnaissance and thus represented little more than a preliminary survey.⁴³ Obviously, very little was known of the timber and other resources of the western North Carolina area.

The memorial and accompanying petition were presented to a joint meeting of the executive committee and chairmen of the other committees of the Association in Asheville on December 19, 1899. The memorial was accepted as "... an elegant prepared résumé of the whole object of the Association and described and defined a part of the country ex-

⁴⁰ S. C. Mason to Ambler, December 19, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection. Mason, Professor of Horticulture and Forestry at Berea College, Kentucky, and a charter member of the Association, is here quoting from a letter he had received from the famous geologist, Shaler. Mason agreed with this observation of Shaler's.

⁴¹ Ambler, *Activities*, 19.

⁴² Pinchot to Ambler, December 2, 1899; Pinchot to Pritchard, December 11, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁴³ Charles D. Walcott, Director of the United States Geological Survey, to Ambler, December 14, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection.

tending along western North Carolina, which the committee thought best suited for the purposes of the Park.”⁴⁴ Ambler’s United States Geological Survey map was marked off by McNamee to show the proposed park site. It was moved that the memorial be printed and sent to all senators, representatives, and to the newspapers. The meeting disclosed that membership was still lagging but that Ambler had been instrumental in having printed 5,000 booklets telling the story of the movement and was in the process of sending them out to those on his mailing list.⁴⁵

Despite the fact that there seemed little hope that a bill relative to the park could be introduced in Congress before 1900, it was decided to put M. V. Richards of Washington, D. C., in charge of seeing that the memorial at least was placed before the lawmakers as soon as possible.⁴⁶ Senator Marion Bulter had already prepared a bill which he planned to introduce the latter part of December. This bill provided for a survey of the western North Carolina lands and Butler was preparing to introduce it with the idea in mind of having Ambler see to it that editorials appeared in the *Washington Post* and other newspapers immediately after the introduction. Butler was somewhat confused as to how the Association wanted the matter handled and accused that body of not keeping him properly informed.⁴⁷

The executive committee of the Association decided to leave the matter of introducing the memorial and bill in the hands of M. V. Richards. The latter, from the best information he had at the close of 1899, felt that the memorial should be presented to Congress immediately after a survey bill was introduced. The two Senators from North Carolina, Marion Butler and Jeter C. Pritchard, were still unaware of each other’s intentions as to the Congressional action to be sought. Powell agreed with Richards that a bill supported by the petition should be introduced. Senators Butler and Pritchard, through Richards, were able to reach an agreement as

⁴⁴ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 42.

⁴⁵ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 41 ff.

⁴⁶ Powell to Ambler, December 10, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁴⁷ Senator Marion Butler to Ambler, December 16, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection.

to when and by whom the memorial was to be presented to Congress.⁴⁸

Senator Pritchard celebrated the arrival of the new year, 1900, by introducing the petition from the Appalachian National Park Association in the Senate on January 4.⁴⁹ Drawn up much along the same lines as that presented earlier to Senator Pritchard, the memorial called for a national park somewhere in the Southern Appalachians. Reasons why Congress should act on this suggestion were given as follows:

I. *The Rare Natural Beauty of the Appalachian Region.* . . . in the heart of the Great Smoky Mountains, the Balsam Mountains and the Black and Craggy Mountains is found . . . the most beautiful, as well as the highest, mountains east of the lofty Western ranges. . . all clothed with virgin forests and intersected by deep valleys abounding in brooks, rivers and waterfalls.

II. *The Superb Forests of the Southern Appalachian System.* . . . here is the largest area in the South Atlantic Region of Virgin Forest and the finest example of Mixed Forest (by which is meant a forest of deciduous and evergreen trees) in America. . . . The increasing scarcity of timber is causing the large areas of forest . . . to be acquired by those whose thought will be immediate returns from a system of lumbering utterly reckless and ruinous. . . . The National Government, . . . can prevent this destruction, and . . . preserve the forest as a heritage and blessing to unborn generations.

III. *The necessity of preserving the headwaters of many rivers rising in these mountains.* . . . The forest acts as a storehouse of moisture for the dry season and tends to prevent floods. . . . Many rivers rise in the mountains and the same causes which destroy the forests will work irreparable injury to the source of water-supply. It is the duty of the National Government, . . . to protect their sources and the water-supply of the country.

IV. *The Healthfulness of the Region.* . . . the plateau lying between the Great Smoky Mountains and the Blue Ridge is one of the most deservedly popular health resorts of the world. . . . It rivals Arizona as a sanatorium for those suffering from pulmonary troubles.

V. *The Climate is fine the whole year.* For . . . those wishing to escape the rigors of a northern winter this plateau has one of

⁴⁸ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 47; Richards to Ambler, December 28, 1899, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁴⁹ *Congressional Record*, XXXIII (January 4, 1900), 642.

the best all-year climates in the world. The existing National Parks can only be visited in summer; . . . [but this] could be visited and enjoyed at all seasons of the year.

VI. *The Location is Central.* . . . This . . . is but twenty-four hours from New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Toledo and the Gulf States. It is, therefore, within easy reach of millions of people, and a park there could be, in fact, as in name, a National Park.

VII. *The Eastern States are entitled to a National Park.* There is no National Park of the character . . . suggested east of the Yellowstone . . . nor is there even a Forest Preserve. . . . The Chickamauga Battle Field . . . possesses none of the characteristics . . . and was created because of historical interest.

VIII. *The Park would pay as a Forest Reserve.* . . . no forest reserve would yield a larger return to the Government. . . . this is the place for the commencement of forestry operations, and perhaps as the location eventually of a National School of Forestry.

IX. *The title to the land can be easily acquired.* A site . . . can easily be chosen where the land is held in large areas and where the settlers are few. The land now sells for about two dollars an acre.⁵⁰

And so it went. The imperative nature of the appeal was underscored by reference to this being a time of increasing timber scarcity resulting from wasteful lumbering. The Chickamauga Battlefield, which was preserved as a historic site, was discounted, as not fulfilling the need for an eastern park, and it was urged that the spot for the sailors' and soldiers' sanitarium lay in this western North Carolina area. Noting that the government was about to start the practice of scientific forestry, the question was asked, why not start it here? In addition, it was pointed out that a national forestry school could be started here at some future date.

The petition did not set definite boundaries for the park. Instead, it pointed out that this delineation should be left to the government forester. The heart of the Great Smokies was listed, however as containing the best scenery and the highest mountains. In order that the largest area of mixed and virgin forest would be secured, the Balsam Mountains

⁵⁰ "Memorial of the Appalachian National Park Association," *Senate Document, Fifty Sixth Congress, First Session, No. 58* (January 4, 1900), 1 ff, hereinafter cited as *Senate Document, No. 58*.

should also be included. The memorial closed with an appeal for congressional authorization of surveys of the area for the proposed park, purchase of the title to needed lands, and any action which Congress thought to be wise in respect to the proposal.⁵¹ Accompanying this plea was a map showing the general area proposed for the park.⁵² It was moved in the Senate that the petition be printed and referred to the Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game.⁵³

Although the Association had scored this initial success, it was not finding the going easy. The immediate obstacle was a financial one. The anticipated rush of new members had not materialized, even though Ambler was circulating articles, booklets, circulars, and similar material at a rapid rate. People were just not supporting the movement with hard cash. It was now realized that expenses were to be heavy if the proper pressure was to be brought to bear on Congress, and that representatives of the Association should be in Washington at the proper times to see that all went well with the project. Therefore a new membership drive was inaugurated, but it failed miserably because interest in the proposition was confined largely to Asheville and its immediate vicinity.⁵⁴ For instance, the people of Knoxville, Tennessee, were concerned with obtaining a national park and army post for their own city and felt ". . . that becoming interested in so many enterprises the government might lose interest in all."⁵⁵

Another irritating factor hampering the activity of the Association was the obstructionist tactics of one of its members, James F. Hays. Feeling that the petition and map excluded consideration of his lands which lay around Sapphire, North Carolina, he threatened to withdraw the congressional support he had promised to draw from Pennsylvania for the measure. This was indeed a serious threat, since Senator Butler had a resolution ready to introduce while Pritchard

⁵¹ *Senate Document*, No. 58, *passim*. The particular tracts mentioned lay in western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and southwest Virginia.

⁵² (Copy) James F. Hays to Richards, January 6, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁵³ *Congressional Record*, XXXIII (January 4, 1900), 642.

⁵⁴ Appalachian Park Association, *Minutes*, 45-51.

⁵⁵ J. M. Greer to Ambler, January 11, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

was working on a survey amendment to the agriculture appropriation bill, both efforts tied to the proposed park. Richards was now forced to hold up the contemplated actions because he thought it unwise that any proposal be laid before Congress without Hays' approval since support of the Pennsylvania delegation was considered vital. Though assuring Hays that the boundaries as outlined in the petition and map would in no way eliminate investigation of outside land, Richards at the same time asked the executive committee of the Association to revise the memorial so as not to antagonize Hays.⁵⁶

This the committee refused to do, since it sincerely felt that the Hays lands were so worthy of consideration that they would undoubtedly be pointed out to any investigating committee when the time came for such action.⁵⁷ It directed Richards, however, who was busily working on a bill for the purchase of an area in western North Carolina ". . . in the heart of the Great Smoky Mountains, the Balsam Mountains, and the Black and Craggy Mountains . . ." ⁵⁸ to strike out those words and to present no bill specifying exact locations. There was considerable discussion of Hays' position by members of the committee, and he was roundly castigated for being moved by selfish motives. One of the members thought it best to ignore him in the hope that he would see that ". . . we were working for the good of all and attempting to exclude none."⁵⁹ This verbal lashing was later struck from the minutes of the Association, but Dr. Ambler struck the words out so as to leave them in the most legible manner possible.⁶⁰ The Association had left itself wide open in this manner because, in accepting the aid of Hays initially, it had been informed that he would work for the movement only if ". . . it would in some way be of benefit to the interests

⁵⁶ (Copy) Hays to Richards, January 6, 1900; (Copy) Richards to Hays, January 10, 1900; Richards to Powell, January 10, 1900; Richards to Ambler, January 13, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection. Hays was General Manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad and evidently carried enough weight with members of Congress from Pennsylvania to make his promise good. Hays to Ambler, February 2, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁵⁷ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 52-53.

⁵⁸ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 51-52.

⁵⁹ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 53.

⁶⁰ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 52-54.

I represent.”⁶¹ This action evidently proved satisfactory to Hays, for he made no further protests.⁶²

Meanwhile Richards, Pritchard, and Butler had been busy preparing for Congressional activity. A part of this preparation included a consultation by Richards with Pinchot concerning the whole subject of the park. The result was that Senator Pritchard offered an amendment to the agriculture appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1901. The rider, presented on January 15, provided a sum of \$10,000 for the purpose of investigating and examining eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, and northeastern Georgia in preparation for the creation of a park in that region. On the following day Senator Butler introduced his resolution, S. R. 69, providing for a commission to make the same type of survey for the future establishment of a national park and forest reserve to be known as the Appalachian National Park. Both resolution and amendment were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.⁶³

Although the two requests were not in harmony as to the proposed location of the park (Butler did not include northeastern Georgia in the area of consideration), it had been decided to put the resolution before the Senate anyway and work out in committee such changes as might be needed.⁶⁴ The omission of any reference to Virginia and South Carolina, both prominently mentioned earlier in the memorial, may have been the result of lack of support for the park in those States. Certainly one of the Senators from Virginia was not convinced of the wisdom of the idea. Although he never openly condemned the proposal, he would not allow his name to be used in connection with it, declaring: “I have not committed myself to your scheme and the use of my name

⁶¹ (Copy) Hays to Richards, January 6, 1900. What other interests he represented, if any, beside his own I was unable to discover.

⁶² As a matter of fact, Hays soon sent a statement of good faith to the Association along with a most welcome twenty-five dollars. Hays to Ambler, January 30, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁶³ Pinchot to Ambler, January 12, 1900; Powell to Ambler, January 15, 1900; Holmes to Powell, January 16, 1900; Senator Marion Butler to Ambler, January 20, 1900; Richards to Ambler, January 20, 1900; Appalachian Park Collection. See also *Congressional Record*, XXXIII (January 15, 1900), 801 (January 16, 1900), 853.

⁶⁴ Butler to Ambler, January 20, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

is not authorized."⁶⁵ At the same time the use of the term "forest reserve" in the resolution was certainly an extension of a local park idea. It is also hard to reconcile the omission of Virginia and South Carolina with the bid for outside support represented by the activities of Joseph A. Holmes.

Working out of his Raleigh office, with an occasional trip to Washington, Holmes was pushing two projects aimed at the creation of wider agitation for Congressional approval of the southern park. He approached the Secretary of Agriculture in the hope that he would see fit to approve the proposal in a statement in the annual report of his department. In this Holmes failed.⁶⁶ At the same time he prepared resolutions favoring the park to be presented by himself to the legislatures of Tennessee, South Carolina, and Virginia for action upon them. Although the Governor of Virginia, J. H. Tyler, sent a communication to the legislature of that State calling their attention to the proposed Park and was expecting the arrival of Holmes to speak to a committee of the legislature about it, Holmes evidently did not appear. For some reason, the campaign to win State legislative endorsement was temporarily postponed.⁶⁷ Holmes was an ardent worker for the reserve, but he believed in going about things in a very quiet, almost secret, manner. Continually trying to soft-pedal the activities of the publicity-minded Ambler, Holmes feared that the unfortunate impression might be created that the Association was attempting to set up a lobby in Washington.

While these efforts were being made, a powerful ally had been added to those who favored the Appalachian Park. At its annual meeting in December, 1899, the American Forestry Association gave a strong endorsement to the project by

⁶⁵ Senator John W. Daniel to Ambler, January 22, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁶⁶ Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1900* (Washington, D. C., 1901). No mention of it was made. However, the activity of the associations who had allied themselves in the East with the drive aimed at stirring up interest in forests and forestry problems was hailed as one of the most conspicuous developments on the forestry scene for the year. "Progress of Forestry," Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook, 1900* (Washington, D. C., 1900), Appendix, 733.

⁶⁷ Holmes to Ambler, December 27, 1899, January 11, 1900; Holmes to Powell, January 2, 16, 1900; Governor J. H. Tyler to Ambler, January 30, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

adopting a resolution which read: "The Association hereby expresses its gratification at the prospect of the establishment of National Parks and Forest Reservations in Minnesota and along the crest of the southern Alleghenies."⁶⁸ The organization indicated that it was interested primarily in the timber preservation aspects of the proposal. Yet the force of the endorsement was lessened somewhat by an expression from the group at the same time that the southern aspirations for the park were coming solely from North Carolina.⁶⁹ From Pennsylvania, which already had considerable State forest land⁷⁰ now came a suggestion of an expanded plan for an eastern park because ". . . it would be a wise thing if all of the higher ridges of the great Appalachian system, from North Carolina to and including Pennsylvania, might be a public park."⁷¹ Although Pennsylvania was included in this projected eastern park, the White Mountains, certainly in the Appalachian range, were omitted.⁷²

During the remainder of January efforts were made to line up a delegation from the Appalachian National Park Association along with such influential men as Pinchot to appear before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and forestry as soon as a hearing could be arranged.⁷³ It was decided by Richards and the men in Congress with whom he

⁶⁸ American Forestry Association, "The Resolutions Adopted," *Forester*, VI (January, 1900), 10. The organization had been contacted earlier by Dr. Ambler in a bid for support. The passing of a resolution probably resulted in part from this appeal since the secretary had promised to bring it to the attention of the Board of Directors of the American Forestry Association. George P. Whittlesey, Recording Secretary of the American Forestry Association to Dr. S. Westray Battle, October 3, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁶⁹ American Forestry Association, "Report of the Directors," *Forester* VI (January, 1900), 5-9. See also the *New York Tribune*, December 14, 1900.

⁷⁰ Gifford Pinchot, "Progress of Forestry in the United States," Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook*, 1899 (Washington, 1900), 299.

⁷¹ "The Appalachian National Park," *Forest Leaves* VII (February, 1900), 105.

⁷² The increased interest on the part of Pennsylvania in the park was also demonstrated by the fact that the Pennsylvania Botanical Society on February 28, 1900, by a unanimous vote extended to the Appalachian National Park Association its heartiest sympathy and asked that the Society's officers be allowed to become members of the Association. John M. MacFarlane, Secretary of the Botanical Society of Pennsylvania to Ambler, February 27, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁷³ Hays to Ambler, February 2, 1900; Pinchot to Ambler, January 12, 1900; Butler to Ambler, January 20, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

was working, however, that it would be best to wait and see if an amendment to the current agriculture appropriation bill could be passed without the necessity of a hearing. Therefore the pressure for an early appearance of proponents of the project before the appropriate committee slackened.

With the spring came new hope. To be sure the Appalachian National Park Association was hard pressed to keep the fires burning, since finances were going from bad to worse. Yet Ambler was still able to send out information as to the Association's activities and was expanding his area of effort. One result was that on March 14 the Appalachian Club of Boston and New England unanimously adopted a memorial to Congress expressing approval of the establishment of a national park somewhere in the Southern Appalachians. A day later this petition was introduced in the Senate by Senator Blakely Hoar of Massachusetts, where it was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.⁷⁴

April saw the efforts of the friends of the proposal concentrated on the passage of the amendment to the agriculture appropriation bill which would mark the first step toward the realization of a national park in the Southern Appalachians. This measure, having passed the House on April 10, was sent to the Senate. When the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry reported the bill, H. R. 10538, it increased the amount carried for forestry investigations by \$40,000 and authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to use as much as \$5,000 of this to investigate the forest conditions of the Southern Appalachian mountain region of western North Carolina and adjacent States. This amendment was agreed to without comment during debates on the bill and passed with H. R. 10538 on April 25.⁷⁵

Both the wording of the amendment and the decrease in the amount originally asked by Pritchard for the survey was

⁷⁴ *Congressional Record*, XXXIII (March 15, 1900), 2,916; Appalachian Mountain Club, "Proceedings of the Club, March 14, 1900," *Appalachia*, IX (April, 1901), 408-409; Harlan P. Kelsey to Ambler, April 7, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection, Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 55-56.

⁷⁵ "Appropriations for Department of Agriculture," *Senate Report*, Fifty-Sixth Congress, First Session, No 1049 (April 23, 1900), 1; "Agriculture Appropriation Bill," *House Report*, Fifty-Sixth Congress, First Session, No. 56 (April 10, 1900), 952; *Congressional Record*, XXXIII (April 25, 1900), 4,655.

the result of a hearing held before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry on April 17. Several officers of the Appalachian National Park Association, as well as others, were present. Apparently the evidence presented was conclusive enough to win acceptance of the Pritchard amendment. It was made clear to the friends of the proposition, however, that there would be considerable opposition to the government setting up a park from those who thought that Congress could not act unless State legislatures invited it to do so. These reluctant individuals felt that the States would have to relinquish their legislative rights to tax lands so acquired and grant the right to purchase such lands to the Federal Government before national action could be taken. This was an important consideration, since some members of Congress definitely held this view and consequently their votes might well block the desired operation. Moreover, it was stressed in the committee report that additional definite information was needed concerning the area before Congress could be expected to undertake the project.⁷⁶

Yet there was also prevalent the idea that "The general government ought to step in before it is too late and take possession of the whole region."⁷⁷ The *New York Lumber Journal* declared itself ". . . heartily in favor of such a park and hopes Congress will give it favorable attention."⁷⁸ Continuing, the *Journal* characterized it as a measure for the conservation of the lumber industry and predicted that the project would not only pay for the interest on the money invested from the sale of mature timber but would no doubt become self-supporting in time. There was still another plea

⁷⁶ Powell to Ambler, April 18, 1900; Powell to Ambler, April 19, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection. Both correspondents were in Washington for the purpose of attending the hearing. *The Appalachian National Park*, compiled by Dr. Chase P. Ambler (Asheville, fourth edition, 1901), 5. I was unable to find a copy of the hearings in the Department of Agriculture Library or in the Legislative Records of the Senate contained in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. I doubt their ever having been printed. The minutes of the Appalachian National Park Association are strangely silent on the event. The Appalachian Collection, so complete in most respects, contains very little concerning it.

⁷⁷ "Along the Smoky Range," *Forester*, VII (April, 1900), 90. This quotation is from a reprint of an editorial from the *Hartford Courant*.

⁷⁸ As quoted in "Comment on the Appalachian Park," *Forester*, VI (June, 1900), 149.

made for the extension of the idea to include a truly eastern park because, it was urged, such action would provide both a timber reserve and a pleasure ground for the eastern States.⁷⁹ Pressure was building up for something more than a mere park.

The Appalachian National Park Association, although still struggling with its financial problems, continued stirring up favorable sentiment for the park. For example, Joseph A. Holmes read a paper before the summer meeting of the American Forestry Association, held in New York on June 26, stressing the accessibility of the area as a summer resort and the fact that the national government alone should undertake the project because of the national benefits which would derive from it. At the same time, Ambler was using the official organ of the American Forestry Association to ask all those interested to contact him for copies of circulars and resolutions concerning the park movement.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, the House would not concur in the Senate's amendments to H. R. 10538 and a conference of members representing both houses was arranged. The report of this conference committee was accepted by the Senate on May 10, the House following with their approval four days later. The increase of \$40,000 for forestry investigation was accepted by the conferees after a personal discussion with the Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson,⁸¹ who defended them as necessary for the effective operation of his office. There was no objection to the Appalachian investigation as such by any of the conferees and H. R. 10538 was then passed, and the bill was signed by the President on May 26. The original wording of the Pritchard Amendment as reported

⁷⁹ "The Appalachian National Park," *Forest Leaves*, VII (June, 1900), 133.

⁸⁰ Joseph A. Holmes, "The Proposed Appalachian Park," *Forester*, VI (July, 1900), 160-163; "For An Appalachian Park," *Forester*, VI (June 1900), 141-142; Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 58-59.

⁸¹ James Wilson, "Tama Jim," indefatigable worker, served as Secretary of Agriculture, 1897-1913, and during his directorship the department grew tremendously, with its work being extended into many new fields. Wilson was well liked by the three Presidents under whom he served: McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 330-331.

on April 25 was retained in the measure when it became law.⁸²

Two important groups soon gave strong endorsements to the proposal for the protection of southern forests. At a meeting in New York on May 25 the American Forestry Association approved it and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, assembling in the same city three days later, did the same. The main reason given by the organizations for their request for action was a recognition of ". . . the importance of the preservation in its original condition of some portion of the hardwood forests of the Southern Appalachian region. . . ." ⁸³ The idea of a national forest reserve rather than a park was becoming more prevalent.

During the summer the United States Geological Survey was busy with its investigation of western North Carolina and adjacent States. Assisting in this work was the North Carolina Geological Survey, of which Holmes was State Geologist. W. W. Ashe from Holmes' office helped with the examination of the hardwood forests of the mountain counties while the efforts of the federal agency in studying the geological, topographical, and hydrographical conditions in the Southern Appalachian region were contributed largely by H. B. Ayres.⁸⁴

Despite the fact that the middle of July found the South Atlantic Lumber Association and the Rome, Georgia, Commercial League endorsing the movement,⁸⁵ Holmes was

⁸² *Congressional Record*, XXXIII (April 28, 1900), 4,794, 4,805 (May 17, 1900), 5,636 (May 21, 1900), 5,822 (May 26, 1900), 6,109; "An Act Making Appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth nineteen hundred and one," *Statutes at Large*, Chapter 555, 197. Richards had been in contact with the Secretary of Agriculture while the amendment was being considered by the conferees and he had been assured by Wilson that the amendment would pass. The Secretary was ". . . very much interested in the subject. . . ." Richards to Ambler, May 24, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁸³ Holmes to Ambler, June 11, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁸⁴ North Carolina Geological Survey, *Biennial Report of the State Geologist, 1901-1902* (Raleigh, 1902), 10; Holmes to Ambler, July 7, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection. The Appalachian National Park Association was eager to point out to the investigators the areas it thought worthy of consideration. Three tracts combining timber and mountain scenery were carefully designated to them. Holmes to Ambler, July 7, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection. With the vigilant Holmes in close contact with the surveying party, it is doubtful that any of the good points of those sections were overlooked.

⁸⁵ Richards to Ambler, May 24, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

trying to slow down Ambler's publicity campaign, which was going on apace.⁸⁶ Although the geologist found those happenings ample reason for rejoicing, he had been ". . . cautioned by the Washington authorities against printing too much. They seem rather anxious that we print very little about the park until the investigations are completed and the Government report is printed."⁸⁷ Ambler was evidently trying to see what land was for sale at what price as the *Forester* was being contacted about it by people Ambler had written. The fact that people who owned land in the area being considered were following the proposed park developments with some interest is testified to by numerous letters to Ambler. For example, one such owner offered his 52,000 acres in Burke County, North Carolina, complete with desirable scenery, watershed, and virgin forests for ". . . any reasonable price."⁸⁸

There was not a great deal of activity by the Appalachian National Park Association during the remainder of 1900. There were two important matters, however, which received the attention of the Association. The first of these was an effort to get the Legislature of North Carolina to recognize the movement by passing a resolution in favor of the park. Charles A. Webb and George H. Smathers, both of Asheville, were chosen to see if this could be done during the June session of that body. Initially they meet with a degree of success, since the desired resolution was submitted at Raleigh to the Committee on Rules which reported favorably on it. Unfortunately, when the petition was brought up in session the resolution could not be found! Hence it was not passed. This circumstance was evidently not considered to be anything out of the ordinary, as the Committee to the State Legislature was calmly directed by the Association to secure as early an action as possible on the matter.⁸⁹

The second bit of activity stemmed from the efforts being made during the summer and fall by two New York gentle-

⁸⁶ "The Proposed Appalachian Park," *Forest Leaves*, VII, (August, 1900), 150.

⁸⁷ Holmes to Ambler, August 6, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁸⁸ C. W. Burnett to Ambler, Nov. 4, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁸⁹ Appalachian Park Association, Minutes, 59-61.

men to negotiate a contract with a committee delegated by the Cherokee tribal council to act in its name. The agreement sought with the tribe stipulated that all the timber growing on a 33,000 acre tract located in the western North Carolina mountains and belonging to the Indians would be conveyed for fifty years to the purchasers. Payment was to be made at the rate of two cents per acre per annum. These were anxious moments for park enthusiasts, since the lands were in the heart of the proposed reservation and might well become its nucleus. Both Pinchot and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were contacted by the Appalachian National Park Association and through their efforts the threatened transaction was foiled. Secretary of the Interior E. A. Hitchcock eventually disapproved the proposed contract on the grounds that the timber on the tract was by the most reliable date valued at \$1,195,000 and the amount of \$66,000 offered in payment was totally inadequate as a compensation for the privileges granted in return.⁹⁰

With the year 1900 fast drawing to a close, there were certain indications that people outside North Carolina were becoming increasingly interested in the park. At its annual meeting in Washington, the American Forestry Association on December 13 voted its cordial approval of the action of Congress in making provisions for the survey of the Southern Appalachians and added ". . . we recommend that further steps be taken for the creation by purchase of a National Appalachian Park. . . ." ⁹¹ At the same time, a lady from Louisville, Kentucky, was being advised by Pinchot to stir up sentiment for the project in her home State. She was eager to present information on the subject before influential clubs in the Bluegrass country, but admitted that this was to be done ". . . so that we can more easily secure ours in the

⁹⁰ H. C. Sonner, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Ambler, July 12, 1900; Holmes to Ambler, August 6, 1900; (Copy) Hitchcock to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 4, 1900; Pinchot to Ambler, November 9, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection. The two men concerned were George C. Webb, of Fulton, New York, and Andrus L. Gilbert of New York City. The land in question was well-timbered and was known as "Love Speculation Tract." The actual offer was made of \$30,000 cash for the timber privileges for fifty years so the name of the tract obviously bore no relation to the spirit of the proposed transaction.

⁹¹ "The Nineteenth Annual Meeting," *Forester* VI (January, 1901), 2.

future."⁹² There were other signs of increased interest as the Commercial and Industrial Association of Montgomery, Alabama, passed a resolution strongly favoring the creation of the Appalachian National Park while a hardware merchant in Danbury, Connecticut, was calling on various gun clubs in his own State, as well as those in New York, to endorse the movement.⁹³ So it was that the conversation between two anglers on a fishing trip in western North Carolina in June, 1899, was making sense in December, 1900, to hunters from New England interested in preserving game for their guns. But the embrace of those outside North Carolina, while it meant welcome support for the movement, carried with it the kiss of death for the Appalachian Park!

For by mid-January, 1901, the movement to preserve for posterity a portion of the mountain scenery of western North Carolina, which had begun with the scenery lover's lament in the 1880's, had grown into a concerted drive for a Southern Appalachian national forest reserve. To the cry of the scenery lover, fisherman, and hunter had now been added that of the practical forester and lumberman. With the introduction, on January 10, 1901, by Senator Pritchard of a bill providing for the purchase of a national forest reserve in the Southern Appalachian mountains,⁹⁴ came the end for the time being of the national park movement.

The energies of those who desired a national park were henceforth channeled into the great surge for the creation of eastern national forests in the Southern Appalachians and the White Mountains of New Hampshire, a conservation current which ran its course during the years 1901-1911. A national park in western North Carolina had to await the coming of a new generation of Americans who, no less than their ancestors, felt in their hearts the desire to walk an Appalachian Trail which led through the grandeur of the mountains and not down a valley of desolation.

⁹² Mrs. Sarah Webb Maury to Ambler, October 30, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection.

⁹³ F. A. Hull to Ambler, December 22, 1900, Appalachian Park Collection. Hull also offered to go to Washington and put pressure on four members of Congress whom he listed as personal friends.

⁹⁴ *Congressional Record*, XXXIV (January 10, 1901), 809.

REUBEN KNOX LETTERS, 1849-1851

EDITED BY CHARLES W. TURNER*

Reuben Knox was born in Blandford, Massachusetts, August 10, 1801.¹ His grandfather, John Knox, emigrated from Glasgow, Scotland, and settled in Blandford (then called Glasgow). His father, Elijah, was born in Blandford August 23, 1761. Reuben was the tenth of his eleven children. He was a student in 1821 at "Mamakating," New York, and was completing his education in New York City in 1826,² while suffering from a severe cough together with an affection of the lungs.

In 1828 there are letters addressed to him as Reuben Knox, M. D., Kinston, Lenoir County, North Carolina. He was married in Kinston, December 10, 1829, to Olivia Kilpatrick of Kinston, and two sons, Joseph and Henry, who went on the trip to California with him, were born of this union. His wife, Olivia, died in 1837 and he practiced in Kinston until 1840.

On July 21, 1840, he was married in Hillsboro to Mrs. Eliza Heritage Washington Grist of Kinston,³ widow of Richard Grist and mother of Franklin Grist, then 11 years old, who also went on the trip to California with Reuben. Immediately after their marriage they returned with their four children to St. Louis, Missouri, where Reuben had recently moved. They lived there and Reuben practiced medicine and looked after business affairs until May, 1850, when he left for Cali-

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¹ Certain data contained in this introduction were copied from Reuben Knox's Bible by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Agatha Chipley Hughes of Lexington, Virginia. This Bible is now in possession of Mrs. A. W. Knox, Jr., of Arlington, Virginia. Other information was related to the editor, either vocally or through correspondence, by members of the family, particularly by Mrs. Roy M. Chipley, 311 Whitaker Mill Road, Raleigh, in whose possession the original letters are at present. The details of the journey made by Reuben and his party were taken from the letters which appear in this issue and the two issues to follow.

² Letter from Mr. Thomas P. Fleming, Professor of Library Service, Medical Library, Columbia University, New York City, to Mrs. Chipley, July 29, 1958. The letter states that Reuben, who received his M.D. degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1826, possibly attended the lectures of the entire faculty of the medical college. Six professors and their specialities were listed by Mr. Fleming.

³ Eliza was born February 10, 1808, and died November 12, 1890.

fornia. He was physically run down and not well and hoped to benefit his health by outdoor life. He intended to buy a ranch and get settled in California and then send for the rest of his family. He took his son Joseph, who was then twenty years old and a student at Yale; Henry who was 15; and also his nephew and namesake, Reuben Knox. They picked up his stepson, Franklin Grist, age 22, at Salt Lake City, he having gone west a year before, just after graduation from Yale, with Captain Stansbury's expedition to sketch maps. Franklin was an artist. Reuben's wife, Eliza and their two young children, Betty (three and a half)⁴ and Augustus (one year),⁵ were to visit among relatives in North Carolina and Massachusetts until he sent for them.

Reuben's second wife, Eliza, was the daughter of John Washington (1768-1837) and Elizabeth Heritage Cobb Washington (1780-1858) and spent most of her girlhood at their home "Vernon" in Kinston. Her father later moved to New Bern and died there. She was a granddaughter of Jesse Cobb [1729-1807] of Kinston, member of the Colonial Assembly, and Captain of Minute Men of Dobbs County and a great-granddaughter of William Heritage (d. Craven County, 1769), who was for 30 years Clerk of the Colonial Assembly and who gave 100 acres of land "lying on the north side of the Neuse River at a place called Atkins Banks in Dobbs County, a pleasant and healthy situation, with commodities for trade and commerce" to establish a Town of Kingston, changed to Kinston.

"Dear Sister Susan,"⁶ so often referred to in the letters, was Eliza's younger sister who was married to William A. Graham, Governor of North Carolina, 1845-1849, and at the time of these letters (1850), Secretary of the Navy in Washington. It was at their home in Hillsboro that Eliza and Reuben were married.

Eliza's and Reuben's daughter, Betty, married Dr. James B. Hughes of New Bern, and lived there until his death when

⁴ Betty was born November 17, 1846, and died August 11, 1939.

⁵ Augustus (father of Mrs. Chipley) was born May 6, 1849, and died May 9, 1936.

⁶ Susannah Sarah Washington was born February 27, 1816 (eight years after Eliza), and died May 3, 1890.

she moved with her children to New York City where she died in 1930. Her daughter, Miss Ethel Hughes, has recently returned to New Bern to live.

Eliza's and Reuben's younger son, Augustus Washington, followed in his father's footsteps and studied medicine, settling in Raleigh after graduation from the University of Virginia and interning at Bellevue and the Woman's Hospital in New York. He married Eliza H. Smedes of Raleigh and practiced medicine and surgery there for more than 50 years (1876-1931). Eliza, his mother, died at his home in 1890.

Franklin Grist, Eliza's son by her first marriage was born in 1828. He returned to North Carolina after Reuben's death and later went to Europe to continue his study of art. He spent many years there and in 1885 was commissioned Vice-Consul to Italy. He was never married and died in Raleigh in 1912 at the home of his half-brother, Dr. Augustus W. Knox.

Reuben Knox on January 14, 1850, wrote to his son Joseph, a student at Yale, announcing a planned journey to California in the spring. Each year his funds were depleted by almost \$1,000, and he took occasion to remind his son that this was possible only because of "proper habits of industry and economy" in early life.⁷ Health and wealth seemed more important to Reuben than wisdom as he approached his fifty-first birthday. "I think," he said in his letter to Joseph, "it more important . . . to have a constitution capable of enduring hardship and fatigue . . . than to have the mind so ever well stored, with no PHYSICAL power of endurance."⁸ Certainly the trek to California should improve the condition—or ruin it—and as for wealth—there was gold to mine in California and a seller's market for the merchant. The doctor not only knew medicine but merchandising as well, having owned a mercantile establishment of good size. Reuben felt no need to apologize for his two incongruous occupations. He had not found medical practice in St. Louis remunerative despite

⁷ Letter from Reuben Knox to Joseph A. Knox (his son), January 14, 1850.

⁸ Reuben to Joseph, January 14, 1850.

long hours and hard work, and his patients would not pay their bills.⁹

Reuben, who declared he loved the medical profession, had once thought he should never do anything else. Practice, in North Carolina, after graduation from medical school, had brought him professional satisfaction and enduring associations, but being of a weak constitution, he found it fatiguing. Another hardship that helped determine the move to St. Louis, where he found medicine less attractive, was the desire to have his young children by a previous marriage, his wife having died, in school, at home, and not off at boarding schools. St. Louis brought disappointment.¹⁰ Years later, he wrote to his wife of his willingness to attend the few families who appreciated his services, "but to engage in the barter and low intrigue so universally resorted to [in St. Louis] . . . by most of the profession I cannot, and never intend to hold myself subject to the call of every scamp whose object is to get well and then cheat you out of a fee. During the St. Louis cholera epidemic, in 1849, when he saw an average of 40 patients a day many "scamps" must have had help. He was tired and receiving no just compensation from his profession for his labors, the trip to California meant, at least, the temporary abandonment of his practice.¹¹ Henry Knox, a frail lad of fifteen years, was to accompany his father on the venture for two years duration for health's sake. Joseph, an elder son, would have graduated from Yale trained as a geologist and mineralogist, but Joseph was not to be left behind for he answered his father's announcement with his own declaration of intention: college could be completed later.¹²

Reuben doubted the wisdom of his oldest son's decision. Would not Joseph miss the approaching dignity of the senior year; had he counted well the cost of giving up his college honors? If he was tired of applying himself to his studies there would be no question of his leaving, but if, on the other hand, the decision had been due to the lassitude and debility of physical frame there could be no better way "to develope

⁹ Reuben to Joseph, January 14, 1850.

¹⁰ Reuben to Joseph, January 14, 1850.

¹¹ Reuben to Joseph, July 16, 1849.

¹² Reuben to Joseph, February 13, 1850.

the 'outer man' giving him muscle and vigor, than the camping out such as the contemplated journey"¹³ would afford.

Joseph prepared himself for the journey in his few remaining months at Yale by thorough and critical examination of his cabinet specimens and close attention to Professor Silliman's lectures. His father hoped that training would be valuable in the California "diggings."¹⁴

Eliza, the doctor's wife, was to return to her people in North Carolina. Besides Joseph and Henry, a cousin Richard, a nephew and namesake Reuben, and several negro slaves were to accompany Dr. Knox to California. The "blacks" had been given an opportunity some years before to purchase their freedom but not a one but Lewis "had paid me one cent."¹⁵ Reuben wrote in annoyance, "and he [Lewis] paid but about $\frac{1}{3}$ the interest of his purchase price . . . Hunt, Harriet, and Richard have not paid one cent."¹⁶ Now, they were to be freed if they worked one year in the gold mines of California for their owner.

The steamer "St. Paul," with Reuben as a passenger, had an uneventful trip from St. Louis to St. Joseph. Only twice was she aground and then for only an hour. To the doctor, however, the death of an intemperate Louisville man of delirium tremens was a significant event. He noted, "the lesson was a most sad one and I endeavored to impress upon the crowd around [many of whom had been frequently seen visiting the Bar] as the *most effective temperance lecture* in my power or that of any one to deliver."¹⁷

On May 17 the entire party with horses, mules, and equipment was assembled at Old Fort Kearny, there Reuben sat on empty crates, in an abandoned Army blacksmith shop, writing his wife. This Fort Kearny (site of present Nebraska City), had been abandoned two years before and a new Fort Kearny established by the Army on the Platte River. Only one white family now lived on the side of the river, for a stretch of one hundred miles. The old lady of this family, a

¹³ Reuben to Joseph, February 13, 1850.

¹⁴ Reuben to Joseph, February 13, 1850. The professor, Ben H. Silliman, was an outstanding professor of geology at Yale University.

¹⁵ Reuben to Joseph, January 14, 1850.

¹⁶ Reuben to Joseph, January 14, 1850.

¹⁷ Reuben to Eliza, May 6, 1850.

Mrs. Harding, informed Reuben they had lived near the site of the old Fort for eight years. He found her quite communicative. Conversation had to be confined to a minimum, however, as he had many details to attend to before departing. There were others at the fort westward bound and many were anxious to join the well-equipped Knox train of eleven wagons. Recently there had been a number of spurious tales of Indian massacres in the vicinity. Reuben was able to accommodate a number, some in wagons and some on foot, the latter promising to hire themselves out for assistance when needed, but fifty had their request denied as it was decided any additional wagons given permission to join would make the train unmanageable.

The first leg of the journey was the 225 miles to new Fort Kearny. Indians would probably be encountered as the wagon road ran near the sight of the Pawnee homes. These Indians in the opinion of Reuben, would be the most treacherous and troublesome to be encountered, and to the doctor and his young companions, recently removed from home and campus, the thought of encountering Indians in addition to the rigors of camp life must have been an exciting prospect. On the eve of their departure Reuben prayed to God that all the family might be permitted to meet once more, and more especially be prepared for that meeting, "where parting is unknown."

On April 20 the train moved. The next day, near Saline or Salt Creek, they encountered a more violent gale and rain storm than Reuben had seen before. Tents were flooded and the following morning the mud was bogging the wagon wheels, and instead of covering the 20 miles set as a goal, Reuben camped after eight; but a more personal foe appeared, for on the fifth day they encountered Indians.

When they were nearing the Pawnee capital the chief, mounted and in full costume, came out from his village and challenged the travellers. He dismounted, stooped to the earth, and tore hence a handful of grass saying "Pawnee good, Pawnee heap." Reuben realized the chief was thereby symbolizing his possession of the land, and the savage dignitary soon made it clear tribute was expected from the tres-

passers. The white men were armed and Reuben, remembering that these Pawnees were noted for their stealing of goods and not the taking of lives, decided a bold front would be a better policy than the offering of tribute which might become a habitual demand if acquiescence was given. Dusk was approaching and the 100 mud huts of the Pawnee capital could be seen only two miles distant. The decision was made. Rather than push forward to the Indian stronghold, the order was given for the wagons to halt, and Reuben showing the strength of his men and arms, drove off the Pawnees by his bold defiance. No shot had to be fired, but a double guard was posted for the night.

The following day was the Sabbath and it twinged Reuben's Christian conscience to move forward, but the sooner the environs of the Indian village were far to the rear the more secure would be his possessions. Not until it was necessary to ford a creek a short distance beyond the village did the Pawnees again threaten. When the first wagon refused to move further than midstream and a troublesome crossing was certain, what appeared to be 500 Indian men, women, and children appeared upon the scene. They made signs to the effect that the crossing could not be made. It was not clear whether the Indians intended to take an active part to insure the truth of their prediction, or simply were waiting for a predetermined course of events to materialize without Indian intervention. In any event, many of the men were frightened and would not go into the creek to work the wagons across, until Reuben waded waist deep in the water and ordered the Indians with emphatic gestures to clear the opposite bank. Again boldness won the day and later Reuben wrote, with some pride, "the Indians did not molest us while crossing after they saw our "Chief" (myself) determined to have his way and not yield to them." Stiffened by the resistance of the white "Chief" the pedestrians in the Knox train who had promised to hire themselves for assistance waded in and each wagon was dragged across and up the opposite bank by the exertions of from forty to fifty men.

The last of the Pawnees was seen when the party struck camp for the evening. When the cook fires had been lit and

the men huddled near, perhaps lonesome for homes and family, and certainly chilled by the spring evening, a handful of braves straggled in to the circle of warmth and light. They desired no scalps, no trouble, but only a warm supper. Each had three or four meals and at least a gallon of coffee before wandering on several hours later.

Three days later a band of Cheyennes in full battle array passed close by, but did not molest or detain the wagons. Over 100 strong with lances, shields, bows and arrows, tomahawks, and many with guns and pistols, the warriors were hunting the Pawnees. Reuben learned that the whole band hoped to catch Pawnee hunting parties on excursions, or certainly steal some horses and mules from the Pawnee stock. Theft from the wagon trains had swollen the stock to a respectable number. Only the next day a representative from the army commander at Fort Kearny rode by accompanying a man who had had all his animals taken by the Pawnees. With Cheyennes and the authority of the army closing in on Reuben's recent dinner guests, accusations, denials, and even bloodshed might enliven the Pawnee capital, but Reuben and his party were moving on to the west. A week of storms and muddy tracks brought Fort Kearny into view, and a day's rest.

"Two drams of the iron to 8 ounces of water, adding a little mint or cinnamon if desirable, that is two grams to a teaspoonful, and half a teaspoonful a dose for a child a year or two old." Far from his family and medical practice Reuben yet had both fresh in his mind. He was writing from the Fort to his wife, and the prescription was for little Betty and the infant Augustus. No, he was not exhausted by his labors, he reassured Eliza, but in contrast invigorated by them. Only the improvement in health justified the fatigue and hardship, ". . . and nothing but this," he wrote, "— no money or other consideration would ever induce me to endure so long a separation from my dear ones left behind."

Reuben reported that around 30,000 persons had already passed the Fort on the south of the Platte River and a fourth as many on the north side. It is not surprising as he relaxed in his wagon and watched a continual stream of horses,

mules, and oxen lumber by, that his estimate was a thousand wagons. There were no trees on his side of the Platte, and men from his train had to cross the five-mile river bottom with its half-mile of shallow water to fetch firewood on the other side. Some of the hired men and persons in the other wagons who had joined the Knox's were lazy and reluctant to perform chores such as this, but Joseph, Henry, nephew Reuben, and cousin Richard were proving their metal. Meanwhile the train had averaged over 20 miles a day in spite of rain and Indians. Reuben must have faced the days ahead with some satisfaction as he faced west, on the eve of departure to Fort Laramie, 337 miles distant.

From Fort Kearny to Fort Laramie was twenty days, trying days, that left the Doctor little time for his own needs and those of the company, for his help was sought by hundreds from the stream of westward moving humanity. The grandure of Scott's Bluff distracted the Doctor only momentarily from his grim labors, and in a free moment he struggled valiantly to convey the feeling of awe aroused in him by the beauty of nature's creation. His respite was brief, however, for another of the endless sick-calls had to be made. Cholera had struck and fixed itself on the wagon road from Fort Kearny to Fort Laramie.

Doctors were few along the wagon road and upon Reuben fell the burden of ministering to those in his vicinity who fell victim to the dread disease. News of his presence passed by word of mouth up and down the line of wagons. The last weeks in June saw Reuben riding from camp to camp, wagon to wagon, dismounting frequently to prescribe for those for whom there was a chance of survival and easing the suffering of those he could not save. Many died before his eyes, for the mortality rate was high. He had to watch, unable to ward off death. Young and old died far from their homes in Georgia, Arkansas, and Missouri. Their dreams of reaching far-off California ended in a grave beside a mud track called a wagon road. A young husband from Illinois died in the arms of his pretty young wife; she, too, had cholera. Perhaps she could be saved as the infection had not yet reached its fatal stage, but there was no one with whom to share youth-



Reuben Knox (1801-1851) and his wife, Eliza Heritage Washington Grist Knox (1808-1890). This picture was made immediately before his trip to California and was copied from the original owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. Roy M. Chipley, Raleigh.



Augustus Washington Knox, M.D. (1849-1936), son of Reuben and Eliza Knox and father of Mrs. Roy M. Chipley of Raleigh, owner of the original photograph.



ful plans of happiness in the western land of promise. Again, as in St. Louis, the Doctor ministered to almost half a hundred each day. Because of his close watch and remedial treatments, in his own company only one died, a hired man, who remained faithful to his own homeopathic medicine until death. Once Fort Laramie had been passed, on June 20, the cholera decreased and Reuben could once again assume active leadership of his train. At Laramie a certain Carson, one of their passengers, took leave of them having met with a namesake there, the celebrated "Kit," who invited him to join his excursion to Santa Fé and thence to California. Reuben wrote to Eliza and then added, somewhat primly, that he hoped "he will not regret it."

Laramie also brought news of Franklin. A year before his stepfather, Reuben, set out for St. Louis Franklin had begun an adventure of his own, joining a small party of men under the leadership of Captain Howard Stansbury, U.S.A., whose mission it was to survey and explore the Great Salt Lake region. Eighteen men were in the Stansbury expedition which left Fort Leavenworth in May, 1849, and it was Franklin's job to do sketches for the group. The news received by Dr. Knox was that the expedition was drawing to a close, and now the young artist might be persuaded to accompany the Knox train to California. The information was joyfully received and plans were made for Reuben, Joseph, and Henry to leave the wagon train, go South to Salt Lake, pick up Franklin, and then rejoin the wagons further on the road near the headwaters of the Humboldt River.

With a pack train, Reuben and the two boys left the wagons on July 1. They found the road intolerably rough going and it was not until the 21 that they reached Salt Lake City. On the next day, Joseph was sent down the Lake to where the Stansbury party was in camp. Franklin was surprised by Joseph's arrival for he had received no hint as to the whereabouts of Reuben and the boys. Of course he, Franklin, would join them if permission could be obtained to leave his surveying party immediately. Permission was granted, and several days later all the boys of the Knox family, Franklin, Joseph, and Henry, rode out from Salt Lake City to join

the wagon train almost 250 miles to the west. Along the way the young 22 year-old explorer, only recently returned from Oregon, recounted tales of adventure and invigorating life.

A forced march of almost two weeks brought Cousin Richard, the young nephew Reuben, the hired men, slaves and wagons onto the horizon. Reuben and the boys had to ride until two or three in the morning each day, to overtake the train. Several of the pack animals died of exertion, and Reuben's health was severely tried by the journey. All, however, were rejuvenated by the junction with the wagons and now California seemed very close. There remained only the trip of almost 300 miles down the Humboldt, Carson Sink, the mountains, and then Sacramento City. The guide books described the Sink as 45 miles of desert and that would be trying, but 24 hours would see them across. Prospects were bright and despite the loss of a dozen or so of their animals and the abandonment of two of their eleven wagons along the road from Kearny. Their conversation must have been of the bright future they imagined in California when the stores had been established, mining operations begun, and Franklin in San Francisco continuing his painting. Perhaps Franklin's dreams were the most extended for he saw not only California ahead, but also an extended trip to Italy to nourish his artistic taste.

Carson Sink was not adequately described by the guide books. Along the Humboldt grass and water were scarce and Reuben often had to swim the river in search of grass and water and horses and mules, but animals and men survived. The shock came when the grass and water disappeared 80 miles before they reached the desert of the sink. The guide book was reread. It stated that the desert or sink was forty miles in extent, which meant for the Knox train 125 miles of desert and near desert. Hardship was suffered over the first 80 miles, but by extended trips off the road, patches of near-dry grass and water could be found. When the sink proper was reached the animals were in desperate shape. They were rested for two days, a little grass was found not too far away, but even the 48 hours did little to restore the

animals' strength. Though Reuben had hoped to be on the sink only 24 hours, now there was little chance of this.

The first night after the rest, twenty animals disappeared, after a number had been driven ahead on their own to reach grass and water. It was feared marauding Indians and unprincipled white traders had stolen them during the night. Only two wagons crossed the sand, as seven had been lost, most along the Humboldt and the 80 miles of red desert. On the desert Reuben suffered the dysentery, common to the area, and resorted to opiates, dreaming at night of the comfort and consolation of Eliza's hand and his quiet evenings at home. More animals died, Reuben wrote that thousands lay dead, putrifying the air. After two more nights the water and food were reached but only by twenty-eight of the animals. Eighty-eight animals had died along the way. The wagon was left in the desert and Reuben thanked God that the men were spared.

Later, writing of the nights and days out of the desert, Reuben held those to be the most trying of the journey and they alone made him decide that the trip would not be made again no matter how great the promise of success. The thing was now done, and the reward for their exertions, if justice be done, should be forthcoming. Reuben's plans, designed to produce a financial return for their physical and financial investment, were not unimaginative. Upon their arrival in Sacramento, on September 14, steps were taken quickly to put the plans in operation. With six members of the family, six slaves, and some hired men, Reuben utilized diversity of action to obtain maximum gain. Not only diverse, the tactics were truly ambitious; the goal was set for six figures in two years. The fields of activity were mining and merchandising. Henry and Reuben, the nephew, soon set out to try mining operations on the Consumnes River some 32 miles east of Sacramento. Merchandising, with several general stores in Sacramento or near the mines, would be the enterprise of Cousin Richard and Joseph as soon as arrived the shipment of goods sent, months before, from New Orleans. Already they were overdue, causing Reuben some consternation. As for Reuben, he did not plan, too rigidly, his pursuits, but planned

to act as an overseeing supervisor of what might be called the "Knox Enterprises," to leave himself free to explore any opportunity the future might disclose. The idea of an additional store, in San Francisco, was even now crystallizing in his mind. Franklin, initially, was to follow his inclination for sketching and painting. He hoped to have his sketches of the Stansbury expedition engraved, and to establish himself as an artist in San Francisco.¹⁸ The hired men, who were not lured from Reuben's employment by higher wages, were apportioned between the mining venture and the work of establishing the store in Sacramento. As for the six slaves brought to California on condition they would work for Reuben one year for their freedom, they were, upon arrival in Sacramento, temporarily hired out. One man was promised 8 to 10 dollars per day, another 3 or 4 dollars, George \$100 per month, Sarah \$10 per week, and Fred \$1.00 per day.

Reuben's letters written from the start of the trip until his untimely drowning by the upsetting of a sailboat on May 28, 1851, in the mouth of San Pablo Bay are included below. These letters are written to his wife or his sons and give a very clear picture of the journey, the part a doctor played in such an effort, hardships encountered, and the life of the period.

From Reuben to Joseph A. Knox, Yale College, New Haven

Rock Island, July 16, 1849

My dear Son:

My daily regret since we have been with your namesake uncle has been that you were not with us, as we would have our pleasures doubled by your participation in them. You were apprized I think in the last letter mailed at home that we were about starting for this place. We left on the 3rd inst. and arrived on the 5th about 30 hours out, found bro. Joseph and little Joe slightly indisposed and Charlie was quite sick the day following, they all recovered in a day or two and we have all been very well ever since. Last week was very hot here, therm. from 93 to 99 degrees, but we had a fine rain on Friday which cooled the

¹⁸ Franklin, Reuben's stepson, was the artist for the famed Stansbury Expedition exploring the Salt Lake region.

air so much that on Saturday we rode out to the farm, had a delightfully pleasant time on the Prairies and killed during our stroll 18 Prairie hens and about a dozen doves, etc. This gives us FINE PICKING when lunch hour arrives, and I assure you I prize it exceedingly as I have been so reduced by the fatigue of practice, loss of sleep and inability to take my accustomed food that I feel the need of something of the kind very much. I lost 20 lbs the last month that I spent at home. Had usually to see about 40 patients a day, most of them cholera, and never rested more than an hour at a time during the night, being called up from 3 or 4 to a dozen times between 11 at night and day light the next morning. I had three attacks myself but was enabled to subdue each in a few hours, leaving me however extremely prostrate. We have lost a great many physicians (12 at least) and the mortality has really been frightful among the citizens, a great majority however being foreigners. In some cases 150 and upwards have died in a day. Dr. Hardage Lane and Dr. Pollock died last week but we have abundant cause of thankfulness and gratitude to God that none of our own family, or relatives have been taken away. Mrs. Holden (Sarah Singleton, you recollect) died a few days before we left and Miss Amelia Thomas, the same day. Dr. Washington lost little Rosalie and Mrs. King her only child, little Frank, both taken and died between breakfast and tea. I can hardly think of anything but this awful scourge, and you must not think strange if you find nothing else in your letters from this region now as it is the all absorbing topic everywhere. Four died in one house last week a few miles back of Camden and four or five more were sick, they had been engaged during the excessive heat in the harvest fields. Very little of the disease here in Rock Island although there had been two deaths when we arrived.—none since.¹⁹

I will write you again before your summer vacation commences. In the mean time, WRITE ME AT ONCE, directing here until the 1st of August. Should anything prevent your receiving further advices respecting your spending your time during vacation you will recollect the hint given in my line written on the Ohio, mailed in Cin.i (which I trust you read although I have not been apprized of the fact) and I hope spend the time pleasantly and profitably with our good friends in Blandford. Cousin Samuel and family with Mrs. Kerr are there and you will find it pleasant to assist the uncles in the hayfields. The axe, and ACTIVE USE OF YOUR MUSCLES in connection with it, as on last summer, will do more toward invigorating your physical frame

¹⁹ The cholera epidemic was particularly bad during the summers of 1849 and 1850, and was spread by the many parties going to California.

than you may now be aware of, but the time will come (too late if neglected now), when you will be fully aware of it, and have BITTERLY TO LAMENT any opportunity of the kind unimproved. Bro. Joseph and Mr. Mixter have not yet finished their new houses but they are exceedingly pleasant and spacious even now in their unfinished state. Had a letter from Franklin seven days out from Fort Leavenworth, was well but had a "sight of the Elephant"²⁰ once in a while as he said. I hope the rugged jaunt will restore his constitution somewhat to its condition before entering college for I assure you, it recd a severe shock there, and MAINLY I THINK FROM INDULGENCE IN SMOKING, and I hope if you have any regard for my own feelings, or YOUR OWN FUTURE GOOD, you will not have anything of the kind to lament over, after your course is completed.²¹ I send a small check (\$30) and will forward more in time for your term bills etc. Much love from Ma, little Betty & all. In haste, your very

affectionate father, R. KNOX.

From Reuben to Joseph A. Knox, Yale College, New Haven

St. Louis, Jany. 14, 1850

My dear Son:

I am constrained to write you although we are none of us in your debt I think. I have been looking for a letter for some time although if you did not write until mine containing dft. for 125 dolls. was read, there is barely time for your prompt answer to reach here. As we are so situated that you cannot spend any of your vacation at home, I hope you will devote much of each recurring one to writing us. It is really a sore trial that you have to be so long absent and this was one inducement for me to send *Wm. to Jacksonville* where we can see him at any time in 24 hours at this college in case of sickness or accident of any kind, and then have him at home each vacation.²²

We are all tolerably well; quite well except Henry and myself. I fear I shall have to take him from school as he studies so hard that his health appears to be failing and I think it more important for him as well as the rest of you, to have a constitution capable of enduring hardship and fatigue which you will be sure to meet with (if of any account) than to have the mind

²⁰ This expression refers to having an outstanding experience of life.

²¹ Reuben was opposed to the use of tobacco in any form and warned his family against its uses.

²² Jacksonville College is now Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois.

even so well stored, with no PHYSICAL power of endurance.²³

Betty, during my temporary absence has continued the subject as you will perceive about this place [scribbling noticeable, Ed.] and you may consider it as her loving epistle. She says "if Brother Joseph was here now he would love his little sister so well, and would give her so many sweet kisses" etc. etc. She talks of all her absent brothers very often and I hope will one day have them all at home together.

Franklin writes in good health and spirits and gives a glowing description of the great Valley and of some of its mountain prospects. By the way did you know that I had decided to make him a visit next spring? If not, I must tell you that is no joke, but sober earnest. I have been perplexed out of my wits, to know what to do with our negroes, and have as you may be aware given them opportunities to procure their freedom. They have had between two and three years to make the trial, and no one except Lewis has yet paid me one cent and he not but about $\frac{1}{3}$ the INTEREST on his purchase price, and not any of the principal. Hunter, Harriet and Richard have not paid one cent of either prin. or int. and you can easily calculate how long they would be in accomplishing the object at this rate.²⁴

I propose now to free them on condition that they work for me one year in the gold mines of California, and if I succeed in making up the right sort of company, intend to start the last of April next for that region. *Cousin Richard* [not first cousin] will accompany me, and HENRY, if his ardor does not abate before the time comes. HE MUST GO AT SOME ACTIVE EMPLOYMENT, and I think the rough and tumble life during the journey out and stay in the mountains, will be as good as anything I can devise for him. I have very hard struggling to get along here, and cannot with the utmost economy, "make both ends meet" as the saying is, having annually to reduce my little property one thousand dollars at least. I make this humiliating confession to you for your own private ear, and to show you the importance of establishing proper habits of industry and economy now in early life.²⁵ I shall make some arrangements before leaving so that you will be provided with funds for the remainder of college life and hope you see the importance of using SELF-DENIAL EVEN, if necessary to reduce those funds as much as possible. Let me hear from you IMMEDIATELY on the reception of this and

²³ Henry was enrolled in a local school in St. Louis, Missouri.

²⁴ Reuben had acquired slaves in Missouri for his trip.

²⁵ Reuben had sufficient funds to support his family in North Carolina, send several sons to college, provide for his trip, and enough remaining to purchase a ranch and goods for a store in California.

as often as you can consistently do in future. Ma and the children send much love and I need not assure you of my constant anxiety and deep solicitude for your welfare both spiritual and temporal.

Your aff. father,
R. KNOX

Reuben to Joseph at Yale

St. Louis, Feb. 13th 1850

My dear Son:

Yours of the 29th ulto. is just recd. and has taken me "all aback" as much so as mine did you, and perhaps you have not "counted well the cost" or you would not be so willing to make the sacrifice of giving up your college honors and the DIGNITY of SENIOR year.²⁶

I really cannot reconcile my mind to the thought that you are not to COMPLETE a THOROUGH COLLEGE EDUCATION AT SOME TIME, and the portion of your letter which gives me pause is that where you speak of "long having had a wish to leave." If it be ill health, or a fear that your physical frame is becoming shattered by the confinement, and close mental application to which you are subject, that causes this desire, I would not feel so about it, except lamenting the necessity of course,—and if this be the ONLY cause you are entirely excuseable, but that you should have a DISTASTE FOR STUDY is, a very distressing thought.

I hope this is not the case. And now, my dear Joseph, I must tell you frankly that every other consideration must give way when your HEALTH is considered, and if that is in danger of being seriously impaired, I would not have you remain another year, as anxious as I am to have you complete your course with distinction and honor, and I have no doubt your anxiety to quit college for some time past has been mainly owing to the lassitude and debility of your physical frame.

Could this excursion have been foreseen, a year or so ago, so that you could have come away a thorough Geologist and Minerlogist, it would have been just playing into my hand, and I should have URGED you (if necessary) to accompany me as it would certainly add much to my happiness *during the two years* absence to have you along, and I have no doubt you would go with

²⁶ Joseph had written his father of his desire to go West with the party and delay his college graduation. This his father agreed to with some reluctance.

a willing heart and ready hand, determined to make yourself useful at whatever HARD WORK came your way.

I AM NOT ONLY WILLING BUT ANXIOUS to have you go, if (as I have said above) your health demands it, as I think no course of life better calculated to develop the "outer man", giving him muscle and vigor than camp out such as the contemplated journey will afford. We shall have no "lookers on" en route, or when SQUATTED AT THE DIGGINS, and if you can make up your mind to take an ACTIVE PART in whatever of labor and hardship comes in the way, you can make preparation to leave by the *middle of March*. I wish to have you remain a little while in order to get what information you can from *Prof. Sillimans* lectures and devote ALL YOUR TIME if need be, to the examination, THOROUGH AND CRITICAL of your cabinet specimens (which I know are very fine), and gaining all the information you can from any quarter. Ascertain what are the BEST works on both subjects. I have only *Hitchcock's Geology, Syells & Danas* [?] works in part.²⁷ You had best dispose of what books you can to advantage, sell your furniture and every thing that would be an encumbrance on your return. Buy a good cheap trunk. *Br. Justus* bought one or two when I was in Blandford for 2½ dollars I think, which will answer every purpose, as we can take no heavy ones on the plains. Defer the purchase of any new clothes until you come home as you will need a different sort on the mountains from [Illegible]

I will write again in a week, sending you what change you may need, urging you at the same time to SAVE every dime you possibly can.

This is written in great haste to make the present mail.

Henry jumped so high when I told him *Br. Jo.* might go that the ceiling of the room like to have suffered.

[enclosures from Henry and Eliza]

Yr. aff. father,
R. KNOX.

Reuben to Joseph at New Haven

St. Louis, March 13, 1850

My dear Son,

As there is no time now to "dilly dally" as the boys sometimes say, I will tell you that yours of the 27th is just rec'd and I drop

²⁷ These were names of geology texts.

you this by first mail. I do not know "that I have misunderstood the reasons which you had for making such an unexpected request" but as I was anxious to have you take a calm and unimpassioned view of the whole matter and especially to take a SHARP SQUINT at the DARK SIDE OF THE PICTURE, perhaps I gave you too plain a talk. I did not intend to cast any imputations or intimate that you were any kin to the tribe of "Drakes", for this I never believed. It is a reality a rough jaunt, but one which I think above all others best calculated to infuse a good stock of IRON into the constitution, in which commodity I feared both you and Henry were rather deficient.²⁸

I hardly know what to tell you if your mind is not already made up by my last letter (or two letters as the one containing the dft \$150 and one a few days after are not noticed by you) and must leave the matter entirely to you. Must confess that I had anticipated much pleasure in your company on the way and in Cal. and Henry is so much depressed at your present announcement that his is almost sick.

Should you conclude to come out and accompany us, do so as soon as possible. If you do not go over the plains with us you had best remain in Yale as Ma is provided with an escort part of the way and we do not wish you to come on merely to accompany her and cannot afford the means, as you will have no time to visit.

If you conclude to remain and finish your course you had best abandon the idea of going to California in the spring and accompany Ma in the fall.

My late letters being more definite and containing the news that Joseph and Reuben were going from Blandford,²⁹ I am more than half inclined to believe that you will be on the way before you receive this (which I direct to be forwarded to Blandford if necessary) and shall mail further advices with great anxiety as we now intend to leave by the MIDDLE OF APRIL if possible which is only 4 WEEKS FROM NEXT MONDAY.

I send this to Cincinnati by fast boat to [illegible] the mail and I shall have no other opportunity to communicate with you by letter after this which is written as you will see in great haste.

Very aff. your father, R. KNOX

P.S. I wrote the above at the store this morning but finding the boat does not leave until 4 P.M. brought it home for Ma to

²⁸ Reuben had almost convinced Joseph, for a time, that the son's constitution would not be robust enough to make the trip.

²⁹ Reuben's birthplace.

fill. As she has no time she bids me inform you that she is very sorry you are wavering in your determination as she was very anxious to have both you and Franklin along with me and I can frankly say I SHOULD GREATLY PREFER IT, though if you have any objection other than what you mentioned, do not think anything more about it as I will make some kind of arrangements for your expenses the coming year.

You would not be able to join me in California after your college life ends as I shall be for starting home about the time you would reach there as you could only go by the Isthmus so late in the season, and the fall or late summer is the worst of all seasons ever to take that route.

But good-bye again,
DO AS YOU PLEASE.

R.K.

Reuben to his Wife, Eliza

Steamer St. Paul, May 3, 1850
2 p.m. near Herman.

My dear Wife:

The last hour has been a sad one to me, as recalling by its return, the sad one of parting with those so dear and precious to me as my beloved Eliza and the sweet baby.³⁰ 'Twas indeed, is now and ever will be an hour so sad that no language of mine can describe it, and as the hours, days, weeks and months roll on its impress will only become more and more deep and lasting and I now find no relief but in looking forward to the time when the joyous reunion will obliterate all the past and be remembered while life lasts as the happy hour more than compensating for the agony endured yesterday. I have hardly thought of anything since we parted but you and yours—Little Betty's warm heart almost overpowering her, yet not fully understanding the meaning of what she saw. I am glad she cannot see all of "papa's tears" as I would not make her unhappy. Give many kisses to her and little Augustus and tell them every day how well their father loves them and how constantly he is thinking about them and their dear Mama and how glad he is to think she will try to make Ma happy by being a GOOD girl, a PLEASANT girl, and a KIND AND HAPPY girl. Tell her we have two little girls "3 years old" in the cabin going to California, but a whole cabin full of them would not please her papa half so well as his "little sweet darling, precious daughter".

But I shall forget to tell you anything about our progress, and then you would have no news for friends. My letters you

³⁰ Late in April, 1850, Reuben's party set out by steamer up the Missouri River.

must well know by their character are chiefly intended for your own ear, as my heart is so full that I can hardly conjure up any other topic. We had a fine run last night, but have been aground so often today that I fear the boat will not get to St. Joe at all, much less by the time the "Mary Blaine" leaves to go higher up. The Highland Mary passing down this morning will report us aground. We got off soon after, having been aground twice since, perhaps an hour each time, but now appear much faster than ever and may lie on the bar all night from present appearance. It is raining and quite warm.

You did not intend to deprive me the pleasure of writing to you I hope by keeping back all the letter paper, but even if you did I will excuse you on condition that you fill it all in your own inimitable style for me, and now and then a kind message from little Betty.

The boat shakes and rolls so in the powerful effort of the powerful engine to plunge through or back off the sand bar that I must stop or give you a scroll you cannot read.

Saturday morning, 8 o'clock.—We have made little progress since I wrote you from the sand bar, my dear, having gotten off so near night that we could not run, and this morning have stuck half a dozen times at least, are still in sight of Herman,³¹ which is only 111 miles from St. Louis. We have such a crowd on board that I sometimes find it difficult to procure a seat until the 4th table. In order to do it one would have to take a chair as soon as one leaves the stateroom, before the cabin is swept or table spread and remain unmoveable or if determined upon the second or third chair, take position immediately in rear of his more fortunate neighbor and wait to seize his chair with a nigh[?] grasp as he rises from the table. All this being as [illegible] you know I am not one partial to fasting? I come out 3d or 4th as the case may be. Don't fail to write me at Fort Laramie, and I think a letter might reach me directed to the care of the Quartermaster at Fort Kearney by the regular mail. I shall leave this at Hermann and write you again from Independence or perhaps sooner. Much love to all and many kisses for the dear children. Tell Mr. Kerr's and Samuels family that I intended to call but could not. Mr. Marks and Dr. Washington also I feel a little nervous this morning, headache pain in the back and side owing I think to the sudden change to severe cold during the night and to not sleeping any of any consequence. Kindest and best wishes to our dear friends, Mr. and Mrs. Post and family. How thankful I am that their lives are allspared. How is Mr. Lages child? Yr. Affectionate husband, R.K.

³¹ Hermann was a village in eastern Missouri, settled by a German group in 1737.

P.S. Did not stop at Hermann as I expected and now as we are drawing near Jefferson City at the hour of *sunset*, I give you a second good bye. I feel better this evening and hope to continue well. There is very little probability now of overtaking the boat at St. Joe, and I shall have to wait for the Sacramento, or go up from there by land[?]

I hope to sleep better tonight, but can hardly become composed enough yet to sleep at all. It hardly seems possible that I am really away from all I hold so dear for so long a time, but it must be so. Yet rest assured you are not out of my mind a single *minute*. Your devoted [illegible] and husband, R.K.

Steamer St. Paul, Tuesday A.M., May 6th, 1850

My dear Wife:

I cannot sit down to write even a business letter, which this must be (if letter it may be called), without making you the medium of communication as I cannot yet draw off my thought to any other object. We have gotten along well since I wrote you at Jeff n City, passed the Kansas last evening at Lexington³² and are within six or seven hours of the Mary Blaine,—so you see I had the pleasure of one *precious day with you* after Captain Jewett left, without any loss of time to me, but probably half a day's gain.

It is raining quite hard and has been since 10 last night and this morning we had some snow at day break, really a cheerless prospect for camp life, but I trust we shall all be prepared to endure it patiently.

My dear Wife, we are at Kansas³³ 12 miles above Independence and I should not write you until I reached St. Joseph but for the opportunity now presenting of handing to a Mr. Hanson who leaves tonight. The reason I did not leave or finish this at Independence is that I have been disappointed in not having the mules to on to Ft. K. as I intended. I found Cousin Reuben and Henry waiting at Indep. where they had been 5 days as Joseph did not get my letter and had left before their arrival, and I have not a word from them yet, and do not know whether he succeeded in getting the complement of mules or not.

We passed the Mary Blaine at Liberty³⁴ about 20 miles below and found all well. They were waiting for the mules to arrive which they had to put off one hundred miles below to lighten the boat as she could not stem the rapid current with the load.

³² Lexington is a town in Lafayette County, Missouri.

³³ "Kansas" is now Kansas City. A number of mules had to be secured before the party set out across the Plains.

³⁴ Liberty was a town in western Missouri.

Hope she will get up, however, by the time the grass grows. I am hurrying on to get to St. Joe as soon as possible and if I find Joseph there with the mules to start him on to Ft. K., our starting point.

I shall not probably write you again until the boat returns from Ft. K., unless something unusual occurs when I shall ever give you the earliest possible information. Tell all the friends of my passengers whom you may see that they are very well. We have had no sickness on board, but a poor intemperate man of about 60 from Louisville who died about sunset this evening of delirium tremens. I was looking at the west, thankful that the cloudy, dreary morning had ended in so delightful an evening, thinking of you as I ever shall, especially at the hour of twilight, when I was called to see him, only in time to see him breathe one gasp. The lesson was a most sad one, and I endeavored to impress it upon the crowd around (many of whom had been frequently seen visiting the Bar), as the *most effective temperance lecture* in my power or that of any other one to deliver. Hope it may have some good effect.

In haste, my beloved, with many kisses for the little ones and kind wishes for all friends. Yr. devoted husband, R. Knox.

Care of Sam'l Knox, Atty,
Vine St.

To
Mrs. Doct. R. Knox,

St. Louis, Mo.

Favor of
Mr. Hanson

St. Joseph, May 11, 1850

My dear Wife:

Cousin Richard and the black ones have just arrived and I drop you a line by the Saranac at the landing to let you know how we all are. I have had continued disappointment since we reached Independence, not finding matters as I had hoped, and Joseph not having received my letters instructing him to remain, etc., I found him here with what mules were not dead or stolen, four having died, and six lost of which we have recovered four. One was lost off the Mary Blaine, so you see I have lost and they have all been so very badly attended that I shall have to sacrifice 3 more as they will not answer for the journey or sell for anything. We (Joseph and I) have purchased 20 more and I shall have to remain here until Monday to purchase 6 or

8 more, and go up by land (110 miles) with them. Joseph went up this morning on the *Mary Blaine*. In fact, he was absent when I arrived as he had waited so long for us, and been informed that we were all to start for Independence that he went down there 3 or 4 days before I arrived and returned on the *Mary Blaine*.

It is now near 12 midnight, and I am so troubled about my affairs that I can hardly tell you anything else.

You must not credit the tales you *may* hear (as we *have* done) of murders on the plains by the Indians, as there is no truth at all in them.

Mrs. Williams is tired of the California *mania* she had so desperately bad, and will return by the boat. Of this I am truly glad. The rest are all getting along finely and I trust will continue to do so. We shall not leave the frontier before the 20th but hope to do so by that time. The grass has hardly started at all on the prairies, but the water is now fine.

I could only sleep a few moments last night, and while I did was continually dreaming of dear little Betty, thinking I had her in my arms looking after mules and running about town mid the motley crowd thronging the streets. I would that the dream could be reality as I would so delight to have her in my arms even under *any circumstances* of that kind. Hope she, little Augustus and their dear Mother are all well.

Many kisses to all three and kind regards to Mr. Post's family and our friends in general. Hope you will have a good escort home. I have been wishing it might be the new professor at Chapel Hill as he would be going direct to Raleigh.

I forgot to write the receipt for you to send your brother John C. The amount rec'd was \$497 (four hundred ninety-seven dollars). Please forward it to him, to be written like the others you have sent. Give my love to them all when you write, or go to Carolina. Will write you once more in St. Louis, and now good night my *dearest*.

R. KNOX.

To Mrs. Dr. R. Knox,
Steamer *Saranac*.

St. Louis, Mo

St. Joseph, May 12th, 1850

Sabbath Morn.

I am here alone, my dear, for the day in a little upper room of a private family, and must spend some of the time before church in communing with you. The Sabbath will ever be spent, I trust, in an especial manner, by us both, in imploring our Heavenly Father's blessing, *protection* and care for each other

and our *precious little immortals* now entirely under your guardian care. May they ever be near you, and may you and I have grace given us to train them up for Him who gave himself a willing sacrifice for us all. I really feel NOW that I am ALONE in deed and in truth, in a sense I think I never REALIZED before, and I cannot refrain from weeping when I think of it, but I confide in one who is able to spare me if it be His righteous will, and restore me to your arms again. But I must change the topic or defer writing altogether as my feelings have gotten the complete mastery over my weak nature and Henry and the men coming in I do not wish to betray my tears and what they may construe into childishness.

I wrote you a very hasty line last night in the office of the boat about midnight, and sent by the "Saranac" which I hope you will receive in 3 or 4 days and I COMMENCE this letter only here with the hope of completing it before we start from the river. I am writing by a window looking out upon a very neat and commodious church where Rev. Mr. Reeve preaches when at his post, but I suppose he is with you in St. Louis now. His church stands about half way up a very high hill on the summit of which is a very fine court house. This place is beautifully located and thriving very rapidly, but the society if I am to judge from what we can see now is anything but desirable, profanity, gambling and drinking appear fashionable in all circles of business. I hope there are redeeming qualities among those more [illegible] to prevent it becoming another Sodom and share its fate.

I am glad you have a little more time than you had given yourself to spend with our kind St. Louis friends and hope when you reach Carolina I shall hear that "All's Well" with you and the children and that your journey has been attended with no accident or unpleasant occurrence. I saw Mrs. Dr. Fibbets on the boat last night, and found her quite well and so far as I could judge, pleased, withall. They went on at 1 or 2 oclk and will probably reach Fr. K. about Wednesday. I shall not be able to get through with the mules until Thursday or Friday. Shall look for your letter by express mail at Fort Laramie and hope not to be disappointed. After this leaves I shall direct my next and following to Hillsboro. Do not fail to have a letter on the way for me every other week when once you are quietly settled down at our dear sister Susan's, and tell her I shall ever prize one from her exceedingly.

Procure some fine French paper so that you may fill 3 or 4 sheets for me occasionally without incumbering the mail.—The bell rings and I must heed its call to church.

P.M. Henry and I have just been feasting ourselves upon the orange you put into my hand at parting. I hoped to keep it longer but discovered a speck on it today, and could not without losing it altogether. You cannot realize how every little token is cherished by me, and I am constantly reminded of my dear Eliza in a thousand ways. Your ten thousand kind offices of love, now deprived of, are constantly coming to mind and the thought that for two long years those soothing attentions cannot be bestowed, that hand placed upon my aching head and heart, pressed in sympathetic affection to mine, is too much for me, and COULD I DO IT, I would return the moment the wagons were all under way, but it cannot be and I must endure all. Would not encounter the like again for all earth's treasures. My head, I think, has troubled me less of late,—once or twice have felt like falling, and I hope if all prospers on the journey to be entirely relieved. Heard a pretty good discourse this morning from a Methodist preacher in the Baptist church,—no other opened in town except the Catholic. Mr. Reeve had no one to supply his pulpit, and the Baptist clergyman has gone to California, the regular Methodist to St. Louis General Conference.

I was rejoiced to find in the bundle of old letters I brought along to read on the boat some of yours written in 1841 during my tour of business up the river. Shall keep them along to read over every opportunity until I hear from your warm heart afresh, and that must be a long time indeed. Was disappointed that we could not complete the reperusal of our old letters together as intended. Keep mine and remember that the love and solicitude expressed in them have, if changed at all, been greatly increased by the many happy hours spent together since that time, and the innumerable acts of devotion and self-denial on your part; and if my letters fail to reach you, consider the thoughts therein uttered as being sent to you on every western breeze wafted over the plains. I shall surely be thinking and wishing to send my thoughts and hearts warmest affections to you, and nothing but an opportunity will prevent.

But my paper is filled and I must take another sheet when I reach the fort. Good night with many a kiss for little Betty and the sweet little brother. Tell her she is "father's precious, darling little daughter", and ever will be while she is kind to her Mama.

Ft. Kearney, May 17, 1850

My dear Wife:

I have but a moment to write you to say that we have all met again, but one man Devore who is missing, having gone three days since to look for Joseph's horse, which broke away, taking

another fine horse along, and I am inclined to think he has stolen both and taken the money to go on or possibly return to St. Louis.

His name is S. H. Devore (an engineer), and I want you to have Cousin Timothy or Samuel to have Marshall Phelps or some officer on the lookout for him and if found in St. Louis dealt with as other horse thieves ought to be. I do not know that they can do anything without further proof, but the above are the facts, and if I ever live to meet him he shall suffer severe penalty in some shape. I arrived here yesterday but cannot get the mules over yet. We hope to do so however today and get off on Monday.

The boat is about to be off and I have no time to finish this letter. Good-bye my dearest, and may Heaven's richest blessings ever attend you and all we love.

Many kisses and every kind one you can devise for the dear children.

Ever your devoted husband,

I intended to have finished the letter begun in St. Joseph but had no time.

R.K.

[To be continued]

BOOK REVIEWS

North Carolina: History, Geography, Government. By Hugh T. Lefler. (New York: World Book Company, 1959. Pp. xiv, 530. \$3.95.)

The latest work of Hugh T. Lefler, Kenan Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, is a textbook designed primarily for junior high school students. It is slightly more advanced than *The Growth of North Carolina*, published in 1940, by Lefler and the late Albert Ray Newsome, and includes material on geography and government not found in the earlier work.

Thirteen of the fifteen units tell the story of the historical development of North Carolina from the time of Columbus to the administration of Governor Luther H. Hodges. Appropriately placed early in the volume is a unit on the influence of the Outer Banks, the mountains, and other geographical features on the growth of the State. The last unit is a substantial explanation of the structure and operation of local, State, and federal government in North Carolina. The units are divided into chapters, each of which has study helps prepared by Mary Bates Sherwood. There is also an Appendix containing a list of events and their dates, a table of governors, a summary of the formation of counties, and several biographical sketches.

From the viewpoint of the teacher using this publication, the materials relating to history, geography, and government have not been integrated or fused but have been correlated in such a way as to make each subject yield its values to the others. Thus the book may be used by the teacher who employs the social studies approach to the study of the State as well as by the teacher who thinks in terms of a conventional course in North Carolina history.

North Carolina: History, Geography, Government is skillfully and beautifully illustrated with twenty-two maps and several hundred sketches, portraits, and photographs. Most of the illustrations relate directly to the content and appear

at the proper location in the text of the narrative. Especially impressive are twenty-four pages of photographs in color. The popular double-column format is used throughout, and the pages are made inviting by numerous section headings in boldface type.

Use of this carefully prepared text in the schools of the State will unquestionably result in greater understanding and appreciation of the historical heritage of North Carolinians. Professor Lefler and the World Book Company have produced an outstanding work in its field.

Henry S. Stroupe.

Wake Forest College.

Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks. By Gary S. Dunbar. Supervised and edited by Fred Kniffen. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 234. \$3.00.)

The Outer Banks of North Carolina are geographically peculiar and historically interesting. With better roads and popular boating, the area is receiving unprecedented attention from those who look for an unspoiled spot in the backwash of the tide of progress. Along with the press clippings come a few solid studies of which this book is one of the best.

In one sense a historical geography of the Outer Banks is about the only real history of the place that can be written. So unusual and so intransigent are its physical characteristics that nature, until now, has had the upper hand in shaping the land and its people. The author has not had to select greatly to produce this study; most of what has happened from the colonial period to the modern era has been within his realm of inquiry. A number of matters are neglected (archaeology, geology, botany, Indians, cartography, and wrecks), not because of inappropriateness to historical geography but because of detailed treatment in other studies. Despite the editor's mention of a similar neglect of early exploration, that subject is rather fully covered.

A striking feature of the book is the proportion of text (107 pages) to notes, bibliography, and index (127 pages). Readers who are inclined to pass over documentation will miss some interesting material in the notes. For example, the notes contain about as much, and just as interesting material on methods of fishing, as does the text. Helpfully the author has explained in detail many bygone ways of doing things that lend flavor to the book without detracting from its substance. Yet, if one had to name a defect of the book, this reviewer would say that it fails to convey the flavor of the Outer Banks. For example, there are eight consecutive pictures of houses that look very similar, yet none of a lighthouse, a wreck, a sand dune, a storm, marsh grass, sea oats, a twisted tree, or an old fisherman. The indigenous skills of the Bankers and the Coast Guard in lifesaving work go almost unmentioned nor is there enough said about the hazards to those ashore and afloat from Atlantic storms. The words "hurricane" and "erosion" do not appear in the index. Whether the author's "two far-too-brief visits" to the Banks prevented his grasping and conveying the uniqueness of the place one can only guess.

The book was written under contract with the National Park Service, recent and probably permanent owner of most of the Outer Banks. It is Number Three of the Coastal Studies Series (James P. Morgan, Editor), a division of Louisiana State University Studies (Richard J. Russell, General Editor).

Winston Broadfoot.

Director, George Washington Flowers Memorial Collection,
Duke University.

New Hanover County Court Minutes, 1738-1769. Abstracted, compiled, and edited by Alexander McDonald Walker. (Bethesda, Maryland: Privately Printed. 1959. Pp. xii, 123. Introduction, maps, charts, and index. \$5.00.)

The early county courts in North Carolina were far more than just judicial bodies. Made up of three or more justices, the county courts also sat as the chief governmental ad-

ministrative agency of the county and conducted all of the major public business. This practice remained in force until 1868, when the Pennsylvania system of local government was established. Thus the court minutes prior to that date well reflect the life and culture of colonial North Carolina. In this regard editor Walker has made a valuable contribution to the published history of the Cape Fear Region.

All of the great and the old names of the Cape Fear for the period are here: Cornelius Harnett, Roger and Maurice Moore, Edward Moseley, the Meares, the DeRossets, and others. The court minutes reveal them going about their day-to-day activities, concerned with land transactions, registration of branding marks, settling estates, doing jury duty, and taking part in the trial of minor criminal cases. The volume will prove to be a rich resource for genealogists and historians of tidewater North Carolina.

The source materials for this book are the original manuscript records in the files of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History. Due to the poor condition of the folios, however, at the time they were delivered to the Archives, use of the originals is impractical. The author has reduced the records to easily readable abstracts which will make the valuable historical data they summarize readily accessible to everyone. He is due our appreciation for both his contribution and the excellent and scholarly manner in which he has made it.

Raleigh.

John R. Jordan, Jr.

New Hanover County Court Minutes, Part II, 1771-1785. Abstracted, compiled, and edited by Alexander McDonald Walker. (Bethesda, Maryland: Privately Printed, 1959. Pp. v, 120. \$5.00.)

Throughout the colonial period and until the end of the Civil War, the Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions was the principal administrative, as well as judicial, authority in each of the counties of North Carolina. This "County Court," as it was usually called, was composed of all the

justices of the peace in the county, and it met at least four times a year.

Matters in common law which involved limited amounts of money, petty larcenies, assaults, and breaches of the peace came within the jurisdiction of this Court. Sometimes criminal cases were determined if the penalty did not exceed a limited fine or imprisonment, or if the offender were a slave. Cases were heard which involved proof of deeds, legacies, intestate estates, and matters concerning orphans. Levying of the county poll tax, maintenance of highways, licensing of ordinary keepers, provision of public grist mills, and appointment of grand and petit juries also were functions of the County Court.

The minutes of this Court for the County of New Hanover, abstracted and edited by Mr. Walker, have just been compiled for the years 1771-1785. They constitute Part II of a compilation which began with the minutes of 1783.

Records which cover such a broad scope of the activities of early Carolinians reveal much concerning their way of life, their thoughts, and their attitudes. Light is thrown upon the slavery system, public finances, home life, travel customs, and other phases of their lives. Although the Court's interest was confined largely to local matters, its actions sometimes interests the student of national history. Control of the Tories, for instance, rested largely with this Court. It should be borne in mind, however, that any abstract or edited compilation must reflect to some extent at least the interpretation of the editor.

A good index lends further aid to the student.

John Mitchell Justice.

Appalachian State Teachers College.

Sir Walter, The Earl of Chatham, or Call Your Next Case. By H. F. (Chub) Seawell, Jr. (Charlotte: Heritage House. 1959. Pp. 218. \$3.50.)

The reader is here offered a brew concocted of facts, fun, and faith that is intended to cheer. It must be tasted and

swallowed to be enjoyed and understood. Labelled a "semi-automatic biography" of Judge Walter D. Siler (1878-1951), it is also somewhat of an autobiography of author Seawell, who is something of a twentieth-century Boswell. The sketchy narrative, which at times strains unity with its chapter collections of amusing yarns grouped about a person, place, or topic, is held together by the genial spirit and integrity of character of Walter Siler and by the penetrating, good-humored philosophy, and strong religious impulses of his disciple, Chub Seawell. Anyone expecting a full and formal biography will be disappointed. One content to be given revealing and mirthful glimpses of these two men and many of their associates in the legal family of the North Carolina bench and bar will be rewarded with present entertainment and future recollection. A few photographs and a number of drawings illustrate the book.

Interspersed among the humorous anecdotes and tall tales are the basic facts of Judge Siler's birth, marriage, death, and his fully-lived years of "lawyering," traveling, and talking. Politician of the old-school Democracy, independent Methodist, lawyer, Superior Court judge, assistant Attorney General of North Carolina, philosopher, humorist, and one of nature's true noblemen, Sir Walter was a lover of his country, State, county, and fellow man. He was history-minded. He wrote a little history (some of which needs to be completed) and he helped to make more of the history of his time and State. Certainly he has become a part of Tar Heel folklore and is on the way to becoming a legendary figure like the one of whom he loved to tell—the John Henry or Paul Bunyan of Chatham County, Anderson Crutchfield. In time, Republican Chub Seawell of Moore may become a legend too, if he continues in the vein of *Sir Walter*.

Lawrence F. Brewster.

East Carolina College.

The Appalachian Frontier, America's First Surge Westward. By John Anthony Caruso. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1959. Pp. 408. With an Introduction by Robert L. Kincaid. Notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, index, and maps. \$5.75.)

One of the real pleasures of book reviewing is encountering that rare book that deserves wholehearted endorsement. Such a book is *The Appalachian Frontier*—far and away the best general account on the surge of exploration out of the Atlantic coastal States and across the Indian-held territory between the Appalachians and the Mississippi.

This book will be of special interest to readers in the mother States of North Carolina and Virginia and in the offspring States of Tennessee and Kentucky, since Mr. Caruso devotes more attention to the frontier in this area than in the North. Beginning with the early explorations of such men as Abraham Wood, John Lederer, James Needham, and Gabriel Arthur, the author brings history down through the Watauga settlement, Richard Henderson's Transylvania purchase, the settlement of Kentucky, the epic journeys of James Robertson and John Donelson to Middle Tennessee, and the years of struggle which elapsed between the time these settlements were founded and the admission of these new western areas as States of the young Republic.

The Appalachian Frontier deserves to be read by every person who would better understand the early history of these States and of the American frontier, and it will almost certainly be made required reading in courses on Tennessee and Kentucky history. It is beautifully written, based on considerable research, and treats a subject that is both important and in need of the treatment. It is, in short, a fine contribution to our historical literature.

But the book is not without its faults. The complicated system of footnote references is an abomination; and there are the usual minor errors of fact (John Sevier's biographer was Carl S., not John Driver [p. 110]; Attakullakulla was the envoy to King George III, not Oconostota [p. 57]; and Attakullakulla was not the only Cherokee who deplored the Fort Loudoun massacre [p. 61]). The most serious criticism,

however, is of the author's research. It is inconceivable to this reviewer that a study of the frontier in North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky should have been made without the author's using the excellent research libraries and manuscript collections in those States. It is also curious that not a single scholarly article published later than 1941, and very few books since that date, are cited in the Bibliography.

It should be emphasized, however, that these shortcomings in research do not seriously mar Mr. Caruso's book; the marvel is that the book is so good despite less than thorough research. *The Appalachian Frontier* is without question the best work on the subject. It deserves to be read, both as an excellent history and as a stirring tale of the adventurous pioneers who carved a civilization out of the wilderness.

William T. Alderson.

Tennessee Historical Commission.

Madison College: The First Fifty Years, 1908-1958. By Raymond C. Dingleline, Jr. (Harrisonburg, Virginia: Madison College. 1959. Pp. viii, 315, Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. \$3.50.)

Raymond C. Dingleline's well-told, well-illustrated, and well-documented story of Madison College was published in March, 1959, as a part of the college's semicentennial celebration. In March, 1908, as a climax of the efforts of the civic and political leaders of Harrisonburg and Rockingham County, Virginia, to secure a teacher training institution, an Appropriation Act was passed by the Legislature which provided for the establishment of the State Normal and Industrial School for Women at Harrisonburg. In September, 1958, Madison College, the name of the school since 1938, entered its fiftieth session. In the forty-nine previous sessions, it had graduated 9,493, eighty-five per cent of whom had completed the teaching training curriculum.

The first of the school's three presidents, Julian A. Burruss, like the other two, was a planner and a builder; and by 1919,

the year of his resignation to accept the presidency of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, the school was, according to Professor Dingleline "one of the state's important educational institutions." In 1919, Samuel P. Duke became the second president of Harrisonburg Normal, and progress and expansion were the shibboleths of the day during his administration in enrollment (over 1,000 by the early 1940's) and in buildings. Because of poor health, President Duke had to give up the presidency after thirty years; and in 1949 G. Tyler Miller became Madison's third president. "In the space of four years," Dingleline reports, "the new president had nearly quadrupled the size of the campus and given the College satisfactory laboratory and science facilities for the first time in its history." By 1958, the grounds and buildings were estimated to be worth \$7,200,000. In less than fifty years, the school had gone from one offering principally high school and normal school work to one offering master's degrees with majors in seven subject matter areas.

One who has not known the school through at least a part of its history cannot rightly evaluate a book such as Dingleline, himself long associated in one way or another with the school, has written. The hosts of people who move through the book, the well-told and sometimes humorous anecdotes which abound in the book, and the excellently conceived and executed plan of the book cannot be fully appreciated by a rank outsider. But this reviewer suspects that one who has known the school in any or several periods of its history can spend many a pleasant hour with this story and with the people who move through its pages. This book can proudly be placed alongside the other excellent college histories that have appeared in such abundance in recent years.

Francis B. Dedmond.

Gardner-Webb College.

A Journey from South Carolina to Connecticut in the year 1809: The Journal of William D. Martin. Prepared by Anna D. Elmore. (Charlotte: Heritage House. 1959. Pp. x, 53. \$3.00.)

Late in April of 1809, William D. Martin, a nineteen-year old South Carolinian, set out on a momentous journey to Litchfield, Connecticut, where he was to attend the famed Tapping Reeve law school. The trip—by sulky, mail stage, horse, and boat—took nearly a month. The mishaps and enjoyments of this adventure are left for us in a small journal, written for his betrothed and sent back to her. The writing is youthful and energetic, with occasional flights of literary fancy to please the teen-age fiancée at home. William Martin's *Journal* is not of the top rank of diaries, yet its interest and coverage place it well above the lower levels too. Martin is at his best describing buildings and towns, such as the Moravian "Dutch town" of Salem, Richmond, Philadelphia, or Litchfield. As he travels and comes to know more people, be they Moravian, Virginian or Northern, it is evident that his localism is receding and his nationalism is increasing. Clearly to this young man travel is broadening, these strangers are neither so different, odd, or foreign. Such ideas are implicit in the diary rather than expressed; the development was an unconscious one.

The roads were sometimes poor, still the trip was not excessively hard, and by the standards of the early nineteenth century these roads were not unduly bad; other travelers commented that American roads were as good, or better, than those in Europe. The introduction and notes are useful, although most readers would like more of both. This slim volume is nicely printed and handsomely bound. It would be a welcome addition to a library of early Americana.

Carlos R. Allen, Jr.

Colorado State University.

South of Appomattox. By Nash K. Burger and John K. Bettersworth. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1959. Pp. vii, 376. \$5.75.)

It was a clever idea of authors Burger and Bettersworth to relate the story of Reconstruction by describing the postwar careers of representative Confederate leaders. Ten men were selected, after much searching and debate one suspects, to sit for individual portraits that collectively would depict the beleaguered South. The anointed ten are Robert E. Lee, Matthew F. Maury, John C. Breckinridge, Nathan Bedford Forrest, Alexander H. Stephens, L. Q. C. Lamar, Joseph E. Johnston, Wade Hampton, James Longstreet, and Jefferson Davis. Each one is supposed to epitomize some facet or characteristic of the Southern reaction to Reconstruction. Thus Maury is the Southerner who sought escape in exile, Lamar is the one who sought reconciliation while upholding the South's rights, Hampton is the one who redeemed Dixie from Republican rule, and Longstreet is the one who accepted the rule of the victors.

The technique of describing a great social movement through the medium of individuals has both merits and disadvantages. On the credit side, it makes for a dramatic presentation, because the reactions of individual men are more interesting than those of men in the mass. Moreover, a study of how specific people acted in a particular situation may be more revealing as to what happened than one pitched on a broader or more impersonal level. Certainly the reader of this book will come away with the knowledge that people as well as forces were involved in Reconstruction. And even the specialist will pick up some new and useful information about the period. On the debit side, the full picture of an era cannot be painted through any group of men, no matter how representative. The portrait technique also makes for a degree of repetitiousness, which is partially avoided in this book by the high literary skill of the authors. They write in a sparkling style. They write, too, with substantial accuracy as to fact, although errors are present. It is loose writing, to say the least, to claim that the Fourteenth Amendment "undertook to

guarantee Negro suffrage." S. B. Packard, the Republican gubernatorial candidate in Louisiana in 1876, was not a Negro. Jefferson Davis was not placed in irons because of any brutality in his captors but because of a mistaken notion that he might commit suicide.

But charm of style and fidelity to fact cannot overcome what is a basic defect in this book. Reconstruction was, as recent research has demonstrated, an incredibly complex business. Here, it is presented in the simple form so popular at the turn of the century—literally the good guys against the bad guys, and with a big dose of sentimentality about the poor South. It is disappointing, after so much good work has been done, to see the old and inadequate analysis thus perpetuated.

T. Harry Williams.

Louisiana State University.

The Journal of William Stephens, 1743-1745. Edited by E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. [Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number Three]. 1959. Pp. xv, 288. \$5.00.)

This is the second half of the newly discovered portion of the journal kept by William Stephens, capable Secretary of the Province of Georgia. It includes entries for every day of the period from August, 1743, through December, 1745, except for unexplained gaps during May 1-June 23 and September 1-October 17, 1745. Like the section published in 1958, this journal describes in fascinating detail the life in and around Savannah and the many problems faced by the colony's administrators.

Perhaps the matters of greatest emphasis concern the extreme difficulty of communicating with the Trust in England and the somewhat related failure to receive supplies of "Sola Bills" with which to defray current expenses. There were long intervals of silence, occasioned at times by the loss of packets of papers through capture of ships serving as couriers; and though the boxes of papers were weighted for sink-

ing in such circumstances, their destruction necessitated recopying a vast accumulation of records, with no surety that they in turn would not be lost in similar fashion. As for the money problem, when the accounts did reach London, accountants there failed to reckon sums spent since the report was rendered (six or seven months earlier) and persisted in thinking the colony had on hand sufficient funds.

Threats from the Spanish to the South and from "French Indians" to the West were a continual worry, particularly when it became evident that merchants in South Carolina were clandestinely supplying St. Augustine with badly needed goods. Military drills were held at intervals, though Moravian settlers refused on grounds of conscience to perform guard duty. On the whole, however, "Dutch" (i.e. German) and Swiss colonists "distinguished themselves by their industry." Possibly borrowed from these people was Stephens' use of the word "patroon" to describe the captains of small coastal trading vessels.

This segment of the journal deals at length with the progress of silk culture in Georgia and the efforts to raise mulberry leaves, though it is apparent by the end of 1745 that failure was just around the corner. There is also extensive discussion of religious practice, including the construction of an edifice modeled after Covent Garden Church, and the holding of Anglican services by the dissenter Whitefield in full surplice. Odd items of considerable interest are: the fact that only two deaths occurred in the nine months before June, 1745; arrival of a shipment of shoes desirable for all ranks, whereas previous lots were "fit only for labouring classes"; the playing of cricket and quoits on holidays; the strange behavior of particular individuals, including one Joseph Watson, who rambled in the woods wearing a sort of gown or cassock of coarse black cloth gathered at the wrists.

This volume has an Appendix which identifies important persons and places mentioned in the journal.

William D. Hoyt, Jr.

Rockport, Massachusetts.

Stonewall's Man: Sandie Pendleton. By W. G. Bean. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959, 252 Pp. \$5.00.)

Late in 1861, General Thomas J. Jackson wrote the Confederate War Department: "I cannot do without Sandie Pendleton." Some months later, when asked about the capability of a certain officer of his command, Jackson said: "Ask Sandie Pendleton. If he does not know, no one does."

Sandie Pendleton, son of General W. N. Pendleton and a graduate of Washington College, was appointed to Jackson's staff in June, 1861, as a lieutenant and brigade ordnance officer. He later became Jackson's assistant adjutant general and as his commander attained higher position, Sandie's rank increased correspondingly until he became lieutenant colonel and chief of staff of the Second Corps.

The relationship between the gay young officer and his solemn chief became very close. Henry Kyd Douglas, another member of Jackson's staff, declared Sandie was Stonewall's favorite, that he "loved him as a son" and that Pendleton was the only one of Jackson's official family whom the general addressed by his first name. The affection was reciprocated. On the day after Jackson's death Sandie told the sorrowing widow: "God knows I would have died for him." He undoubtedly meant what he said.

After Jackson's death, Sandie continued as chief of staff, Second Corps, under Ewell and Early. He served these generals faithfully and well but he never esteemed them as he did Jackson. Until a Federal bullet shot him down at Fisher's Hill, September 22, 1864, six days before his twenty-fourth birthday, he was "Stonewall's Man." Professor Bean has appropriately included this designation in the title of the biography.

In presenting this full-length portrait of young Pendleton, Professor Bean has filled a gap mentioned by Douglas S. Freeman in *Lee's Lieutenant*. He has also followed Freeman's warning not to distort "historical perspective." His treatment, while chronicling the high points of his subject's gallant and distinguished military career, is primarily concerned with

Pendleton as a person. Drawing heavily on family letters and other personal documents, the author gives a detailed account of Sandie's childhood and education, his relations with his parents, his life in camp, his courtship and marriage of Kate Corbin, and his final suffering and death. His account, always interesting and sometimes moving, is highly favorable to Pendleton, not because of any apparent tendency to be uncritical, but because this admirable young Virginian was so remarkably free of blemish.

Bell I. Wiley.

Emory University.

William Buckland, 1734-1774: Architect of Virginia and Maryland. By Rosamond Randall Beirne and John Henry Scarff. (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society. 1958. Pp. xvi, 175. \$7.50.)

Gunston Hall in Virginia, home of George Mason who fathered the Bill of Rights, and the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis have long been well known as illustrating some of the best pre-Revolutionary architecture in America. But since heretofore next to nothing was known of their builder, they also illustrated our sad ignorance about the craftsmen who produced our eighteenth-century flowering of Georgian architecture.

Publication of this biography of William Buckland helps to change all that. Buckland was responsible for the design or finish of at least twenty-two important buildings in Virginia and Maryland, of which seventeen, including the two mentioned above, are still standing. This unusual quantity of surviving examples makes his biography doubly important in filling out the poorly developed history of early American architecture.

Buckland was an Englishman who learned his trade in the booming Georgian expansion and redevelopment of London during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Virginia planters wanted such a person over here to build their houses, their churches, and their public buildings. George Mason

brought Buckland over to build his mansion, Gunston Hall. Once here, Buckland successfully made his own way. By dint of his art and his colorfully enterprising vitality he developed the patronage of Mason's friends and their friends. From Virginia it was an easy step to Maryland and its capital town, Annapolis, where his last and most impressive work is concentrated. Born an Englishman, Buckland died an American.

The biography becomes really a study of Buckland's architectural work and the strictly biographical facts become secondary. One by one his houses are presented and described sufficiently to express each its identity. These houses become the man's true monument, a rather awesome monument, too, for a man who otherwise was quite human in scale.

In a work of this sort illustration is indispensable and in this case it is more than adequate. In the Appendices are several indentures pertaining to Buckland's career as a builder and an inventory of his estate, 1774.

W. S. Tarlton.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

A Portion of My Life. Being a Short and Imperfect History Written While a Prisoner of War on Johnson's Island, 1864. By William M. Norman. (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair. 1959. Pp. x, 242. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

William M. Norman was born on a farm in Surry County, North Carolina, in 1833. In the years before the outbreak of the Civil War he managed to attend boarding school for one year, try his hand at teaching, seek a fortune in the Nebraska territory, get married, and study law. When North Carolina seceded from the Union in May, 1861, Norman gave up his legal career, begun only a few months previous, and enlisted as a private in the Confederate Army. By the fall of 1862 he had risen to the rank of Captain and was on duty with the Army of Northern Virginia. Norman survived the bloody battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg

only to be captured on November 7, 1863, near Kellysford, Virginia. He was afterwards imprisoned on Johnson's Island in Lake Erie. Here Captain Norman wrote what he called a "short diary or sketch" of his experiences, now published for the first time under the title *A Portion of My Life*.

The first half of this volume, pertaining to Norman's pre-war years, will be of little interest to most readers, excepting, perhaps, the lineal descendants of the author. The best part of the reminiscence, the last half, has to do with the war period.

In discussing the care of the wounded at Fredericksburg Captain Norman wrote: "This is one of the bloodiest sights that a man ever looked at. . . . Heaps of amputated limbs, bloody clothing, etc., are visible in many places."

At Chancellorsville Norman served under the North Carolinian, S. D. Ramseur. He thought his fellow Carolinian one of the Army's best commanders: "No braver or better man lives than he is. He takes good care of his soldiers. . . . He fights hard and is very successful."

The author, surprisingly, has little to say about the hardships of prison life. It is probable, however, that he minimized his experiences in order to prevent his manuscript from being confiscated by Federal authorities.

The value of Captain Norman's "sketch" would be enhanced tremendously by a proper job of editing. An introduction is badly needed, as are explanatory notes and an index.

John G. Barrett.

Virginia Military Institute.

The Constitutions of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. By Russell Hoover Quynn. (New York: Exposition Press. 1959. Pp. 304. \$3.25.)

This book is a diatribe against school integration, Abraham Lincoln, and judicial review of laws and practices involving the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. The author is a retired Captain of the United States Army and a veteran of World Wars I and II. In 1941 he was admitted to

the Virginia bar, which accounts for his intense interest in the United States Supreme Court and its decisions. He is a descendant of seventeenth-century settlers of Maryland, South Carolina, and Virginia, which may account for his lack of objectivity in dealing with a controversial subject in a way that he claims is the result of "long research and personal conviction."

There are three divisions in the book. Part One is "The Republican Attack Against Constitutional Government," in which the thesis is that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments "were and are still unconstitutional because they unlawfully altered the form of American government, forced the States, and were—none of them—properly and constitutionally ratified by three-fourths of the states, as the Constitution requires." Chapter One implies that Lincoln was responsible for all three amendments. Lincoln's proclamation of December 8, 1863, and subsequent statements of his concerning his plan of reconstruction are ignored. Derogatory statements about Lincoln are thrown in at random.

Quynn says that the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified on December 18, 1865, in the 38th Congress. A student of the Constitution should know that Congress proposes amendments, the States ratify them. Later Quynn states that when this amendment was ratified the electorates of the South were disfranchised, kept from the polls by federal troops, while voting in their places were Negroes. Actually Johnson had made wholesale pardons to former Confederates, and large-scale registrations of Negroes did not take place until 1867. In 1865 the "Black Codes" were in effect.

Part II is entitled "The Civil War and Reconstruction." Here Jefferson Davis is contrasted with Abraham Lincoln. Certain selected campaigns and phases of the War are reviewed, but the real emphasis is on Lincoln. A typical generalization is: "Perhaps it is time we try to be done with some of the Honest Abe fairy tales of the weeping poets and sob sisters, all those who would make silk purses out of sows' ears."

Part III, "The Two American Constitutions," includes the texts of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the United States Constitution, and the Constitution of the Confederate States of America. The latter two are arranged in parallel columns to enable comparison. This part seems to this reviewer to be the most valuable portion of the book, and should be of interest to students of American government and of the Civil War. In conclusion Quynn compares the two constitutions.

The volume abounds with quotations, but no footnotes are given, so the reader is not able to read the quoted portions in their original context. The Bibliography is made up principally of secondary sources, although a general reference is made to manuscript and rare book sections of several libraries.

Ina Woestemeyer Van Noppen.
Appalachian State Teachers College.

Ballads and Stories in Verse, Pp. 42; The Quest for Happiness, A Play, Pp. 60; Essays and Addresses, Pp. 52; Jews in America after the Revolution, Pp. 88; and Jews in Colonial and Revolutionary Times, Pp. 242. By Leon Huhner. (New York: Gertz Brothers, 1959.)

Lawyer, historian, and poet, Leon Huhner practiced Surrogate law in New York City for over fifty years. He was born in Berlin, and came to America at the age of four. For many years he was the Curator of the American Jewish Historical Society. He had an abiding interest in American Revolutionary history, particularly as it affected Jews in the colonial states. As a poet, he was honored with the request to write the eulogy when Twain's bust was installed in New York University's Hall of Fame. It is not rude, however, to say that his poetry does not concern us now.

But his histories do, especially *Jews in America after the Revolution* and *Jews in Colonial and Revolutionary Times*.

In the second of these two books Huhner has described with fine detail and much economy the struggle in North

Carolina to abolish the religious test for office which occupied the liberals of their state from 1776 to 1868.

Originally, political equality was adopted in all but two of the 13 colonies. The two holdouts were North Carolina and New Hampshire (in 1876 New Hampshire was the last to abolish this relic of bigotry). The surprise that Huhner holds for us is that this insistence on inequality among the citizenry of North Carolina was directed against Catholics. Political inequality for Jews was only a by-product.

Huhner's prose is clear, his style polished, and no complaint edges into his work. It is history at its best for Huhner also describes how this prohibition was circumvented over the course of 100 years.

Jews in American History is a collection of short biographies. The research Huhner put into writing the biography of David Emmanuel, the first Jew in America to hold the office of Governor—in Georgia, no less, elected in 1801—makes it a minor biographical masterpiece.

Huhner appreciated America and I think this is the salient quality his books reflect. But he was fortunately possessed with the historical instinct for clear, well-researched objectivity. The reservation I have about these two volumes is that they are not indexed.

Harry Golden.

Charlotte.

Religion and American Democracy. By Roy Nichols. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 108. \$2.50.)

Professor Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania has, in these Rockwell Lectures at Rice Institute, attempted to analyze the complex relations between religion and democracy under two principal headings: The Democracy of American Religion and The Religion of American Democracy. This he has done on the unexceptionable premise that the impact upon the colonizing sectaries of a new continent and of contingent practical economic and civic adjustments

not easily assimilable to a theology of a New Israel, thought-out in the old world, was both unexpected and productive of an unprecedented relationship between a society and its religious institutions; and that what he calls the Arminian Revolution (the revolution, namely, to overthrow the double-predestinationism of Calvinism in favor of the view that man, by responsible action, can decisively opt for the benefits of God's grace) profoundly informs the peculiar optimism and moralism of American "theology" and gives to democracy its moral strenuousness (perhaps its self-righteousness) and the sense that matters of more than merely pragmatic importance are at issue in every political contest (e. g., pre-eminently the Civil War).

The argument does suggest why it is that the American experiment has always been viewed by its interpreters—from John Robinson of Leyden to Dwight Eisenhower with Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln in between—as taking place with the special sanction and the kindly support of God. It also hints at why it is that sin, which had been understood, before Calvinism started stiffening at the joints, as a deep inward disrelation with God, from whom, alone (not excluding oneself), no secret is hid, becomes "sins"—which because we can *will* to know what they are, we can will to eliminate by strenuous moral effort.

But valuable though this is, the essay finally simply underlines all the familiar clichés for lack of an adequate appreciation of the difference between the problem of the relation of religion and society when this relation is seen from an explicitly Biblical standpoint and when it is not. Seeing the way in which Israel viewed her own election in contrast with that in which America has always viewed hers would have thrown all of this into a new perspective.

William H. Poteat.

Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest.

Pelts and Palisades: The Story of Fur and the Rivalry for Pelts in Early America. By Nathaniel C. Hale. (Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press. 1959. Pp xi, 219. \$4.75.)

This volume by Nathaniel C. Hale, a West Point graduate and the author of a biography of William Claiborne, analyzes the fur trader's role in the development of the colonial frontier. It is a curiously disproportionate book. The first quarter of it is largely devoted to the background of the story, beginning with "man's first true possession . . . the fur skin of an animal" (p. 1). Considerable space is devoted to the pursuit of fur in the Medieval Period, which Colonel Hale persists, in outmoded fashion, in calling the "Dark Ages." In discussing the Spanish settlements there is apparently a whole-hearted acceptance of the "black legend" of Spanish depredations in the New World. Once in seventeenth-century North America, the author is on firmer ground as he details the activities of the English, French, and Dutch. The contribution of this work is in these ten chapters which form the heart of the book. A final chapter, "Westward the Fur Frontier of America," concludes the narrative with a broad survey of the events from 1663 to 1763.

The author's organization alone would raise questions in the mind of the reader. Individual statements are made which one would like to check, but there are no footnotes. The Bibliography is no more than a simple list, and one with surprising omissions. One would certainly expect to find Verner Crane's *The Southern Frontier*, and many other titles could be added. Certainly this is not a book without faults, and a definitive history of the colonial fur trade remains to be written. One might note that with the exception of the chapters on Virginia, the coverage of the Southern fur frontier is largely neglected. This reviewer is not prepared to accept the statement—the last in the book—that 1763 is the watershed between the era of the fur trader and that of the fur trapper. Nevertheless, this book does have a contribution to make to the literature of Colonial America. It points up, successfully, the vital role of the fur trader in the exploration, settlement,

and development of Colonial America, and that in itself is no minor feat.

Carlos R. Allen, Jr.

Colorado State University.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

General

The Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History met in Raleigh on September 30 with Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman, presiding. The entire membership of the Board was present: Mr. Lewis, Mr. James W. Atkins of Gastonia, Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern, Dr. Fletcher M. Green of Chapel Hill, Mr. Ralph Philip Hanes of Winston-Salem, Mr. Josh L. Horne of Rocky Mount, and Dr. Daniel J. Whitener of Boone, together with Dr. Christopher Crittenden, the Director. All the Division heads were present except Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, who was represented by Mr. Norman C. Larson, Education Curator. Others attending were Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of Publications; Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Records Center Supervisor, and Admiral Alex M. Patterson, Public Records Examiner, all of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts; and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent. New members Hanes and Whitener were welcomed to the Board and following a discussion of the need for a new building for the Department, the group adjourned to the State Capitol where Mr. Hanes was sworn in by Judge R. Hunt Parker. On November 1 the Executive Board met at the high school in Fremont with the following members present: Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman, Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, Dr. Fletcher M. Green, and Dr. D. J. Whitener. Others present were Dr. Crittenden and the heads of the various divisions of the Department: Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mr. Jones, Adm. Patterson, Mrs. Blackwelder, Mrs. Jordan, and Mr. Tarlton. After the meeting those present attended the dedication and opening of the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site.

The first meeting of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission was held in Raleigh on October 28.

Present as guests of the Commission were Mr. Edmund Gass, representing the Civil War Centennial Commission, from Washington, D. C., and Mr. James Geary, representing the Virginia Civil War Centennial Commission, from Richmond, Virginia. Ex officio members present were Dr. Charles F. Carroll, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History; and Mr. Charles J. Parker of the State Advertising Division, representing Mr. William P. Saunders, Director of the Department of Conservation and Development. Members of the Commission present were Col. Hugh Dortch, Chairman, of Goldsboro, Mrs. E. A. Anderson of Charlotte, Mrs. D. S. Coltrane of Raleigh, Mrs. G. W. Cover of Andrews, Mrs. Bettie Sue Gardner of Reidsville, Mr. Robert Garvey of Winston-Salem, Dr. W. S. Jenkins of Chapel Hill, Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson, Mr. Fitzhugh H. Lee of Goldsboro, Mrs. Mary Jane McCrary of Brevard, Judge R. Hunt Parker of Raleigh, Mr. John R. Peacock of High Point, Mr. R. F. Hoke Pollock of Southern Pines, Judge William B. Rodman of Raleigh, Mr. Reid Sarratt of Winston-Salem, Senator James G. Stikeleather of Asheville, Dr. Henry S. Stroupe of Winston-Salem, and Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock. Other persons present were Mr. David Cooper of *The News and Observer* staff and the following members of the staff of the Department of Archives and History: Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mr. H. G. Jones, Mr. Norman C. Larson, Adm. Alex M. Patterson, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton; and Mrs. William A. Mahler of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Dr. Crittenden spoke briefly on how the Commission was established. Mr. Gass brought greetings from the United States Commission, stated that the North Carolina group was one of 37 State commissions preparing for the centennial, and showed a movie which depicts plans already in preparation by the national group and the National Park Service. Some of the projects are mobile museums, new issues of stamps, publications, bills to go to Congress for microfilming projects, movies, and television programs. Mr. Geary brought greetings from the Virginia Centennial Commission and offered co-operation from that body. He dis-

cussed specific projects and plans already being enacted. Other persons present gave their suggestions and full support was pledged by those attending for the organizations and departments which they represented. Col. Dortch named the following to the Executive Committee, of which he will serve as chairman: Dr. Crittenden, Mrs. Anderson, Mrs. Coltrane, Mr. Stikeleather, Dr. Stroupe, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Hector MacLean, Lumberton.

The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission held its first meeting, October 15, in Raleigh. Among those present were Mr. Francis E. Winslow, Chairman, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Belk, Mr. Winston Broadfoot, Dr. H. H. Cunningham, Mr. Lambert Davis, Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, Mr. Paul Green, Mr. Grayson Harding, Mrs. Robert Grady Johnson, Mr. James G. W. MacClamroch, Mr. Ben Dixon MacNeill, Mrs. Harry McMullan, Dr. Paul Murray, Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, and Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr. Ex officio members present were Dr. Charles F. Carroll, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History; and Mr. William P. Saunders, Director of the Department of Conservation and Development. Staff members from the Department of Archives and History present were Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Admiral Alex M. Patterson, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton. Invited guests were Mr. Alonzo T. Dill of West Point, Virginia; Dr. W. Edwin Hemphill of Columbia, South Carolina; Col. Hugh Dortch of Goldsboro; and Miss Jane Hall of Raleigh. The legislative act authorizing the establishment of the Commission was read by Mr. Tarlton. Dr. Crittenden spoke briefly on the plans and decisions which confront the group and suggested that the meeting be an "idea session" with more definite plans to be announced later. Mr. Dill talked on the 1957 series of celebrations held during the 350th anniversary of the settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, presenting outstanding features of the year-long program which united a large number of State, federal, and local organizations into co-operative sponsorship. He mentioned ideas and plans that were proven impracticable as well as those which were successful. Suggestions were made by members of the Commission as well as guests, and Dr.

Crittenden stated that many national historical and allied organizations were being invited to meet in North Carolina in 1963, such as the American Association for State and Local History, the Society of American Archivists, and the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

The Executive Committee of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission met in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History in Raleigh on December 11. Present were Chairman Francis E. Winslow of Rocky Mount, Mrs. Robert Grady Johnson of Burgaw, Dr. H. H. Cunningham of Elon College, Mr. David Stick of Kill Devil Hills, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden. Members not present were Mr. Lambert Davis of Chapel Hill and Mr. Henry Belk of Goldsboro. Also attending the meeting were the Division heads of the Department of Archives and History: Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Mr. H. G. Jones, Mr. W. S. Tarlton; and Mrs. William A. Mahler, Administrative Assistant of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. The Committee discussed the need for a new building to house the Carolina Charter and the millions of other documents which, together with other collections, are in the custody of the Department. Other phases of the program to be conducted by the Commission were discussed including the employment of an Executive Director. A request for an appropriation from the Contingency and Emergency Fund was approved.

Director's Office

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, attended a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Washington, D. C., on September 21. On September 23 he met in Wake Forest with the Calvin Jones Memorial Society which voted to change the name of the group to the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society, Inc. The group also elected a board of trustees and officers. On October 4-5 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting of the Tryon Palace Commission in New Bern. Plans to continue work on the landscaping of the property were discussed by the group. On October 7-9 Dr. Crittenden attended the joint meeting of the American

Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Archivists in Philadelphia. He participated in a panel discussion on the "Conflict of Jurisdiction over Records and Manuscripts." On October 24 Dr. Crittenden spoke at the unveiling of a marker at Woodfields Inn, Flat Rock, commemorating the defense of the Flat Rock community by troops of Company E, Sixty-fourth Regiment, Confederate States of America. He met in New Bern on November 6 with the Commission authorized by the 1959 General Assembly to make plans for the 1960 celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of New Bern. He attended the thirty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Greensboro Historical Museum on November 10 and on November 18 spoke to the Durham-Orange Chapter of the Colonial Dames on "Historic Sites in North Carolina." On December 2 Dr. Crittenden appeared before the Commission on the Reorganization of State Government in Raleigh to state the need of the Department of Archives and History for a new building. Also appearing were Mrs. Elizabeth House Hughey, State Librarian, and Mr. Harry T. Davis, Head of the Museum of Natural History. On December 11 Dr. Crittenden attended the unveiling of a portrait of the late Governor R. Gregg Cherry in the chamber of the House of Representatives in the State Capitol. Mr. John Harden of Greensboro made the address and Governor Luther H. Hodges accepted the portrait for the State. Others appearing on the program were Associate Justice Emery B. Denny, Dr. Howard P. Powell, and the children of Dr. and Mrs. Henry O. Lineberger Jr., who unveiled the portrait. Also present for the ceremony was Mrs. Cherry. On December 14 Dr. Crittenden attended in Wake Forest a joint meeting, which was open to the public, of the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society, Inc., and the Historical Commission of the Baptist State Convention. Mrs. Ernest L. Ives of Southern Pines spoke on "The Importance of Preserving Our Historic Sites." After the program the Historical Commission voted to request the General Board of the Baptist State Convention to match, dollar for dollar, contributions of money, materials, and pledges up to \$10,000. These funds will be used for the restoration of the birthplace of Wake Forest College.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, appeared twice on the program at the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Philadelphia, October 6-10. At a session sponsored by the State Records Committee of the society on October 6, he gave a report on comparative programs and changes in legislation among the various State archival agencies. The material used will be incorporated in the Directory of Archival Agencies which he is editing and will publish for the society. His report revealed that the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History now ranks first in the United States in total budget (\$217,000), size of staff (35), and comprehensiveness of program. Other States, in order of their rank in these three categories, are Illinois, Virginia, Georgia, and Maryland.

On October 9 Mr. Jones served on a panel discussion of municipal archives and records centers. Following the Philadelphia meetings, Mr. Jones visited the following institutions in connection with the Department's newspaper micro-filming program: the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; the Massachusetts Historical Society and Boston Athenaeum, Boston; and the Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass. All four institutions pledged their co-operation in the Department's program.

Mrs. Mary G. Bryan, President of the Society of American Archivists, has appointed Mr. Jones chairman of the Civil War Centennial Committee, a joint committee comprising members of the Society and of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission. The committee will serve as a liaison committee between the two organizations in matters relating to the preservation of historical manuscripts. He was reappointed to the State Records Committee of the Society. On November 13 Mr. Jones met in Atlanta, Georgia, with Mrs. Bryan and Dr. Clement M. Silvestro, Director of the American Association for State and Local History, in connection with the work of the Civil War Committee. He also attended the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, November 12-14.

Mr. Jones addressed a meeting of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society in Wilmington on November 4 on the subject, "What North Carolina is Doing to Preserve Her Historical Records."

Mrs. Julia C. Meconnahey, Archivist II, retired on September 30 after more than thirty-four years of service in the Department. An informal tea was given by the staff in her honor and they presented her a gift. She resides in Cary.

Miss Frances Marian Saunders, Archivist I, joined the Archives Administration Section staff in September as a Search Room attendant. For the first time the Division now has on duty two attendants for public assistance. Mr. Robert N. Doster served as a temporary Clerk II in the newspaper microfilming program during October and November, and Mr. Cecil I. Miller assumed a similar position on December 1. Mrs. Elizabeth C. Moss has been promoted from Archivist I to Archivist II in the State Records Section. Mr. Richard O. Stone joined the County Records staff on October 12 as Archivist I.

The following are reported from the Search Room for the quarters ending June 30 and September 30, respectively: persons registering for research, 810 and 783; persons served by mail, 753 and 620; photostatic copies, 785 and 704; microfilm projection prints, 100 and 60; typed certified copies, 70 and 57; microfilm for public orders (in feet), 45 and 599. During a six-month period ending September 30, a total of 13,107 pages of historical records and manuscripts was laminated. Most of these materials consisted of county records from the Archives. In addition, a staff member laminated outside of office hours several thousand pages of materials for other institutions and individuals. Among the recent significant accessions in the Archives is the J. C. B. Ehringhaus Collection, two file drawers of the personal correspondence of the late governor, given by his son, J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Jr.

The Division's newspaper microfilming program is proceeding with the following priorities given for filming: *The*

Raleigh Register, *The North Carolina Standard*, *The Raleigh Sentinel*, *The Star* (Raleigh), and *The Hillsborough Recorder* (later Durham), to 1870. The filming of the first two titles has been completed except for obtaining and splicing into the master negative unique copies from certain out-of-State institutions. When the master negative for each title is complete announcement will be made through *The North Carolina Historical Review* and other appropriate publications of the availability of positive film copies through the Department. Interested institutions and individuals are requested not to place orders prior to such announcement.

In connection with the microfilming program, the Division is undertaking an inventory of North Carolina newspapers published prior to 1870, and each library in the State has been sent a checklist for its convenience in reporting holdings. It is believed that some of these early papers may be in private hands, and in that event persons possessing such papers can do a service to scholarship by reporting their holdings to the State Archivist.

The County Records Section has completed the microfilming of the Wake County records of permanent value. Microfilm copies of such records will be preserved for security purposes in the Archives and include such records as deed books, will books, marriage records, court minutes, and estate records. Records in need of repair have been laminated, rebound and returned to the county. The records of Chatham County are now being microfilmed. After completion of the Chatham records, counties will be assigned priority according to age.

In addition to the microfilming phase of the county records program, quantities of records transferred by various counties to the Archives have been properly arranged and prepared for reference use. These include records from Burke, Hertford, and Rowan counties. Currently, records from Guilford and Person counties are being worked. A large number of the records received from the counties has also been laminated and rebound.

The County Records Manual, which will contain suggested schedules for the retention and disposal of county records, is at the printer's and is expected to be published within two months. Copies will be furnished free to appropriate county officials. Because of its limited application, copies will not be available for general distribution.

Rear Admiral Alex M. Patterson, Public Records Examiner, has recently assisted Guilford County and the cities of Raleigh and Henderson in the preparation of schedules for the retention and disposal of their records. Admiral Patterson addressed the Fayetteville Rotary Club, November 9, on the county records program of the Department.

In the State Records Section steel shelving has been installed in the remainder of the Records Center, and records formerly housed in steel cabinets are being transferred to corrugated boxes and the cabinets are being sold. The capacity of the Records Center has been approximately doubled by the change-over in filing systems.

During the quarter ending September 30, the Section microfilmed 1,194,081 images on 136 reels of film for seven State agencies. During the same period, 1,036 cubic feet of records were admitted to the Records Center and 1,128 cubic feet were moved out. Records of fourteen agencies were involved. Sixty cubic feet of records were "weeded."

Inventories have been completed recently for the Utilities Commission, the Murdoch School at Butner, the Alcoholic Rehabilitation Program, the Dorothea Dix Hospital at Raleigh, the John Umstead Hospital at Butner, and the Department of Conservation and Development. The records of thirty-six State agencies are now under schedule.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Records Center Supervisor, attended the State Employees Association convention in Asheville, September 10-12, and served as chairman of the Resolutions Committee of Area 7. She attended the meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Philadelphia, October 6-10.

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Moss, Archivist II, spoke to the Raleigh chapter of the National Office Management Association on

December 9, discussing the Department's records management program.

Division of Historic Sites

In September Mr. Helmuth J. Naumer of Santa Fé, New Mexico, assumed his duties as Historic Site Specialist at the Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site, Montgomery County, succeeding Mr. David S. Phelps, who resigned to return to the University of North Carolina for graduate study. Mr. Naumer is a graduate of the University of New Mexico in archeology and has had varied experience in Indian archeology in the Southwest. At Town Creek he will continue archeological excavation of the sixteenth-century Indian village site and will reconstruct Indian structures in the program of restoring the village.

In October Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg of Oxford succeeded Mr. R. Judson Mitchell as Historic Site Specialist at Bentonville Battleground, located in Johnston County. Mr. Bragg is a graduate of Wake Forest College and has done graduate work at the University of North Carolina. He will continue to develop the battlefield project at Bentonville in preparation for public visitation. At the present time he is supervising the restoration of the Harper House, used at the time of battle as a field hospital, first by the Union and later by the Confederate forces. The Harper House is now being used as a temporary museum and visitor center for the project.

In November Mr. Robert O. Conway of Asheville began work as Historic Site Specialist in charge of the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace restoration in Buncombe County. Mr. Conway, who is a graduate of the University of Kentucky, has been a newspaperman and at one time served as publicity director for Old Salem in Winston-Salem. He is taking steps to restore the large brick chimney that still stands at the birthplace site. This will be followed by the reconstruction of a log house of the original type in which Vance was born in 1830. Mr. Conway will supervise the restoration according to plans prepared by Mr. William W. Dodge, Jr., of Asheville, architect for the project. It is expected that the birthplace house will be rebuilt next spring.

The failure of the special bond issue of \$250,000 for Historic Sites to carry in the October 27 referendum is the biggest news item at the moment. The following projects will suffer because of the failure of the issue: visitor center-museums will not be built at the Aycock Birthplace, Old Brunswick Town, Town Creek Indian Mound, Fort Fisher, and the Vance Birthplace; and the Division will be unable to assist local organizations with the restoration of the Marsh House at Bath, the President James K. Polk Birthplace near Charlotte, the Old Stone House near Salisbury, and the Daniel Boone Homestead in Davidson County. Although failure to pass the bond issue was a severe blow, the program of the Division will not be stopped. Funds appropriated by the General Assembly for regular maintenance and operation of seven projects will continue the work, though not at the accelerated rate of progress that is needed.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., and Mr. W. S. Correll, the last representing the Department of Administration, were present in the Burlington office of Mr. George Colclough when bids were opened on December 17 for the construction of a museum-visitor center at Alamance Battleground State Historic Site in Alamance County. This facility is being built as a part of a long-range program for developing the site where Royal Governor William Tryon and the Regulators met in battle on May 16, 1771. Funds were provided equally by the State and by local contributions. Cole and Jones of Raleigh are the architects for the project. Joslin Construction Company of Greensboro submitted the low bid of \$18,333. Other contracts for the plumbing, heating, electrical service, and air conditioning brought the low bids to a total of \$28,425. The one-story brick building will have 2,100 square feet of floor space, divided into a large display room, a lobby-lecture room, an office, a study collection room, a work room, and rest rooms. The building, which will be thirty by seventy feet, is scheduled for completion within the next 150 consecutive days (or approximately five months) following approval by the Department of Administration. Mr. Honeycutt, who is Historic Site Specialist for the Alamance project, said that con-

struction will begin late in January and should be finished in time for summer visitation to the site. An access road and parking lot were completed by the State Highway Department in November.

The Charles B. Aycock Birthplace was opened officially on November 1, the exact one hundredth anniversary of Governor Aycock's birth, in a program that was outstanding for attendance and public interest. The main speaker was Col. William T. Joyner of Raleigh. Other speeches were made by Hon. Edwin Gill, State Treasurer; Dr. Charles F. Carroll, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Mr. Charles B. Aycock, Jr., of Kinston, son of Governor Aycock, who represented the Aycock family; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, representing the Department of Archives and History. Dr. David J. Rose of Goldsboro, State Senator and Chairman of the Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission, was master of ceremonies. Approximately 2,000 people attended the program and toured the buildings afterwards. Music was furnished by the Goldsboro High School band and refreshments were served by the Fremont Garden Club. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., is Specialist at the Aycock Birthplace.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton has been working with the Bennett Place Memorial Commission, of which Mr. R. O. Everett of Durham is chairman, in making plans for restoring the Bennett House, in which the surrender negotiations between Federal General William T. Sherman and Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston took place in April, 1865. The surrender of Johnston's army marked the real end of the Civil War except for minor engagements which took place later. Through the generosity of Mrs. Magruder Dent of Greenwich, Conn., and Southern Pines, most of the funds needed for the work on the Bennett House proper are already available. Dr. Lenox D. Baker, Professor of Orthopedic Surgery at the Duke University School of Medicine, Durham, is chairman of the committee to restore the building. On September 11 Mr. Tarlton attended a meeting of the Durham-Orange Historical Commission in Durham and made a report on the Bennett House project. On September 23 he accompanied Dr. Crittenden to a meeting in Wake Forest of the group

interested in preserving the birthplace of Wake Forest College. He appeared on a panel program at one of the annual meetings of the American Association for State and Local History held in Philadelphia, October 7-9, speaking on North Carolina's historic sites program. He also attended the meetings of the Association of Historic Sites Administrators while in Philadelphia. On October 21 he attended the organizational meeting of the Colonial Bath Commission held in Raleigh, and on October 23 he attended a meeting of friends of Old Salem held at Salem College in Winston-Salem. At the luncheon he assisted Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, in reporting on the special bond issue to be voted on for historic sites. On October 24 he attended the annual meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Mr. Stanley A. South, Historic Site Specialist for Old Brunswick Town State Historic Site, made an illustrated talk on the project and Mr. David S. Phelps spoke on activities at Town Creek Indian Mound. Mr. Tarlton represented the Department at the unveiling of a marker for the Battle of McPhaul's Mill near Red Springs on October 25, and on October 27 he represented the Department at the unveiling of a marker at Raft Swamp, near Red Springs, which commemorates a Revolutionary military encounter. On November 10 he attended the thirty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Greensboro Museum, and on November 22 he presided at the unveiling of a marker to Rev. James Campbell, the first Presbyterian minister to serve, on a permanent assignment, the Scottish Highlander communities in the Cumberland County area. The marker is about 12 miles north of Fayetteville, near Linden.

The Historical Highway Marker Program, begun in 1935, has been largely dormant during recent years but was revived on a temporary basis in the spring of 1959. Since that time more than fifty markers have been erected, bringing the present total of markers on the State's highways to more than 800. A list of recently placed markers is given below. With the completion of current orders, the marker program will become inactive except for replacing markers that may have

become damaged and keeping all those in service in good repair. The State Highway Department takes care of the maintenance, as it has always done.

- (1) A-52 in Hertford County for the home of Dr. Walter Reed, head of the United States Yellow Fever Commission in Cuba, who lived in Murfreesboro as a young man and married Emily Lawrence, the daughter of a local merchant.
- (2) A-53 in Chowan County for the Edenton home of Thomas Child, Attorney-General of the Colony of North Carolina, 1745-1761, and secretary to Lord Granville. The house no longer stands.
- (3) A-54 in Pasquotank County for the home of Judge George W. Brooks, the Federal judge whose writ of *habeas corpus* against arbitrary arrest of North Carolina citizens during Reconstruction was upheld in 1870 by President Grant. The house still stands in Elizabeth City.
- (4) A-55 in Chowan for the Edenton home of Thomas Barker, North Carolina agent to England, and his wife Penelope, reputed leader of the Edenton "Tea Party," 1774.
- (5) B-37 in Dare County for Colington Island which was granted to Sir John Colleton in 1663 and colonized in 1665 by a company under Peter Carteret.
- (6) B-38 in Hyde County for two Confederate forts at Hatteras Inlet, Fort Hatteras and Fort Clark, which fell to Union troops on August 29, 1861, after two days of heavy naval bombardment.
- (7) B-39 in Beaufort County for the siege of Washington when the Confederates failed to recapture the town in March-April, 1863.
- (8) C-34 in Onslow County for the Richlands of New River Chapel, three miles south of Richlands which has been the site of three successive Protestant congregations: Anglican until about 1758; Baptist until 1877; and Disciples of Christ since. The marker was dedicated on December 6.

- (9) C-35 in Carteret County for the Core Sound Meeting, a Quaker center for more than 100 years after 1733. The marker is at the site of the meeting house six miles north of Beaufort.
- (10) C-36 in Beaufort County for Trinity School, an Episcopal boys' school at Chocowinity, founded in 1851 by the Rev. N. C. Hughes and operated off and on until 1908. The school was noted for the number of its students who entered the ministry.
- (11) C-37 in Onslow County for the Lot Ballard House (now destroyed) at which Bishop Francis Asbury stopped on many visits to the New River Chapel between 1799 and 1815.
- (12) C-38 in Onslow County for the Onslow Raid of November 23, 1862, when Jacksonville was attacked by the Federal gunboat "Ellis," commanded by Lieutenant William Cushing. The vessel was abandoned when it was caught under Confederate cross fire on its return downstream, and it ran aground.
- (13) D-60 in New Hanover County for W. B. Berry's Shipyard which constructed a number of Confederate naval vessels including the ironclad "North Carolina" and a submarine.
- (14) D-61 in New Hanover for the grave of John N. Maffitt in Wilmington. Maffitt was the captain of the Confederate cruiser "Florida" and the ironclad "Albemarle" and several blockade runners.
- (15) E-62 in Franklin County for Moses A. Hopkins, U. S. Minister to Liberia, 1885-1886, and founder of Albion Academy in Franklinton.
- (16) E-63 in Warren County for "Bridle Creek," the birthplace of Matt W. and Robert Ransom, brothers, both of whom were Confederate major-generals.
- (17) E-64 in Northampton County for the Confederate breastworks at Boon's Mill, approximately two miles west of Jackson, where on July 28, 1863, a Confederate force under General Matt Ransom repulsed a Union march on the vital Wilmington and Weldon Railroad.

- (18) E-65 in Edgecombe County for the grave of Henry T. Clark, Speaker of the State Senate and Governor of North Carolina, 1861-1862, who helped to organize the State for the Civil War.
- (19) F-33 in Wilson County for Toisnot Baptist Church, founded in 1756. This marks both the early church site and graveyard and the new church site selected in 1803.
- (20) F-34 in Wilson County for the birthplace of General W. D. Pender, Confederate Major-General who was mortally wounded at the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863.
- (21) G-71 in Caswell County for the birthplace of Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior from 1857 to 1861, Confederate secret agent in Canada, and Congressman from Mississippi.
- (22) G-72 in Person County for the birthplace of J. G. A. Williamson, first United States representative to the Republic of Venezuela from 1835 to 1840. The marker was placed in front of Radio Station WRXO, two miles from Roxboro, in a ceremony on September 27.
- (23) G-73 in Granville County for Harris Meeting House, founded by the Methodists prior to 1778 and disbanded in 1828. It was the mother church in the area. A brief program was held at the unveiling near Oxford.
- (24) G-74 in Vance County for the Glass House at Kittrell Springs, formerly a noted winter health resort patronized by northern visitors. The hotel was opened in 1871 and burned in 1893.
- (25) G-75 in Caswell County for the birthplace and family home of Dr. William L. Poteat, president of Wake Forest College from 1905 to 1927 and champion of the freedom of scientific thought. "Forest Home" stands about two miles east of Yanceyville.
- (26) H-66 in Wake County for Central Prison, built between 1869 and 1884 by prison labor in Raleigh. Levi T. Schofield was the architect for the T-shaped, castellated structure and W. J. Hicks was the prison's first superintendent.

- (27) H-67 in Wake County for Oakwood Cemetery in Raleigh where Governors Aycock, Bragg, Fowle, Holden, Swain, and Worth, other notables, and over 100 Confederate soldiers and officers are buried.
- (28) H-69 in Wake County marks the Raleigh home of William Boylan, president of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad; president of the State Bank; and publisher of the Raleigh *Minerva* from 1803 to 1810.
- (29) H-70 in Wake County marks the area near Capitol Square in Raleigh where the Medical Society of North Carolina, successor to an earlier group founded in 1799, was formed in 1849 with Dr. Edmund Strudwick as its first president.
- (30) H-71 in Wake County for the grave of John S. Ravenscroft, first Episcopal bishop of North Carolina from 1823 to 1830, under the chancel of Christ Church in Raleigh.
- (31) I-48 in Scotland County for Temperance Hall near Wagram, the meeting place of the Richmond Temperance and Literary Society from 1860 to the 1890's. The building was sacked by Sherman's army in 1865.
- (32) I-49 in Robeson County for Ashpole Church west of Rowland, a union center of worship for all denominations, and for the present Ashpole Presbyterian Church which withdrew from the original church in 1796 and formed its own organization.
- (33) I-50 in Hoke County for McPhaul's Mill between Red Springs and Raeford, a rendezvous point for local Tories and the site of a battle on September 1, 1781, when a group of Tories under Colonel David Fanning routed a Whig force under Colonel Thomas Wade. A special unveiling service was held on October 25.
- (34) I-51 in Hoke County for the Battle of Raft Swamp at which the Whigs routed the Tories on October 15, 1781, and broke their resistance in the area. The Upper Cape Fear Chapter of the D.A.R. held a special ceremony at the unveiling of the marker near Red Springs on October 27.

- (35) I-52 in Cumberland County for the grave of Rev. James Campbell, one of the early Presbyterian ministers in North Carolina from 1757 to 1780 and the organizer of Bluff, Barbecue, and Longstreet Presbyterian churches. The marker was unveiled in a special ceremony near Linden on November 22.
- (36) K-38 in Montgomery County for the Cheek's Creek home of Flora MacDonald, Scottish heroine, who lived in North Carolina from 1774 until 1779, when her Tory sentiments forced her to leave. The marker was unveiled at a special ceremony attended by members of the Society of County Historians, the Sons of Colonial Wars, and others.
- (37) J-50 in Forsyth County for the new Wake Forest College campus in Winston-Salem. The Baptist co-educational school was opened at Wake Forest in 1834 and moved to its new site in 1956.
- (38) J-51 in Forsyth County for the Nazareth Lutheran Church organized about 1778 by German settlers and formerly called the "Old Dutch Meeting House." The marker was placed at the present church building which is east of Rural Hall.
- (39) J-52 in Forsyth County for the workshop and home of William Cyrus Briggs in Winston-Salem who invented in 1898 one of the first successful automatic cigarette machines.
- (40) L-60 in Rowan County for the Old Stone House of Michael Braun near Granite Quarry. The house, one of the few remaining Pennsylvania German stone houses in the State, was built in 1766.
- (41) L-61 in Rowan County near Salisbury for the home of Francis Locke, colonel of the Whig force which routed the Tories at the Battle of Ramsour's Mill on June 20, 1780.
- (42) L-62 in Rowan County at Thyatira Church near Salisbury for the grave of Brigadier-General Matthew Locke, Revolutionary leader, member of the North Carolina Provincial Congress, and U. S. Congressman from 1793 to 1799.

- (43) L-63 in Rowan County at Salisbury for the home of Maxwell Chambers, a good example of the larger homes built about 1820, and now used as the Rowan Museum.
- (44) M-32 in Alexander County near Hiddenite for the grave of Brantley York, noted educator and minister, professor at Rutherford College, and founder of York Collegiate Institute and other academies.
- (45) M-33 in Davie County at Mocksville for the birthplace of Hinton Rowan Helper, author of *The Impending Crisis*, a bitterly controversial book which denounced slavery, and U. S. Consul at Buenos Aires from 1861 to 1866.
- (46) O-25 in Polk County at Columbus for the birthplace of "Old Bill" Williams, well-known guide and trapper who helped survey the Santa Fé Trail and guided the ill-fated Fremont Expedition of 1848.
- (47) O-53 in Catawba for Claremont College in Hickory which was founded in 1880 by the Evangelical and Reformed Church as a school for women and closed in 1916.
- (48) P-49 in Buncombe County near Asheville for the birthplace of Joseph Lane, Territorial Governor of Oregon, 1848-1850; Vice-Presidential candidate in the election of 1860; U. S. Senator; and Major-General in the Mexican War. The marker was unveiled in a special ceremony on October 31, co-sponsored by the two Asheville chapters of the U.D.C.
- (49) and (50) P-50 and P-51 in Haywood County for two parts of the "Cataloochee Trail," an old Indian path across the mountains used by early settlers and followed by Bishop Francis Asbury in 1810. P-50 was erected at Cove Creek Post Office and P-51 at the western entrance to the Junaluska Assembly.
- (51) P-52 in Henderson County at Flat Rock for "Solitude," the summer home of George A. Trenholm, Confederate Secretary of the Treasury from 1864 to 1865, South Carolina legislator, cotton broker, and financier.

- (52) P-53 in Buncombe County at Asheville for Sulphur Springs, a nineteenth-century health and social resort patronized by low-country planters.
- (53) Q-46 in Jackson County near Whittier for the home of William H. Thomas, white chief and agent of the North Carolina Cherokee who secured their reservation for them. He was also a Confederate colonel and a State senator.

Division of Museums

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, attended the meetings of the Southeastern Museums Conference in Memphis, Tennessee, October 13-17. She was accompanied by Mrs. Barbara M. Shultz and Mr. Norman C. Larson, members of the staff of the Hall of History. On November 10 she and several members of the staff attended the thirty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Greensboro Historical Museum. On December 1 Mrs. Jordan talked to the Round Table Book Club in Raleigh on Tryon Palace and showed color slides of the Palace and Garden. She spoke to the women of the First Presbyterian Church in Raleigh on December 15 on the traditions on Old Christmas.

Division of Publications

The Division of Publications has ready for distribution two new pamphlets—*Indians in North Carolina* and *North Carolina in the Mexican War, 1846-1848*. The 77-page pamphlet on Indians was written by Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist at Old Brunswick Town State Historic Site, and deals with North Carolina tribes, their customs, and briefly states what happened to them. There are seventeen illustrations and photographs in the book. Dr. William S. Hoffmann, Professor of History at Appalachian State Teachers College, wrote the pamphlet on the Mexican War. This 54-page booklet has 21 illustrations. Both of these pamphlets were prepared to supply a need for supplementary reading for North Carolina school children and are part of a program designed by the Division to aid in the teaching of North Carolina history. Mr. John D. Ellington, Museums Curator of the Hall of His-

tory, designed and drew the covers for both of the booklets. They may be obtained by mailing \$.25 (each) to Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications, Box 1881, Raleigh.

Volume II of *The John Gray Blount Papers, 1790-1795*, edited by Dr. Alice Barnwell Keith, is available for \$3.00 upon application to Mr. Corbitt at the above address. The 687-page book, second in a projected series of three, continues the correspondence of John Gray, Thomas, and William Blount, important figures in North Carolina in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Also available upon application to Mr. Corbitt for \$3.00 is Volume II of *The Papers of William Alexander Graham, 1838-1844*, edited by Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. This second of a proposed series of seven volumes has 570 pages and continues letters to and from Graham. Graham served successively as Governor of North Carolina, United States Senator, and was Secretary of the Navy under President Millard Fillmore.

Mrs. Martha B. Waters of Cary joined the staff of the Division on December 1 as Stenographer II. She is a native of Roanoke Rapids and attended East Carolina College. Miss Betsy Anne Johnson of Fuquay Springs started work with the Division on January 1 as an Editorial Assistant I. She is a graduate of Elon College and formerly worked for Hospital Saving Association in Chapel Hill.

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* met on October 29 in Raleigh. Present for the meeting were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Editor; Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Managing Editor; Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College; Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, Kenan Professor of History, University of North Carolina; Dr. Robert H. Woody, Professor of History, Duke University; Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, Associate Professor of History, Meredith College; and Mr. Glenn Tucker, retired newspaperman and author of Flat Rock. Dr. Woody, Dr. Lemmon, and Mr. Tucker are new appointees to the Board. All members will serve for a term of two years.

Mr. Corbitt attended the meetings of the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 12-14.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Elisha P. Douglass of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina spoke at the annual meeting of the Central Carolina Colony of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in Pinehurst on November 21. His subject was "Origins and Trends in American Free Enterprise." He published "Fisher Ames, Spokesman of New England Federalism," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CIII (October, 1959). The Department of History and the Graduate History Club co-sponsored two lectures during the Fall Semester: (1) Professor Edward R. R. Green of the University of Manchester, England, spoke on "Ireland and the United States during the Nineteenth Century" on September 23, and (2) Professor George Curry of the University of South Carolina spoke on "Wilson, Smuts, and the Versailles Settlement" on November 9. Dr. James L. Godfrey gave a lecture at the Naval War College, Newport, R. I., on October 19, on the subject, "Present Day British Affairs." Three members of the History Department read papers at the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta, Georgia, November 12-14: Mr. Otto H. Olsen, "Albion W. Tourgee: A Controversial Carpetbagger"; Dr. Carl H. Pegg, "The Growth of an Idea: Austria, Germany, and France, 1923-1945"; and Dr. George V. Taylor, "Problems and Possibilities of Library Resources for Training Ph.D.'s in Modern European History in the South." Dr. Loren C. MacKinney gave a lecture at Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee, on October 15, on "Pre-Modern Medical Practices as Revealed in Manuscript Miniatures and Texts."

The History Department of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina reports a number of staff changes and professional activities. Dr. Richard N. Current, Chairman, returned to the College at the opening of the Fall Semester after lecturing some months in India. He served as a lecturer in American History under the auspices of the State Department, and taught for one term as a Fulbright Lecturer in Germany at the University of Munich. Dr.

Eugene E. Pfaff served as commentator at a session on "European Union," at a meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta, Georgia, November 12-14. Dr. Current addressed the North Carolina Civil War Round Table in Greensboro on November 13, and on November 19-21 he served as one of the principal speakers at the Gettysburg Civil War Conference at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Miss Betty Clutts, formerly of Indiana University, who is a Ph.D. candidate at the Ohio State University, joined the faculty of the History Department in September. Recent promotions in the Department include Dr. John H. Beeler and Dr. Franklin D. Parker to the rank of Associate Professor, and Dr. Barbara Brandon to the rank of Assistant Professor. Dr. Jordan E. Kurland, Assistant Professor, is at the University of Moscow for the academic year, 1959-1960, as an exchange scholar in the program jointly sponsored by the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union. The annual Harriet Elliot Social Science Forum, devoted this year to the theme "Erupting Nationalism—Threat to the West?" was held at the Woman's College on November 11-12. Chairman of the forum committee was Professor Vera Largent. Other members of the History Department who directed the forum this year were Dr. Brandon and Dr. Lenoir C. Wright. Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson and Dr. Richard Bardolph have in recent months addressed civic and study clubs on aspects of American and North Carolina social and cultural history. Dr. Bardolph is on part-time loan to the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, to enable him to serve as chairman of the Regional Selection Committee, which is responsible for choosing more than 100 Wilson Fellows from five southeastern States and the District of Columbia. Recent publications by faculty members include a new two-volume American history (published by Knopf), written by Dr. Current in collaboration with Dr. Frank Freidel of Harvard and Dr. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State. Another of Dr. Current's most recent books in his edition of the memoirs of Gen. J. B. Hood, *J. B. Hood: Advance and Retreat*, published by the Indiana University Press. Dr. Richard Bardolph's book, *The Negro Vanguard*, which was prepared

under a grant from the Guggenheim Foundation, was published by Rinehart and Company, November 23. Recent grantees of the Woman's College Research Council have included Dr. Bardolph, Dr. Brandon, Dr. Current, Dr. Kurland, Dr. Parker, Dr. Robinson, and Dr. Wright.

Dr. Frances Acomb and Dr. Robert F. Durden of the Department of History at Duke University are using their sabbatical leaves, beginning in September, to continue their research respectively of the Swiss commentator, Mallet Du Pan, and United States Senator from North Carolina, Marion Butler. In July Dr. Theodore Ropp was promoted to the rank of Professor and Dr. Frederick Holliday, Dr. Alfred Tischendorf, and Dr. Charles Young were promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor. Dr. Donald Gillin, who received his Ph.D. from Stanford University in June, was appointed Instructor. He will teach in the field of Far Eastern history. Dr. Ropp's book, *War in the Modern World: A History of Land, Sea, and Air Warfare since the Renaissance*, was published by the Duke University Press on December 31.

Dr. Norris W. Preyer, Head of the Department of History at Queen's College, had an article, "Southern Support of the Tariff of 1816—A Reappraisal," published in *The Journal of Southern History*, XXV (August, 1959). Miss Audry Adams, who received her master's degree from the University of British Columbia, joined the Department in September as an Instructor in history.

Dr. Burton F. Beers, Assistant Professor of History and Political Science at North Carolina State College, has been awarded a fellowship in East Asian studies at Harvard University for the current academic year.

The following are new members of the Social Studies Department at Appalachian State Teachers College: Dr. Edwin H. Gibson, III, who previously taught English and European history at Brenau College; Dr. Byron White, who last taught at the University of Oriente, Cuba; and Mr. Imre Sutton, a doctoral candidate at Ohio State University, who will serve as Instructor in geography.

An annual magazine, *Faculty Publications*, at Appalachian has the following articles by members of the history faculty: "Andy Jackson Didn't Send Troops" (December, 1957), and "Sequel to the Peggy Eaton Story: The Revenge of John Branch" (December, 1958), by Dr. William S. Hoffmann; and "Education for the People" (December, 1958), by Dr. D. J. Whitener. Dr. Whitener's article was originally presented as the presidential address at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh, December 5, 1958, and published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVI (April, 1959).

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, head of the Department of History at Meredith College, presented a *Festschrift*, with Dr. William C. Askew as collaborating editor, before the Trinity College Historical Society at Duke University on October 5. The discussion was on their recent book, *Power, Public Opinion, and Diplomacy*. Dr. Wallace spoke before the North Carolina College Conference on November 6 in Durham on behalf of the North Carolina Curriculum Study, representing the area of history and the social sciences. A panel of college and university teachers presented the curricular needs of the five basic area of study in the high school. Dr. Wallace, Dr. Alice B. Keith, and Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon attended the meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta, Georgia, November 12-14. Dr. Wallace spoke informally at the Duke breakfast on some problems of editing. Dr. Keith took a group of twelve students from her class in Colonial History to Williamsburg, Virginia, for the weekend of November 21-22.

The thirteen Meredith juniors and seniors who are taking the internship course sponsored by the State Department of Archives and History and the Department of History at Meredith College visited the Southern Historical Collection in Chapel Hill, and the Manuscripts Collection of the Duke University Library, Durham, on November 17. Dr. Carolyn Wallace, senior curator of the Southern Collection, and Miss Mattie Russell, Director of the Duke Manuscripts Division, lectured to the group. Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mr. H. G. Jones,

and Dr. Wallace accompanied the students. The girls who are interning in the Division of Publications under Mr. Corbitt are Misses Carolyn Barrington, Jane Manning, and Betty Stafford. In the group studying under Mr. Jones, State Archivist, are Misses Betsy Rand Barden, Julia Ann Hardee, Anna Fay Jackson, Frances Gayle Kelly, Betsy Ann Moore, Elizabeth Ann Peters, Susan Amanda Self, and Hilda Anne Strayhorn; and Mrs. Margaret Morgan Bass and Mrs. Mary Gee MacQueen.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GROUPS

The annual business meeting of the Roanoke Island Historical Association was held on December 1, at which time Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby was elected Chairman, succeeding Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville. Mr. Paul Green of Chapel Hill, author of "The Lost Colony," which is produced by the Association, launched a movement to bring closer co-operation between the University of North Carolina and "The Lost Colony." The Board of Directors agreed to investigate this possibility. This link, it is hoped, would allow some foundation support for the outdoor drama. Other new officers elected are: Mrs. J. Emmett Winslow of Hertford and Nags Head, Vice-Chairman; Mr. Lawrence S. Swain of Manteo, Secretary; and Mr. C. S. Meekins of Manteo, Treasurer. Members elected to the Board were Dr. William B. Aycock, Chapel Hill; Mr. C. Alden Baker, Elizabeth City; Mr. J. Melville Broughton, Jr., Raleigh; Mr. Archie Burrus, Nags Head; Mr. Sam N. Clark, Tarboro; Mr. M. L. Daniels, Jr., Manteo; Mr. M. K. Fearing, Manteo; Mr. Albert M. Gard, New York and Manteo; Mr. John Harden, Greensboro; Mrs. Roy Homewood, Chapel Hill; Mr. George M. Ivey, Charlotte; Mr. Victor Meekins, Manteo; Mr. Hugh M. Morton, Wilmington; Mr. John Parker, Chapel Hill; Mrs. W. B. Rosevear, Edenton; and the Rev. Thomas H. Wright, Wilmington. Mrs. Inglis Fletcher of Edenton, Mrs. Fred Morrison of Washington, D. C., and Mr. Miles Clark of Elizabeth City were elected honorary members. Mr. R. Bruce Etheridge of Manteo and Mr. Melvin R. Daniels of Wanchese were elected honorary vice-chairmen. Mr. Richard Jordan,

Manager of "The Lost Colony" since 1953, resigned effective January 1, 1960. Mr. Clifton Britton of Goldsboro was re-elected director of the drama for his fifth season. Mr. Jordan reported that at the end of the year the deficit for the production was approximately \$11,000. A proposed budget of \$80,000 was approved for the 1960 season. Mr. David Stick, outgoing board member, proposed economy measures and a budget of approximately \$70,000. He also suggested the restoration and reconstruction of an Indian village in the vicinity of the Waterside Theater as an additional attraction. He suggested that Robeson County Indians live in the village during the summer.

The North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs held its annual meeting on December 1 in Raleigh with Mrs. C. B. Jefferson, President, presiding. At the afternoon session Dr. Arnold E. Hoffmann, State Supervisor of Music in the Public Schools, spoke on "Consumer Music—A Need for Every School and College Student," after which a harp duo was presented by Miss Jean Morehead and Mrs. Emily Richardson Kellam, both of Raleigh. The first performance of the newly-formed North Carolina Civic Ballet Company was also given at the afternoon session. Mr. John Lehman served as choreographer and Mrs. Natalie Bragassa created the costumes. The program included "The Moldau," "The Dying Swan," and divertissements from "The Nutcracker Suite." Dancers were Mr. Lehman, Betty Holding, Ann Bragassa, Barbara Bounds, Frances Barbour, Bobbi Bounds, Betty Fowler, Jean Richards, Betty Kovach, R. Nelson Lambe, Bebe Blades, Polly Watkins, and Glynn Sprinkle. Miss Joan Neighbors, a Meredith College graduate teaching music in Smithfield, won an award for her composition, "Three Songs for Baritone," sung by Dr. James H. Edwards of Raleigh. John Clement Ruggero, 13-year-old ninth-grader at Leroy Martin Junior High School in Raleigh, received an award for his piano composition, "Suite in Six Movements," which he played. These awards were presented at the dinner meeting by Mrs. Jefferson. Principal speaker at the evening was Mrs. Luther H. Hodges, the State's First Lady. Mrs. Hodges accepted for Governor Hodges a citation on behalf of the

National Federation of Music Clubs presented by Mrs. Maurice Honigman. Governor Hodges was commended by the Federation for being the first State executive in the Union to proclaim February as "American Music Month." Miss Catherine Latta of New Bern sang a new song, "North Carolina is Home to Me," by Mrs. Marian W. Erdman, also of New Bern. Dr. Harry E. Cooper of Meredith College wrote the composition "Blessing," which was sung by Mr. Charles Horton of Campbell College as the invocation. Following the night session there was a presentation at the Memorial Auditorium of Handel's "Messiah," conducted by Mr. Earl Slocum of Chapel Hill with Mr. Raymond Kreiner of Raleigh serving as associate conductor. An orchestra composed of musicians from Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill accompanied the 400-voice chorus.

The thirty-third annual meeting of the North Carolina State Art Society was held on December 2 with Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville, President, presiding. At the business meeting new directors elected were Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby, Mr. Watts Hill, Jr., of Durham, and Mrs. George W. Paschal of Raleigh. Dr. Humber was re-elected President and Mr. Edwin Gill, State Treasurer, was re-elected Vice-President. At the annual luncheon meeting the principal speaker was Mr. Michael von Moschzisher of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, whose topic was "Functionalism Revisited." Dr. Humber, who presided at the dinner meeting, announced that the Samuel H. Kress Foundation gift of \$2,500,000 worth of art works will be ready for delivery in 1960. Other gifts included works valued at \$200,000 placed on permanent loan, with hope for future acquisition, and cash of approximately \$11,000. The following five winners were announced in the annual North Carolina Artists' Competition and will share the \$1,000 award given annually by the State Art Society: Mrs. Rachel Chester Roth, Durham, for "The City"; Mr. Duncan Stuart, North Carolina State College School of Design, for "Concentric One"; Mr. Robert Partin, Woman's College, Greensboro, for "Looming"; Mr. Robert Broderson, Duke University, for "Fish Sink"; and Mr.

James Bumgardner, Richmond, Virginia, formerly of Winston-Salem, for "Owling Table." With the exception of Mrs. Roth, all of the above are previous winners. Mr. Bailey Dwiggins, a student at Richmond Professional Institute, received the scholarship award given by the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs. His painting was entitled "Blue Table." The jury was composed of Mr. Theodore Stamos, New York painter; Mr. Willis Woods, Director of the Norton Gallery in West Palm Beach, Florida; and Mr. Ad Reinhardt, New York painter. Mr. A. Hyatt Mayor, Curator of Prints, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, talked at the evening meeting on "Renaissance and Baroque Gardens," after which a reception and preview of the North Carolina Artists' Competition exhibition was held in the Museum of Art.

The nineteenth annual session of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities opened with a director's meeting on December 3. Mr. James A. Stenhouse of Charlotte presided at the morning meeting. The following officers were re-elected: Mrs. Ernest L. Ives of Southern Pines, President; Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington, Vice-President; Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, Honorary President. Mr. Fielding Lewis Fry of Greensboro reported on the Caldwell Log College site project; Mr. Morley J. Williams, landscape architect for Tryon Palace, reported on the work on the Palace Garden; Dr. Lenox D. Baker of Durham reported on the progress of the restoration of the Bennett Place; Mr. Ernest Harding of Salisbury gave a report on the Old Stone House (the Michael Braun House); Mr. Alton Gibson of Laurinburg told of the restoration of Temperance Hall near Wagram; and Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., of Fayetteville gave a "Minute Man" committee report on projects needing preservation or restoration. Mrs. Ives presided at the luncheon meeting at which the speakers were Mrs. Pratt Thomas of Columbus, Mississippi, President of the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation, on "Stratford Hall"; and Mrs. George M. Morris, owner and occupant of "The Lindens," which she

discovered in Danvers, Massachusetts, and moved to Washington, D. C. The evening meeting was highlighted by the presentation of the Cannon Cup Awards made by Governor Luther H. Hodges to Mr. and Mrs. Edward B. Benjamin of Greensboro, for their gift of the Caldwell Log College site; Mr. Fielding Lewis Fry, for his work as chairman of the committee to establish the site of the Caldwell Log College; Dr. E. Lawrence Lee of The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, for his research to locate the site of the above college; Mr. Frank L. Horton of Winston-Salem, for collecting furnishings for the restored houses at Old Salem; and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Superintendent of the Historic Sites Division of the State Department of Archives and History, for his interest in saving and restoring treasures of the past. Mr. Harding made a talk on "Historic Bath," and several persons participated in the reading of a play, "A Gift for Penelope," written by Miss Lucy Cobb of Raleigh. A reception for members and guests followed.

The fifty-ninth annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association was held on December 4 with Vice-President Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock presiding at the morning session. Following the business meeting Dr. David J. Rose of Goldsboro presided at a special program commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Governor Charles B. Aycock. Mr. Henry Belk, Editor of *The Goldsboro News-Argus*, and Dr. R. B. House of Chapel Hill made brief talks on Aycock, who is known as "The Educational Governor." A review of North Carolina fiction for 1958-1959 was given by Dr. Daniel W. Patterson of Chapel Hill. Dr. Stuart Noblin of North Carolina State College presented the R. D. W. Connor Award to Dr. Frenise A. Logan of the Agricultural and Technical College, Durham, for his article, "The Economic Status of the Town Negro in Post-Reconstruction North Carolina." This award is made annually by the Historical Society of North Carolina for an article published in *The North Carolina Historical Review* in the field of North Carolina history or biography. Mr. McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro, Chairman of the Executive Board of

the Department of Archives and History, presented the American Association for State and Local History Awards to Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro and Dr. Christopher Crittenden of Raleigh, for their work in the restoration of Tryon Palace. Members of the Association unanimously adopted a motion calling for the erection of an adequate memorial to Sir Walter Raleigh. Officers elected at the business session were Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, Kenan Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, President; Mr. J. R. Covington of Charlotte, Mr. Holley Mack Bell of Greensboro, and Mrs. W. Gettys Guille of Salisbury, Vice-Presidents; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Secretary-Treasurer. Mrs. Quentin Gregory of Halifax and Mrs. John W. Mose of Durham were elected to the Executive Committee. Mrs. E. R. MacKethan, Vice-President, of Fayetteville presided at the luncheon meeting at which time Mr. John Paul Lucas of Charlotte gave a review of North Carolina non-fiction for 1958-1959. Mr. Ovid Pierce of Greenville presented the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award to Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan of Asheville for her volume, *The Spotted Hawk*. Mrs. Richard Prokof of Greensboro presented the AAUW Juvenile Literature Award to Mrs. Corydon Bell of Sapphire for her book, *Captain Ghost*.

Honorary life membership certificates were presented (some *in absentia*) by Mrs. R. O. Everett of Durham to Dr. Alice Baldwin of Duke University, Durham; Miss Clara Booth Byrd, Greensboro; Dr. Carlyle Campbell, President of Meredith College, Raleigh; Mr. W. T. Couch of New York City; Mr. Jonathan Daniels, Editor of *The News and Observer*, Raleigh; Dr. Frank P. Graham of the United Nations, New York; Mr. Paul Green, Chapel Hill; Dr. William T. LaPrade, Duke University, Durham; Dr. J. Fred Rippy, Durham; Mr. Phillips Russell, Chapel Hill; and Miss Gertrude Weil, Goldsboro. Vice-President John Fries Blair of Winston-Salem presided at the dinner session at which time Mr. Richard Walser made the presidential address on "Culture in North Carolina Today." President Walser presided at the evening session at which time Dr. John A. Krout, Vice-President of Columbia University, made an address on Aycock and education. A highlight of the meeting was the unveiling by Mrs.

Hodges of the official portrait of Governor Luther H. Hodges and the introduction of the artist, Mr. Albert K. Murray of New York City. Following the unveiling Governor Hodges presented the Corporate Citizenship Award to the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company for the greatest contribution to cultural activities made by a corporation in the State during the past year. The award was accepted by Mr. John C. Whitaker, Honorary Chairman of the Board. The Allstate Insurance Company, represented by Mr. Morgan Bissette of Charlotte, won an honorable mention in the Corporate Citizenship competition. Mrs. Preston B. Wilkes, Jr., Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina, presented the Mayflower Cup Award to Mr. Burke Davis of Guilford College for his book, *To Appomattox*. This award is presented annually by the Society for non-fiction. Miss Clara Booth Byrd of Greensboro, President of the Historical Book Club of North Carolina, presented the Sir Walter Raleigh Award to Mr. Ernest Frankel of Hendersonville for his book, *Band of Brothers*, selected as the best volume of fiction of the year.

The forty-eighth annual session of the North Carolina Folklore Society was held on December 4 with the President, Mr. Donald MacDonald of Charlotte, presiding. Persons appearing on the program were Mrs. Lucille Turner of Forest, Virginia, who sang ballads, spirituals, and folksongs which she had collected from the back-country all over the United States; Mr. Wilton Mason of Chapel Hill, who read a paper, "Ballads in Transit"; and Mr. Douglas Franklin of Concord, who sang North Carolina folksongs. Officers elected for the coming year are Mr. Norman C. Larson of Raleigh, President; Mr. Richard Chase of Beech Creek, First Vice-President; Miss Joan Moser of Swannanoa, Second Vice-President; and Dr. A. P. Hudson of Chapel Hill, Secretary-Treasurer.

The annual meeting of the North Carolina Poetry Society was held on December 4 with Miss Christine Sloan of Gastonia presiding. Mr. Thad Stem, Jr., of Oxford spoke on "The Poet's Mission," and Mr. James W. Atkins of Gastonia talked on "Recollections of John Charles McNeill."

The Historical Book Club of North Carolina held a breakfast meeting on December 5 for members and guests. Mr. Ernest Frankel of Hendersonville, 1959 winner of the Sir Walter Raleigh Award, was a special guest. The Central Carolina Colony of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina held its annual breakfast meeting on December 5 in honor of the officers of the State Society and the winner of the Mayflower Cup, Mr. Burke Davis of Guilford College.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians held its annual meeting on December 5 with Mrs. Taft Bass of Clinton, President, presiding. An address by Mr. Addison Hewlett, Jr., Speaker of the House in the 1959 General Assembly, and the presentation of awards highlighted the meeting. Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of the Woman's College, Greensboro, won the Willie Parker Peace Award for his biography, *William R. Davie*. Mr. Winston Broadfoot, Director of the George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University Library, presented the cup which is given every two years for the best county or local history, or North Carolina biography published during that interim. Mr. Malcolm Fowler of Lillington won the Smithwick Award, presented annually for the best historical article appearing in a newspaper or magazine. Awards of merit for the runners-up in the Smithwick Award competition went to Mr. Charles Craven of *The News and Observer*, Raleigh, and Miss Louise Lamica of Wilmington. Mr. Jonathan Daniels made the awards and reviewed the articles briefly, as follows: Mr. Fowler's, "The Wandering Scots," which appeared in *The State*; Mr. Craven's, "The Fall of Fort Fisher," which appeared in *The News and Observer*; and Miss Lamica's, "Oakdale: History Sleeps Here," which appeared in *The Wilmington Morning Star*. Mr. William S. Powell, Director of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, spoke briefly on the origin of the collection, some of its contents, and the ways the collection might be used. Officers elected for the coming year are Mr. Hugh B. Johnston, Jr., of Wilson, President; Col. Jeffrey Stanback of Mt. Gilead, Mr. Crawford B. MacKethan of Fayetteville, and Mr. John R.

Peacock of High Point, all Vice-Presidents. Mr. Johnston appointed Mrs. Ida B. Kellam of Wilmington as Secretary-Treasurer. Mrs. Bass, retiring President, appointed a committee to prepare a resolution to present to the next General Assembly urging more emphasis on the teaching of local history in the North Carolina schools. Members of the committee are Mrs. Raymond Carr of Edenton, Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of Greensboro, Mr. Phillips Russell of Chapel Hill, and Dr. D. J. Whitener of Boone.

On the afternoon of December 3, Governor and Mrs. Luther H. Hodges received at the Governor's Mansion for members of the various societies and their guests.

The Historical Society of North Carolina met on November 6 in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History in the Education Building, Raleigh, with Mr. D. L. Corbitt, President, presiding. Research papers presented at the afternoon session were by Dr. John A. Alden, Head of the Department of History at Duke University, on "The South Ratifies the Constitution," and by Dr. Richard N. Current, Head of the Department of History at the Woman's College, on "In Relation to Carpetbaggers." Mr. Corbitt gave the annual presidential address at the evening session on "Thomas Jordan Jarvis and Some of His Services to the State." New officers elected for the coming year are Dr. Alice B. Keith of Meredith College, President; Dr. Stuart Noblin of North Carolina State College, Vice-President; Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs of Greensboro College, Secretary; and Dr. Alden, new council member. Other members of the council in addition to the above named officers are Mr. William S. Powell, Head of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library; Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, Head of the Department of History of Wake Forest College; and Mr. Richard Walser of the English Department of North Carolina State College. Dr. James S. Purcell of Davidson College was elected to membership in the society.

Dr. Frank P. Albright, Director of Museums at Old Salem, Winston-Salem, discussed the importance of preserving and

restoring historic landmarks in an address to the Rockingham County Historical Society which met in Wentworth on September 25. Dr. Albright used slides showing buildings before and after restoration at the Moravian colony restoration. He also discussed the holdings in the Moravian Archives and some of the historical traditions of the Moravian Church. Mr. Lawrence Watt of Reidsville introduced the speaker and Mr. J. O. Thomas, President, presided at the meeting. Miss Lettie Crouch of Mayodan, membership chairman, announced that eight new members had been secured bringing the total to more than 100.

Mrs. J. M. Ballard of Claremont was elected President of the Catawba County Historical Association at its October 13 meeting. Other officers elected were Mr. Coyte Wither-
spoon of Newton, First Vice-President; Mr. D. L. Miller of Hickory, Second Vice-President; Miss Beulah Frazier of Newton, Secretary; Mrs. F. G. Snyder of Newton, Treasurer; Miss Janie Wilson of Newton, Historian; and Dr. J. E. Hodges of Maiden, Mr. Miller, Mr. Thad Gabriel of Terrell, and Mr. W. T. Hoyle, Mr. James Crouch, Mr. E. B. Clapp, and Judge Wilson Warlick, all of Newton, trustees.

A handbook, *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc.*, has been received by the Department. In addition to a complete roster of the members and officers, there is a section devoted to the emblem of the society, the message of the President, Mr. Henry Jay MacMillan, the certificate of incorporation, bylaws, and a listing of State and national historical organization officials.

Mrs. Corbin Dozier presented a description of colonial Hertford, using maps and documents, at the October meeting of the Perquimans County Historical Society. The establishment and early history of the town which is celebrating its bicentennial this year were discussed. Mr. Leroy Wood of Durants Neck showed the group a collection of objects found in the vicinity of the Perquimans River and the Albemarle Sound. He stated that one piece of pottery had been identified as of Indian origin, approximately 500-600 years old, by a

Smithsonian Institution expert. Mr. Steven Perry of Durants Neck, President, presided at the meeting.

A booklet, *Town of Hertford Bi-Centennial, 1758-1958, and Historic Data of Perquimans County, North Carolina*, has been issued with Mr. W. G. Newby, Sr., as author. The history of the town and county are discussed with a chapter on famous sons of Perquimans County. A listing of houses 100 years old or older in Hertford; a section each on the schools, transportation, fishing, agriculture, and some of the "firsts" in the history of Hertford and Perquimans County complete the booklet. Forty-four photographs are used to illustrate the past and the present.

The fall meeting of the Bertie County Historical Association was held at Merry Hill on October 15 with Dr. W. P. Jacocks, President, presiding. Mrs. George W. Capehart of Merry Hill gave a paper on seine fishing in the Chowan River and color slides of the area were shown. Highlight of the meeting was the awarding of prizes in the annual essay writing contest in the junior and senior divisions. Miss Muriel Prior, a senior at Windsor High School, was winner in the senior classification, and Miss Beth Owens, an eighth-grader at Merry Hill Elementary School, was winner in the junior division. All entries in the essay contest are kept in the files of the Association for use in compiling a county history. Mr. John E. Tyler of Roxobel, Historian for Bertie, has been asked to compile the history.

The 1959 Thomas Wolfe Memorial Trophy was awarded to Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan for her recent work, *The Spotted Hawk*, at the October 24 meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association in Flat Rock. Principal speaker at the meeting was Gen. John E. Sloan (Ret.) of Weaverville, a nephew of Major Benjamin Sloan, who was General Joseph E. Johnston's Chief of Ordnance. At the same time a marker was unveiled commemorating the Sixty-Fourth North Carolina Regiment, C.S.A., commanded by Capt. B. T. Morris, which was stationed at Woodfield in 1864. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and His-

tory, spoke briefly. Grandchildren of Capt. Morris unveiled the marker.

Mr. John S. MacCormack of Atlantic presented a description and display of Indian artifacts to the members of the Carteret County Historical Society in Beaufort on October 24. All of the specimens displayed, including some from early white settlers, have been examined, titled, and dated by the Smithsonian Institution's Department of Ethnology. The location of Atlantic, Mr. MacCormack's home, is on a portion of the Indian Hunting Quarter, at one time chief source of game and furs in eastern North Carolina. Mr. G. M. Paul, chairman of a committee formed to celebrate a historical event in Beaufort in 1960, outlined the project and asked the co-operation of the society. A committee was appointed to assist Mr. Paul composed of Mr. MacCormack, Mrs. Nat Smith, Mrs. Luther Hamilton, Sr., and Mr. A. D. Ennett. Officers re-elected for the coming year are Mr. F. C. Salisbury, President; Mrs. E. G. Phillips, Secretary; Mrs. Hamilton, Treasurer; and Miss Amy Muse, Curator. Approximately forty members attended the meeting which marks the beginning of the society's sixth year.

Mr. J. O. Thomas, President of the Rockingham County Historical Society, was the guest speaker at the Davidson County Historical Association meeting on October 26. Mr. Thomas displayed a copy of a historical map of Rockingham County and discussed the work of his society and the methods by which a county history could be financed. Mr. Thomas was introduced by Mr. Wade H. Phillips. Dr. Wade Sowers made a report on the Boone Cave project and Mrs. R. M. Middleton, Secretary-Treasurer, gave a report on membership and finances. President J. V. Moffitt, Jr., who presided, stated that a final meeting would be held in 1959 to outline a program for the year ahead.

The Wake County Historical Society met in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History in the Education Building in Raleigh on October 27 with Mr. John R. Jordan, Jr., President, presiding. Mrs. Bruce R. Carter

read the minutes of the last previous meeting and Dr. A. M. Fountain, Treasurer, gave a financial report. A color movie produced by the United States Civil War Centennial Commission was presented and Mr. Jordan introduced Mr. Lewis F. Watson, Raleigh photographer, who discussed a proposed historical photographic map of the historic sites in Wake County. The society voted unanimously to sponsor the map which is to be placed in the Arena at the State Fair grounds. Mr. Armistead M. Maupin, Projects Chairman, and a special committee will present definite plans and ideas for the map at the annual meeting in the spring.

A copy of the program presented at the unveiling of the statue of Sir Walter Raleigh in Whitehall, London, England, on October 28 has been received by the Department. A programme of music by the Band of the Royal Mariners' School of Music, the unveiling by His Excellency John Hay Whitney, the American Ambassador; a dedicatory prayer by the Venerable Archdeacon, F. D. Bunt, Chaplain of the Fleet; and a fanfare by the Memorial Silver Trumpets comprised the program. The statue, the first public memorial to the Elizabethan explorer and historian, is a life-sized bronze, the work of Mr. William McMillan. A brief biography of Raleigh was given inside the program which was decorated with the Arms of Raleigh.

The Greensboro Historical Museum celebrated its thirty-fifth anniversary on November 10, at the Greensboro Country Club with Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Committee for the Anniversary Celebration, presiding. Mr. James G. W. MacClamroch extended the welcome and the Hon. George H. Roach, Mayor of Greensboro, gave a tribute from the City of Greensboro. Greetings from the State of North Carolina were given by State Treasurer Edwin Gill, and Mr. A. Earl Weatherly spoke on "How to See a Museum." Dr. Edward P. Alexander of Colonial Williamsburg, President of the American Association of Museums, spoke on "History Museum: From Curio Cabinets to Cultural Centers." Others participating on the program were Mrs. Ellis C. Caldwell, Mr.

R. Reed DeVane, Mrs. Robert H. Banks, Mr. Karl E. Prickett, who presented the Armfield Award, and Mr. Andrew Joyner, Jr., who paid tribute to the Latham and Kellenberger families.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin, official organ of the Gaston County Historical Society, for September, 1959, contained the following items: a story on Cramerton by Mr. Bryan Hurd, a report of the meeting of the Gaston County Historical Society at Kings Mountain National Military Park and a continuation of the articles on cemetery markers, both by Mr. Dalton Stowe, another installment of "Gaston's Old Homes," a story about the land grant made by George III to Nathaniel Eldridge, and an article on historical highway markers in Gaston County. The *Bulletin* for November carried a lengthy article on the Town of Cherryville by Mr. W. Tabor Robinson, present mayor of the town, and an article written by Clark R. Starnes when he was 79 years old reminiscing about the Civil War battles around Harper's Ferry. There was also a report about the last meeting of the county historical society and a brief note relative to the county history being written by Mr. Robert F. Cope.

A Thought at Midnight: Historical Sketch of the Asheville Normal and Associated Schools, by Miss Cordelia Camp of Asheville, has been issued. Miss Camp traces the progress of the school—now the Memorial Mission Hospital—from its beginnings until it closed its doors in 1944. Brief biographical sketches of persons associated with the school are interwoven into the history.

The first organizational meeting of the Wilson County Historical Society was held on November 20 in the office of Mr. Thomas H. Woodard in Wilson. Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications of the State Department of Archives and History and Chairman of the Committee for the Organization of County Historical Societies of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, was present and assisted the group with plans for a permanent society.

Dr. C. C. Ware, Head of the Discipliana Library at Atlantic Christian College, was named as contact representative for the group. Plans for the society include the promotion of an interest in Wilson County history, the preservation of items of historical value and of historic sites, and the eventual publication of a history of Wilson County. Other persons who have been interested in the formation of a society in the county are Mrs. Everett Blake, Dr. Daniel McFarland, Dr. C. H. Hamlin, and Mr. Hugh B. Johnston, Jr.

Chapter six of "The Roanoke-Chowan Story," being published serially in *The Daily Roanoke-Chowan News*, is entitled "Tuscaroras War and Abandon North Carolina." The September 22, 1711, massacre and the war which followed, the decline of the Meherrin Indians, and the story of the Algonquins of the Roanoke area are discussed in this installment. Maps and illustrations are used throughout the chapter.

Chapter seven of the serial was written by Mr. Thomas Parramore and is entitled "The Burning of Winton." The story deals with the February, 1862, crisis in the Civil War following the fall of Roanoke Island. The historic burning of the town is narrated with sketches of the officers of both the Union and Confederate armies and other local citizens identified with the story. Drawings and old photographs illustrate the chapter.

Events for the 250th anniversary of the founding of New Bern are scheduled for a two-week period, June 11-25, 1960. Mr. Philip W. Steiner, Director and Treasurer of the New Bern-Craven County 250th Anniversary Committee, states that one of the events will be the presentation of a historical drama, "The Third Frontier," written for the occasion by Mr. Kermit Hunter. A number of special days beginning with Governor's Day on June 11 will be observed. The anniversary committee is composed of Mr. Robert L. Stallings, Mayor of New Bern, Mr. Irvin I. Blandford, Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, Mr. Paul M. Cox, Lt. Col. Gordon Gray, Mr. George

Ipock, Mr. Clifford Pace, Mr. Ralph Stanley, Mr. John R. Taylor, Sr., and Mr. Olin Wright.

The third revised printing of *Favorite Recipes of The Lower Cape Fear* is now available. The cookbook features a collection of family and modern recipes arranged by the Ministering Circle of Wilmington. It may be obtained in hotels, book stores, and restaurants. It may also be ordered from The Ministering Circle, Box 1809, Wilmington, for \$2.25, postpaid.

The Chronicle of the Bertie County Historical Association for October, 1959, features an article, "Thomas Barker, Colonial Lawyer," which is a condensation of an informal talk made to the Bertie Association by Mr. Henry W. Lewis of Chapel Hill. A short article on "Witchcraft in Bertie County" by Mr. Timothy Northcutt and an article citing the arms of the Bertie group are also included.

The *Goldsboro News-Argus*, as a public service in connection with the 100th anniversary of the birth of Charles B. Aycock, has issued an eleven-page supplement incorporating suggestions for a 10-year improvement plan for the State of North Carolina. The *News-Argus* invites all readers to use the suggestions in any way suitable to contribute to State progress through long-range planning. Representatives in the fields of education, government, finance, labor, the clergy, and agriculture responded to the invitation of the Goldsboro paper to express their hopes and ideals for the people of this State. Contributors to the special Aycock issue are Governor Luther H. Hodges; Dr. Clarence Poe, Senior Editor of *The Progressive Farmer*; Mr. Carl Goerch, author and commentator; Mr. A. C. Dawson, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Education Association; Mr. George P. Geoghegan, Jr., Regional Vice-President of the Wachovia Bank; Mr. Jonathan Daniels, Editor of *The News and Observer*; Mr. W. M. Barbee, President of the North Carolina AFL-CIO; Mr. W. W. Finlator, pastor of Pullen Memorial Baptist Church; Mr. Malcolm Seawell, Attorney General of North Carolina; Dr. Keith W. McKean, Department of Social Stu-

dies, North Carolina State College; Major General Capus Waynick, Adjutant General of North Carolina; Mr. Edwin Gill, Treasurer of North Carolina—all of Raleigh; and Dr. W. C. Davison, Dean of the School of Medicine, Duke University, Durham; Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris, novelist of Seaboard; Mr. Harry Golden, Editor of *The Carolina Israelite*, of Charlotte; Mr. A. B. Gibson, Superintendent of the Laurinburg City Schools; Mr. Ralph H. Scott, dairyman of Burlington; Mr. William D. Snider, Associate Editor of the *Greensboro Daily News*; Mr. Johnson J. Hayes, retired federal judge of Wilkesboro; Mr. Watts Hill, Jr., member of the House of Representatives, of Durham; Dr. Robert Lee Humber, State Senator of Greenville; Mr. J. Spencer Bell, State Senator of Charlotte; Mr. John A. Larkins, attorney of Trenton; and Mr. Terry Sanford, attorney of Fayetteville.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Department has received a pamphlet, *A Campaign to Promote the Prosperity of Colonial Virginia*, by Dr. Robert Leroy Hildrup, Professor of History at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, Fredericksburg, which originally appeared in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. The article deals with the efforts of a Virginia committee, established by the General Assembly in 1759, to encourage economic diversification in the colony. The correspondence of Charles Carter of Virginia and Sir Peter Wyche, Chairman of the Committee of Agriculture of the Premium Society (later known as Royal Society of Arts), reveals the many endeavors of the colonists to secure economic independence and promote profitable exports.

The Department has received *The Cherokee Nation* by Ivan Allen—a small 59-page book—dealing with that group in Georgia. Maps and photographs are used to illustrate the book and one section is entitled “New Echota: Birthplace of the American Indian Press.” The book, which was privately printed in a limited edition, may be obtained for \$1.00 by writing the Ivan Allen Company, Atlanta, Georgia.

Heraldry for the American Genealogist by Jean Stephenson, with drawings by Azalea Green Badgley, has been received by the Department. The book contains reprints, with additions, of articles from the *National Historical Magazine* of the Daughters of the American Revolution. There are 21 chapters dealing with the use of arms in the United States, in the British Isles, and on the Continent, and a list of arms used in the Colonies. The book was published by the National Genealogical Society, 1921 Sunderland Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. It may be obtained by members of the Society for \$1.25, or by nonmembers for \$2.00.

The Department has received the January 9, 1960, issue of the *Century Gazette, Heritage of the Nation*, a newspaper printed by R. W. and M. F. Plumbley of Morrison, Illinois. The paper contains reprints from leading newspapers of 100 years ago. News items dealing with the political situation, the Dred Scott Decision, and materials on prominent leaders, amusements, disasters, commerce, and industry of a century ago are included. The original style and format are preserved not only in the articles but also in the advertisements which reflect the customs and manners of the American people in ante-bellum days. Conflicting opinions are revealed through the cross section of newspaper accounts published early in January, 1860. Charter subscriptions, beginning with this issue, are available for \$4.00 from the *Century Gazette*, Old Mill, Morrison, Illinois.

Some of the national competitions open to scholars studying or working in the field of history are listed below. Other announcements are made of competitions throughout the years as information is received by the Department.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences will present \$1,000 to the author of an unpublished monograph in the field of the humanities. The contest closes on October 1, 1960. For further information write Committee on Monograph Prizes, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 280 Newton Street, Brookline Station, Boston 46, Massachusetts.

The fifth annual Francis Parkman Prize, awarded for a book published during a calendar year in the field of American history or biography, is open to history scholars. For details write Dr. Rudolph A. Clemen, Society of American Historians, Inc., Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

The John H. Dunning Prize of the American Historical Association will be \$300, given to the author of a scholarly work related to American history either published since January 1, 1958, or in manuscript form (preferably by a scholar who is young or who as yet has published little or nothing). Entries must be submitted by June 1, 1960, to Dr. C. G. Sellers, Jr., Dunning Prize Committee, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley 4, California.

The Loyola University competition for historical essays in manuscript form by 1959-1960 candidates for the master's degree will close July 15, 1960. Full details may be obtained from Dr. Edward T. Gargan, Loyola University, Department of History, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago 26, Illinois.

The Library Company of Philadelphia has announced a fellowship with a stipend of \$5,000 to be awarded for the full academic year, 1960-1961. The fellow will be expected to reside in or near Philadelphia during that time. Applications for the fellowship, including a personal history, three letters of recommendation, and an outline of the proposed research, must be in the hands of the Library Company of Philadelphia, Broad and Christian streets, Philadelphia 47, Pennsylvania, no later than March 1, 1960. No application form is necessary.

Applications are now being accepted for the College of William and Mary's Apprenticeship Program in Historical Administration. Sponsored by the History Department of the College in co-operation with the Institute of Early American History and Culture, and Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., the fifteen-month program combines academic and apprenticeship training. The course awards a master's degree in history

and prepares candidates for positions in historical societies, restorations, and other agencies in the fields of editing, library operations, and interpretations of historic sites. Persons with a bachelor of arts degree and at least twenty hours credits in history may apply for a \$2,000 assistantship in any of the three fields of study. Next year's program will begin in June, 1960, and applications will be received until April 1, 1960. Application forms and other information may be obtained by writing Dr. Lawrence W. Towner, Director of Graduate Study, Department of History, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The G. P. Putnam's Sons \$10,000 awards, for fiction or non-fiction, will be given authors who have not been previously published by G. P. Putnam's Sons or its associated companies. Manuscripts submitted must be accompanied by a letter giving the author's name and address, the title of the manuscript, and a statement that the manuscript is being submitted as a candidate for the Putnam Award and has not been published before in book form in the United States. The award money will be divided as follows: a minimum advance of \$5,000 against royalties and other earnings to accrue; and a minimum of \$5,000 on the advertising and promotion of the original Putnam edition of the book, said amount to be spent within eight weeks of publication. The mailing address is G. P. Putnam's Sons, 210 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York.

The seventh annual summer Institute on Historical and Archival Management will be offered by Radcliffe College, with the co-sponsorship of the Department of History of Harvard University, during the six weeks, June 27 through August 5, 1960. Dr. Lester J. Cappon, Director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, Archival Consultant of Colonial Williamsburg, and Lecturer in History at the College of William and Mary, will direct the course. Designed for college graduates who are interested in a career in archival, museum, and historical society work, the course is also open to employees of institutions in these related fields. The staff will consist of eighteen

or more experts in these fields, including Dr. Christopher Crittenden who will lead a discussion of State and local records. The class will be limited to sixteen, and will be conducted as a seminar. Those completing the course satisfactorily will receive a certificate signed by President Mary I. Bunting of Radcliffe (who will assume office February 1, 1960) and Dr. Cappon. Two full-tuition scholarships of \$200 each are available. Inquiries should be addressed to the Archival Institute, 10 Garden Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Books received for review during the quarter are: James H. Rodabough, *The Present World of History* (Madison, Wisconsin: The American Association for State and Local History, 1959); Inez E. Burns, *History of Blount County Tennessee: From War Trail to Landing Strip, 1795-1955* (Nashville, Tennessee: The Tennessee Historical Commission for the Mary Blount Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1957); Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959); Richard Walser, *Nematodes in My Garden* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1959); Emma Lila Fundaburk, *Parade of Alabama: An Epic of Southern History* (Luverne, Alabama: Privately printed, 1959); Bell Irvin Wiley, *Letters of Warren Akin, Confederate Congressman* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1959); Ivan Allen, *The Cherokee Nation* (Atlanta, Georgia: Ivan Allen Company, 1959); Charles W. Arnade, *Florida on Trial, 1593-1602* (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, *University of Miami Hispanic American Series*, No. 16, Published in co-operation with the St. Augustine Historical Society, 1959); Ernest M. Eller, *Bethania in Wachovia, Bicentennial of Bethania Moravian Church, 1759-1959* (Winston-Salem, Privately printed, 1959); Bell Irvin Wiley and Hirst D. Milhollen, *They Who Fought Here* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959); Cornelius M. D. Thomas, *James Forte, A Seventeenth Century Settlement, . . .* (Wilmington: Privately printed, 1959); Jay Luvaas, *The Military Legacy of the Civil War: The European Inheritance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959); Clarence

Edwin Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Volume XXIV, *The Territory of Florida, 1828-1834* (Washington: The National Archives and Records Service, 1959); Albert D. Kirwan, *The Confederacy* (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., A Volume of *Meridian Documents of American History*, edited by George F. Scheer, 1959), Richard M. Dorson, *American Folklore* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, A Volume of *The Chicago History of American Civilization*, edited by Daniel J. Boorstin, 1959); Robert L. Meriwether, *The Papers of John C. Calhoun*, Volume I, 1801-1817 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for The South Caroliniana Society, 1959); Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959); Robert West Howard, *This is the South* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1959); Robert H. White, *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee*, Volume V, 1857-1869 (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1959); Manly Wade Wellman, *The County of Warren, North Carolina, 1586-1917* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959); Alexander McDonald Walker, *New Hanover Court Minutes, Part II, 1771-1785* (Bethesda, Maryland: Privately printed, 1959); Thomas D. Clark, *Travels in the Old South: A Bibliography*, Volume III, *The Ante-Bellum South, 1825-1860, Cotton, Slavery, and Conflict* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1959); Arthur Bernon Tourtellot, *A Bibliography of the Battles of Concord and Lexington* (New York: Earl Newsom and Company, 1959); Nash K. Burger and John K. Bettersworth, *South of Appomattox* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1959); C. Harvey Gardiner, *Mexico, 1825-1828: The Journal and Correspondence of Edward Thornton Tayloe* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959); John L. Loos, *Oil on Stream! A History of Interstate Oil Pipeline Company, 1909-1959* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959); David Hunt Strother, *The Old South Illustrated by Porte Crayon* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, Introduction by Cecil D. Eby, Jr., 1959); Russell Hoover Quynn, *The Constitutions of Abraham Lincoln and*

Jefferson Davis: A Historical and Biographical Study in Contrasts (New York: Exposition Press, 1959); and the following memorial series, *Jews in America in Colonial and Revolutionary Times*, *A Book of Songs and Sonnets*, *Essays and Addresses*, *Ballads and Stories in Verse*, all by Leon Huhner (New York: Gertz Brothers, 1959).

