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COVER—The opening and dedication on November 1, 1959, of the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site near Fremont. The event took place on the one-hundredth anniversary of Aycock's birth. For articles on Aycock, see pages 203-210, 211-216, 238-244.

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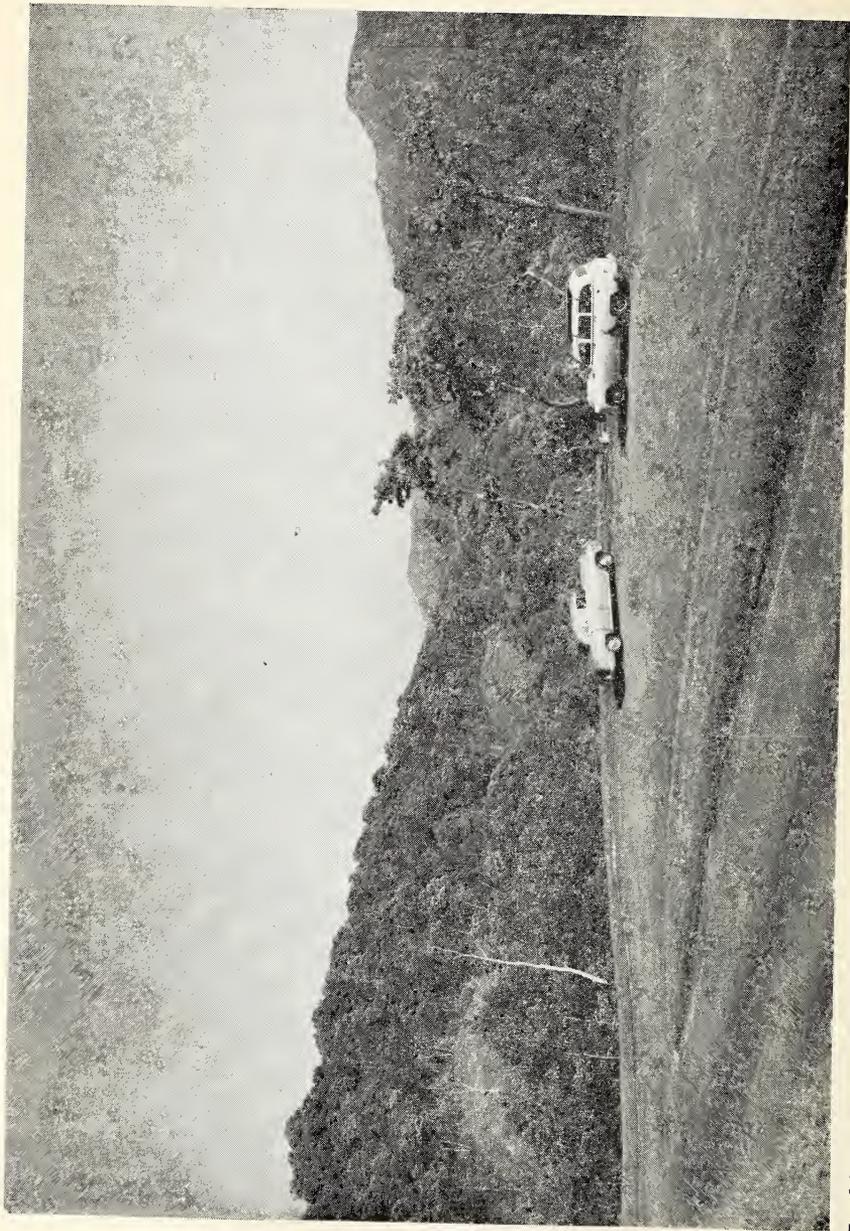
NORTH CAROLINA'S ROLE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK†

BY WILLARD BADGETTE GATEWOOD, JR.*

The movement to establish a national park in the Appalachian Mountains of North Carolina began late in the nineteenth century. The first organized effort in this direction was undertaken by citizens of the resort town of Asheville. Under the leadership of Dr. C. P. Ambler, the Asheville Board of Trade organized the Appalachian National Park Association in November, 1899, which included prominent public figures from nearly all southeastern States. For six years, the association waged a vigorous publicity campaign and won strong support from many congressional figures, particularly two Republicans, Senator Jeter C. Pritchard of North Carolina and Representative W. P. Brownlow of Tennessee. When the association recognized the futility of seeking federal funds for a national park, it concentrated upon establishing a forest reserve and changed its name to the Appalachian National Forest Reserve Association. At that time President Theodore Roosevelt was dramatizing the conservation of natural resources and heartily endorsed the Appalachian forest reserve idea. Despite the widespread support of the movement, the association encountered serious opposition which for twelve years prevented the establishment of forest reserves in the Southern Appalachians. Among the major obstacles were the

† For an earlier movement, see Charles Dennis Smith, "The Appalachian Park Movement, 1885-1901", *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVII (January, 1960), 38-65.

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Looking north from Mile High Overlook on the Blue Ridge Parkway, October, 1953

North Carolina News Bureau
photo by Gus Martin

ice in 1916 and the organization of the National Parks Association three years later provided an additional impetus to the park movement.⁴ Amid this atmosphere State officials, congressmen, and private citizens from North Carolina and Tennessee renewed their fight for a national park in the Great Smoky Mountains.

In 1922 and 1923 several bills were introduced in Congress to provide for the establishment of national parks in various sections of the Southern Appalachians. Congress, however, adjourned without enacting any of them. In February, 1924, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, cognizant of the existing agitation, appointed a committee of five prominent conservationists to study lands east of the Mississippi River with a view toward determining those areas suitable for a national park. Unlike the great parks of the West which were generally carved out of the public domain, national parks in the East would have to be purchased from private owners. Nevertheless, the Secretary informed the several states of his "desire to establish a great national park east of the Mississippi River." The report of his committee, presented to Congress on December 13, 1924, mentioned favorably the Great Smokies as a possible site for such a project.⁵

In the meantime, the General Assembly of North Carolina had convened in special session in the summer of 1924 to consider Governor Cameron Morrison's program for harbor and port facilities. Speaker of the House John G. Dawson, President E. C. Brooks of North Carolina State College, and three legislators from the mountain counties, Mark Squires, Harry Nettles, and Plato Ebbs, were anxious to follow up Secretary Work's favorable attitude toward establishing a national park east of the Mississippi River. Through their influence the legislature established a "special commission for the purpose of presenting the claims of North Carolina for a national park" and appropriated \$2,500 for its expenses.

⁴ Parkins and Whitaker, *Our Natural Resources*, 11-12; Harlean James, *Romance of the National Parks* (New York, 1941), 65-69, hereinafter cited as James, *Romance of the National Parks*.

⁵ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-Seventh Congress, Third Session, LXVIII, 270; James, *Romance of the National Parks*, 86-88; *Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1931*, 3, hereinafter cited as *Report of Park Commission, 1931*.

The commission was composed of eleven members, five of whom were chosen by the Speaker of the House and three by the President of the Senate. In a separate resolution the presidents of North Carolina State College and the University and the Speaker were appointed to the commission.⁶

The real reason for this resolution was to insure the election of Dawson and Brooks, both of whom had manifested an especial interest in the park project. Dawson was not only largely responsible for the establishment of the commission, but was an influential figure in State politics and a resident of an eastern county. The "proper" geographical distribution of the commission's membership was considered an important factor in winning state-wide support for the park which was generally viewed as of value only to the western area. Several legislators, including Dawson, felt that Brooks ought to be placed on the commission for two main reasons. He was keenly interested in the park and possessed the *savoir-faire* necessary for the successful conduct of tedious negotiations that would be required for the acquisition of park lands. Moreover, the park advocates in the legislature realized that the purchase of these lands would probably require generous financial aid from private sources such as the Rockefellers. They believed that Brooks, as a former State Superintendent of Public Instruction well-known to Rockefeller's General Education Board, would be a valuable asset in securing a donation from the Rockefeller family.⁷

The organizational meeting of the park commission was held in the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh on October 8, 1924. State Senator Mark Squires of Lenoir was elected chairman and Brooks secretary. Obviously, the most pressing task of the group was to persuade federal officials of the desirability

⁶ Interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956; memorandum by Mr. Harry Nettles, September 17, 1956; John G. Dawson to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, July 19, 1933, Governor's Papers, Department of Archives and History; Minutes of the Special Commission for Presenting the Claims of North Carolina for a National Park, October 8, 1924, Eugene C. Brooks Papers, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Brooks Papers. The members of the Commission were E. C. Brooks, Raleigh; John G. Dawson, Kinston; Harry Chase, Chapel Hill; Mark Squires, Lenoir; Harry Nettles, Biltmore; Plato Ebbs, Asheville; D. M. Buck, Bald Mountain; A. M. Kistler, Morganton; Frank Linney, Boone; E. S. Parker, Jr., Greensboro; and J. H. Dillard, Murphy.

⁷ Interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956.

of a national park in the Great Smoky Mountains. A committee of five, including Squires, Brooks, and Dawson, was selected to plead the cause of a national park in Washington, employ publicity agents, and prepare reports for the Interior Department. They were convinced that "all North Carolina" must agree on one park site and "press it to the utmost" rather than risking everything by seeking "too much."⁸

In January, 1925, the matter of a national park in the Southern Appalachians was championed in Congress by several Southern delegations and particularly by Representative Henry W. Temple of Pennsylvania, chairman of the survey committee created by the Secretary of the Interior in 1924. The proponents of a national park in the Shenandoah region of Virginia, however, seemed to be determined to achieve their goal regardless of the claims presented by neighboring States. Over 200 Virginians led by their Governor had invaded Washington, called upon President Calvin Coolidge, and set up a permanent lobby to promote the selection of the Shenandoah site. Such strong support obviously enhanced the position of the Virginia congressmen.⁹

The North Carolina park commission immediately sensed the danger of Virginia's activities to its own cause and turned to the North Carolina congressional delegation for help. Both Senators, F. M. Simmons and Lee Overman, responded to the call, while Representatives Alfred Bulwinkle, Zebulon Weaver, Robert Doughton, and Charles Abernethy took up the cause of the Great Smokies in the House. As a member of the House Committee on the Public Lands, Abernethy in particular played a key role in the ensuing negotiations. On January 19, 1925, several members of the park commission, led by Squires and Brooks, met in Senator Simmons's office to plan their strategy. This was followed by various conferences with representatives from Tennessee and Virginia, which resulted in an agreement to place the Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains sites on "equal footing" in their

⁸ Minutes of the Special Park Commission, October 8, November 19, 1924, Brooks Papers; Mark Squires to E. C. Brooks, November 13, 1924, and John G. Dawson to E. C. Brooks, December 20, 1924, Brooks Papers.

⁹ *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), January 20, 21, 1925, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*.



Group of hikers rests at Andrews Bald in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1957

North Carolina News Bureau
photo by Miriam Rabb

ern Appalachians and suggested that representatives from the three interested States hold a meeting in order to iron out their differences and renew their agreement.¹⁴ At such a meeting in Richmond on September 9, 1925, he made an eloquent plea for co-operation among the proponents of the two parks, and after a full discussion, the delegates agreed to "pool their interests and work for two national parks." To promote co-operation they organized the Appalachian National Parks Association, composed of representatives from North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.¹⁵

In the meantime, the North Carolina park commission planned its campaign to collect private subscriptions and donations to purchase lands in the Great Smoky Mountains area. In 1925 the understanding was that the park site would be purchased without financial assistance from the State or federal governments. Thus, on September 2, 1925, the park commission created a holding committee for the purpose of receiving donations, called Great Smoky Mountains, Incorporated. Later, the park commission joined with its counterpart in Tennessee to employ a New York firm to assist in a fund-raising campaign with a goal of \$1,000,000 by March 1, 1926. At the same time, the North Carolina commission reorganized its publicity work under the direction of F. Roger Miller of the Asheville Board of Trade and Horace Kephart, author of *Our Southern Highlanders*.¹⁶ The publicity bureau distributed literature describing the "wonders" of the Great Smokies, published articles in newspapers and magazines to arouse public support for the project, and sponsored essay contests in the public schools on "Why I Would Like a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains." The propaganda of the bureau generally centered around the recreational advantages of such a project, its preservation of

¹⁴ E. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, August 25, 1925, Brooks Papers; interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

¹⁵ Joint Meeting of the North Carolina Park Commission, the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association, and the Shenandoah Park Association, September 9, 1925, E. C. Brooks to H. J. Benchoff, September 29, 1925, Brooks Papers.

¹⁶ Minutes of the Special Park Commission, September 2, October 21, 1925, Mark Squires to E. C. Brooks, December 1, 1925, Brooks Papers; *Report of Commission, 1931*, 4; Minutes of the Meeting of Great Smoky Mountains, Inc., December 15, 1925, Brooks Papers.

forests and protection of the headwaters of major streams, and its potential economic value as a tourist attraction.¹⁷

By January, 1926, only \$500,000 had actually been secured by North Carolina and Tennessee for the purchase of park lands. Squires informed Governor A. W. McLean that the opposition of the pulp and lumber interests to the park movement had "seriously embarrassed" the campaign in Asheville and complained that western North Carolina was bearing the financial burden with almost no assistance from the eastern counties. By April, 1926, the park commission reported \$450,000 in private subscriptions for its part in the \$1,000,000 goal, "assuming that Asheville would complete the Buncombe County quota." Of the amount subscribed only \$50,000 came from sections east of the mountains, an indication that the commission had not aroused the state-wide support of the park that it desired. In April, 1926, however, the State Democratic Convention included the establishment of a Great Smoky Mountains National Park as a plank in its platform. Some observers interpreted this as an indication that the State would provide an appropriation for the purchase of park lands at the next session of the legislature.¹⁸

On April 14, 1926, the Secretary of the Interior designated the approximate boundaries of national parks in the Great Smokies and Shenandoah regions on the basis of the report of his special survey commission. Representative Temple, chairman of that commission, introduced a bill in Congress for the establishment of national parks in these areas.¹⁹ In describing his bill before the House Committee on Public Lands, he declared that "the parks are to be acquired without cost to the United States Government, and to be accepted by the Secretary of the Interior, when they are turned over

¹⁷ E. C. Brooks to Plato Ebbs, October 31, 1925, E. C. Brooks to F. Roger Miller, October 27, 1925, E. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, December 19, 1925, Brooks Papers; Horace Kephart, "The Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *The High School Journal* VIII (October-November, 1925), 59-65, 69; William Gregg, "Two New National Parks?" *The Outlook*, CXLI (December 30, 1925), 662-667; Horace Kephart, "The Last of the Eastern Wilderness," *World's Work*, LI (April, 1926), 617-636.

¹⁸ Mark Squires to A. W. McLean, January 5, 1926, Governor's Papers; *The News and Observer*, April 6, 30, 1926; Minutes of the Special Park Commission, October 21, 1925, Brooks Papers.

¹⁹ *Congressional Record*, Sixty-Ninth Congress, First Session, LXVII, 7,806; *The News and Observer*, April 10, 15, 1926.

to the United States in fee simple.”²⁰ The Great Smoky Mountains claims were ably presented to the House Committee on May 11, 1926, by Colonel David Chapman of Tennessee and by Mark Squires, Charles Abernethy, and Zebulon Weaver of North Carolina. They emphasized that the park would not only provide recreational facilities near the eastern centers of population, but would aid in forest preservation and flood control. They also made much of the fact that only one of the twenty national parks was located east of the Mississippi River. These delegates managed to secure an important change in the Temple Bill, which reduced the minimum area of land necessary for the federal government to assume “limited administration” of the park from 300,000 to 150,000 acres. However, no general development of the Great Smoky Mountains region would be undertaken by the National Park Service until “a major portion” of the 704,000 acres specified by the Secretary of the Interior had been accepted by the federal government. When the park bill reached the floor of the House, Representative Weaver spoke eloquently in its defense and presented a comprehensive statement of the advantages of such a park. He also argued that the existing agitation over the Muscle Shoals question enhanced the need for a park because in the Great Smokies “countless streams are born that contribute to the Tennessee River.” The Temple Bill with Committee amendments was passed on May 17, 1926, and signed by President Coolidge five days later. The way was now cleared for the actual establishment of national parks in both the Shenandoah and Great Smokies regions.²¹

Following the passage of the act, the North Carolina park commission was confronted with the formidable task of securing the necessary lands for the park. Its efforts to raise funds for this purpose through private subscriptions had produced a wealth of promises, but little actual cash.²² The

²⁰ *Hearings Before the Committee on Public Lands, House of Representatives*, Sixty-Ninth Congress, First Session, 5, hereinafter cited as *Hearings on Public Lands*.

²¹ *Hearings on Public Lands*, 1-18; *The News and Observer*, May 12, 1926; *Congressional Record*, Sixty-Ninth Congress, First Session, LXVII, 9,450-9,459, 9,581, 9,886.

²² Great Smoky Mountains, Inc.; Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, October 22, 1925-July 31, 1926, Brooks Papers.

commission members became convinced that a State appropriation was necessary in view of the large amount of land that would have to be acquired from hostile lumber and pulp companies. Both Squires and Brooks were keenly aware of the opposition of the "lumber interests" and clearly perceived the commission's need for additional powers and financial support to overcome this obstacle.²³ In November, 1926, Squires, Brooks, and Plato Ebbs began preparing their strategy for the forthcoming legislature. They drafted a bill increasing the powers of the park commission and providing a State appropriation of \$2,000,000 for the purchase of park lands. The bill was to be managed in the legislature by Squires and Ebbs. Brooks urged the commission's publicity director to initiate a campaign to arouse the interest of legislators from all sections of the State and suggested that more attention be given to the potential economic value of the park to the State in general.²⁴

By the opening of the General Assembly in January, 1927, prospects for a State appropriation for a national park appeared to be favorable. At this juncture Squires, who was physically ill and nervous, "conceived a bitter dislike" for Governor McLean and openly criticized him. There seemed to be some danger that Squires's behavior would endanger the passage of the park bill, but Brooks contacted the Governor and "smoothed things over" with him.²⁵ Following this episode, Squires and Brooks arranged a dinner for a delegation of park advocates including Representative Temple and A. B. Cammerer, Assistant Director of the National Park Service, who were in Raleigh to aid in the passage of the park bill. Thirty members of the legislature attended the dinner at which Temple and Cammerer expounded the advantages of a national park to the State.²⁶ By early February, 1927, the park commission had marshaled all forces necessary for the

²³ E. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, September 14, 1926, and Mark Squires to E. C. Brooks, September 14, 1926, Brooks Papers.

²⁴ *The Technician* (North Carolina State College student newspaper), March 7, 1930; E. C. Brooks to Roger Miller, November 27, 1926, Brooks Papers.

²⁵ J. D. Murphy to E. C. Brooks, January 19, 1927, E. C. Brooks to J. D. Murphy, January 24, 1927, Brooks Papers.

²⁶ E. C. Brooks to Charles Webb, February 4, 1927, Brooks Papers; *The News and Observer*, February 3, 1927.



Clingman's Dome parking overlook,
October, 1958

*North Carolina News Bureau
photo by Shafter Buchanan*



passage of the bill except the active support of Governor McLean who still remained silent on the issue. Senator Simmons had already publicly endorsed the \$2,000,000 appropriation. Finally, on February 16, 1927, Governor McLean broke his prolonged silence on the park bill with a statement strongly favoring its passage.²⁷ Several days earlier, the Secretary of the Interior, having determined the approximate size of the park, had notified McLean that North Carolina's part would consist of 225,500 acres.²⁸

The park bill passed the legislature without serious opposition although the Champion Fibre Company, one of the largest landowners in the area, had its spokesmen on hand to fight the measure.²⁹ The act provided for a "body politic and corporate under the name of 'North Carolina Park Commission'" composed of the eleven members of the existing commission. The Great Smoky Mountains, Incorporated, the holding company, was dissolved and its powers and funds transferred to the new park commission. The act authorized a State bond issue of \$2,000,000 for the purchase of specified park lands and vested the commission "with the power of eminent domain to acquire . . . and to condemn for park purposes land and other property." An important amendment to the original bill stipulated three prerequisites for the expenditure of bond funds by the commission. First, the Secretary of the Interior must have specifically designated the area to be acquired in Tennessee and North Carolina. Second, Tennessee must have made adequate financial provision for the purchase of its portion of the designated area. Third, the North Carolina Park Commission must have sufficient funds, including the \$2,000,000 authorized by the State, to acquire that portion of the park within North Carolina.³⁰

At the first meeting of the North Carolina Park Commission on March 18, 1927, Squires and Brooks were re-elected to their respective positions as chairman and secretary, and

²⁷ *The News and Observer*, January 27, February 12, 17, 1927.

²⁸ Hubert Work to A. W. McLean, February 8, 1927, Governor's Papers.

²⁹ *The News and Observer*, February 10, 1927.

³⁰ *An Act to Provide for the Acquisition of Parks and Recreational Facilities in the Great Smoky Mountains of North Carolina, February 25, 1927* (n.p., 1927), 3-16; *The News and Observer*, February 16, 1927.

Plato Ebbs became treasurer.³¹ The commission soon realized, however, that the purchase of the park lands in North Carolina and Tennessee would require approximately \$10,000,000. According to its estimates, North Carolina would need \$4,816,000 to secure its portion of the land. But the State bond issue and the private subscriptions provided about one-half the amount necessary for the park commission under the law of 1927 to proceed with the purchase of lands.³² At this juncture John D. Rockefeller, Jr., came to the commission's rescue.

In 1927 Rockefeller was approached with a request to include the Great Smoky Mountains National Park among his philanthropies. A. B. Cammerer of the National Park Service was the first person to arouse his interest in the park and had accompanied him on a camping trip in the park area. Later, Squires visited the Rockefeller offices in New York obviously for the purpose of encouraging this interest. At any rate, on February 28, 1928, Rockefeller gave \$5,000,000 from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial to promote the establishment of a national park in the Great Smokies. The gift was to be available as soon as North Carolina and Tennessee provided funds from their bond issues.³³

This financial assistance cleared the way for the North Carolina Park Commission to begin the actual work of establishing a national park. The commission organized its executive staff in the spring of 1928 and selected Verne Rhoades of Asheville as executive secretary. Rhoades set up an office in Asheville and employed a staff of foresters, surveyors, and men acquainted with land values.³⁴ In describing his activities, he later stated: "I had charge of the entire program of acquisition of land within the purchase area on the North Carolina side of the Great Smoky Mountains. This work embraced boundary surveys, title examinations, timber evalua-

³¹ Minutes of the North Carolina Park Commission, March 18, 1927, Brooks Papers.

³² *Report of Park Commission, 1931*, 4-5; *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, June 30, 1927*, 131.

³³ Memorandum by Mr. Verne Rhoades, November 20, 1956; interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956; *Report of Park Commission, 1931*, 5; Raymond Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr., A Portrait* (New York, 1956), 320; Beardsley Ruml to A. W. McLean, November 1, 1928, Governor's Papers.

³⁴ *Report of Park Commission, 1931*, 5.

tions, farm land valuations, ascertaining the timber stands by actual cruise, employment of necessary personnel, preparation of reports covering each individual ownership and the presentation of these reports to the Commission for consideration.”³⁵

On April 16, 1928, the commission directed Rhoades to proceed with the condemnation of land within the park area. The members of the commission generally disliked the condemnation approach for acquiring park lands, especially when it involved small farm owners. They sympathized with families forced to move off land that had been theirs for generations and were fully aware of the emotional, physical, and economic effects of such procedures. Thus, the commission employed its powers of condemnation against small farmers only as a last resort. To some residents the park was “uninvited and unwelcome”; to others it provided an opportunity to purchase farms in areas with better schools and roads. On the other hand, several large lumber and pulp companies demonstrated a spirit of defiance. They accelerated their timber-cutting activities in the park area, then held out for prices which the commission could not justify by its surveys.³⁶

Therefore, the commission was frequently forced to institute condemnation proceedings against the lumber companies' lands. Its first serious legal battle was with the Suncrest Lumber Company, which owned 32,853.53 acres within the proposed park site. The company continued to cut timber in this area and consistently rejected the commission's bids on its property. In the summer of 1928 when the commission condemned the Suncrest lands, the company tested the constitutionality of the park act of 1927, and the courts upheld its validity. Finally, in September, 1932, after prolonged and

³⁵ Memorandum by Mr. Verne Rhoades, November 29, 1956. See also “The Great Smoky Mountains National Park,” *The Wachovia*, XXIV (October, 1931), 3-16.

³⁶ Minutes of the N. C. Park Commission, April 16, 1928, Brooks Papers; memorandum by Mr. Verne Rhoades, November 20, 1956; interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956; memorandum by Mr. Harry Nettles, September 17, 1956; Robert H. Woody, “Cataloochee Homecoming,” *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XLIX (January, 1950), 8; Irving Melbo, *Our Country's National Parks* (New York, 2 volumes, 1941), I, 139.



THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

By JOHN STUBBS, Esq. F.R.S. &c.
Vol. I. Part I.
London, Printed by J. B. Nichols, in Pall-mall, 1780.

The first part of this history, which contains the general account of the county, is divided into three books. The first book contains the general account of the county, the second book contains the account of the parishes, and the third book contains the account of the manors.

The second part of this history, which contains the account of the parishes, is divided into three books. The first book contains the account of the parishes, the second book contains the account of the manors, and the third book contains the account of the tithes.

The third part of this history, which contains the account of the manors, is divided into three books. The first book contains the account of the manors, the second book contains the account of the tithes, and the third book contains the account of the rents.

The fourth part of this history, which contains the account of the tithes, is divided into three books. The first book contains the account of the tithes, the second book contains the account of the rents, and the third book contains the account of the taxes.

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The sixth part of this history, which contains the account of the taxes, is divided into three books. The first book contains the account of the taxes, the second book contains the account of the duties, and the third book contains the account of the customs.

The seventh part of this history, which contains the account of the duties, is divided into three books. The first book contains the account of the duties, the second book contains the account of the customs, and the third book contains the account of the excises.

The eighth part of this history, which contains the account of the customs, is divided into three books. The first book contains the account of the customs, the second book contains the account of the excises, and the third book contains the account of the duties.

The ninth part of this history, which contains the account of the excises, is divided into three books. The first book contains the account of the excises, the second book contains the account of the duties, and the third book contains the account of the taxes.

The tenth part of this history, which contains the account of the duties, is divided into three books. The first book contains the account of the duties, the second book contains the account of the taxes, and the third book contains the account of the customs.

procedure, rapidly led the negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion. Reuben Robertson, president of the Champion Fibre Company, later wrote him: "While we are fully aware of the fact that we accepted a price for our property far below its real value, still we feel that the negotiations as conducted by you were carried on on the highest possible plane and with consummate skill."⁴⁵ The Champion Fibre Company lands were purchased for \$3,000,000 of which North Carolina paid \$2,000,000 and Tennessee \$1,000,000.⁴⁶

By January, 1933, the commission had transferred 138,463 acres to the National Park Service. The outstanding tract within the park site to be purchased was the 32,709.57 acres owned by the Ravensford Lumber Company. But by 1933 the Interior Department had increased the minimum area of the park in North Carolina to 228,960 acres, which would necessitate additional financial resources.

This official area included 357 "different and distinct tracts of land owned by unnumbered persons."⁴⁷ The report of the park commission in 1933 described its activities during the previous biennium as follows:

In handling the acquirement of this area, it has been necessary to make numbers of surveys of individual tracts and locate disputed lines and lappages; and in order to comply with the requirements of the Federal Government, abstracts of titles in a very complete and complicated form were essential. It has been necessary to employ timber cruisers and various kinds of experts in order to determine values within the area. Further, the Commission has had to acquire mineral interests of an indefinite value and meet the argument of land owners as to consequential damages. Land has been acquired by condemnation, options, and outright purchases. In all condemnation proceedings, where the Park Commission took an appeal from the commissioners' award, the jury has awarded greater sums for the lands condemned. The appeals made by the Commission have followed only the appeals of the land owners and were made on behalf of the Commission to protect its supposed interest.⁴⁸

1931, to Secure the Property of the Champion Fibre Company," Brooks Papers; E. C. Brooks to O. Max Gardner, April 29, 1931, Governor's Papers.

⁴⁵ Reuben Robertson to E. C. Brooks, May 7, 1931, Brooks Papers.

⁴⁶ Minutes of the N. C. Park Commission, June 16, 1931, Brooks Papers.

⁴⁷ *Report of Park Commission, 1931*, 3-4. As originally contemplated, the North Carolina portion of the park would contain a minimum of 214,000 acres, and the park commission had made its financial estimates on this basis. But by 1933, the area had been increased to 228,960 acres. *Report of Park Commission, 1931*, 3-4.

⁴⁸ *Report of Park Commission, 1931*, 3.

One of the commission's depositories, the Central Bank and Trust Company of Asheville, had failed on November 20, 1930, amid the tightening economic depression. The commission, however, had its deposits of \$326,016.70 guaranteed with surety bonds and other securities. The immediate payment of one bond and the sale of securities reduced the amount due from the bank to \$122,716.35. Three companies holding other surety bonds refused to pay, whereupon the commission initiated legal action against them. The commission report concluded that in order to complete the purchase of park lands either the State or some other agency would have to provide additional funds.⁴⁹

The defensive tone of this report indicated that Brooks and Squires who wrote it were cognizant of the mounting opposition to their expenditure of park funds. At any rate, the General Assembly of 1933, convening just as the depression plunged the State to the bottom of the economic abyss, voiced loud and bitter criticism against the park commission. The legislators suggested that it was guilty of gross extravagance and "porkbarrelling."⁵⁰ The leaders of the opposition concentrated their attacks upon the loss of park funds in the defunct Asheville bank and the "enormous" legal fee paid to Mark Squires as a special attorney for the commission. State Senator W. O. Burgin introduced a bill that would have abolished the park commission and transferred its functions to the State Department of Conservation and Development. Brooks prevented the passage of this measure through his personal influence with key legislators.⁵¹

Burgin, however, continued to proclaim that "something rotten" was involved in the park project, while State Senator John Sprunt Hill demanded that the commission give a full "accounting" of its activities.⁵² The newly-elected United States Senator from North Carolina, Robert R. Reynolds of Asheville, had already requested Governor Gardner to with-

⁴⁹ *Report of Park Commission*, 6-8, 10.

⁵⁰ Harry Rotha to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, March 9, 1933; John G. Dawson to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, April 1, 1933, Governor's Papers.

⁵¹ *The News and Observer*, February 2, April 1, 1933; E. C. Brooks to A. B. Cammerer, February 2, 1933, Brooks Papers.

⁵² *The News and Observer*, February 2, April 1, 1933.



1933, allotting \$1,550,000 from the emergency funds for land acquisition within the park area for the program of the Civilian Conservation Corps. The Rockefeller Foundation then made an additional contribution to the project. North Carolina secured most of these funds, "because of the urgency of paying the condemnation award" to the Ravensford Lumber Company and of making good its options on other lands. After a long and costly legal battle, the North Carolina Park Commission finally in 1934, secured the 32,709.57 acres owned by the Ravensford Company, thereby acquiring the last major tract in the North Carolina part of the park. With generous federal aid, the State completed its purchases of park lands by April, 1937. An additional appropriation of \$743,256.29 by Congress in the following year insured the early completion of the Tennessee portion of the project.⁶³

Amid elaborate ceremonies in Newfound Gap on September 2, 1940, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was officially dedicated by President Roosevelt. After more than forty years of crusading, North Carolina and Tennessee had acquired a park of 463,000 acres which cost nearly \$12,000,000. The Great Smokies, generally covered by a blue-gray haze resembling smoke, contained innumerable natural phenomena and beauties that were made easily accessible by trails and roads built with the aid of the Civilian Conservation Corps. As a tourist attraction, the park surpassed even the wildest dreams of its original sponsors. Within a decade after its establishment, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was being visited by almost 2,000,000 people annually, making the "last of the Eastern wilderness the most popular national park in America."⁶⁴

⁶³ *Congressional Record*, Seventy-Fifth Congress, Third Session, LXXXIII, 1,412-1,422; A. Hall Johnston to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, August 23, 1933, Governor's Papers; *The Asheville Citizen*, November 26, 1933; *Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1932-1934*, 99; Edgar Dixon (ed.), *Franklin D. Roosevelt and Conservation* (Hyde Park, 1957), II, 32; "The Great Smoky Mountains National Park," *Science*, XCII (September 6, 1940), 212-214.

⁶⁴ *The News and Observer*, September 1, 3, 1940; *Travel Statistics: Great Smoky Mountains National Park* (Gatlinburg, Tennessee: 1956), 1-2; *The Asheville Citizen-Times*, March 26, 1950; Ross Holman, "The Great Smokies: America's Most Popular Park," *Travel*, XCI (October, 1948), 18-21; North Callahan, *Smoky Mountain Country* (New York, 1952), 214-220. The total number of visitors for 1959 was 3,162,318, slightly less than for 1958. Since 1952 the annual number of visitors has exceeded 3,000,000.

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

BY GEORGE H. GIBSON*

Part II

Having annexed Texas by joint resolution in 1845 and acquired New Mexico and California by the Mexican War, 1846-1848, expansionists of the United States began to look with longing eyes toward Central America and Cuba. In fact, the United States had taken a possessive attitude toward Cuba from the early days of the nineteenth century.

American statesmen recognized the importance of Cuba to the United States as early as 1808 when Thomas Jefferson's cabinet put itself on record as being strongly opposed to Cuba's going to either Britain or France. When James Monroe announced his famous Doctrine, the United States did not commit itself against acquiring Cuba nor was it ready to acknowledge any European interest in the island other than that of Spain. In 1823 when a British fleet appeared in the Caribbean and again in 1825 when a French squadron appeared there, the United States protested that it would not under any contingency whatsoever allow Cuba to be a part of any European empire other than Spain. In 1840 and 1843 the American Secretaries of State assured the Spanish government that in case of any attempt to wrest control of Cuba from Spain the United States would use its military and naval forces to preserve or recover it.

American policy toward Cuba had thus become stabilized. The United States was content to see Cuba remain a possession of Spain, but would resist by force its transfer to any European or even American power.

Cuba contains 44,218 square miles of land and is about the same size as the State of Pennsylvania. In 1845 it had a population of 1,400,000 people of whom 610,000 were white, 600,000 were slaves, and 110,000 were free Negroes, and

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others were of mixed blood. Its imports totaled \$32,000,000 and its exports amount to \$28,000,000.

Cuba, the Pearl of the Antilles, lies only 113 miles from the continental United States. At the geographic crossroads of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, Cuba dominates the two entrances to the Gulf. Controlled by a strong foreign power Cuba could be made into a Gibraltar, threatening Caribbean communications of the United States, bottling Gulf ports, threatening control of an isthmian route which was increasingly important with the acquisition of California, and closing the mouth of the Mississippi River. Havana became a port of call for ships engaged in trade with California and Oregon.

The island had its greatest significance for slaveholders who needed Cuba as a source of slaves and as an area into which they might expand the plantation-staple crop agricultural system and as a source of political power. Southerners feared that Spain might free the slaves and establish a Negro republic.

Belief in manifest destiny became pronounced and was of national importance. A Richmond newspaper declared that one would expect that "the public stomach was gorged with the spoils of Mexico, and the body politic was reposed like an anaconda after a full meal," instead the United States was in the position of an ass between two bundles of hay—Canada and Cuba—not knowing which one to nibble on first.⁵⁷

Until the coming of James Knox Polk to the presidency in 1845, the government of the United States was content to wait and obtain Cuba if Spain should relinquish it. By the end of the Mexican War in 1848, the economic, geographic, and strategic advantages were irresistible and the United States clearly abandoned its defensive and protective foreign policy and adopted a policy of outright acquisition. The *question* of acquiring Cuba had now become the *necessity* of acquiring Cuba.

⁵⁷ *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, September 1, 1849, quoting the *Richmond Republican*, n.d. The first mentioned paper will hereinafter be cited as the *Raleigh Register*.

In 1848 there was a possibility that Great Britain or France would seize Cuba from Spain as security for huge Spanish debts. There was chaos in Cuba and political confusion in Spain. President Polk, bitten by the spirit of manifest destiny, authorized Romulus Mitchell Saunders, United States minister to Spain, to open negotiations with the Spanish government to purchase Cuba for \$100,000,000. The Spanish government replied, however, that rather than see the island transferred to any power, it would prefer seeing it sunk in the ocean. These negotiations were not made known to the American people until April, 1849, when Thomas C. Reynolds was released from his job as Secretary of the American Legation in Madrid and issued a public statement. Reynolds described the Minister to Spain as incompetent and disclosed that he had made an attempt to purchase Cuba.

The Whig *Raleigh Register* called the purchase try a deep scheme and an intrigue.⁵⁸ The *Hillsborough Recorder* urged its readers not to let the United States fall into the pattern of British foreign policy which had duped and wheedled Great Britain into the expensive, ruinous, and troublesome habit of seizing bits of territory and garrisoning little rocks and islands all over the world.⁵⁹

The *North Carolina Standard*, a Democratic newspaper, said Reynolds was petty and malicious in criticizing Saunders for having no knowledge of the Spanish language and making numerous visits to the pleasure palaces of France; however, it did not defend the Democratic administration's attempt to purchase Cuba.⁶⁰

The official correspondence between Spain and the United States was released to the public in November, 1852. The *Salisbury Carolina Watchman* asked where Polk had got the constitutional authority to spend \$100,000,000 for Cuba.⁶¹ Decrying the "one man government" of Polk, the *Register* bitterly condemned Polk's effects to purchase Cuba. It asked, "First *Cuba*; then the *Sandwich Islands*; then *Canada!* When shall we end?"⁶²

⁵⁸ *Raleigh Register*, April 4, 1849.

⁵⁹ *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 25, 1849.

⁶⁰ *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), April 11, 1849, hereinafter cited as *Standard*.

⁶¹ *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), December 9, 1852, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman*.

⁶² *Raleigh Register*, December 1, 1852.

The Whigs, alerted by the rebuff President Polk had received from the Spanish government, made no attempt to acquire Cuba during the presidency of Zachary Taylor. The Whig policy was to let Cuba remain in the possession of Spain, to oppose the transfer of Cuban sovereignty to a foreign power, and to refuse to commit the United States to any self-denial of Cuba for the future.

Willie Person Mangum, a Whig Senator from North Carolina, expressed the opinion of his State in a speech before the Senate when he stated that he was opposed to any powerful nation's holding Cuba and desired it to remain free.⁶³

Partisan newspaper editors of both parties showed no interest in the proposal to acquire Cuba by purchase. Few comments or opinions of political figures in North Carolina were reported in the newspapers, and no references to the subject have been found in their correspondence. It must be concluded that North Carolinians viewed the acquisition of Cuba by purchase without interest.

Meanwhile, proslavery southern expansionists did not give up their ambition to acquire Cuba as a slave State. They believed their destiny was intertwined with that of Cuba, for if slave institutions perished there they would perish in the South. The federal government was distracted by the slavery question and could not act, thus it was the responsibility of expansionists to act as individuals. The sequence of revolution, independence, annexation established by the acquisition of Texas set an example by which southern expansionists hoped to acquire Cuba.

Some Cuban whites said they would prefer annexation by the United States to Spanish misrule or government under a British protectorate. They feared the abolition of slavery and felt that the institution of slavery in Cuba would be safer if joined to the slaveholding republic to the North.

Into this situation stepped General Narciso Lopez, a wealthy Venezuelan who joined the Spanish army in Colombia and served as an officer in Spain and Cuba. Lopez planned

⁶³ *Congressional Globe*, Thirtieth Congress, First Session (Washington, D. C.: Blair and Rives, 1848), XVIII, 893, hereinafter cited as *Congressional Globe*.

to land on Cuba in force, summon the Cubans to freedom, declare the island independent, and offer it to the United States. He was encouraged by those who believed the American government would not act to acquire Cuba but would not oppose individuals who led such a movement and would accept Cuba if she asked for annexation. He appealed to Mexican War veterans who believed in manifest destiny and who were lured by the promise of lavish rewards. Lopez became the instrument of revolt in Cuba and the tool of slavery expansionists in America.

Lopez led an unsuccessful revolt in Cuba and went to New York City in 1849 to recruit an army to free Cuba. The filibustering venture collapsed, however, when federal revenue officers seized two ships which Lopez had fitted out for the expedition.

President Zachary Taylor issued a proclamation ordering officers of the government to arrest persons engaged in armed expeditions to invade Cuba and declaring that American citizens engaging in such activities would forfeit the right of protection by the United States. The *Standard* declared that it had heard nothing of the filibustering venture and scoffed at the proclamation:

Our public spirited marshal, the District Attorney, and all Uncle Sam's postmasters will please take notice. If any warlike "expeditions" should be on foot in Raleigh . . . with the view of invading Cuba . . . they will simply cause the same to come to a dead stop; and all Constables, Sheriffs, Auctioneers, Standard-keepers, County Rangers, Wardens of the Poor, and Common School Commissioners are hereby requested to give them "aid and comfort" in so doing.⁶⁴

From reports in exchange newspapers and information in private letters, the *Register* had heard of the enterprise and condemned the "illegal design against the peace and dignity of a neighboring and friendly government."⁶⁵

Frustrated in New York, Lopez moved to New Orleans where persons friendly to his cause were more numerous. With the help of Governor Quitman of Mississippi and the

⁶⁴ *Standard*, August 22, 1849.

⁶⁵ *Raleigh Register*, August 18, 1849.

editor of the New Orleans *Delta*, General Lopez with 750 veterans left New Orleans in April, 1850, ostensibly for the Isthmus of Panama and the gold fields of California. They landed at Cardenas, Cuba, in May and proclaimed a revolt. The populace refused to join Lopez, and he fled to the Florida keys closely pursued by Spanish war vessels.

The *Carolina Watchman* indignantly stated that if the Spanish had captured and executed every one of the invaders, no one could have justly complained.⁶⁶ The *Hillsborough Recorder* declared it was opposed to acquiring territory by theft.⁶⁷ The *Register* exclaimed that the revolutionizers deserved the fate of pirates.⁶⁸ Hugh Waddell, former lieutenant governor of North Carolina, and Frederick Nash, Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, deprecated the action of Lopez and the Mexican War veterans.⁶⁹ Abraham Watkins Venable, a Democratic Representative in Congress from North Carolina, declared in the House of Representatives, ". . . to acquire the possession of Cuba by creating or fostering a revolution there. . . . Of such a system of intervention I cannot approve."⁷⁰

But Lopez was not finished. Plans were set in motion in April, 1851, to start a new expedition. The ship "Cleopatra" was to leave New York loaded with supplies, pick up volunteers at Savannah and New Orleans, and then go to Cuba. Federal authorities seized the "Cleopatra" in New York harbor and sixty-three volunteers were stranded in Savannah.

The *Standard*, often fiercely opposed to the views of its political rival the *Register*, made it clear that there was no real difference between the papers on the issue of taking Cuba by force. The *Standard* pointed out the proximity of Cuba to the United States, the value of Cuban sugar production, and the commercial advantages that could be realized by linking the United States and Cuba, but hastened to add:

We trust, however, that it will never be attempted by other

⁶⁶ *Carolina Watchman*, June 27, 1850.

⁶⁷ *Hillsborough Recorder*, June 19, 1850.

⁶⁸ *Raleigh Register*, June 19, 1850.

⁶⁹ Hugh Waddell to William Alexander Graham, October 24, 1850, and Frederick Nash to Graham, April 24, 1851, William A. Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

⁷⁰ *Congressional Globe*, Thirty-Second Congress, Second Session, XXVI, 189-190.

than honorable means; that neither ambition nor cupidity shall urge our citizens to the violation of international law and good faith in the premises, and that the distinction between the systematic invasion of the peaceful territory of a friendly nation, and the rendering of disinterested aid to a people endeavoring by revolution to effect their political emancipation, may be strictly observed.⁷¹

Undaunted, General Narciso Lopez led a fourth expedition to Cuba. Second in command was Colonel William L. Crittenden, nephew of the Attorney General of the United States. Lopez landed sixty miles from Havana in August, 1851, expecting to be joined by Spanish and Cuban patriots. None appeared. A force under the leadership of Colonel Crittenden was quickly defeated. Crittenden and fifty southern volunteers were publicly executed. Another force led by General Lopez wandered among the mountains for two weeks before being captured without shelter, food, arms, or ammunition. Lopez was executed by a strangling device called a garrote. About 135 of his men were tried and sentenced to ten years of hard labor in Spain. They were later pardoned.

The *Standard* labeled the men as misguided adventurers.⁷² The *Register* editorialized that by engaging in the expedition in contravention of the laws and treaty obligation of the United States the men deserved the punishment they received. The movement failed completely and the Queen of the Antilles remained "within the clutches of Spain—a diamond, indeed, in the forehead of a toad."⁷³

Lopez and his adventuresome war veterans were roundly condemned in the editorial columns of the North Carolina press and in the private letters of North Carolina citizens. There was sympathy for Cuba in its struggle against Spanish misrule and encouragement for Cuban independence, but there was no indication that North Carolina listened to the lusty cries of deep South expansionists in their quest for annexation of Cuba to the United States by filibuster.

Franklin Pierce, a Democrat, was elected president in 1852, and as the *Wilmington Journal* put it, "The Democratic party

⁷¹ *Standard*, May 7, 1851.

⁷² *Standard*, August 27, 1851.

⁷³ *Raleigh Register*, August 27, 1851.

is a Cuba acquiring party.”⁷⁴ In his inaugural address Pierce declared that his administration would not be controlled by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion. The President followed his address by naming ardent expansionists to European diplomatic posts.

Thwarted in their attempts to acquire Cuba by purchase and filibuster, Cubamongers now sought to obtain the island by forcing the United States into a war with Spain. Thinking the Democratic administration would support a war, the manifest destinists endeavored to create a cause for hostilities.

On February 28, 1854, the “Black Warrior,” a steamer engaged in trade between Mobile and New York, sailed into Havana harbor and listed its manifest as ballast as it had done thirty-odd times before. Each time the Cuban authorities knew this ship and many others like it were loaded with cotton and did nothing about it, but the Spanish government was bitter over the filibustering expeditions and issued an order that shipping regulations would be strictly enforced. The “Black Warrior” was seized and the owners were fined \$6,000.

A New York paper screamed, “No ambassadors, or diplomatic notes are needed. Let them simply fit out . . . three or four war steamers, and despatch them to Cuba, with peremptory orders to obtain satisfaction for the injury done to the ‘Black Warrior.’”⁷⁵ On March 15, Pierce sent a special message to Congress stating that satisfaction appropriate to the magnitude of the offense would be demanded. A clamor for war with Spain broke out among expansionists in Congress.

The Cuban port authorities released the ship on March 16, remitted the \$6,000 fine, and paid damages of \$53,000 to the owners. The authorities stated they made a technical error in not giving the ship’s captain a twelve-hour notice to file a corrected manifest.

North Carolina reacted to the “Black Warrior” affair with her accustomed unconcern. The *Fayetteville Observer* declared: “There is said to be much excitement among Havana merchants regarding this unjustifiable seizure—though why

⁷⁴ *Wilmington Journal*, November 25, 1852.

⁷⁵ *New York Herald*, March 9, 1854.

it should be unjustifiable we cannot see. The very same thing would have been done, we suppose, under like circumstances, in any port of the United States.”⁷⁶ The *Standard* said, “Well, we shall all have an opportunity to inculcate the virtue of patience. . . .”⁷⁷

Noting the hue and cry for war with Spain that emanated from American expansionists, the *Register* explained, “. . . not all the crimes of the Spanish race could palliate the wrong which would be committed, if a powerful government like the United States should *seize* upon the most valuable possession of the feeble and dilapidated kingdom of Spain.”⁷⁸ The *Hillsborough Recorder* hoped that the administration would not give the least countenance to cries for war.⁷⁹

In August, 1854, Secretary of State William Learned Marcy arranged a meeting among three European ambassadors for October in Ostend, Belgium, to exchange opinions about acquiring Cuba and to report their conclusions in a dispatch to the State Department. The dispatch suggested that the United States ought to try to buy Cuba for not more than \$130,000, 000 and if Cuba were not for sale the United States would be justified in seizing the island.

The correspondence which was published in March, 1855, aroused northern feeling and intensified Spanish resentment of the administration's annexation policy. The *Recorder* summarized North Carolina editorial opinion when it condemned the “arrogant, meddling, dictatorial spirit toward domestic affairs of feeble friendly countries.”⁸⁰

In March, 1855, a Spanish warship fired two shots across the bow of an American mail ship bound for Cuba and demanded to see the ship's papers. The “El Dorado” was allowed to sail on. In April, 1855, the “Daniel Webster” was involved in a similar affair near the harbor of San Juan, Puerto Rico. A small cry was heard that the United States ought to go to war to avenge another outrage and make the Spanish behave themselves. The *Recorder* expressed the opinion that the Spanish ship had every right to stop the “El

⁷⁶ *Fayetteville Observer*, March 13, 1854.

⁷⁷ *Standard*, March 18, 1854.

⁷⁸ *Raleigh Register*, March 18, 1854.

⁷⁹ *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 22, 1854.

⁸⁰ *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 14, 1855.

Dorado" and ask for identification. It stated that the United States was too sensitive and looking for insults.⁸¹

North Carolinians did not respond favorably to the proposition of southern expansionists to acquire Cuba by forcing a war with Spain. If war had come, it would have been as a result of enlarging minor incidents into major insults. North Carolina editors did not report these incidents in inflammatory language nor describe them on a disproportionate scale. North Carolina did not beat the war drums for a war with Spain to acquire Cuba but roundly condemned those who did.

From 1835 to 1855 southern slaveholders and northern expansionists agitated for the acquisition of Cuba by the United States either by purchase, filibuster, or threat of war. North Carolina and North Carolinians were not parties to these activities but condemned those who would acquire Cuba by any of those means.

The Whig and the Democratic party county and state conventions adopted no resolutions favoring the acquisition of Cuba, nor did the General Assembly of North Carolina. Few speeches made in the course of public celebrations, such as the Fourth of July, contain references to Cuba. Newspaper editors commented on the Cuban question only when provoked by situations such as the Lopez expeditions and the "Black Warrior" affair. Statements of North Carolina's elected officials in Congress were few in number and reserved in manner concerning the Pearl of the Antilles. Only listless comments regarding Cuban affairs can be extracted from the correspondence of North Carolina's citizens. All of these points affirm the position that the acquisition of Cuba was of little interest to North Carolinians during the period 1835 to 1855.

From 1835 to 1855, North Carolina was a provincial, sectional, conservative, nativistic, and rural State less involved with the staple crop-plantation-slavery regime than any other State having a large number of slaves. Some explanation of North Carolina's reaction to the movements for the acqui-

⁸¹ *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 28, 1855.

tion of Texas and Cuba may be reached through an analysis of these conditions.

North Carolina was divided into three major and three minor provinces. The three major provinces were the Coastal Plain which extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the river fall line, the Piedmont which lay between the fall line and the mountains, and the Mountain region which nestled among the Blue Ridge and the Great Smoky Mountains. Three minor regions were economically allied with other States. Several counties in the northeast corner of the State were a part of the Norfolk economic orbit. Three counties bordering on Virginia in the center of the State were agriculturally connected with Virginia as tobacco growers. Mecklenburg and several adjoining counties bordering on South Carolina were closely allied with the cotton culture of that State. Provincially divided as it was, North Carolina lacked State pride and a sense of State identification.

A further cause of provincialism was inadequate transportation and communication. The State had no adequate commercial outlet to salt water, and the rivers were shallow, shifting, and unsuited for navigation. There was not a suitable all-weather road in the State, and numerous toll gates, bridges, and ferries made travel expensive. During winter months several Mountain and Piedmont counties could maintain communications only through South Carolina towns. A trip by stagecoach from Raleigh to Rutherfordton, a distance of about 210 miles, took three days and three nights stopping to change horses. North Carolina was slow in developing railroad transportation and in 1850 had only 249 miles of track. A British traveler reported from Greensboro, "The settlers in this part of North Carolina seem to be quiet, old-fashioned people, content with little, and not at all disposed to trouble themselves with the mania of internal improvements."⁸² Private correspondence of the period is filled with references to long delays in receiving mail, and newspaper editors repeatedly apologized to their subscribers that their papers failed to reach them because of transportation dif-

⁸² George William Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion Through the Slave States* (London: J. Murray, 2 volumes, 1844), II, 359-360.

faculties. The State was isolated both internally and externally.

Geographic divisions and transportation restrictions resulted in provincialism and fostered the growth of prejudice, narrowness, and the continuation of practices already outmoded in more enlightened neighborhoods.

Sectionalism in North Carolina was based on an economic and political division of the State into East and West. The East engaged in diversified farming but placed greater reliance on staple crop agriculture than any other portion of the State. Rice was grown in the Cape Fear River area, especially Brunswick, New Hanover, and Columbus counties. Tobacco was raised in Granville, Warren, and Franklin counties, while cotton production was prevalent from Halifax and Northampton counties to the south. In addition to the rice-tobacco-cotton counties of the Coastal Plain, two other economic areas may be considered eastern. These two areas were Caswell, Rockingham, and Person counties which produced tobacco and Mecklenburg, Anson, and Richmond counties which raised cotton. The development of staple crop agriculture in North Carolina was not so complete as in the lower South.

The plantation-slavery system was not of any great importance in the West. The Piedmont raised corn, cereals, grasses, and small amounts of cotton. Staple crops were not grown in the Piedmont because the soil was infertile and the means of transportation were inadequate for the movement of agricultural products. Yeoman farmers, raising grain and livestock, dominated the area. The Mountain region was sparsely settled, undeveloped, and devoted chiefly to the production of food for family consumption. The farms were isolate, self-sufficient, and unimproved. Also economically similar were the northeastern counties of the State which because of soil conditions produced grain crops. The infertile, sandy soil of the counties bordering on the Albemarle and Pamlico sounds made this area unfit for staple crop agriculture also.

From the founding of North Carolina, the staple crop counties of the Coastal Plain dominated State politics and had a larger proportional representation in the State legislature

than the rest of the state. In 1835 a constitutional convention revised the State Constitution. The Whig Party championed the cause of the under-represented sections of the State. The new constitution established representation in the Senate based on public taxes and representation in the House of Commons based on federal population. From 1835 to 1850 the Whigs were gratefully supported by those who benefited from the democratic revision of the State constitution. The Democrats gained the support of these people in 1850 with the democratic reform of abolishing ownership of fifty acres of land as a voting requirement for State senator.

The terms East and West do not bear absolute directional denotations. The East is defined as that area where staple crop agriculture, slave labor force, plantation management, and Democratic voting were prevalent. The West is defined as the area where diversified agriculture, yeoman farmers, owner management, and Whig voting were prevalent. The sectional struggle between East and West based on economic and political differences contributed materially to the backward and undeveloped character of the State.

North Carolinians were a conservative people inclined to follow in the steps of their forefathers. Generally North Carolinians believed in a strict construction of the constitution. This belief was repeated time and again by political spokesmen of both parties. The State was slow to change and slow to adopt new methods and concepts. North Carolina was slow in providing care for unfortunates, slow in building a penitentiary, and slow in developing a public school system. In 1850, for example, North Carolina spent for public education \$1.25 per child of school age, whereas the combined slaveholding States averaged \$5.09 per child. The illiteracy rate among whites over twenty years of age was twenty-nine per cent and the largest in the South.⁸³ When Frederick Law Olmsted visited the State in 1856, he remarked, "North Carolina has a proverbial reputation for the ignorance and torpidity of her people; being, in this respect, at the head of the

⁸³ James Dunwoody Brownson DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States . . . being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington: A. P. Nicholson, 1854), 143, 145, hereinafter cited as Debow, *Seventh Census*.

Slave States.”⁸⁴ The yeoman farmers who composed the vast majority of North Carolinians were intensely individualistic and strongly conservative.

The more capable and enterprising people became dissatisfied with conservatism in North Carolina and moved away from the State to seek advancement and enrichment where opportunities were greater. Before the Civil War, North Carolina gained fewer citizens by immigration and lost more by emigration than any other State in the Union. North Carolina's white population grew from 472,843 in 1830 to 484,870 in 1840. This was an increase of only 12,000 persons in ten years. By 1850 the white population was 553,028. In total population North Carolina fell from fifth to tenth State between 1830 and 1850.⁸⁵

The demerits of conservatism were compounded by the restrictions of nativism. In North Carolina in 1850, 95.74 per cent of the citizens had been born in the State. No other State had so high a percentage of native-born citizens.⁸⁶ Denied the insights, ideas, and enthusiasm of new personalities, North Carolina was stifled by inbreeding.

The 1850 census revealed that North Carolina had ten towns with a thousand or more population. The largest was Wilmington with 7,264 and yet Wilmington was only the sixtieth largest town in the nation.⁸⁷ Population density in North Carolina was 17.14 per square mile.⁸⁸ Social life was necessarily restricted because of isolation, poor roads, and slow means of communication. North Carolina was a village State suffering from ruralism.

North Carolina was less involved in the plantation-slavery-staple crop agriculture regime than any other South Atlantic State. In 1850, North Carolina farms averaged 369 acres in size compared with the national average of 203 acres, but the average value of a North Carolina farm was only \$1,261 compared with the national average of \$2,362 and the slave-

⁸⁴ Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1863), 366, hereinafter cited as Olmsted, *Journey in the Slave States*.

⁸⁵ DeBow, *Seventh Census*, 45, 46.

⁸⁶ DeBow, *Seventh Census*, 61.

⁸⁷ DeBow *Seventh Census*, 338-393.

⁸⁸ DeBow, *Seventh Census*, 40.

holding State average of \$2,270.⁸⁹ Her farms were worn out and unproductive. In 1850, 26.8 per cent of all the white families in the State owned slaves. Only three per cent of the families in North Carolina owned twenty slaves or more. Fewer white families in North Carolina owned slaves than in any other South Atlantic State.⁹⁰ In 1850 North Carolina produced five per cent of the national tobacco crop, two per cent of the national rice crop, and two per cent of the national cotton crop.⁹¹ North Carolina agriculture tended more toward self-sufficiency and less toward commercial planting than any other slaveholding State.

Historians generally, and northern ones especially, attribute the poverty of the South to the plantation-slavery-staple crop agriculture regime. Yet North Carolina relied less on this regime than any other southern State and was the poorest and most backward of any of them. North Carolina's poverty stemmed from a lack of cash crops and industry. Most citizens were yeoman farmers living on subsistence homesteads. They had little to sell and therefore had little cash. With cash money they could have afforded to increase their standard of living and could have afforded to pay taxes for State improvements and services.

Another characteristic peculiar to North Carolina was its attitude toward the institution of slavery. Because North Carolina relied less on the plantation-slavery regime than any other South Atlantic State, it is not surprising that anti-slavery sentiment lingered longest in North Carolina. Anti-slavery sentiment declined in the South in the 1830's and largely disappeared after 1840; however, it did not die out as swiftly or completely in North Carolina as in the rest of the South. The large Quaker settlement in North Carolina with its solid stand against slavery perpetuated anti-slavery feelings in the State. The American Colonization Society maintained an active organization in North Carolina through 1836, and in 1840 a Society agent reported continued growth of sentiment favorable to emancipation if followed by removal. The Manumission Society once had over two thousand members in

⁸⁹ DeBow, *Seventh Census*, 169.

⁹⁰ DeBow, *Seventh Census*, 95.

⁹¹ DeBow, *Seventh Census*, 173, 174.

North Carolina. In 1837 the editor of the Asheboro *Southern Citizen* answered a question raised by the *Western Carolinian* by stating, "We are asked . . . If we are not opposed to slavery?" Yes, Mr. Carolinian, *we are* unequivocally so."⁹² Except for a few months in 1835, fear of abolition was at a low ebb in North Carolina until two abolitionist ministers were arrested in 1850 for distributing inflammatory literature. One was found guilty and elected to leave the State. The other was acquitted but left the State after another similar incident. Abolition fear again quieted down and when Olmsted visited North Carolina in 1856 he remarked, "The aspect in North Carolina with regard to slavery is less lamentable than that of Virginia. There is . . . less bigotry upon the subject and more freedom of conversation. This is the result of less concentration of wealth in families or individuals."⁹³ The economic, social, and political forces of the western counties made them less friendly to slavery than the eastern counties; and as one writer stated, "Of all the region of the later Confederacy, that which lay in these counties was very probably the strongest in anti-slavery sentiment."⁹⁴

Having noted some characteristics peculiar to North Carolina during the period 1835 to 1855, let us see how these characteristics may have influenced opinion in North Carolina regarding the acquisition of Texas and Cuba.

Provincialism affected opinion. North Carolina was a landlocked, agricultural province isolated externally and internally. North Carolinians did not know what was on the other side of the mountain, in the next county, or around the bend in the river. It would have been unnatural for these introverted people to have been deeply concerned with the affairs of a Mexican province or a Spanish island.

Sectionalism affected opinion. When the Democrats and the East created a political issue with the Texas question, the Whigs and the West were against it. Probably neither party had any fundamental interest in Texas. It was merely a momentary issue about which they could disagree. The Cuban

⁹² *Southern Citizen* (Asheboro), May 25, 1837.

⁹³ Olmsted, *Journey in the Slave States*, 367.

⁹⁴ John Spencer Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1898), 10.

question never got into State politics and so there was no disagreement, just disinterest.

Conservatism affected opinion. North Carolinians were slow to change their patterns of living and thinking and looked with apathy or disapproval on new ideas. To acquire Texas or Cuba would be an irregular procedure and North Carolinians were not enthusiastic about change. Generally they were strict constructionists and there was serious doubt in their minds as to the constitutionality of acquiring Texas and Cuba.

Annexation was an issue born of slaveholders, perpetuated by planters, and consummated by the plantation-slavery regime. The initiative and leadership in the struggle to acquire Texas and Cuba lay unquestionably with those who had the most to gain by the continuation of the plantation-slavery system. North Carolina had less to gain by the continuation of the system than any other southern State and, therefore, had less enthusiasm for the acquisition of Texas and Cuba.

From 1835 to 1855 North Carolina was not fundamentally interested in the acquisition of Texas and Cuba because North Carolina was provincial, sectional, and conservative and had less to gain by the continuation of the plantation-slavery system than any other slaveholding State.

PAPERS FROM THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL SESSION
OF THE NORTH CAROLINA LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

RALEIGH, DECEMBER 4, 1959

INTRODUCTION

The fifty-ninth annual session of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, held at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh, December 4, 1959, was well attended. The various papers seemed to be of unusually high quality and aroused a great deal of favorable comment. A few weeks previously, on November 1, the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Charles Brantley Aycock, the restored birthplace of Aycock in Wayne County had been opened to the public and dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. Since the chief purpose and development of Aycock's administration as Governor, 1901-1905, had been in the field of public education, so this was the major but not the exclusive theme of the several meetings of the Association. Every one of the papers that was presented is included in the pages that follow.

A TEN-YEAR PLAN FOR NORTH CAROLINA

BY HENRY BELK*

“Men did not love Rome because she was great: Rome was great because men loved her.”

Keep that quotation in your minds, please, as we get on with this informal discussion.

Recently I imposed grievously on a number of my friends. I asked them to suggest a 10-year plan for North Carolina. I asked them to build their plan on Charles Brantley Aycock's dream for North Carolina. Expressed entirely too succinctly that dream was universal education, equal opportunity, the necessity for the strong to protect the weak; and this was his theme song: “. . . the right of every child to have the opportunity to burgeon out all that is within him.”

It seemed to me eminently fitting that upon the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great educational governor we should turn to his ideals and his faith for a foundation upon which to build brighter tomorrows for all the people.

The response to the appeal for help was far greater than I had any reason to expect. For that request went to some of the busiest men in North Carolina. Each man who was asked to help is recognized far beyond his home borders. There are among them men of the cloth, of the schools, of politics, of banking, of editing, the drama; I sought to represent all the main segments of our economy.

That 25 men responded, is a surprise. Others wrote that due to age or illness, or infirmities, or special tasks they could not at once put down required that they say no to the invitation.

These leaders responded because they love North Carolina and dearly and intimately desire to see her advance.

The plan, be it said, was not entirely to my liking. Quick plans that fit into easy compartments all too often, I fear, reflect a too current tendency of the day. Such devices smack too much of the easy way, the gimmick, and the haste which characterizes so much of our living.

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Lest this weakness defeat the purpose, I asked that the authors be not too bound by the format. Write out of your heart and your knowledge and your conviction, I asked them.

It was to be expected since education under Aycock and his intimates gave North Carolina its great push forward fifty years ago, that education should be the emphasis of most of the replies and the one central core of a large percentage of them.

But what of education?

Let us not make the mistake of accepting as a fact that education is dependent mainly upon buildings and facilities and laboratories, spic and span, and gymnasiums, lunch-rooms, playgrounds.

Does it ever seem to you that in all our worshipping of education and schools, our homage to it, we may miss the heart and the core?

There must be first that desire and urge, and if compulsion, so much the better, to take and make our own this opportunity Aycock so beautifully phrased as the "right to burgeon out."

We must somehow plant that seed in the hearts of the parents, and they in turn will plant it in the hearts of their children.

"Make the high school diploma stand for something," urged one member of a school board in her own home community.

All right, let's make it count for something. But the place to start is in the home with the parents.

For the parents set the pattern. The schools give to the children what the parents demand.

If the school has so many extracurricular activities that there is not enough time for reading, writing, and arithmetic, that is the case because the community has desired such a school.

How often do you hear of such cases as this?

A teacher begins her work in a school. She demands quality and performance. She, or he, will not allow the child to "get by" on little or no preparation or on shoddy work. She demands discipline and the regular and satisfactory performance of assignments and lessons.

The word goes the rounds that So and So is a "hard teacher." Presently there are murmurings among the parents against her. She is requiring too much. She is demanding of the child so much more than So and So. The murmurings grow louder. There are complaints to principals, and in a couple of years a good teacher is lost to the system.

Education is the cornerstone today as in Aycock's time but how wantonly we as a people waste millions of dollars. Aycock pointed with pride to the fact that during his administration State expenditure per child reached the magnificent sum of \$1.51 per year. Last year the State's expenditure per child was \$210.00 and North Carolina was far below the national average.

We waste millions for schools, and it is no fault of the teachers, the principals, or the superintendents—it is our own fault by the casualness with which we regard the mere matter of school attendance. There are too many instances when a child is not enrolled in school on the first day of the term. For some reason he is held out until the school is a week, or two weeks, or a month or more from the opening of the term.

Or the child is allowed to stay out of school upon any pretended excuses; or there is not sufficient discipline in seeing that the child reaches school on time.

In certain instances, the schools have dismissed for holidays or half-holidays upon too slim pretexts.

In instances the practices of an earlier day are held over though the need which brought the practice in the beginning has long passed. An outstanding school administrator, replying to the 10-year plan query, said that short schedules at the beginning of the school year cheat the child of its full opportunity of instruction. The practice cheats the State and the patrons.

Yet the patrons are often lending their endorsement or approval to such habits.

We sorely need a change in the attitudes with reference to schooling of our children.

We should build up an attitude which makes the parent who allows his child to miss school, to enroll late, to arrive tardy, feel the loss of face in his community. He should be

made to feel that he is subjecting the whole school to unjustified lowering of quality. The pressure of public opinion should make the behavior of such careless parents not acceptable in the community.

We, the school patrons, must accept a major share if not all of the blame for the misplaced emphasis which has grown up in our schools. If some high schools produce a low quality product we are largely to blame.

We, the patrons, have organized, supported, campaigned for, and given extra money to support sports programs, bands with costly uniforms, and other activities which if executed within reason are desirable. But if carried to excess too many of these actual non-essentials to education can seriously interfere with the primary purpose, education.

Look at the sports program in the larger high schools today. Their coaches and staffs are in numbers and in salaries in excess of what the average college afforded in the twenties. One man who keeps up with such things tells me that in his opinion the high school coach in one city draws \$15,000 a year. Clubs and "foundations" of sports-minded individuals make this possible.

We would make magnificent strides forward if we could organize and support scholarship and mental accomplishment with some enthusiasm and on the same level we devote to certain extracurricular activities.

Why not make the A-grade students the really "big" people in the school? Why not so recognize students who distinguish themselves for top grades that they are as honored and as popular as "date bait" as the captains of the sports teams.

Dr. Leo Jenkins has done some promoting of a plan which I hope will become one of general adoption in the State—that is to award scholarship letters to the high school students who average 90 or above. Make the presentation an event similar to the student assemblies in which athletic letters are awarded.

Let me hasten to say that all is not dark, gloomy, or pessimistic as regards our high schools. Veteran teachers tell me that in the past three years there has been a noticeable trend among the general student body to more serious application.

Study and learning begin to have a higher place in the thinking of the boys and girls.

One who submitted a plan for the State for the next few years observed that he doubted that North Carolinians today were any better educated for their time than were the Tar Heels of Aycock's day. When Aycock was setting the people afire for education, he was campaigning to teach all to read and write. The man of today for this day must have much more than the ability to sign his own name. Indeed today's housekeeper, encompassed about with gadgets, electronics, and electricity must needs be an engineer to know rightly how to operate the gadgets.

Any plan for any length of time, let it be emphasized, must reach the people. The people must be touched of heart and understanding and comprehension. If the people be not reached, the plan fails.

We failed to reach the people with the story of the significance of historic sites' restorations in the bond election, and the bond vote for that purpose failed!

Aycock's magic power with the people sprang primarily from the fact that he could reach them. He went among them with simple words of faith and hope and challenge. One re-reading his addresses comes to realize that his eloquent contact with the people in their own homes, in their own crossroads, and farms helped mightily to establish his perpetual fame.

Were Aycock here today he would have a much more difficult time in reaching the people. He would be contending against the automobile that speeds people many miles in a short time, against the radio, against the TV. When he was going up and down North Carolina he was going among a people who had time and leisure to talk about their problems, to discuss and argue out the pro and con of situations. To reach the people today requires so much more than it did in Aycock's day.

To reach the Baptists is not enough, as numerous as we are. To reach the civic club members is not enough. To reach the business man is not enough. We can't reach the people by the lecture, the interview, the press release, the panel discussion, or the symposium.

To reach them we must go among them and know them. Consider the North Carolina Citizens Committee for Better Schools named by Governor Hodges almost three years ago. It has campaigned through today's accepted media for better schools. But it is sad to relate that by and large it has reached only those who already were sold on education and on the need adequately, from local and State sources, to finance our schools. The lonely tenant, working out a meager living on a small farm, matching his brawn against the machine's low-cost production, this man whose children must remain tenants if they are not educated, this man has not been reached.

Kerr Scott knew the way when he paramounted the "Branchhead Boys." Out there on the branchheads exist, I hardly wish to say live, the men and women on whom North Carolina's plans for the future so greatly depend. What was it Jefferson said? That a wise nature has endowed the children of the poor with as much capacity as the children of the well-to-do. The wise government, he added, will recognize this and see that such brains are saved for the State and the future.

Any plan for our dear State for the next ten years or the next hundred must, if it builds well and permanently, include a way to send to college the child of superior intellect and ability who is now denied that advantage by lack of money and rising costs. We rank low in the percentage of our high school graduates who go on to college, and most tragically the number of valedictorians and salutatorians who do not enter college is one out of three. In that number who are denied because of a lack of finances, who knows but there may be an Aycock, an Alderman, a Billy Poteat, or a Frank Graham.

Every PTA should have as its most important committee one charged with searching out, as early as grammar school, the talented child and seeing that this child is given by the community that right to "burgeon out" to which Aycock referred.

And as to our colleges and university system.

A great explosion of increased enrollment is upon us. We

cannot provide as early as they will be needed the facilities of dormitory, classrooms, and laboratories for those who will be knocking at the doors of the State's twelve institutions of higher learning, and another 50 private or church-related colleges.

Let us adopt new concepts for this critical situation. Let us depart from the accepted way and break new trails.

Let us agree that we do not have to build dormitory space for every child who goes to college. Let us agree that the parents must assume some responsibility for seeing that their child gets to the college campus. The family auto can easily bring them in from fifty miles around. Let the homes in the nearby towns and communities where our colleges are located be opened for living quarters for college students.

We should develop more community colleges; we should set up a bus route system that will transport young people to and from colleges. This bus system will work in bringing students to college as it has in bringing them to the schools. Utilize this new means and you save money for classrooms, laboratories, and libraries.

Why does a college, or indeed a high school, have to do most of its classwork between 8:30 and 3:30? We could provide another full day's instruction by starting a second shift at the end of today's schedules and continuing until about 10 o'clock at night. Add another shift and you have opened the opportunity for which Aycock campaigned to double the number of children.

The evening college plan is just beginning in North Carolina. It is now growing rapidly in a number of centers, some of them far removed from the parent campus. More of our ambitious and worthy must be stimulated to use this new resource.

As we strive to reach and arouse the people, as we strive to educate all who are educable in Aycock's best dream, let us dare to encourage individuality of thought and expression. Let our forms be so free and challenging that our youths are encouraged to think for themselves and to be willing to speak out as they see it.

Progress could be so much more rapid, plans could work so much more effectively, if there was a recognition and hon-

or for the man of thought and ideas. Reach the people, give them courage and hope and faith, stir them as Aycock did, and North Carolina will make the fullest of the great new day upon which she enters.

Take this thought to your heart.

“Men did not love Rome because she was great. Rome was great because men loved her.” We have this love in Tar Heel hearts for North Carolina. Give voice to it. Give action to it.

AYCOCK AND UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

BY ROBERT B. HOUSE*

When we think of the American Revolution our thoughts come to rest in Washington, The Father of His Country. When we think of The Revolution in North Carolina in 1898 our thoughts come to rest in Aycock, "The Father of North Carolina in the Twentieth Century." It was given me to see and hear Aycock one time. I was a small boy at the Weldon Fair to which he came to speak while he was governor. I felt the love in his heart and the responding love he elicited in his audience. I got something of the grandeur of his mind and the integrity of his will and felt their impact on his hearers. All who knew him have testified to his power as a speaker. The explanation is simple. Aycock was what he said.

Aycock's services to education were in their immediate effects those of a statesman. He led a movement that created the political framework in which education could revive and go forward. His task was to embody wisdom and justice in the structure of an ancient commonwealth determined to rebuild itself after the ravages of civil war, reconstruction, and governmental corruption. Passion was in the hearts of his people, folly in their minds, revenge in their purposes. A demagogue at the helm of state in these times would have wrecked permanently the whole commonwealth, education, of course, along with it. What is the secret of his leadership in wisdom and justice?

Aycock was a godly man. He recognized no secondary cause in life any more than did a Hebrew prophet. He was simply, sincerely, and joyously a Christian, in love with God, Man, and Nature. His secret was love; he loved the new North Carolina into being.

In that new North Carolina, Universal Education was to be the way of life for every person and everything. It was to open the door of hope to the disfranchised negro and throw to the white man the challenge: "Live up to your heritage and

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educate yourself and your children, or abdicate your citizenship."

For a man thus to make universal education an absolute in the life of his people that man must know what he is talking about and what he is doing; furthermore, he must feel it in his bones. Aycock did! He was in himself universal education.

First, Aycock had the root of the matter in himself. He loved to study, and he studied everything. He studied himself, his home, his farm, his community, books, teachers, schools, colleges, universities, his profession, the whole commonwealth of North Carolina, its history, its contemporary conditions, its possibilities for the future. He was education-minded; the process itself was the passion of his life. In explaining education to the people he defined education as the bringing out of the student what was already in him. But he never used this definition without pausing to point out that something must be there to bring out. That something was love of study. Nothing happens in education if the process goes one way and the student another.

Second, Aycock socialized this fundamental insight. He was privileged to live in an education-minded home, a large family living on a farm. Here everybody had to work and even a child's work counted in the economics of the family. This is something that has almost passed out of the life of the modern youth. It is an unsolved problem at the root of much triviality in the leisure time of students and much juvenile delinquency. When a child has to work and his work really counts, two things result: a) He has a sense of dignity, b) He knows the joy of books as a change of pace from hard physical labor. There was plenty of play in the Aycock home, and never a task beyond the easy powers of the growing child. But there was always real work calling one away from study enough to make the return to study a relief and a joy. The leading spirit in this education-minded home was the mother, Serena Aycock.

"In the evenings," say Connor and Poe, "during the school term, it was her custom to gather her children around her for an hour or two of study, after which she required them

to recite their lessons to her; and although without education herself, she had no difficulty in telling by the expressions of their faces whether or not they knew their lessons." An education-minded home is an essential in the process of education. Too many homes depend on the school to do all the work of education. Nothing happens in the general process, a few geniuses excepted, where student and school go one way and the home another.

Aycock was privileged to grow up in an education-minded community. The people of Nahunta had lost their public school under a corrupt government. They provided one by voluntary subscription, made it a prime community objective, sacrificed to keep it going, and cherished it as a precious thing and a joy. Everybody interested in the quality of the school is essential in the process of education. Education is a weak force if student, school, and home go one way and the community goes another.

Aycock, as a Baptist, did not join the church until he was nearly grown and had taken time to make his commitment. But he grew up in Sunday School and church which joined on to person, home, school, and community in educational unity. The Jesuits have proved that childhood years are the fixed formative years in a person's education. Aycock was fortunate in Nahunta, and North Carolina was fortunate in Nahunta when Aycock carried Nahunta principles from the mountain to the sea. When Aycock said of his education, that it had fitted him to "plow it out" if necessary, it was no idle boast. When a Nahunta citizen said of Aycock that he might speak well elsewhere, but that in Nahunta or Pikeville "he beat all creation," it was not an affectionate boast. Aycock's statement and the Nahunta citizen's statement were mutual assessments of education that had begun in the grass roots and had "burgeoned out."

Aycock reinforced his personal and social insights into education by a brief experience in the classroom, by a term as Superintendent of Public Instruction for Wayne County, and by almost a lifetime as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Goldshoro Graded Schools, a position he said he enjoyed more than any he ever held. He never made any pre-

tense of professional knowledge of the schools; he was an education-minded layman.

Aycock had the deep, sympathetic knowledge these insights and experiences gave him into what the people would do and would not do in education as a beginning program of rehabilitation. It was a modest program:

- a) A four-months school term for every child
- b) Building simple school houses
- c) Special schools for the handicapped, a goal of special pride with him
- d) Expansion of teacher training in colleges and in The University of North Carolina

In the third place Aycock universalized his educational and social insights. He universalized the campaign for schools, starting with a conference in his office of representatives of every type of education—public, private, or church-related. In addition he brought in representatives from every business and profession. No other man in North Carolina could have brought so many tangential forces into one harmonious circle.

He achieved every point in his immediate objective in such a way that the work begun continued on a foundation of mutual confidence and enthusiasm that never had to be reworked. This is his major practical achievement in education.

His next step was a major moral, intellectual, volitional achievement—a spiritual vision. Aycock envisioned the education of every person and everything. He was working on his major passion, equal opportunity. Aycock never relaxed the standard of excellence in education, but he knew that one person might be good in one thing and not in another. He refused to identify all education with the few parts of education then making up the conventional curriculums and schools. He visualized the possibilities in a civilization in which every person had available to him not only a school, but a school appropriate to his needs and capacities, even if courses and schools had to be invented. He firmly believed that every child had something unique and precious in him if a way could be found to bring it out.

He also believed firmly that everything had in it something precious and unique if a way could be found to bring it out. That is what he meant by an educated potato, an educated dog, etc. His vision was of the creative work of education and research in producing more varied careers in a State poor in opportunity, and in creating opportunities by producing more and more businesses out of hitherto unknown resources in nature. He visualized a system applicable to every child, through universities and keeping open the utmost frontiers of knowledge and art.

In his last public speech Aycock put his beliefs in a nutshell:

"I believe in universal education. Did you hear what I said? You see, I am not a scary man. I believe in universal education; I believe in educating everybody. I will go further and say that I believe in educating everything; and so do you when you come to think about it."

This concept of mutuality between Man and Nature, in the self, in society, and under God was, I think, the most original and comprehensive contribution Aycock made to the cause of education in North Carolina. It is simply inexhaustible. We measure Aycock, not by the modest achievements of his day, but by what has been going on ever since 1900. He is still our leading spirit in education: education of the people, for the people, by the people; education of every person and everything; in the person, in the home, in school, college, university without regard to whether it is public, or private, or church-related, or under any other sponsorship; education from the cradle to the grave, from the soil of the ground to the souls of the people.

Aycock would be the first to disclaim all this credit to himself. He would assign it to his forerunners, to his contemporaries, and to those who came after him. He would say that as a practical politician, perhaps as a statesman he had done something for education. But at the word "education" his eye would light, his frame expand, and his tongue would loosen, "bodying forth the shapes of things unknown and

giving to airy nothingness a local habitation and a name." He would be manifest to others what he was too modest to see in himself—a poet in love with his theme, an apostle aflame with his mission.

Aycock converted North Carolina to universal education. The works logically followed.

NORTH CAROLINA FICTION, DRAMA, AND VERSE,
1958-1959

BY DANIEL W. PATTERSON*

Three quarters of a century ago Tar Heels were exhorted in the rolling phrases of one of their leaders to "Look abroad throughout the land and see North Carolina's sons contending manfully for the palm of honor and distinction." We moderns, obeying this injunction, find even in the field of literature evidence of the progress boasted for our State: The ranks of the manful contenders for literary renown have been doubled, by daughters of the State, and the palm of honor and distinction itself has quadrupled, in the form of the Mayflower Cup, the Sir Walter Raleigh Award, the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Prize and the AAUW Juvenile Literature Award. I shall render you an account of the struggle during the year 1958-1959 for the last three of these—awards for accomplishment in fiction, poetry, and juvenile literature.

The AAUW Award for children's literature was contested by seven entries. Two for beginning readers were submitted by Dorothy Koch, *When the Cows Got Out* and *Let It Rain*. The other entries were for older readers. Four were stories relating to North Carolina. Pioneer adventures along the Cherokee frontier of 1821 are the subject of Julia Montgomery Street's *Moccasin Tracks*. Mrs. Street took pains to secure accuracy in her use of this background. In historical verity Manly Wade Wellman went her one better, for the most romantically improbable of the adventures related in *Ride, Rebels!* are fact, not fiction. This book is the second in a trilogy about a North Carolina boy serving in Wade Hampton's Iron Scouts.

Present-day life in the Smokies furnishes the material for the attractively written and illustrated *Tough Enough and Sassy* by Ruth and Latrobe Carroll, while Oconeechee Neck in the Coastal Plain serves as the scene of Mebane Holoman Burgwyn's *Hunters' Hideout*. Thelma Harrington Bell's *Captain Ghost* is the only one of the narratives for older children

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not exploiting North Carolina, but this fact is no handicap to her story of three children who befriend an eccentric sea captain. The remaining entry is the only one not a narrative. In his work, Glen Rounds skillfully blends delight with instruction in essays on mud daubers, wrens, and other creatures appropriate to a book entitled *Wildlife at Your Doorstep*.

For the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award, twelve volumes were submitted, six by sons, six by daughters of the State. The authors are of varied backgrounds: physicians, housewives, salesmen, teachers, county managers, ministers, and gardeners. Their verse shows, nevertheless, remarkable similarities. With the exception of two entries—Vernon Ward's *Of Dust and Stars*, which openly acknowledges Whitman as its master in both verse form and themes, and Roswald Bernard Daly's *The Phoenix*, written in a less florid modern idiom—all the volumes exhibit traditional rhyme and meter. The mode of expression is primarily lyric, only a few narrative poems being sprinkled through the volumes.

In content, the verse tends markedly toward the devotional, although the range of religious attitudes is wide. From a Catholic background are Betty Miller Daly's *As a Woman Thinketh* and *The Phoenix: A Physician's Soliloquy* by her husband. These two volumes complement each other. Mrs. Daly treats the spiritual in the homemaker's life; Dr. Daly's verse is more meditative and metaphysical. His professional training is reflected in his concern with the problem of reconciling science and religion. An Episcopalian minister, the Reverend Alex C. D. Noë, is the author of *Above the Rim and Other Poems*, which although it includes memorial tributes and occasional verse is mainly inspirational. The pastor of a Baptist church, Tucker R. Littleton, submitted a volume entitled *Shore Songs*. His collection is wide in range, but centers on religious themes treated in sonnets and other forms.

Faith of a Salesman by Harold H. Fletcher, who for some years held pastorates in the Methodist church and has lately been associated with the Society of Friends, is less denominational in tone. Mr. Fletcher discovers the divine in the

beauty of nature, and it is this emphasis which one notices in the devotional poems of most of the remaining volumes. Opal Winstead, for example, in her *Torch of Wonder* celebrates the Infinite that "weaves a garment from the common earth." Underlying many of the descriptions of nature in Edith Deaderick Erskine's *This Day: This Hour* is similarly the desire to gaze beyond where "faintly gleaming stars must keep their nearer guard upon the mystery." Like Emily Dickinson, Augusta Wray writes in her *Engravings on Sand* of making a Sunday morning worship in "Cathedral Woods."

The tendency, present in all these volumes, to show considerable variety in subject matter is marked in the remaining ones. Carl W. Galloway's title, *This Is My Country*, reveals his range, but Olive Tilford Dargan's title, *The Spotted Hawk*, alludes only to the prevailing autumnal tone of her collection and does not suggest the indignation and humor which flare in some of her verse. Of all the volumes submitted, the most wide-ranging was probably Charlotte Young's *Speak to Us of Love*. Her verse forms alone show extensive reading. In addition to the Shakespearean sonnets and ballad stanzas frequent in the other entries, Miss Young essayed such types as the triolet, the dramatic monologue, imagist crystals, stanzas with Poe-like refrains, and even a specimen of shaped verse entitled "Green Jar" and arranged in a jar-shaped silhouette upon the page.

Among the entries for the Sir Walter Raleigh Award are four plays by Paul Green. One of these is the full-length "symphonic outdoor drama," *The Confederacy*, which was first produced at Virginia Beach, Virginia, on July 1, 1958. This drama, like others written by Mr. Green and his imitators in this genre, is broad in scope. He gives it a center of focus in the figure of General Robert E. Lee, and avails himself of considerable dramatic license in his use of historical materials. The other three plays submitted by Mr. Green were published under the collective title of *Wings for to Fly*. Each is a one-act play about Negro life using devices of radio production, and each is a re-writing of material previously published. The first, "Fine Wagon," is a dramatization of his short story of the same name. It shows a Negro

boy's painful education in the nature of his social caste. "The Thirsting Heart," a second play dramatized from a short story, contrasts the complacent unreality of the outlook of teachers and students in a Southern college town with a Negro youth's hopeless struggle for education. Much stronger than either of these two plays is the third, "Lay This Body Down," a revision of one of the best of Mr. Green's early plays, "Hot Iron," about a Negro woman who murders her worthless husband. A comparison of this version with the earlier one clarifies the tendency suggested in the other two plays. Mr. Green appears to be less concerned now than formerly with the Negro as a human being with universal qualities and more concerned with him as the victim of social injustice and as a vehicle for social protest.

No short story collections were submitted this year for the Sir Walter Raleigh Award, and but four novels were entered. Each of these novels was written in a different popular genre. Talmadge Powell's *The Smasher* is a whodunit solved by the victim's husband. If it is to remain a mystery, the less said here the better. *The Stars Are Too High* by Agnew H. Bahnson, Jr., is a science fiction story concerning a group of idealistic American scientists who develop an amazing flying machine with which they attempt to frighten the American and Russian governments into peaceful relations. They correctly calculate everything but the intractability of human nature—their own and that of others—so that their experiment is as educational for them as it is for the populations astounded by their handiwork. Once again science fiction proves to be one of the most morally earnest of popular literary forms.

A historical novel with a purpose is LeGette Blythe's *Call Down the Storm*, which deceptively begins with a passionate romance and then develops into a study of the problem of miscegenation in North Carolina during the Reconstruction Era and the years that follow. Mr. Blythe's plot seems to make the statement that the victims of the social codes of the late nineteenth century suffered inevitable injustices, but that in the lives of their descendants the problem will disappear as the races merge.

The remaining entry is a war novel, *Band of Brothers*, by Ernest Frankel. It recounts the heroism of the United States Marines in the Korean conflict. Like other novelists since World War II, Mr. Frankel attempts to write honestly and unromantically about warfare, yet rejects the stance of the disillusioned pacifist so popular in fiction written after the First World War. His major concern is with the growth of his protagonist's character during combat, but he also uses this to affirm his belief in the strength of the value of the American traditions. *Band of Brothers* is a gripping novel, and we would do well to keep an eye on Mr. Frankel's development in the future.

In looking back across the row of works submitted this year for the literary prizes and attempting to assess them for what they may reveal of the temper of the State, one finds himself in danger of overgeneralizing. The body of material is after all small, and a chance gathering at that. One of the qualities, however, remarked by Professor C. Hugh Holman in his survey of the 1955-1956 entries for these awards is certainly present in most of the works submitted for the current year. This is the prevailingly optimistic tone of the writings, whether in verse or fiction, whether from the pens of writers of the younger or older generation. It is also an optimism which refuses to part company with common sense—a quality particularly clear in the temperate Utopia established at the end of Mr. Bahnson's science fiction story, or in the recognition of suffering shown in the novels of both Mr. Blythe and Mr. Frankel.

The "healthy regionalism" also noted by Professor Holman seems in the present works to be in process of modification. The use of North Carolina in the writings for adults as either setting or subject is scanty: only one novel, three one-act plays, and a handful of poems. Significantly, none of these was written by the younger writers of the State, whose novels are laid in Washington or Korea, whose nature verse could just as appropriately have been written in Oregon or Illinois. Perhaps the view of the Vanderbilt Agrarians was correct, that the "New South" is no South.

If it is true that the sense of state identity seems to be weakening, one of the characteristic attitudes of the State

appears still strong. The marked sympathy for the Negro held by many of the State's intellectuals from Walter Hines Page to Howard Odum and Frank P. Graham appears in many of the works submitted, as it did, according to Mr. Phillips Russell, also in the 1957-1958 competition. This year it is most clear, of course, in Paul Green's three indignant plays about Negro life and in Mr. Blythe's novel, but it crops up as well in Mr. Green's symphonic drama, in Mr. Frankel's novel, and in the verse of Mrs. Dargan, Mrs. Erskine, Miss Winstead, and Mr. Ward.

This survey of creative writing produced in North Carolina during the period 1958-1959 has admittedly been made with a patriotic rather than a critical eye. While many of the entries are pleasant and competent, they rarely startle the reader with depth or with freshness of conception and technique. Can we hope for better? Great genius is evidently accidental whenever it appears. But talent of a high degree must be present at all places in all times, and it is often the milieu which catalyzes the talent or diverts it from creativeness. If the social change we note about us breeds intellectual ferment in the State, we may find that North Carolina writers no longer have to look to other "sons and daughters of the state" for applause, that they will first be acclaimed by the world of outer dark.

A LOOK AT NORTH CAROLINA NON-FICTION,
1958-1959

BY JOHN PAUL LUCAS, JR.*

Following an appearance which I made in the interest of community colleges last spring, the usually reliable *Charlotte News* referred to the matter under the caption "Lucas Shows Need of College Education." I have a feeling that the implied defect has been somewhat offset in these past few months of reading, sometimes at a thoughtful amble, sometimes at a gallop, the approximately 7,000 pages of current North Carolina literary output generally described as nonfiction.

A broad appraisal of this truly remarkable shelf of entries for the Mayflower Cup for 1959 raises some interesting questions. One of them has to do with why people write what they write at a particular period in history. How, for instance, can we account for the prolonged literary preoccupation with the War between the States—the generalship, the ebb and flow of battle, the brooding overtones of tragedy and suffering, the social and economic consequences of civil war? What of the popularity of the familiar essay—the universal popularity of Harry Golden's compendium of wit and nostalgia, or the beguiling vernacular of "Chub" Sewell's biographical anecdotes on the well-loved humorist, Judge Walter Siler of Siler City, "the Gotham of Chatham County"?

From folksy chronicles of Carolina to esoteric books in limited areas of interest, our shelf for this year does indeed afford a liberal education in history and biography, in anthropology and religion, in folkways and local color, in history, in music and in art, in literary criticism and the humanities.

Everyone at one time or another has spent an idle moment thumbing through the index cards, looking for nothing in particular, but piqued now and then by an arresting title, a familiar author, or a subject of personal and peculiar interest. The literary professional would never attack the problem quite this way, but for a layman at large among such an array

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of books as I have just described, perhaps this is as safe an approach as any.

At a glance, my card file for the year includes representative selections on North Carolina History and Institutions, Southern History, Social Studies, Religion, Criticism, Biographies, and Personal Experiences.

In *North Carolina-An Economic and Social Profile*, S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Professor of Rural-Social Economics at the University, provides a complete Blue Book of North Carolina progress. More than a source book of information about our natural and human resources, Hobbs' work reflects a love for facts exceeded only by love for his home state, and indicates new economic and social directions for the people of North Carolina.

In preparing the new *North Carolina: History, Geography, Government*, Dr. Lefler, whose previous work is so widely known, has done a service to the boys and girls of North Carolina by correlating their study of geography, history, and government into a meaningful whole. The World Book Company has manufactured an inviting book for young readers—sturdy, colorful, and without condescension.

Of the degrees of reading enjoyment, one of the highest is in reading a well-executed account on the scene of the story. A case in point is David Stick's excellent account, called *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958*, recommended reading for a stay at Nags Head or Morehead.

A resident since childhood, David Stick has written with easy familiarity a comprehensive history of the Bankers.

"To the mountain people of Carolina and Tennessee, people isolated for generations from the world beyond the footwalks of the hills, Tweetsie grew up with the region as a natural thing that went hand in hand with what God planned. Few of these people had ever before seen a train."

In *Tweetsie, The Blue Ridge Stemwinder*, Julian Scheer and Elizabeth Black have achieved a charming little book, beautifully designed and printed by Heritage House.

Lest the designation "corporate biography" prejudice those in search of something more entertaining, I hasten to qualify Jack Riley's treatment of the Carolina Power and Light Com-

pany story as good writing by any standard: good drama, good narrative, good history.

It is a story of the evolution over a half-century of a large business organization rendering service indispensable to modern living; a company indigenous to the area it serves, growing ahead of it, and accurately reflecting its vicissitudes in good times and bad. The official title is *Carolina Power and Light Company, 1908-1958*.

Three fine historical studies of the Confederacy stood high among this year's Mayflower Cup entries: Burke Davis's *To Appomattox*, Manly Wade Wellman's *They Took Their Stand*, and Glenn Tucker's *High Tide at Gettysburg*.

Something of the futile urgency of the last sad days of the Confederacy quickly seizes the reader of Mr. Davis's story of those nine April days in 1865. It is not Mr. Davis who is speaking, however, but rather the soldiers and civilians on both sides, the eyewitnesses who come alive across the dimming years by way of letters, diaries, and memoirs. It is far from objective military history, but is rather the tragic story of human beings under stress. There is humor throughout the book, a catharsis for the underlying somberness and desperation. One sees these last days through the eyes of generals and soldiers of the line, of non-combatants and of medical corpsmen. *To Appomattox: Nine April Days, 1865*, is a happy choice for the Literary Guild and the capstone of Mr. Davis's histories.

A life-long student of the Confederacy, Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill bases *They Took Their Stand* on the personalities of the leading figures in the formation of the Confederacy, those who were the exponents of secession and those who seemed caught in the inexorable flow of events.

Gettysburg is, of course, the classic subject for writers about war and Glenn Tucker provides us with a vivid and extremely well-written treatment of this critical phase of the War between the States. His book is called *High Tide at Gettysburg: The Campaign in Pennsylvania*.

Dr. John Honigmann, Professor of Anthropology at the University and author of extensive research papers, notable among them being his reports on Eskimos and Indians, has

developed a *magnum opus* of about 1,000 pages on Man in his World. Emphasis is on cultural anthropology in his book, *The World of Man*, with adequate consideration of physical anthropology in providing an understanding of human behavior, not only for college students but also for the general reader.

Beginning with a résumé of the spatial, agricultural, mineral, and energy resources of our world, Dr. Olin Mouzon of the University, goes on to analyze our capital and human resources before developing his final unit on the "strategy of security." The serious student of world affairs and geopolitics will find this a thought-provoking study, well reasoned and documented. The title is *International Resources and National Policy*.

Returning to the national scene, sociologist Floyd Hunter in *Top Leadership, U.S.A.*, not only adduces from a nationwide field study that there is an identifiable group of men making our national policies and leading our people at all levels, but also lists the names of these men—an absorbing analysis of overlapping power structures with reference to many of the leading actors on the stage of American affairs.

Jack Wardlaw started selling fire extinguishers as a classmate of Kay Kyser's and by unorthodox methods has become one of the top insurance salesmen in the nation. He tells us how anyone can succeed at selling *Find a Need and Fill It*.

Finding a human need, which in the world of books is also to say a market need, North Carolina religious writers have this year provided helpful books of meditations, prayers, and religious experiences. Among them are Irvin Cook's *Between Two Worlds*, Norfleet Gardner's *Always The Ten Commandments*, and Frederick West's moving account of mental illness, *Light Beyond Shadows*.

In this category, too, is John Gibson's history of the American Bible Society, entitled *Soldiers of The Word*, and an analysis of the racial question by a Baptist minister and Professor of Religion, Roger Crook at Meredith College.

My old teacher, Paull Baum, one of the great Chaucerians of our time, has resurveyed Chaucer in a book of appreciation which is critical. While delineating certain of Chaucer's

limitations which have often been accepted uncritically, by way of appreciation he also draws attention to some merits of Chaucer's poetry generally overlooked. The mellowness of Dr. Baum's approach in no way dulls the keenness of his perception.

The nine popular volumes of Inglis Fletcher's famous historical stories in Carolina setting have made the reading world aware of North Carolina history and of Mrs. Fletcher herself as an author of first magnitude. *Pay, Pack, and Follow: The Story of My Life* relates her girlhood in Illinois, her adventures with her engineer husband, in mining camps in the West and in Alaska, and her adoption of North Carolina. Her autobiography discloses a craftsman of exceptional gifts and a human being of great warmth and charm.

Two other biographical books of the year are Richard N. Current's *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* and William S. Hoffmann's monograph, *Andrew Jackson and North Carolina Politics*.

The Lincoln Nobody Knows provides interesting answers to some of the apparent contradictions in Lincoln's life and political career, especially in areas which have been obscured by ignorance and misinterpretation. Dr. Current, Head of the Department of History at the Woman's College, was a collaborator of J. G. Randall on two of the four volumes of the latter's definitive biography of Lincoln.

The familiar equation of life and drama is examined once more by Dr. Robert B. Sharpe, teacher of dramatic literature and adviser to the Carolina Playmakers, in his essay on Impersonation, Shock, and Catharsis, entitled *Irony in the Drama*. Using well-selected illustrations from the whole range of drama, Dr. Sharpe clarifies these concepts and encourages a more profound understanding of drama and of life itself.

For the advanced student Dr. William S. Newman of the University has done a detailed study of the early evolution of the sonata as the first of his projected four-volume *History of the Sonata Idea*.

I have already referred to that unique phenomenon in American letters, Harry Golden's *Only in America*. Harry Golden himself is unique. Erudite and earthy, critic and re-

former, he is a sort of Samuel Johnson of our Philosophy Group in Charlotte.

Only in America I have classed under "Personal Experiences," along with three other delightful books: Molly Berheim's *A Sky of My Own*, *We Came to Warren Place* by Grace and Gilbert Stephenson, and Margaret Davis Winslow's *A Gift for Grandmother*.

A Sky of My Own is the story of twelve years of flying adventures by an interesting Durham woman who, like Anne Lindbergh and others, has discovered the challenge and release of flight.

The Stephensons rediscovered life at Warren Place in Pendleton after nearly forty years of city dwelling. Here is a picture, not of the Old South, but of present-day life on a southern plantation.

There they are, all twenty-nine or thirty nonfiction offerings in this year's contest. Several are distinguished, most are well worth the reading, all are creditable.

Pay your money and take your choice!

CULTURE IN NORTH CAROLINA TODAY

BY RICHARD WALSER*

Each first week in December we gather together here in our State Capital to observe what we now affectionately call Culture Week. Like all of you, I can remember when the term *Culture Week* was used in derision, mostly by those outside our collective memberships who were laughing at us for assuming an interest in Culture which we did not possess. At other times, it was surreptitiously used by our own folk who, in thorough self-consciousness, felt we were doing something beyond our normal pursuits—that is, our normal pursuits of working and building. North Carolina, they felt, was not so much given to Culture as some of her sister States who were so busy being “cultured,” it was privately assumed, that there was not time for anything else. We were workers; they were sitters-down. Culture, in short, was not for the uncultured.

I am glad to report that nowadays few, if any of us, use the phrase as of yesteryear. We say Culture Week, and we mean Culture Week. The manner in which we have taken a derogatory term and changed it into a term of pride is not without precedence among us. We recall how during the Civil War the South Carolina soldiers yelled “Tar Heels” at our ancestors with a purpose to insult them. But the insulting words did not injure for long. Soon those very same ancestors of ours were boastfully calling themselves Tar Heels with so much haughtiness that the South Carolinians wished with all their hearts they had never concocted the term at all. Today we lustily sing about our being Tar Heels born, Tar Heels bred, and when we die—and so on. The phrase is endearing to us.

A similar semantic situation developed out on the campus in West Raleigh where I teach English. A dozen or so years ago, the Wake Forest and Durham and Chapel Hill students—as college students will do—worked up a way to indicate their scorn of a rival, and so they hit upon the words “Cow

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College." It is a good phrase, it is alliterative, it has a fullness about it; but the students did not think about these things. Those who invented it were simply attempting to show that the West Raleigh students were hard-working farm boys without the traditional arts-and-science dignity of the other institutions. And for a while it made the farm boys sad—to contemplate their lowly origin. But not for long. I remember the day one of my married students—for we had many of them then, and still have—brought his two-year-old son into my office for my inspection and approval. I looked at the child, and I was horrified; for there, as the handsome little fellow stood before me, I saw belligerently and ostentatiously and magestically glaring at me in huge red letters from the child's T-shirt those former fighting words "Cow College." I turned with injured dismay upon my student. I asked him, "Where in the world did you get that shirt?" With eyebrows uplifted, he proudly answered: "In the campus supply store. —Why?" Why, indeed. Why, indeed. And so they manufacture and sell these words now, as if they were taken from one of Shakespeare's plays.

And so do we tonight say Culture Week with a self-satisfaction and with a pride as if we had appointed a committee of twenty-five to search out and discover a title to define our activities this first week of December. And I shall not be unhappy if soon the words appear officially on the covers of our printed programs. You see, this is *Culture Week* to us, for good or bad. The only thing which troubles me is whether or not we deserve the honor.

Often we think of Culture in a narrow, restricted way. We think of it as somehow associated with the best literature, art, music, and manners. An uncultured person, for instance, does not read the works of Sir Edmund Spenser, wouldn't know a Brueghel from a Rubens, thinks rock n' roll just wonderful while having no ear for Mozart, and he can't balance a cup of tea on his knee in polite society. All this may be true, but isn't it only half the truth? Culture, aside from aesthetic considerations, is any preferences, any manners. It is tradition, and development, and education.

In the restricted sense, Culture is noneducation, and takes on a superficiality not always entirely healthy. In that sense,

it denies the essence of education, which is the ability to live at home in one's own world, the ability to perceive similarity and association. In the restricted sense, Culture becomes self-satisfied with the self-satisfaction each of us feels as he comes here each December and listens to speakers who praise our efforts in all the concerns of our societies. Hereabouts, rarely is any word of dissent heard and, if it were spoken, it would be resented. We feel proud—here in December—proud and happy, we return home to the not-always cultural aspects of our everyday lives, and we plan to come back to Raleigh next year to hear the good words again and to join in the annual applause.

I do not want to give the impression that there is no Culture in our everyday, non-first-week-of-December lives. Frequently, however, it cannot be denied that our month-by-month Culture takes rather the especially restricted direction of digging into the past.

Let us face it: North Carolina has become, in its way, a prosperous region. The first thing prosperity demands, after the money has been made, is a past—preferably a glorious past. Prosperity demands that history be rewritten to emphasize the romantic and the noble. Wealth cannot long be happy with a background of mediocrity. It is like the millionaire who employs a genealogist to find him some ancestors—any ancestors, but preferably ancestors who were English aristocrats, or Revolutionary generals, or landowners with countless acres and slaves. The remarkable thing is that such ancestors can generally be found, provided there is sufficient patience, research, and financial expenditure.

Now, this is not a bad thing at all. To wealth, ancestors give a needed tradition and needed pride which considerably diminish one's come-to-be-hated vulgar beginnings.

In the last several decades in prosperous North Carolina, we have accessioned a rich history and some sainted ancestors. We no longer hide in the valley between the hills of conceit. We have ascended Mt. Mitchell, fortunately within our geographical borders. And there we stand on the record of our history and our ancestors, and we hurl denunciations at any attackers of our impregnable peak.

The second thing prosperity demands is an aesthetic Culture, however superimposed it may be. Just as New York's 400 built its palaces of art and music, so is North Carolina now erecting her palaces. Ours are not always Newport mansions and Metropolitan Opera houses; but they serve. They are not all wrong by any means, but they are not *all* right. Their failure to reach a full all-rightness lies not in the end results—(one may see their beauty and observe their usefulness)—but in the incitement, the impulse to prove something to somebody out there somewhere.

Let me put it another way: In the aesthetic cultural stimulation which has come to us as an offshoot of our prosperity, we have, it seems to me, often pursued a culture which is not a true Culture at all. We have frequently ignored the origin of Culture, forgetting that a cultured person is one who is faithful to his age, to his environment, to his own nature. The cultured person does not look to the past except for reasons why, nor to the future except for expectation.

The cultured person is educated—educated to think in contemporary terms. The past is important only as it strengthens and enforces and serves as a basis for his today's living.

Here tonight are gathered the custodians of Culture in North Carolina. On us and on our activities rests, for a goodly portion, the cultural education of our people, both young and old. How good a job, in the basic cultural sense, is the job we are doing?

Since mathematical measurements are never applicable to cultural progress—and only Time is the final judge—you will humor me, I hope, if I report briefly on seven of our associated societies; and you will remember that what I have to say is the opinion of one man—albeit, one man who not only belongs to most of the groups he mentions, but has a forthright interest in each of them.

I shall proceed chronologically in the order of their meetings as outlined in the printed program.

The first is music, as represented here by the North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs, an organization committed to excellence in musical performance and in education. At present it is providing a number of scholarships to students, in addition to encouraging music in public schools and col-

leges. Even more important—in line with my remarks here tonight—the Federation has since 1936 conducted contests for original composition, both instrumental and voice. Prizes have been awarded for pieces traditional as well as modern. This patronage of creativity is the essence of education. Furthermore, the Federation is eager that North Carolina composers have a hearing. A year ago in this very room it provided for the Southern premiere of a piece by one who is probably our State's most noted composer today. The fact that this composer is contemporary in technique, and consequently cacophonous to many listeners with ears untrained beyond nineteenth-century romanticism, is a feather in the Federation's cap. Today's music is their concern, as well as music of the past. While the Federation of Music Clubs gets a very high mark in our tonight's grade book, there is more to be done. The scholarship program is still insufficient—as its members are the first to admit—and no way has yet been found to underwrite the publication of North Carolina music once it has been composed and won a prize. Until these things are done, there will be a defect in the complete musical health of North Carolina.

Second is art—that is, the visual art of painting and sculpture, handicrafts, and so on. The North Carolina Art Society, whose members are primarily responsible for the Museum of Art here in Raleigh, has from time to time aided other selected museums in the State with special exhibitions, though it has no constant policy in that regard. It has, aside from its close association with the Museum, no programs in conjunction with the schools and colleges. The principal scholarship administered is donated by another organization, the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs. In one respect, however, the Society gets an A-plus: its annual North Carolina Artists Exhibition, where we may see on display the most vibrant contemporary trends—often, I may add, to the horror of the tradition-bound whose calendar-art culture in art stops abruptly with the year 1900. There is, indubitably, more of today's critical excitement in the December show than in any other one spot in our survey. On that account, North Carolina, from an art point of view, is out in front. In no wise are our

artists backward looking . . . I wonder, though, if this excitement extends very deeply into our people. Perhaps the Society could persuade its good friend the Museum (which, as a State-supported agency, is not up for discussion here) to give more space and more time—a whole floor? a whole year?—to our own artists and their contemporaries elsewhere. Recently I counted in the Museum only three meager canvasses by contemporary North Carolina painters. . . . Perhaps, too, the Society can transport art to areas in our State still untouched. Our creative artists are busy; yet the Society's creative program is largely a one-month Raleigh operation.

Thursday is Antiquities day. The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities has for its motto: "To preserve and revere our past is to insure our future." It is a noble motto and it has worked. The Society, in spite of that humorous word *Antiquities* in its title and the rumored snob-appeal it exerts in collecting memberships and money, set out upon a much-needed program of architectural restoration, and it has stopped for neither flood nor fire. The outcry of most of our societies is that they can and will gladly expand their programs if the money can be found. I cannot tell you about the financial maneuvers of the Antiquities; but if money is needed, it seems to be got—at least enough to start a project. At that point, since money is, after all, exhaustible, other agencies are found to take on, to complete, and to administer. Education, if not a primary purpose of this group, is always secondary and eventual; but it is hoped that soon the day will come when education will compete with preservation as a primary motive. Until that time, and judged only by its stated purpose, the Antiquities Society stands as high as, or higher than, any other one of our associations.

Friday afternoon is folklore. The North Carolina Folklore Society, organized in 1912, has performed some marvelous feats in North Carolina, here where the folk heritage is vastly rich. No other of the fifty states can even approximate the publication of its folk materials. North Carolina has published four impressive volumes of its seven-volume series. Also, in recent years, a lively bulletin of past and current lore has been coming out regularly. And the Friday afternoon December meetings in Raleigh have come to be known as the

entertainment feature of Culture Week. In strictest terms, folklore is the most genuine of our cultural facets. In the foregoing activities and in festivals held throughout the State, the Folklore Society has carried out its purpose magnificently. As an educative group, it badly needs to sponsor the publication of a book of folklore for youngsters of junior high school age, possibly excerpts from the Brown Collection. Until then, the Society's bulletins and heavy tomes will not reach those young people who ought to and need to learn about the opulent folk heritage which is theirs.

Friday also gathers together members of the North Carolina Poetry Society, a somewhat struggling group in this age of prose. Sometimes it seems that nobody reads poetry anymore except the poets themselves. And those others who do try to read it are aghast and confounded in a morass of incomprehensibility. Things do not have to be this way, as witness the bearded San Franciscans pounding their lyric measures to jazz rhythms, completely in tune with the day and the hour. Our North Carolina poets, apparently, are for the most part too much given to sonnets and iambics—beautiful but moribund. The time will and must come when our poets, not imitating any one, will find their own peculiar music. Poetry is as necessary to man's essence as food and drink. Hereabouts we wait patiently.

Saturday is the day for the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, with a lively membership becoming livelier every year. Here is a group dealing in the past—history, if you will—yet totally conscious of the present. As a result of their encouragement, the gaps in published county histories are fast being filled. The local historical tours they arrange have a picnic atmosphere which attracts persons not normally history-minded. Most of the affiliated county organizations offer prizes to public school students for papers and projects in local history. Since indigenoussness is itself a virtue, and since, here, the quality and spirit of indigenoussness are high, this group gets a top mark in our tonight's record book.

And now we have the last, the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, which is the parent and, in a way,

the sponsor of all these other societies, in addition to a few which I do not have time to mention. The "Lit and Hist," as it has come to be known, has through the years had a major role in North Carolina culture. For a long while, except for our educational institutions, it was a courageous voice crying in the cultural wilderness. Times have changed, of course, and it is almost as if the "Lit and Hist" had retired proudly into the dignity of old age and a job well done. I shall not here review the story of this grand old association except to say that, some half dozen years ago, it looked as if the stately lady were dead. For many Decembers it met once briefly, haughtily gave out a Mayflower cup, and disappeared for twelve months. Not so now. The literary and historical awards have been increased, several gatherings are held in spring and summer in various parts of the State, and it involves itself in numerous other activities.

To speak of the "Lit and Hist" as though it had no connection with the State Department of Archives and History is as troublesome as to think of the Art Society as disassociated from the Museum. But I often wonder if the "Lit and Hist" is not more historical than literary, more capital-city-oriented than State-wide-oriented, more inclined still to dignity than to energy. It will never reach the peak of its potential until it erupts vigorously on the contemporary scene, encouraging the unconventional and the new.

At this point, you can see that I, an isolated observer for the time being though a highly prejudiced observer, prejudiced greatly in favor of these seven cultural associations—you can see that I have noted with pleasure the work they are doing. If any deficiency there be in any of them, it is primarily a deficiency to see and define their educational and cultural opportunities—a deficiency which tends to glorify the past and overlook the present.

If we are to grow culturally in North Carolina, we must not rely upon that glorious past, but merely choose from it only that which has meaning for the present. Obviously any great culture must have a past, but to begin to live in it is sterile.

History, ancestry, industry, wealth—these do not in themselves provide an environment and atmosphere for culture. Only spirit can do that, and open-mindedness, and contemporaneousness, and encouragement of new talent, and nourishment. No matter what we think, genius is not always inevitable. It can be plowed under by frowns, disapprobation, and stodginess.

In the last few years, all of us must have noticed that new talent is coming forward less and less. Where are the new poets, the new novelists, the new architects, the new composers, the new painters? Have we covered them up in the same field where we have been digging for our ancestors? I think we often have. I have done it with my literary history along with a great many of you with your particular histories. But can we not dig with our weak left hand and nourish with our strong right? And must we not nourish a thousand unworthy plants to cultivate one which is genius? That one which will broaden our perceptions and all the world's, and make us a great commonwealth because of her or him?

The time for nourishment is tonight. The moments for beginning are now.

COMMITMENTS AND CHOICES

BY JOHN A. KROUT*

"Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions, constantly form associations." So spoke a young Frenchman, visiting the United States a century and a quarter ago. His words have never been forgotten, for Alexis de Tocqueville, not yet turned thirty, was destined to become the most penetrating and judicious observer ever sent by the Old World to the New. His *Democracy in America*, even now in these middle years of the twentieth century, remains a classic in its noble definition of the relation of the United States to other parts of the world and in its understanding of the significance of America in human history.

"The most democratic country on the face of the earth," he wrote, "is that in which men have in our time [that is 1835] carried to the highest perfection the art of pursuing in common the object of their common desires. . . . Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found establishments for education, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; and in this manner they found hospitals and schools. If it be proposed to advance some truth, or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society."

How well this trait of his fellow-countrymen was understood by Charles B. Aycock; and how effectively he used it to revolutionize the educational system of the State of North Carolina. The choices which you will make in the later decades of the twentieth century will be within the framework of the commitments that the citizens of this State made during the lifetime of the man whose centennial we celebrate today.

Any anniversary is a temptation to hail the achievements of the past and to rejoice in them; and the temptation cannot be resisted when one reviews Governor Aycock's career. His was a dedicated life, in which glorious dreams of the

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future never obscured the hard work which the moment demanded. The law is a hard taskmaster, but the young attorney refused to use that as an excuse for anything less than a full commitment to the cause of universal education. His words were eloquent as he pleaded for better schoolhouses, higher salaries for teachers, larger appropriations for elementary schools and high schools and longer terms of instruction. He did not fear to face the fact that his program was costly, that it would mean higher taxes. He knew the economy-minded in communities where any tax was paid grudgingly. The anecdote is still current about the time he spoke to an audience in which there were numerous disgruntled citizens. One of them impressed by Aycock's arguments finally said: "Well I hate to give more money, but I'll pay it since you say it is needed." To which the young lawyer replied: "The scriptures say that the Lord loveth a *cheerful* giver, but the State of North Carolina is not so particular."

When Charles B. Aycock became governor of this State, in the first years of the present century, one person in five, among the white population over ten years of age, was illiterate. Almost one thousand districts were without a schoolhouse. Where children were fortunate enough to have a school, the term was normally four months in the year. Few teachers received more than \$25 a month, with indifferent provision for lodging in some districts. The new governor threw the power of his office into the fight for better schools, and he and his associates won victories on every front. So many reformers are content to talk, and let others translate their words into action—not Charles B. Aycock! He not only organized and spoke at meetings in courthouses, schools and churches, but he made sure that words which persuaded voters promptly became deeds. Unlike so many in our own generation, he did not expect the teachers of the State to plead their own case and to carry the burden of campaigning for educational reforms. He mobilized the lawyers, the businessmen, the farmers and their wives in his army of workers.

It is not too much to insist that he and those who joined him convinced a whole generation of the significance of

education in any scheme of self-government. This they did not by practicing the art of the demagogue, but by stressing the difficulty of the job to be done and the hard work required to do it. They told the people not what they wanted to hear but what they needed to do. Above all they had courage. Not the quickening of the pulse that comes with the sound of martial music. Not the physical bravery and high heart that carry the soldier into battle. Theirs was the courage of the commonplace, rather than the courage of the crisis. They were not afraid, in all humility, to stand up and be counted for the right. How sorely we need that kind of courage in this hour! This generation needs men and women who are quietly determined in their business dealings, in their social activities, in their schools and churches to speak out for the principle that is based on honor rather than on shrewdness, on justice rather than on prejudice.

Vision, as well as courage, marked Aycock and his friends. One who knew them well, Edwin A. Alderman, native of North Carolina, and once beloved president of the University of Virginia, spoke of the knightly fashion in which they carried their vision to all the people. It became a beacon, guiding North Carolina out of intellectual provincialism into a position, among the other states of the Union, more influential than any part which it had played in the 250 previous years of its history.

"God give us patience and strength," Aycock wrote to a close friend, "that we may work to build up schools that shall be as lights shining throughout the land." That was his dream; but he would not claim that his dream had been realized. Much had been accomplished; so much more remained to be done. He was humble, as Sir Isaac Newton was humble, when he said: "I know not what the world will think of my work, but to me it seems that I have been but as a child, playing along the seashore, now and then finding a prettier pebble or some more beautiful shell than my companions, while before me the great ocean of truth lay undiscovered." Here is the beginning of wisdom.

Almost half a century has passed since Governor Aycock's career was cut short; but the educational forces which he

helped to set in motion, and of which he was such a vital part, still run strong in the land. Our choices today are so largely determined by commitments that he and his associates made in the first decade of this century.

It is doubtful that the American people generally, or the people of North Carolina specifically, or indeed the voters of any school district have ever felt that they were called upon to decide what the main emphasis of the public school system should be. But most of the evidence prepared by chroniclers and historians, compilers and statisticians leads one to the conclusion that in practice our tax-supported schools for several generations prior to 1940, were trying to train their students for the responsibilities of citizenship, to give them an understanding of the meaning of democracy and to make sure that each student enrolled had reached a minimum level of achievement in course. It was probably inevitable that most concern should be manifested over the "problem" children, who do not seem to be able to keep step with the average pace of the procession. Has our own historic commitment to *universal education* made us feel that it is more important to help the laggards keep up with their fellows than to stimulate the gifted students to move out far ahead of the main group? There are some who maintain that the American people long ago decided that it is undemocratic to sort out the able and interested students from those who are indifferent, indolent, distinterested, or lacking in ability. If that choice was ever made historically, has the time come to reconsider it? At the very least, we need to make sure that we are no longer confusing "equality of opportunity" with "identity of treatment."

In the last five years, to be sure, we have given greater attention than ever before to the "gifted student." Yet we are far from any general agreement as to the best way in which to identify the talented youth, and we follow various schemes, none fully tested, in our efforts to provide him with unusual opportunities to make the most of his special talents. The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has shown its awareness of the problems involved by creating an experimental program for 100 high schools to help them spot their superior students and prepare them for fur-

ther education. Likewise the National Education Association is exploring new ways in which it may encourage the public schools to take another look at what they are doing for their most gifted students.

Some present-day critics insist that the school administrators lost their way during the second decade of this century, when they were confronted with the task of providing twelve years of education for virtually all American youth. Then the decision was made, by default if not by positive action, to stress quantity rather than quality in our tax-supported schools. For the moment the need for universal schooling blurred our collective vision. However that may be, the choice now takes on a different form: Can we afford anything less than to "seek excellence in a context of concern for all"?

To maintain high standards against the pressure of numbers will be costly; and we shall need to use our resources with greater wisdom than previously. Historically, we have secured the funds for the support of our public schools from local taxes on a real estate base in the school district, supplemented by a distribution (to the several school districts) of certain revenues derived from State taxes. In any discussion of financing there is one point of agreement: the present resources are not adequate to provide satisfactory schools in every community in the State. Does this mean a heavier contribution by the state taxing authority, or a change in the ratio of distribution of State funds to local districts, or the provision of additional public funds? Here looms the necessity of making a choice about the use of federal funds. Our tax supported schools already receive some help from the national government, in indirect ways. Should the financial assistance become greater and more direct? This may be the most crucial choice we shall have to make in the generation immediately ahead.

REUBEN KNOX LETTERS, 1849-1851

Edited by CHARLES W. TURNER*

Part II

Reuben to his wife, Eliza³⁵

Old Fort Kearney, May 19, 1850

My dear Wife,

I am now seated in my tent to drop a word or two to you and shall have to let them be few as a boat is just coming in sight which will only remain a short time at the landing, and it is probably the last one that will come up soon and there are none above.

We have been trying to get regulated and break the mules since I arrived three days since and hope to strike our tents in the morning and be off. I wrote you a very hasty note by the Sacramento on Friday giving you some information respecting Devore. We have heard nothing of him since, and as he told many different tales to the passengers, some that he was going back, others that he did not know which end of the road he should take, and others that he was not going out with me, etc., I am still of the opinion that he is a scoundrel, and if not returned to St. Louis that he has used the money derived from the sale of my horse to carry him out to California. Losing two more since I wrote you makes nine mules and horses lost in all, and as they are exorbitantly high in this region (none at all to be had here), I have had an additional expense of one thousand dollars at least in the outfit. We have now 61 in all and hope to get along well.

Had great perplexity on opening the boxes of harness here to find that Col. Grimsby had neglected to ship 12 sets of harness and 12 important parts of some saddles ordered, the croppers and I am short 12 bridles also. Have shifted about the best way we could, and procured a part as we could, but I really thought at one time we should be compelled to return as far as St. Joe (which would delay another week), in order to make up the deficiency. Please tell Cousin Timothy that the deduction must be made when he pays my note to Col. Grimsby for harness, etc., (which is about 126 dollars.

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³⁵ Mrs. Knox (Eliza Heritage Washington Grist) was staying with her brother-in-law, William A. Graham, former governor of North Carolina, at his home in Hillsboro.

The last hour has been a sad
 one, as recalling to you the sea
 one, appearing with those to some
 of the passing below that the boat has
 been added, in road, you will see, we
 have so said that no language of mine
 has ever stood as the hours, stay with
 me, my son, it is my hope that you
 become more than day the day you find
 me, no more but in looking forward to
 the time when the joyful reunion will obliterate
 all the past, the present and the
 life left in the happy hour that
 compensates for the agonies of a weary
 I have rarely thought of anything
 in my past but your sweet smile,
 and heart almost overflowing, yet
 not fully satisfied, of the quantity of
 what I have said, I have had the courage
 to see all of it, pay what I would not

One of the letters written by Reuben Knox to his wife Eliza (May 3, 1850), showing the message written vertically and horizontally, presumably to save postage.

I hoped to spend this day alone with you (in thought), but many mishaps have prevented and you must take the will for the deed. I found Henry troubled with diarrhea at Independence but checked it with one dose of medicine and he is now and has been ever since he stopped at St. Joe, hard at work with me and quite well. Reuben is complaining for a day or two and looks pale, but is improving—he is writing to his sister in my tent and I hope will be quite well. I had a little sick turn on my way up from St. Joe from eating something that disagreed with me, and was very much fatigued riding a mule and chasing others through the woods as they would try to get off. Had to stop a few times and lie down in the shade and vomited occasionally, but was not laid up at all. Should have been if I had had your kind hand to soothe me, and lap to lay my aching head upon. Henry was everything a good boy could be, however, and I feel that Joseph and he are going to take hold like men and render all the aid in their power. I am really surprised at Joseph's ability—he does every thing the best men can do and has a constant watchful care of every thing connected with my interest. I COULD NOT GET ALONG WITHOUT HIM as it appears to me now. All hands are quite well except the slight indisposition of Reuben mentioned above and the prospect fair for a pleasant company and good time. The scenery here is delightful, no pleasanter site for a town—one white family alone residing on this side the river for some hundreds of miles. The old lady, Mrs. Harding, informs me that they have lived here for eight years and she is quite communicative.

I had written thus far, my dear, when Joseph came running from the Boat with a letter purporting by the superscription, to be from Cousin Mitton, but you cannot realize the surprise and joy REALIZED BY ME on finding out my mistake. The boat only stopped a few moments at the landing, half a mile from our camp and I am glad I did not have the above ready to put on board as I have now the pleasure of answering yours at the same time.

It is now 9 o'clock at night and all are quietly stowed away in the wagons and tents. I have retired to an old shell of a black smith's shop, once used by the Army, and seated myself on a bag by the side of one of the boxes sent up with our goods, now empty, and turned on one side, making a "first-rate" writing desk. Have our first lesson to learn tonight and preparing for the "pelting not of the pittiless storm", but pattering of a most grateful shower, being the first rain that I have seen for nearly two weeks. I am truly thankful for it and although we may get a little wet the shower will revive us on our way very much,

and start the grass afresh,—the roads have become very dry and dusty.

We have the mules picketed out tonight nearly a mile from camp, four men guarding them until 1 o'clock, and four more from 1 until day, the grass having all been eaten off near camp by the great numbers which have been here preparing for a start. About 50 left yesterday who had been waiting to go under cover of my train, but finding that it would be altogether impracticable to have so many together, I was compelled to tell them so and presume many will entertain hard thoughts and probably express them. Mr. Ham and his two men, all good and true, Dr. Tibbets and lady and his friend Mr. Davison came in with us and we hope all will go on smoothly.

I am delighted to hear that my good little Betty is a good girl, that she often thinks and talks about Papa, and especially that she does so at night and prays to the Lord HER soul to keep, that she thinks about her pa who is so far away and prays for him too. Oh! May we ever be all under His guardian care, and permitted to meet each other here once more, and more especially be prepared while here for that meeting, where PARTING IS UNKNOWN. Tis for this that I hope and believe we are now striving and trust we shall be aided by wisdom from on high to train up our dear little ones to seek the same heavenly blessing, and He who all purity and love will surely grant it them if we and they do all our duty. I have a thousand things I wish to say, but the rain is beating in so now and the thunder and lightening so intense that I shall have to close and crawl out into my wagon with Henry to spend this rainy night, instead of that sweet resting place so often enjoyed by your side. I HOPE to be able to endure the separating and spared to meet again, but really while I think of it, and the CONTRAST as it is NOW FORCED UPON ME, my faith begins to waiver and my resolutions almost falter, but for your far greater firmness and composure, I do not think I could endure it. Good night, dearest of all earthly treasures, as I cannot dwell on this subject longer.

Will tell you in the morning how all fared and if life and health be spared, and then start for the west as I fear by the time this reaches St. Louis, you will have left. One day longer on the way and I should not have had the great pleasure this ONE letter of yours has afforded. Hope you will receive mine by the Sacramento sent Friday last.

MONDAY MORNING 8 O'CLOCK. We are all harnessed and ready to be off and I have one moment with you, my dear, which must be occupied with my most ardent and affectionate expressions of love and best wishes to you and the dear babes, and then say

that that the thousandth part is not and CANNOT BE TOLD. Goodbye with my most earnest prayers, to our kind heavenly parent, protector and Guide, for your own and children's health and safety, and in HIM whom we trust may we live, and by His goodness be permitted to unite in unbroken family both here and hereafter. Yr. devoted husband.

R. KNOX

Love from all—black and white to all—All well—R.K.

Fort Kearney June 1, 1850

My dear Eliza,

We arrived here yesterday and intend to remain until Monday noon when we shall start for our next neighbor, Ft. Laramie 337 miles distant. Have not seen a human habitation since the 20th ult. when we left the Mo. River 225 miles back, save a few Indian Mud Villages.

We left a short time after I closed my last letter as I then told you we intended to do and went out with our wild unbroken mules 15 miles that afternoon (20th) and encamped on the prairie, passing a tolerably pleasant night; next day, Tuesday, moved on about 15 miles farther and crossed the Weeping Water Creek, encamping upon its western bank. None of these creeks are bridged and the banks, being high we have to take out half the loads and then double the teams to cross, and in many instances wade in the water from knee to waist deep lifting at the wheels to get along at all.

The next day, Wednesday, we got along quite well until we came to Saline or Salt Creek,³⁶ and found the crossing so very bad that I gave an ox train about \$20 worth of corn to haul our wagons over, finding it impossible to carry our corn much farther. Here we encamped again and during the night encountered one of the most terrific gales and thunder storms I ever witnessed—nothing could compare with it but that awful gale at sea of which you have heard me speak. Every tent was flooded and some badly shattered though none prostrated, and the wagon in which I lay while I could be "within doors" at all I thought would need *anchoring* to keep from being swept before the gale. One constant flash (almost) gave midnight the brightness of noon. This lasted over half the night. After encamping on the creek the evening before we made the first use of our seine and caught some fine *salt water* fish, as the water in this creek is almost as salt as sea water. Started the next morning, Thursday, but finding the mud so very deep stopped after going

³⁶ Saline Creek is located in western Kansas.

8 miles in an open prairie without wood or good water, making use of that in the pools caught full last night, our camping ground which we intended to reach being 20 miles instead of 8 miles ahead. Friday took an early start, drove 20 or more miles and encamped on the Sweet Water.³⁷ Saturday drove 25 or 28 miles and encamped near the Pawnee Capitol, meeting many Indian Chiefs, etc. as we approached their village composed of some hundred or more mud houses, each capable of holding an hundred or more persons. The Pawnees are the most treacherous and troublesome Indians we have to encounter, and before we had pitched our tents the camp was filled with them, so that I had to order out an extra guard. As we approached their town, some half a dozen chiefs and braves, old Lierchurchie, their head, in full costume, mounted among them, came into the road before me making signs for the train to stop, pulling up the grass, intimating that all belonged to them and we must not make use of it, saying "Pawnee heap, Pawnee heap, Pawnee good" etc., etc., and with violent gesticulation intimating that we must pay heavy tribute. I made signs for them to clear the road, and told the train (14 wagons) to drive on, which they did. They endeavored to frighten our mules and did cause Mr. Harding to run, capsizing his wagon, and break it so badly that we could not get through their village on the Platte, where we intended to encamp for the Sabbath as Cousin Richard had to go back pick up his scattered load and bring it along in his wagon, already heavily laden. We were compelled to stop here two miles from wood and water for the night, or encounter the hazard of being out after dark in the midst of a band of desperadoes waiting and anxious for plunder. Next morning although the holy Sabbath determined to start by daybreak and pass the town if possible so as to get out of the crowd and have a quiet day, with something to eat and drink, but before we could harness the Indians (whom I had driven off at dark) came thronging in and I had to order out guard again to keep them from pilfering our wagons and in this way marched on four or five miles to Shell Creek,³⁸ which we had to cross or not be relieved at all of the nuisance. By the time the wagons all reached the ford about 500 men, women and children had lined the bank and the mud and sand mired my horse completely down so that he was fast in the creek and I had to dismount and let him up. Many chiefs and braves had already crossed and beckoned me to stop, but I ordered the hands down, cut the banks down, a little better than perpendicular in a new place, and urged the mules down, beckoning them

³⁷ Sweet Water Creek is located off the Platt River in Kansas.

³⁸ Shell Creek is in the same general area.

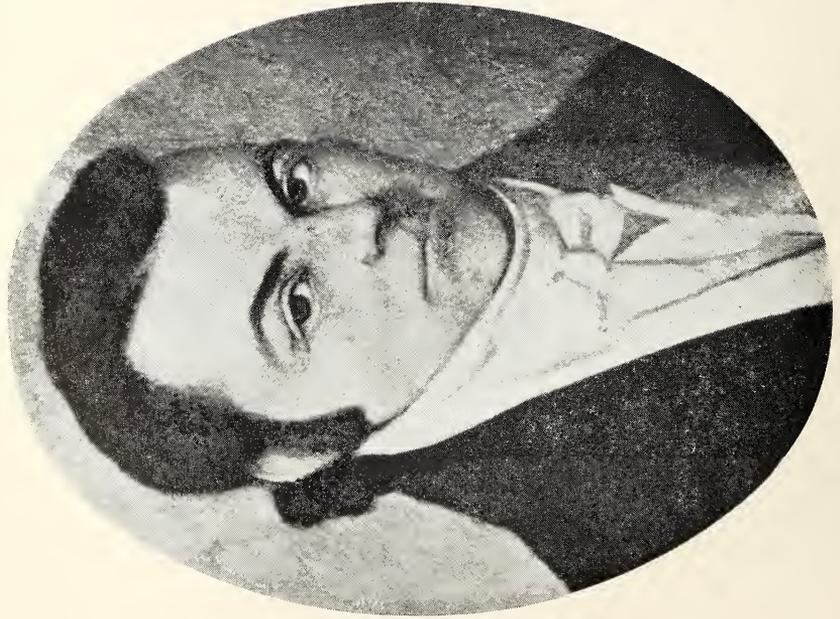
(the Indians) at the same time to give way, which they did, but intimidated by signs, to some of our men, who were pretty badly frightened, that I should not pass *safely*. I told these men if they would lend their aid to assist us over (as they had pledged themselves to do in writing before starting) that I would abide the consequences, and not encourage the Indians by their seeming fear, and rash promises in my behalf. They did so, and we dragged the wagons through, attaching a long rope to the tongue and 30 to 40 men aiding the mules to ascend the bank. I was in the water here about four hours, part of the time, to my waist, as most of the men hung back (all until I went in). Joseph, Henry, two or three others and myself have in all similar cases sprung in and attended to this part of the business when getting into trouble. Cousin Richard would be foremost also, but he has charge of another department, which he cannot leave. We have many of these bad places to pass, sometimes 4 to 6 in as many hours, then again have fine road all day. The Indians did not molest us while crossing after they saw *our* "Chief" (myself) determined to have his way and not yield to theirs. I gave them meal, sugar, corn etc. to the value of ten dollars and drove on for quarters, which we could not find there. At about 2 p.m. found camping ground, wood and water 12 miles from our uncomfortable quarters of the night before, and then tasted a cracker which was the first morsel of food taken since dinner the day before, and as I had not ventured to lie down a moment the night before, being out myself all night, and a *double* guard relieved every two hours to prevent surprize or a stampede of our mules, you may imagine something of my feelings. Added to this we had during the night another of those violent storms which we encountered for the first time on the Saline, the gale, thunder and lightening and rain lasting about half the night, which is the right kind of time for the Indians as they think to catch (and too often do it too) the white man off his guard. I know that nothing but unceasing vigilance will enable us to get through and this I am determined shall be observed so far as is in my power.

Sunday morning 20th inst. I hardly know, my dear, where to stop when writing to you, and as I have been unable to keep my regular journal so far, owing to multiplicity of duties and constant care, I must be permitted to finish the little incidents of our journey.

After we had proceeded two or three miles over the creek on Sunday morning I discovered a dozen or so of the Indians following us on horseback and they continued until we encamped, the head Chief among them, many other stragglers followed them on foot and coming in from various quarters so that we

had the camp surrounded with them although from 8 to 10 miles from their village. The Chiefs we invited into camp to dinner, they dining very heartily with one mess and then with another until each had 3 or 4 hearty meals. I think each one would drink a gallon of coffee. At sunset I *beckoned* them all away and they left greatly pleased with their ten miles excursion after their dinners. Monday had no molestation and travelled about 28 miles encamping on the Platte, Tuesday 25 miles encountering a storm on our march. Wednesday had more trouble in crossing some deep ravines on the prairies having to go into the mud and water again, and attach ropes to the wagon, and put our shoulders in good earnest to the wheels in order to get through. About noon we discovered many miles ahead what appeared to be a company of dragoons, but on taking the spy glass I discovered they were a band of Indians, in battle array. Ordering each man not engaged in driving or attending to the wagons to get his gun and march along the train on each side, we were ready (without halting longer than I have been telling you about it) to march on and on nearing them I rode out in front, made signs for them to pass on one side the road, wheeled and rode by with them until all our wagons and mules had passed in order to prevent if possible their crossing our path to frighten the mules. They started across the road between the wagons three or four times but invariably turned back as I rode forward to check them. Mrs. Warner counted them and said there were 72, and they were really the most imposing set of men and the most thoroughly equipped I had ever seen, each having a long lance, shield, bow and quiver, tomahawk, many a gun and pistols, and a variety of other weapons I cannot describe; all well mounted and dressed in their most fantastic style, both horses and rider. Met other parties of the same band the same evening and learned that about one hundred more were encamped over the bluffs, 3 or 4 miles off. They were a war party of Cheyennes out in search of the Pawnees whom they hoped to catch away from home on their hunting excursions, but failing to do that they were going down to their headquarters to acquire *more glory* by stealing horses etc. All the tribes are against the Pawnees, and they are really a most treacherous and faithless tribe in a fair way to be well paid for their frequent depredations. They have robbed many an emigrant this year as well as last, and we saw very many fine mules and horses recently taken by them. On Thursday met a messenger from Ft. Kearney (the Interpreter) going to their town, accompanied by a man who has had all his mules stolen, with a message from the commander at this fort, Maj. Chilton, which will enable him to procure them. They were taken by a large hunting party and passed us the morning before about





John Washington (1768-1837)

*Photos courtesy of Mrs.
Roy M. Chipley, Raleigh*



Elizabeth Heritage Cobb Washington (1780-1858)

Parents of Mrs. Reuben Knox



Franklin Grist (1828-1912), step-son of Reuben Knox



Susannah Sarah Washington Graham (1816-1890), wife of William Alexander Graham and sister to Mrs. Reuben Knox

Photos courtesy of Mrs. Roy M. Chipley, Raleigh



sunrise, heavily packed with buffalo meat. We are now getting into the Buffalo range and by getting a few miles off the road can find them easily. I have not been out and shall not go soon I think.

Thursday and Friday got along well about 30 miles each day, being out in but one thunder storm, but last night another of the gales, peculiar to this region, and which Franklin so well described to us last fall, came upon us in all its fury, prostrating Dr. and Mrs. Tribbet's tent entirely, leaving them drenched in the rain. Mr. Cady and his mess fared but little better as half of theirs was torn down. Mrs. Warner has a small circular one [marquee]³⁹ which stands a much harder gale than the square ones [wall]. I was in one of the wagons and fared quite well until one of the ends blew out and then got well drenched in trying to save our provisions and baggage. Richard, Reuben and Joseph were all on guard taking the whole. Henry has been excused from guard duty on account of his youth and generally endeavors to do all that a man can do. He and Joseph have acted nobly and acquired the good will of all whose friendship is desirable and we have many such along.

The above "matter of facts" have taken up so much room that I have but little left for kind greetings, etc.

You may be ready to ask how I like camp life with its duties, and I must say that nothing but the position in which I find myself placed, having every moment fully occupied and a fearful responsibility urging me to duty would render it even endurable away from you and our dear little ones. Yet I must say that I have gotten along thus far much better than I anticipated and if my health continues improving as it has thus far, I shall be fully compensated for the fatigue and hardships unavoidable on the way, and nothing but this,—no money or any other consideration would ever induce me to endure so long a separation from my dear ones left behind. The past week and present time my mind has been unusually occupied with thoughts of you as you in all probability are now on your journey to our dear friends in Carolina and I hope have been and will ever be guarded and preserved from accident and danger by our Heavenly Father, to whose care I must earnestly commend you and dear little Betty and Augustus. Tell my darling little daughter that I want her to have part of this letter for hers, and she must write to her "dear Pa" in all of her Mama's letters. I hope to hear from you when we reach Fort Laramie as I have found nothing here and shall hurry on to California more eagerly to read one kind message from you awaiting me there than for

³⁹ Marquee—a type of circular tent.

any other inducement. Do not disappoint me, but have a letter started at least every two weeks.

I write in my wagon sitting on the old trunk you packed so snugly for me but which we shall have to leave behind us as we must lighten our load every possible way we can. Have thrown away our two larger and flat irons and many other articles and shall leave the two larger wagons here as we get no offer for them, but about $1/6$ of their cost. They are too heavy and we must go as light as possible. Shall put 8 mules to the other wagons, 9 in number, and ride about a dozen others, changing to suit the ease of all as far as can be done. At best many have to walk over half the way, and some from choice walked more than $3/4$ the way. Mr. Cady more than half, and has improved faster than any one I ever saw. Those who take hold freely to assist in getting out of difficulties and walk a portion of each day appear much more robust than others too lazy to do either. Mr. Crowell has acted nobly and exerted himself to the utmost to help along. So have many more of the passengers. The hired men do as well as could be expected. You were right (as usual) in forming an estimate of Mr. Washington, who has acquired the reputation of a perfect drone, too lazy to work but not to eat. I never knew a set of men with such appetites, but hope the provisions will hold out as we have laid in a large supply. There is nothing to be had here if we needed. About 30,000 have already passed the fort upon this side of the river, and probably $1/4$ as many upon the north side. While resting here yesterday probably one thousand wagons passed and very likely as many will pass today as there is one continual stream ever in sight almost.⁴⁰

We shall be very much annoyed along the road until we get by the ox trains as they are filling the center of the road almost all the way. Some cases of smallpox have occurred in other trains, nothing of the kind with us, and in fact no sickness since we left the river save a day or two from excess in eating, etc. The man from Galena⁴¹ who has been unable to work for a year or more and had inflammation of the bowels for two years is fast improving under the nitrate of silver pills. I have three or four calls today from other trains. Find or hear nothing yet of Devore, but hope to do so some day. Pancoast is an invaluable man. So is Mr. Kinsman who has been with Mr. Whitehill in the lumber business. Gayetty is one of our cooks and a very good one. All are quite well, Henry's nose and face undergoing the third peeling, and he is as brown as an Indian. My lips have

⁴⁰ The great number of wagons passing a certain point along the way numbered in the thousands.

⁴¹ Galena was a town located in the extreme southeastern portion of Kansas.

been quite sore, but are getting better—perfectly well in every respect. Joseph is getting quite patriarchal in his beard, and really performs wonders on the route, having a constant oversight of all the horses (63), and directs them changed and watered when sore from the harness or jaded, with the judgment of an old experienced farmer.

I shall endeavor to have a line ready for you in case I meet the mail or any returning train between this and Fort L., and would not for anything have failed to send you a line by Livingston Kinkrad's partner who passed down two or three days back while I was so engaged that I did not find it out. This will not leave the fort until the last of the week.

Henry and Joseph send a great deal of love to you, little Betty and Augustus, and you must give them all the sweet kisses you can spare for their papa. Tell Betty we have about a dozen buffalo calves in sight, caught last winter as they came near the fort for something to eat. Our men saw a number of large ones a short time back and we passed many heads and skins where they had been killed. Elk, wolves and deer very often come in sight. Saw three noble elk start from the roadside a few hundred yards ahead of us and run to the bluffs, three or four miles distant with great speed. The Platte bottom is mostly a perfect level 5 or 6 miles wide, and the river from half a mile to a mile wide, but so shallow that nothing can navigate it. We have to ford over here in order to get wood as there is not a tree on this side for 20 miles that I know of, and but here and there a scattering one on the other side.

Did I ever send you the prescription for the hair tonic? If not, here it is: $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce each of Tincture Capsicum and cantarides, 1 ounce of Tinct. of Galls and 6 ounces of "Bay Rum or Rose Water, or half of each as you please. The mixture of citrate of iron is usually made 2 drahms of the iron to 8 ounces of water, adding a little mint or cinnamon if desirable. That is 2 grains to a teaspoonful, and half a teaspoonful to a teaspoonful a dose for a child a year or two old. As you cannot often get the materials for the cure of corns of the best kind, a few grains of nitrate of silver, say 15 or 20 to an ounce of Tincture of Iodine *applied cautiously to the corn alone will generally cure.*

The Iron Pills I gave you are composed of 1 drachm Quicksilver, 3 or 4 drachms of best precipitated carbonate of iron stirred briskly with an ounce of conserve of Roses. The dose you know, but I hope you will not need any medicine again soon, and that the children will get along without much, if any.

Shall think of you all in a few days as quietly quartered with your and my best friends in Hillsborough and hope they will all pardon me for this step when they hear from you all the circum-

stances.⁴² Goodbye, goodbye as I must write to St. Louis and Blandford today although I do not feel that I can give up this letter yet which you may think far from the point. It is surely very much mixed, and I have no time to see what I have written or failed to write.

Ever yours,

Reuben Knox

Much love to all *you love* and many more kisses for *my dear ones*. R.K.

We have now passed most if not all the Indians we expect to see this side the Salt Lake, and have had no annoyance from them of any account since we left the Pawnees. The Sioux are very friendly and I have gone to their different camps or quarters in order to purchase ponies as often as I could and had no trouble at all with them. 37 miles east at Fort Laramie there is a considerable trading post and back 8 or 10 miles off the road Chouteau and Company of St. Louis have a trading post.⁴³ Saw a small log hut or two there which was the first house of any kind discovered for 300 miles.

The scenery for 40 or 50 miles east and near the same distance this side of Scott's Bluff⁴⁴ is the most grand and romantic I have ever seen, the Bluffs in the distance presenting the appearance of an ancient most strongly fortified city surrounded by insurmountable walls, such as we find graphic descriptions of so often in the Bible, and from which I could not disassociate the [illegible] towers, domes, chimneys, colossal columns, etc., etc., in every variety of shape and form rising from 4 to 9 or 10,000 feet above our heads, being constantly presented to our view for 3 or 4 days as some of them "Court House Bluff", "Chimney Rock" etc., being our land marks for a distance of 40 miles or more; and from Scotts Bluffs on the river back to Chouteau Trading post one of the most beautiful basins, embracing about 100 square miles, I have ever seen or DREAMED of, is passed through on our route, nearly in the center, surrounded on either side by those high and TRULY ARCHITECTURAL walls which keeps up the constant impression that you are passing over enchanted ground or the ruins of ancient days. How I did long to have you by my side that we might admire the thousand beauties continually in view TOGETHER. But I hope Franklin has preserved a sketch and that will please us both in

⁴² His family, or at least a part of it, in Hillsboro.

⁴³ Chouteau and Company was an important fur company of St. Louis which had trading posts throughout the area traveled.

⁴⁴ Scott's Bluff was off the North Platte River and near Fort Laramie.

after years, and be better than anything I can describe to you here as I am very deficient in this as well as most other qualifications so essential in letter writing. You will judge me by my WISHES AND CONSTANT DESIRE TO SHARE WITH YOU IN ALL THINGS, and by my meagre attempts to describe the scenery or anything connected with our journey, for in this case you would be but poorly repaid for the trouble of reading my letters. At this trading post we saw an Indian buried in a sitting position in his basket attached to the limb of a cedar tree in a very remote spot,—passed two graves of Indians a few days previous hung up on a scaffold formed of the lodge poles, the [illegible] being removed which is the way of burying practiced you know by many of the Indian tribes. Sad to relate the two last mentioned were killed in a drunken frolic a few days before we passed, having been furnished with the fire and DEATH water by some emigrants who took this way to get their ponies as they will sell anything for liquor. The first word we ever get from them almost is "I thirst", and I have as invariably given them water and nothing but water to drink except when they have a feast, and then coffee had to suffice. But they always "thirst" just as much AFTER drinking water or coffee as before.

By the way speaking of thirsting reminds me that your Golden syrup has just furnished us the last sweet drink and we today have to throw away the old house keeper demijohn as we cannot carry anything more than we can possibly help. The cakes have been but slightly decreased in number and we keep them in our wagon. They have kept as sweet and fresh as ever. The yeast has as yet been useless as we cannot make the cook do anything with it and shall not probably while the soda and acid lasts. He makes excellent light biscuit with that. Find the rice an indispensable article and I would not be without a large supply for any sum that could be named. All have fine appetites and appear to be disposed to indulge them freely. Reuben is a little unwell yesterday and today for the third time, caused I think by over indulgence, and I find it as difficult to restrain Henry at the Camp kettle as at our own table in former days. Hope he will not seriously injure himself by indulging his inordinate appetite. We are all quite well with the above exceptions and I hope have passed most of the sickly region, yet the valley of the Humboldt River is on some accounts to be dreaded. You will see by the "Republican"⁴⁵ the list of those who have passed Ft. L on our arrival—nearly 35,000 and now while I am writing the

⁴⁵ The *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican* began publication in 1823 in St. Louis.

road back a mile off is literally live with wagons. Many times one continued column of 3 or 4 miles in length presents itself not giving room for a wagon even to crowd in edgewise.

Did I tell you that Dr. Tribbets had left us a week or ten days ago. They did so the day after crossing the South Fork⁴⁶ hoping to get along faster, but we have passed them again (if at all) by traveling on the Sabbath which his wife is opposed to, but the company he has joined think all days alike and are of such a cast that the Dr. has already become tired of them and tried to get back again but we shall receive no more as we have all the work to do crossing rivers, etc., to get no thanks for it.

One of the men I hear saying that he has already counted 500 wagons that have passed today. Cook says supper is ready and I must go. 4 P.M.

Well, dearest wife, supper having disposed of (bean soup with ham bones and meat, corn and flour bread, boiled rice with currants equal to the best pudding, a good cup of tea, etc., I return to the wagon with portfolio and elbow resting on your soft comforts, which constitute our bedding by night and sofa or lounge by day, ON SUNDAY, and after looking out to ascertain whether the Laramie Peak or the Rocky Mts. which have been looming up for 50 or 60 miles back, be really and bonafide mountain or a very dark cloud preparing to deluge our camp between midnight and day, I return to the most pleasant duty on our long and dreary way, that of writing a few more lines to one so loved and lovely, and for fear of burdening the mail I must cross this instead of taking another sheet, being full aware that I have been the occasion of so many crosses to you already that you will not scold me much for this as it is of so different a character from many former ones. Never have I been the means of producing one single one, however, or giving you a moment's pain without causing a thousand pangs of bitter regret in my own breast, and a reverent resolve to guard against them in future, but poor human nature is so frail and selfish and easily overcome that the best intentions are and have been often broken. But I must change the subject and tell you that I have become fashionable since I left Ft. Kearney and now appear in my red flannel shirt, those I procured at Van Deventers⁴⁷ being so small I cannot wear them. Find the flannel much more comfortable both in the hot sun and cool night air, the temperature of the morning to midday often varying 40 to 50 degrees. Joseph wears them too, without any other, and Henry takes what comes to hand.

⁴⁶ South Fork River is a branch of North Platte River.

⁴⁷ Van Deventers was a general merchandise and supply store in St. Louis in the 1850's.

I wish you could look in upon us as we scatter about in motly groups after lunch at noon or supper at night, especially after a day of severe toil. I would give 50 dollars for a good sketch such as Frank could take of our camp on such an occasion or for a few daguerotype impressions.

I forget whether I told you the other day of a walk I took the other night after wood, but think not. Well, having found good grass for camping about 3 or 4 miles from Chimney Rock and being without any wood and not in the vicinity of any substitute such as buffalo chips or weeds of any kind, I beat up for volunteers to go to the Bluff and cut a back load of dry cedar. Reuben, Henry and five of the men joined me and when we had walked three miles or more two of the men seeing that we were not half way to the woods turned back and we kept on, reaching the top of the Bluff about 8 o'clock, cutting some dry pine which we found, we tumbled it down a precipice of about 6 or 700 feet and then hastened our return with what we could carry and walked about four miles as fast as we could with our loads where we met Joseph (ever on the alert) with two men on horseback sounding the bugle and halloing with all their power, in search of us as they feared we were lost or taken by the Indians. The relief was most timely as I was never more exhausted in my life and when I mounted Joseph's horse and rode a few hundred yards I was compelled to get off and walk into camp as I was so wet with perspiration that I feared to remain inactive until it was checked. Reached camp at 11 o'clock and ate my lunch and supper all together as I was off with the sick while the rest stopped at noon and had taken nothing since morning. For the last hour of our walk the blackest kind of a thunder cloud had been rising and as I was pouring out my coffee and eating by the fire light of the cooking stove the hail began to descend with great fury about the size of small hickory nuts, and cracked my pate and knuckles so unmercifully that I retreated under the wagon for safety and shelter and ate my supper there in the dark; getting up I found myself thoroughly soaked with the rain but unscathed by the hail. Looking around for Henry, he could not be found at his usual post when eating was the play, and I found him in his tent so exhausted he said he had dropped down to rest as soon as he could and had no inclination to go out for supper hungry though he was. I procured it for him, however, and he ate with a fine relish. During the hail storm Cousin Richard was after the mules which had taken fright at their cruel pelting and run off at full speed as many as could extricate themselves from their pickets and came near being lost altogether. Reuben had just thrown down his light wood log and was as the horsemen arrived preparing to lie down by it for the night

being completely exhausted. I had walked four or five miles before for wood to cook supper and breakfast with, but never 14 until then, and think I shall never do, or suffer the same again. I give you this to show how deceptive are appearances on the prairies or plains where distance is concerned as well as to let facts inform you that the jaunt in which we are now engaged is no child's play. If ever I am permitted to JOIN YOU at your peaceful home, however poor and HOMELY, I shall never be caught in such a jaunt again. In fact there is no other pilgrimage in the world on record to compare with it in my estimation. I have now written all I can here and have only room to tell my "dear darling little daughter, Betty" how much Papa loves her and longs to see her, get some of those sweet kisses, carry her out to see the sweet flowers, tell her who made them all, and who loves good little girls and wants to see them kind, good and happy, and how Pa wants to have her with him ALL THE TIME once more with her dear Mama and sweet little brother. Tell her also to give that sweet little brother and Mama a great many kisses for her dear papa.

Camp 30 miles east of Scott's Bluff,
Sabbath Eve June 16, 1850

My dear Wife and
Darling Little Daughter:

I have been so busy today with the sick that this is the first opportunity I have to sit down and tell you something about our journey thus far.

We had hoped and expected to reach Scott's Bluff yesterday and spend the Sabbath there where we could see some indication of civilization, but we were detained one day at the south fork of the Platte in crossing as we found it high and had to carry everything over in the boat that was indispensable merely risking our baggage in the wagons raised on the top of the bodies.

After leaving Ft. Kearney where I wrote you we had a gloomy time indeed as the next day brought us in contact with the cholera, which was and still is very severe along the route, the heavy dews, dense fogs and flooding rains so constantly occurring predisposes the system very strongly to this disease as it is impossible for any of us to keep dry at all times, and many are wet from morning till night and night till morning. For the week after writing you I think we had an average of 3 or 4 drenching rains every 24 hours and the roads were awfully muddy. On the morning of the 6th Mason, who had been ill with diarrhea 2 or 3 days, and relying upon his boasted homopathic remedies, died. I was called in haste to see him about 8½ the night previous, as

he was said to have a fit—found him with all the symptoms of the last stages of cholera strongly marked and although every exertion was made his pulse continued to sink until it became entirely imperceptible, although the vomiting and purging were checked in about one hour after I saw him. We were detained there half the day and farther on another half day so that we only travelled 4 days that week.

I saw many sick and dying in the different trains we passed, having from 20 to 40 patients daily to prescribe for and as most of the trains were entirely destitute of medicine I had most of it to prepare and distribute gratuitously. To SPECIFY a little one day started at 3 a.m., rode 3 miles from camp, missed my way in the fog and rode a mile in searching for the place, saw a man from Georgia dying, did not live more than half an hour, passed two large wolves on the way not more than 30 or 40 yards from me and so bold that they would hardly give the way; prescribed for 3 more sick in the same camp and some in two other camps on my way back to my own. Breakfasted at 5; got off at 5½ having two men awaiting my departure to conduct me to two camps a mile or two ahead for you must know that many who have no physicians in their train are constantly trying to keep near us, that they may find relief in case of sickness, etc.,—prescribed for two sick in one and three in the other, one nearly gone—before I joined the wagons, had another awaiting for me to come up who had a sick wife and child going along in a train ahead of ours, so rode up and administered medicine as the train was moving along, At about 8 called ¼ of a mile off to see a dying man from Arkansas, would not live an hour. The three remaining members of the company had just buried one of their number; gave medicine to them as one of them was quite unwell and the other two almost frightened to death. Kept away from the wagons by constant applications for advice, etc., along the road until 10—found a man there wishing me to go off the road some distance to see a number of sick ones in a train of twenty three or four wagons filled with families from Independence and vicinity—they were burying the sixth—found another dying and 10 or 12 sick. Remained with them until my company had gone so far that I did not reach them until after lunch time and they were about harnessing the mules again. In a mile or so, was called off again. Some distance from the road found a lady from Illinois dying and a young man very sick; ½ a mile from thence and before I reached the road, saw a man dying and his wife quite sick—continued along the road and the river bank among the camps about in the same way constantly trying to relieve the sick and galloping along until 6½ when we camped. Before the mules were harnessed two

messengers came post haste for me, one to go two miles back and off the road, the other one mile ahead. In one found 4 sick, one of whom was cold purple and pulseless—but who revived about two hours after and I was, but did not go to see him again about midnight—sent more medicine and started off in the morning at 3½, finding some out of danger and the other better, etc., etc.,

This, my dear, is but a specimen of what has been my daily and nightly toil since the 4th inst., and many nights I have not been able to get one hour's rest.

“Bitter Water” in camp near a cool spring
Sabbath noon 23rd June 1850.

Since I commenced this, my dear Eliza, I have written you a hasty note from Ft. Laramie about 30 miles east and sent by government express which I hope you will receive some weeks before this will reach you by regular course of mail, and I now have crawled into my wagon (having finished my morning calls) to commune a while with you. The days pass so strangely and very differently from what I have ever known them before that I can hardly realize how they fly and although we have passed through much trying scenes since last Sabbath the time has appeared almost like a dream. We are entirely alone here today as the two thousand (at least) cattle and horses in sight last night and this morning have all passed away and left us in quiet possession of the field. We were all day yesterday (man and beast) suffering for water as the stream where we expected to find an abundance about ten o'clock was dry and we did not find a drop for the teams until about 6 last evening. Here we have good wood, water and grass and are I trust thankful for it, in which to spend the Sabbath. Mr. Langdon has just gone ahead in search of a horse of his own and two belonging to an officer at the fort which were stolen night before last—hope to meet him and send this by him to the fort. He is in the Quartermasters office and I believe doing well. (Mr. Carson, one of our passengers left us at Laramie, having met with his name sake there, the celebrated “Kit”, who invited him to join his band in an excursion to Santa Fe and thence to California. Hope he will not “regret it”.)⁴⁸

I have written but little, my dear except to you since I left as I have been so constantly and unexpectedly occupied with the sick that I have “had no heart” to do any thing and it has been MOST DISHEARTENING to attend to this. Really I hope that the

⁴⁸ “Kit” Carson was a celebrated frontiersman.

worst is over and that we shall see little or no more of it on our way. It is now "Sabbath Eve," dearest wife, and how SOFT the sun beams would linger over these hills in this curious abode if you were here to enjoy it with me. I would love to ramble to one of these tall cliffs and sing that sweet hymn of praise and prayer with my dearest earthly friend and little ones by my side. Will it ever be that we shall all meet again to join in thanksgiving and praise to Him who alone is able to preserve us all and grant us our hearts desire in this respect? But of how infinitely higher importance it is that we should so dispose each of our hearts by the kind and saving influence of His Holy Spirit so to strive for pardon and acceptance at the feet of the Saviour that we and they may one and all finally be permitted to meet in Heaven. Oh, my dear, how my heart yearns for you in the sole care, guidance and direction of those tender mortal minds—how important the duty and how much we all need grace and wisdom from above to enable us to discharge our duty aright. That this grace and wisdom may be freely bestowed upon you is my constant prayer, and that you may be enabled to direct the thought of those dear children to God, the Giver of all good, and the source of all good, and permanent happiness, is my most earnest desire.

I would like to write more and should never get through my letter if I followed my inclination as it is a great satisfaction to tell you my thoughts even in this way and at this great distance, but the sun is leaving me and I must prepare for rest. Oh, for such a resting place as once was mine in our sweet home with dear Betty on one side and Mamma and little brother on the other. I would give all I have and more if possible for those happy hours to return NOW.

Remember, my dear, yes I KNOW YOU WILL, the hour of twilight. Nine o'clock and early dawn or morning walking. Oh, remember me then and remember me ever.

Goodnight, goodnight. I cannot write more. Heavens blessings ever attend you. Your most disconsolate husband,
Reuben Knox.

Much love to all our relatives and friends,

R.K.

(Note from Ft Laramie
Before Bitter Springs)

Ft. Laramie, June 20, 1850

My dear Wife:

I have rode today about forty miles on horseback ahead of the wagons in order to procure some additional horses if poss-

ible. Have purchased on the way at the Indian Trading post and here four, and bargained for two more. Find them very high and difficult to procure but must have them at some price as many of our mules are jaded and need rest. They have generally done well and I hope will carry us through. I have now seventy one and wish eight or ten more.

We have encountered four violent hail storms this afternoon and as I did not bring my India rubber⁴⁹ along am writing you as wet as you have ever seen me. Took tea with Langdon and he has later news from *Franklin* much later than any I have received although I hope you have by this time heard from him. He has been up among the Nez Perce above Fort Hall during the winter on business but is now at Salt Lake City.⁵⁰ We hope to meet him in 20 or 30 days, if no accident occurs. Have gotten along this far as well or better than I expected. When we encounter difficulty have to take hold and overcome it. Had to ferry over the South Fork as we found the river high. Was engaged there and much of the time in the water, from 10 A.M. until 11 P.M. and Cousin Richard until 2½ next morning. Joseph was unwell that day with diarrhea and Henry and myself were on the move on horseback and off most of the time. Tomorrow morning we have the same thing to do here as we find the Laramie fork.

We have encountered a great deal of cholera along the road from Ft. Kearney to this place and have counted some 145 graves on the roadside as we passed along and have not probably seen ½ or perhaps ¼ of the whole number. Have had some 15 or 20 cases in my train, none of whom have proved fatal except *Mason* who was relying upon his favorite homopathic remedies until [he] perfectly collapsed. All the cases I have seen in time have been relieved and I have prescribed for 30 or 40 per day and found little rest day or night since I last wrote you. Have a letter commenced some days since in the wagon 10 or 12 miles back giving you a more full account and hope to send it in 10 or 12 days as the regular mail leaves here the first of every month. Find an express leaving here early in the morning and drop you this hasty line by it as I fear you will have very exaggerated reports respecting the cholera along the Platte, as we have heard from St Louis, the last reports received on the way state the number of deaths per day to be 70, but by the papers of the 20 and 25 May seen here today, I am rejoiced to learn that it is all exaggerated and the city

⁴⁹ "India rubber" refers to his rubber (rain) coat.

⁵⁰ Fort Hall was a military fort in the Oregon Territory, located in present-day Idaho.

healthy. Hope you have all been well and now enjoying yourselves with our good Carolina friends.

How you have disappointed me by not writing by the express mail as I hoped very much to have received one from you here, and would swim the Platte again if I could have that pleasure. Fear now that I shall not hear from you at all until this long and tedious journey is completed.

We hear that there is much less sickness ahead and hopeful to find it true as the constant calls along the way are wearing away my flesh pretty fast although my health is quite good. Have had two slight attacks myself,—Joseph and Henry also, but all are well now and I think the prospect fair ahead.

Many kisses to little Betty and Augustus and I must bid you all good night.

Ever yrs., R. Knox.

(To Mrs. Doct. Reuben Knox,
% Governor Graham, Hillsborough, N. Carolina.

Friday morning 21st. I have walked back to the crossing this morning two miles to ascertain the state of the water. Found it the same. Have just breakfasted with Major Sanderson, the commandant here, on first rate Buffalo meat. Have had some along the way but the chase is too severe for our horses and I do not intend to break them down in that way when it is so very important for our safety that they hold out to the end of our journey. It is mere accident that I have the privilege to send you this hasty note as a government express starts in half an hour direct to Fort Leavenworth on important business connected with the court martial now sitting here and this will reach you about a month in advance of the regular mail as I was informed at the breakfast table.⁵¹

We now consider ourselves fairly under way, about one third of the journey having been accomplished and we just one month on the way. Hope to get through by 1st Sept. and if all live to return to my dear home again and find you all well, it will be the most happy period of my life. It is really too great a sacrifice to be deprived the privilege from those I love so dearly for so long a time and were the decision NOW to be made I should most assuredly decline the undertaking. Do let me hear often if spared to reach our destination as I fear now that I shall be in suspense until then unless I get late news of you from Franklin, which I hope to do. Langdon informs me that he is

⁵¹ Members of the military forces stationed at forts in the West helped to transport the mail from place to place before the express companies took over the job.

under no obligation to remain with his company so [he] can leave at any time. I shall finish the letter I have in the wagon and send back here in time for the regular mail 1st July giving you more of the particulars of our journey.

Tell Little Betty that I have seen a great many little Papposes and a great many antelope, elk, Buffalo, etc., and that the wolves sometimes come near our camp but Bounce won't let them come in to eat our breakfast.⁵² They are very bold and will come into the wagons and carry off kettles of meal or anything they can find unless closely watched. My dear Eliza, little Betty and Augustus must now receive Papa's kisses in the only way he can send them, and kindest wishes for their continued health and happiness. [Illegible]and my paper is full. So are my heart and eyes when closing a letter to you.

Most affectionately yrs.
Reuben Knox.

Love to Ma, Sister and all.⁵³

Great Salt Lake City, July 24, 1850.

My dear wife,

I am once more privileged to meet our dear Frank and very thankful for the privilege as he has consented to go on with us and is making all haste to be off this evening. Find him in the enjoyment of perfect health and apparently happy, saying he has had every thing to make his time pass off pleasantly since he has been here, and has really become quite attached to the place and mode of life. He has returned from Oregon only a few weeks since. We (Joseph, Henry and I) left the balance of our company on the 10th Inst. where the roads fork and have had a very hard drive here 250 miles over a most intolerable road, reaching here on the 21st. Franklin was in camp 17 down the lake and Joseph went off to hunt him up the next day; found him and both returned about dark. Yesterday he made arrangements with his party to leave and about 9 o'clock last night he and Joseph started back to camp after his effects, riding all night and returning this morning. We shall make a forced march and try to overtake our wagons in 10 or 12 days, somewhere on the Humboldt River.⁵⁴ The route through this great valley is from 150 to 200 miles farther than the one the wagons have gone. Left all well when we parted with them. Henry had an attack of fever a few days before and I was unwilling to leave

⁵² "Bounce" was the dog accompanying the Knox party on the journey.

⁵³ Knox's mother and sister were visiting his wife in Hillsboro.

⁵⁴ The Humboldt River, 290 miles long, is located in the northern part of present-day Nevada.

him, fearing it might return. It did not, however, and he's perfectly well. Last Sabbath a week ago I had a very severe attack of fever, but was able to ride the next day and by Wednesday following thought I had recovered my strength fully. Over-taxed myself in passing some awful road and brought on a return of fever the next day which prostrated me very much and has reduced my flesh considerably. Am now quite well again but very weak and shall take care not to tax my strength so severely again.

I write my dear in great haste as we have a great deal to do this morning to get ready to be off. Frank and all the boys send a great deal of love to you and the little ones and you must give them many kisses for me. I rec'd your letter directed to Ft. Kearney at Pacific Springs about two weeks since and was much cheered with its contents. Hope to have one or more awaiting my arrival at Sacramento City⁵⁵ and that I shall hear from you regularly after we arrive at our destination. Franklin had received no news of my intended trip as the letters never reached him and was taken quite by surprise.

And now, dear Eliza, goodbye again, until we reach California as there will be no opportunity to send a letter after we leave this place. A mail starts for the States on Monday next and I hope you will receive this in due time.

Much love to all our Carolina friends. May the Lord bless you, preserve your own and childrens' health and restore us all to each other again.

Ever yrs,
R. Knox.

To Mrs. Doct. R. Knox
Care of Gov. Graham,
Hillsborough, N. Carolina

Post marked Sept 18

San Francisco, Sept. 20/50

My dear Wife:

Few and far between have been the bright spots in my rambles since I wrote you very disjointedly at Salt Lake City, but the happy days and nights spent over your letters of June and July after arriving at Sacramento last Saturday (14th) has more than compensated me for all my trials. You never can realize how extremely anxious I was to hear once more from you. (the last news having been communicated at a brief period after my departure from Salt Lake City and that anxiety heightened daily by the exaggerated reports reaching me of the ravage of

⁵⁵ Sacramento City was the early name given the capital of California.

Cholera in St. Louis at a time too when I knew you might be there.⁵⁶ And although your letters speak of the severe fever SUCH A MOTHER'S CONSTANT CARE and every comfort kind friends could afford and am truly thankful that that care has been so richly repaid in the prospect of restoration to his former health and vigor and that you were all so well when your letter was closed (23rd July). A Mail Steamer is today due and will probably be here by tomorrow (as they make their regular time now and then). On reaching Sacramento which I shall probably do in a day or two I hope to hear from you again and be cheered once more as I have so recently been.

I regretted very much that I could not avail myself of this Steamer sailing from this port on the 15th to write you, but the mail had left Sac. before we arrived. It leaves here and Panama on the 1st and 15th of every month, so that you may be sure that your SEMI-MONTHLY LETTERS will be provided for, and I hope to receive every one in due time. Shall write you regularly now by every mail steamer and I assure you that the impossibility of sending you any word in this way since leaving Salt Lake City has added greatly to the trials of the road. I hardly know whether to say anything about those trials and hardships, losses, etc., etc., to you or not, but feel that you wish to know precisely our situation in every respect and that although many disasters have befallen us, yet, you ought to be apprised of them all.

After leaving Salt Lake with *all* the boys we made a forced march with our pack horses of about two weeks before we could overtake the wagons, riding early and late, often till 11, 12 and sometimes 2 o'clock at night in order to do so before our provisions would give out. We did so on the Humboldt near its head or where the road intersects it and found all well, **man** and beast, and progressing rapidly. Stopped all hands two days to recruit and enable Joseph to come up, who had necessarily been left behind to bring along as he could four horses broken down by our forced march. He came up with ONE of them, the other two having died. We then started on and made good progress for near three hundred miles down the Humboldt or Mary's River until near the Sink ⁵⁷ [?] when the mules nearly all became sick, many of them died and all appeared to lose most of their power of [motion] so that our progress was greatly retarded as we had to stop every day or two to recruit or try to relieve the sick mules and horses. When not within 80 miles of the

⁵⁶ Eliza was visiting friends in St. Louis, possibly looking after the Knox property there.

⁵⁷ Knox is referring to Carson Sink, a saline lake, in the vicinity of Carson City, Nevada.

desert we found the grass giving out, the water too bad for man or beast and the desert was thus ACTUALLY made 125 instead of 45 miles as laid down in the guide books.⁵⁸ When near the Sink of the river or the point where the sand desert commences, we ran off the road 8 or 10 miles to find grass to cut and carry with us, but the mules continued sick and appeared to derive no strength from what they ate or drank. After stopping two days we entered the desert, and although we could have gone through in another 24 hours as we expected to have done had our animals been in good condition, we were out all of two nights and two days until the 10 the next night (after we left all trace of grass) and found ourselves still 10 or 12 miles from food or water and compelled to stop the wagons or kill all our mules in the attempt to take them through.

I had them all started off in a drove for water and grass that night, remaining myself with one to aid me as a guard. Being quite exhausted from over exertion loss of sleep in the Humboldt, swimming it as I was often compelled to go in search of grass for our animals, I was then severely attacked with dysentery, the ravishing disease of the valley through which we had passed, and was confined there three nights and two days exposed every moment to the extreme heat of the place at that season, and what was an hundred fold worse and more sickening, the most offensive odor arising from the putrid bodies of about twenty horses within gun shot of me. **Many THOUSANDS are lying dead in this desert. How gladly would I have given all this world were it at my own disposal for the comfort and consolation of your kind hand, and that alone, could afford me at our own once happy and quiet home. My mind was constantly wandering to our little bedroom and when under the influence of powerful opiates which would only afford temporary ease, I was constantly wandering in my slumbers to your arms and dreaming of happiness once more. The mere recalling such a dream to mind even now, has a luxury attending it. When SHALL it be realized?

But I am wandering from my subject. About day break the first morning Franklin and Joseph returned with the sad news that more than half of our mules had been lost, and they had been out all night in search of them. Some were found the next day, but twenty five which had been started in one band to the water have not to this moment been heard from. Some with saddles and some with harness on. They were probably driven off by the Indians and their more heartless accomplices, the traders at those posts under cover of the night when the men

⁵⁸ "Official guide books" were frequently incorrect when giving directions, especially of desert areas.

were off their guard and satiating themselves with water and refreshment after their most tiresome march. Search was made for 15 or 20 miles around but to no purpose and after three days we had to set out again, leaving five of our wagons on the desert. The road from this point grew worse and worse and the grass entirely eaten off or dried up so that by the time we reached the Sierra Nevada mountains our mules and horses were but poorly prepared to overcome the almost insurmountable difficulties of their ascent.⁵⁹ We started with but two wagons, shortly threw away one of them, and after accomplishing the most difficult passes and getting over the worst" as we thought, we broke that and had to abandon it, packing our entire stock, clothing, provisions, cooking utensils, etc., on the mules, and accomplishing the remainder of our journey on foot,—in fact we had all been walking most of the distance for some hundreds of miles and a more rough, dirty, jaded set of human beings you have seldom if ever seen. Our provisions having been shamefully wasted by many of the (so called) men, BUT IN REALITY HOGS during the first few weeks of our journey, that we had to put all on rather short rations, as there was no possibility of procuring any supplies until we came within reach of the mines⁶⁰ . . . and then at the different trading posts, flour for instance was selling at \$1.50 to \$2.00 per lb., Pork about the same. I was often urged to sell a little rice or flour and offered \$2.00 a pound for either. I gave to the almost starving while I could with safety, but never sold a penny's worth, and were for the last 8 or 10 days compelled from self defense or our own safety, to withhold it from them altogether.

You can never have any adequate conception of the exposure and hardships, difficulties and privations many have encountered on this route, and no one who has tried them once, if of sane mind, would ever be willing, under any circumstances, to encounter them again. We find every kind of business overdone, and our prospects for realizing anything like a fair remuneration for our sacrifices of time, comfort and DOMESTIC HAPPINESS, in a most gloomy condition. Yet I do not despair or repine, and hope to do something before returning.

Having to purchase so many horses on the way my funds have been greatly reduced and we have only been able to bring in 28 out of 83 mules and horses which we have had on the way and they are in no condition for market. Have them on a Ranch 20

⁵⁹ The Sierra Nevada mountain range extends north and south for over 400 miles and serves as the eastern boundary of California.

⁶⁰ Used supplies could be purchased from mining camps in the Sacramento Valley, but the prices were high.

miles from Sacramento to recruit.⁶¹ I am here to look after our goods which have not arrived yet. Richard and Joseph are at Sac., Henry and Reuben with two of my men at the mines where I shall go in two or three days. Have hired the negroes temporarily in Sac. Hunter will make from 8 to 10 dollars per day; Lewis 3 or 4, George \$100 per month, Sarah \$10 per week, and Fred \$1.00 per day. We are keeping bachelor's hall there yet, and shall probably board ourselves as rooms are difficult to procure and most high. Do not know what Frank will do yet. Will write you more fully when we get fairly settled. Mrs. Dr. Tibbets came here yesterday. They have been with us most of the way. She looks quite thin. Cousin Ellen is quite well and much more fleshy than when you saw her. Mr. Tiffany is entirely restored mind and body and will return 1st Nov., having made about \$100,000 during the year he has been here. He says if Cousin Samuel was here now he could give him his practice, worth at least \$1,000 per week, with the same facilities for realizing a fortune in speculation that he has had. He is in fine spirits.

I have no letters except yours and two on business since my arrival. Shall write to St. Louis, Blandford, and Jacksonville by this mail. I regret very much that I could not send you earlier intelligence of our safety as I fear the news, so current here, of having been drowned in the Humboldt may have reached you, but I hope it has not as you have trials enough to encounter without having your mind distressed with such reports. It was also currently reported along the road that I had died in Salt Lake City, and I was often told of it on our way to overtake our wagons. Such reports ever make me feel very sad, and I hope they have not reached you. But I must quit, prepare to be off in the boat and finish this with my answer to "my dear little darling daughters" letter to Sacramento where I hope in a day or two to inform you of the reception of your next which I trust is very near at this moment. Bye, bye my dearest for the present.

Monday morning, September 23rd.

I was quite suddenly attacked with distress in my stomach and bowels after writing the above and did not go up to Sacramento as I anticipated. Have now gotten better and shall go this evening. The mail steamer is in and if I receive your letter I shall write you, and send this line by this mail.⁶² If not, by the next which leaves the middle of Oct.

Franklin has concluded to remain here for the present and TRY HIS LUCK IN painting. I hope and believe he will do well

⁶¹ Knox placed the animals at the Novata Ranch, of which he writes later.

⁶² Part of the mail to and from California was sent by way of Central America and part of it was carried around the Strait of Magellan.

after his activities are known, as I am sure they must be appreciated here and elsewhere. He appears in fine spirits and talks more of his future plans and wishes than he has been in the habit of doing heretofore. [He] does not relinquish the idea of visiting Italy and other parts of Europe, and will be greatly stimulated in business I think with the hope of raising the WHEREWITH to gratify that desire. He is in the most perfect and robust health you can imagine, and has been greatly improved PHYSICALLY by his mountain life and exposure. His constitution is capable of great endurance and nothing seems to injure him.

You need never pay any postage on letters sent here.⁶³

The citrate of iron for the children may be mixed one grain to each teaspoonful of water or Betty takes a teaspoonful or nearly full three or four times a day. Augustus about teaspoonful. The common carbonate of iron, that is powder, mixed with a little ginger sometimes answers a better purpose. Give what will lie on the point of a beaker (3 or 4 grains) or syrup. For yourself, dear, I trust you will need no prescription. Some iron and Blue Mass Pills I think you have on hand which I think the best for you if debilitated. You can take citrate of iron if weak or feeble, or 4 grains to the dose mixed in any convenient or palatable vehicle. The Iodide of iron as mixed in Butt's Compound Extract or Sandy's⁶⁴ would be good for little James Bryan or the citrate of Iron as mixed for Betty and given in doses of 1 to 2 teaspoonfuls. Bathing the swollen part freely in whiskey and salt would be of service.

And, my dear, I must go out, attend to some business and get ready to be off for Sacramento.

Much love to all our Carolina friends. Tell Sister Susan a letter from her would be most welcome, and tell Mother that she must dictate if not write a much longer message the next time. I want to hear a great deal and that right often from her.

Ever Yrs.

REUBEN KNOX

[to be concluded]

⁶³ The receiver of mail paid the postage charge at the time Knox wrote these letters.

⁶⁴ Medicines of the type mentioned (ready-compounded) later were called "patent medicines."

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- STICK, DAVID. *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1958. 352 p. \$6.00.
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- BURGER, NASH K. *Leonidas Polk of the Southwest*. New York, National Council [of the Protestant Episcopal Church], 1959. 22 p. \$.25.
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- FLETCHER, HAROLD H. *Faith of a salesman*. Charlotte, Heritage Printers, 1959. 53 p. \$2.00.
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- QUINCY, BOB. *Choo, Choo, the Charlie Justice story*, by Bob Quincy and Julian Scheer. Chapel Hill, Bentley Publishing Co., 1958. 132 p. \$3.95.
- ROYALL, MARGARET SHAW. *Andrew Johnson—presidential scapegoat*. New York, Exposition Press, 1958. 175 p. \$3.50.

- SEAWELL, HERBERT FLOYD, JR. Sir Walter, the Earl of Chatham, or call your next case. Charlotte, Heritage House, 1959. 218 p. \$3.50.
- THORNBURG, MILES O. The thread of my life. Charlotte, William Loftin Publishers, 1958. 157 p. \$2.75.
- WINSLOW, MARGARET DAVIS. A gift from grandmother. Raleigh [Privately published, printed by Edwards and Broughton], 1958. 90 p.
- YATES, RICHARD EDWIN. The Confederacy and Zeb Vance. Tuscaloosa, Ala., Confederate Publishing Co., 1958. 132 p. \$4.00.

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- BEALE, HOWARD KENNEDY. The critical year, a study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction. New York, F. Ungar Publishing Co., 1958. 454 p. \$5.00.
- EHLE, JOHN MARSDEN. The survivor. New York, Pyramid Books, 1959. 192 p. \$.35.
- HAYWOOD, JOHN. The natural and aboriginal history of Tennessee. Jackson, Tennessee, McCowat-Mercer Press, 1959. 438 p. \$20.00.
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- JOHNSTON, FRANCES BENJAMIN. The early architecture of North Carolina, by Frances Benjamin Johnston and Thomas T. Waterman. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1958. 290 p. \$15.00.
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- SCHERER, GEORGE FABIAN. Rebels and redcoats, by George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin. New York, New American Library, 1959. 639 p. \$.75.
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- TRACY, DON. Cherokee. New York, Pocket Books, 1958. 344 p. \$.35.
- _____ On the midnight tide. New York, Pocket Books, 1959. 346 p. \$.35.
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- WOLFE, THOMAS CLAYTON. Look Homeward, Angel. London, Heinemann, 1958. 613 p. 21 s.
- _____ Schau heimwärts, Engel! [Hamburg, Germany], Rowohlt, 1958. 452 p. DM 3.30.
- _____ Selected letters of Thomas Wolfe. Edited . . . by Elizabeth Nowell. London, Heinemann, 1958. 25 s.

BOOK REVIEWS

Our Medical Heritage: A History of Medicine in Robeson County. Prepared by the Robeson County Medical Auxiliary. (Lumberton: Robeson Office Supplies, Incorporated, 1959. Pp. 70.)

This pamphlet, prepared by representatives from all sections of the county as a co-operative venture, is divided into several disconnected parts. The major portions of the work consists of a series of brief biographical sketches of medical doctors who practiced in Robeson County. The sketches of the contemporary physicians are a uniform compilation similar to that seen in a medical directory; an attempt to present physicians of earlier periods in a like manner has not met with complete success. Vital data—which, perhaps, could have been obtained from easily available sources such as grave markers, family genealogical material, medical school alumni records, and population censuses—is oftentimes missing. Near the middle of the pamphlet is a seven-page essay which briefly recounts the recent improvements made in hospital and public health facilities in the county, traces the development of the local medical organizations, and contrasts modern opportunities for medical care with those available to earlier generations. A minimum fee schedule developed by the county medical society early in the twentieth century is inserted preceding an index of proper names at the end.

While this pamphlet is in no true sense a formal history of medical practice in Robeson County, it does contain a tremendous amount of information essential to anyone attempting to construct such a history. The Robeson County Medical Auxiliary is to be commended for carrying out this valuable work and it would seem appropriate for other county societies to develop similar programs.

Edward W. Phifer, M.D.

Morganton.

Travels in the Old South; A Bibliography, Volume III, The Antebellum South, 1825-1860, Cotton, Slavery, and Conflict. Edited by Thomas D. Clark. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. Pp. xviii, 406. \$10.00.)

The usefulness of this extensive venture into the field of travel literature in the South has been ably set forth by reviewers of Volumes I and II. Volume III probably contains more valid material concerning the contemporary South than either of the two preceding volumes. From 1825 to 1860 the South was a veritable mecca for foreign and native travelers. Attracted no doubt in part by the distorted and sensational reports circulated by abolitionists anent the slave system, no less than one hundred and fifty travelers penetrated the southern States between 1846 and 1852. They came, they saw, and then wrote a book. Many of these accounts should have been labeled, "Wayside Glimpses," a title fittingly bestowed on a travelogue by Lillian Foster. Several of the travelers spent months and even years in the South and then wrote books of high value to the researcher in social and economic history. Not much attention was given to politics.

Volume III is divided into four parts. Part I: The Cotton South, 1826-1835, was prepared by James W. Patton; Part II: A Decade of Nationalism, 1836-1845, by Charles S. Sydnor; Part III: The Slavery South at Noontide, 1846-1852, by Robert G. Lunde; and Part IV: The South in Sectional Crisis, 1852-1860, by F. Garvin Davenport.

There is evidence that each compiler searched diligently for fugitive books of travel. They certainly captured and digested all important travel books and also some which are not clearly in the category of travel. Any "travel steers which come wandering in" later need not detract from the scholarly character of this collaborative effort in the field of regional bibliography.

Travelers usually entered the South by way of Washington and Richmond. Those who completed the "grand tour" moved across North Carolina to Charleston, Savannah, Macon, Milledgeville, Montgomery, Mobile, and New Orleans. After a sojourn in New Orleans, they ascended the Mississippi River by steamboat to St. Louis and Cincinnati. A few travelers

toured in reverse order. A few left the beaten trail to penetrate the "dark corners" of the South. Due, however, to a lack of suitable accommodations the hinterlands were generally avoided.

In the treatment of numerous narratives, guidebooks, and gazettes, the compilers have striven for objectivity. James W. Patton is, perhaps, somewhat more restrained in his judgments than Sydnor, Lunde, or Davenport. Davenport goes so far as to invite comparison with other and better books of travel in the same period, with frequent references to the writings of F. L. Olmsted. Indeed, Davenport's regard for Olmsted led him to devote more than twice as much space to a commentary on Olmsted's three books of southern travel as was accorded Sir Charles Lyell, Alexis de Toqueville, or any other major travel account. Here Professor Davenport ventures the interesting observation that Olmsted's mode of travel (horseback) caused him to view Southern people and institutions less charitably than he might have done had he not been exposed to the inconveniences, crudities, and the fatigue incident to wayfaring on horseback.

As to nationalities represented, native Americans rank first, followed closely by the British. Next came the Germans, the French, and then a sprinkling of Austrians, Hungarians, Dutch, Swedes, Latin-Americans, and Swiss.

What aspects of southern life interested the foreign travelers most? It appears that slavery made the foremost claim upon their attention. Many like de Toqueville came to study southern prisons; others were primarily interested in morals and manners, organized religion, colonization prospects (especially in Texas), the climate, flora and fauna, and such places as Mammoth Cave, Mt. Vernon, and New Orleans. Many travelers left extended descriptions of riverboats.

All in all, the travel books add up to a broad and revealing canvas of southern life from 1825-1860. Editor Clark and his associates have forever placed historians of the South immeasurably in debt to them by their outstanding achievement in assembling and digesting a prodigious amount of travel literature pertaining to the South.

Rosser H. Taylor.

Western Carolina College.

This Is The South. Edited by Robert West Howard. (New York: Rand McNally & Company. 1959. Pp. 304. Introduction, illustrations, appendix, and index. \$6.00.)

The editor, Robert W. Howard, has done a good job on this book consisting of a series of essays written by the foremost contemporary writers of the South. For authenticity, for interesting narrative, and for scope one would have to search diligently for a better collection of essays. In addition to the editorial chores, Mr. Howard has penned an interesting essay—"Look Away."

This book is divided into six parts. Part I consists of one essay, "The Clearings," by James M. Dobbs. He is concerned with the whole region composing the South. Part II contains articles on such characters as the Native, the Planter, the Cracker, the Negro, the Teacher, the Preacher, the Statesman, the Law, the Woman, the Doctor, and the Communicators. Each of these essays was written by a recognized southern authority. Weymouth Jordan is well acquainted with the southern planter, as is Thomas Clark with the country editor and the country merchant. Laurence C. Jones has done an excellent article on the Negro. The southern woman, as portrayed by Celestine Sibley, is vastly different from the moonlight and magnolias portrait so often associated with the South. Aubrey Gates sees the doctor with his limited medical knowledge and his vast knowledge of people.

Part III, "The Building," consists of only three essays. "The Trailmakers" by W. D. Workman shows how the West beckoned to the restless, the land-hungry, and the venturesome. George H. Aull discusses King Cotton before whose despotism all agricultural enterprise quickly fell until the Civil War forced his abdication. Alexander Nunn maintains that World War I marks the break from the Old South to the New.

Part IV, "The Folks," contains essays on the "Streets," "Kissing don't last: Cookery do," "Laughter is to Live," "Music's March," "Plantation Life," "River People, River Ways," "Sea Lure," "Camp Meeting," "Up the Branch," and "Crescent Coast." John Chase says that the foremost streets of the Old South were the Kings Highway, the Natchez Trace, and the Wilderness Road. Sallie Hill neglects romance to em-

phasize cooking. She regrets that many of the Old South's tasty dishes have been lost. In "Laughter is to Live," Oren Arnold declares that nearly everything a southerner does or says is spiced with humor. Hugh McGanty's conclusion in "Music's March" is that southerners are a singing people. Philip Davidson writes with nostalgia about life on a southern plantation. Harnett Kane and Jesse Stuart have written about the southern folk with whom they are most familiar—river people and mountain dwellers. The lure of the sea by Robert Albion and "Crescent Coast" by Richard Dunlap discuss the people living along the coast who are in many instances of French or Spanish descent and how until recently southerners have not taken to the sea. In "Camp Meeting," Ross Freeman summarizes this purgatory of the southern frontier where life was viscious.

Part V, "The Heritage," is composed of five essays: "Statues in the Squares," "Symphonic Outdoor Dramas," "The Southern Family Today," "Tall Grass," and "The Job." According to Hodding Carter, statues in southern squares are symbols of gallantry in defeat, reminders of the South's past and constitute a goodly portion of her folk heritage. The Southeast, says Paul Green, is busy dramatizing its history. Rupert Vance traces the southern family as a social institution from its early frontier environment to its recent urban locale. Eugene Butler's essay on "Tall Grass" may be summarized by saying cotton has gone west, cattle have shifted east, Negroes have moved north and Yankees are moving south. J. W. Fanning in "The Job" shows that the value of southern manufacturing increased more than the national average since 1939 and that the gap between the per capita income of northerners and southerners is narrowing.

Part VI, entitled "For Kissin' Cousins," is made up of Roy H. Park's essay on Eatin' Out. The author deals with the South's culinary achievements for which the area is certainly noted.

Much interesting southern history is found in this book. It is mostly social history, although economic, political and religious trends are not entirely neglected. Essayists, editor, and publisher have combined to produce an excellent book.

George C. Osborn.

University of Florida.

They Took Their Stand: The Founders of the Confederacy. By Manly Wade Wellman. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1959. Pp. 258. Foreword, notes, bibliography, and index. \$4.50.)

In this book Chapel Hill writer and historian Manly Wade Wellman has written a popular account of the first months of the Confederacy. Beginning with the execution of John Brown—which, through an unfortunate typographical error, was dated 1869—he tells the story of secession, the formation of the Confederacy at Montgomery, Fort Sumter, and the first battle at Manassas Junction. The book is replete with the usual trappings of popular history—personal anecdotes, diary entries, and references to trivial incidents. Despite these interesting sidelights, however, the men of the Confederacy do not appear as living creatures. Rather, they seem men without mission or purpose.

In his *Ode to the Confederate Dead*, Allen Tate says that the soldiers of the Old South knew why they fought and why they died, but that the moderns do not even know why they live. If this book is typical, modern southerners also do not know why the Confederates lived or died. We learn that they courted and conversed brilliantly, that their fashions in dress and in deed were charming, their social arrangements chivalric. But we do not learn any serious purpose for their lives. That, at the inauguration, a woman dug her parasol into President Davis' back to attract his attention, or that, before the battle, Edmund Ruffin ate gingerbread nuts, are engaging asides. But surely the Confederacy was more important than this—or a third of a million dead were fools indeed.

Popularization of the past is of supreme importance if people are to understand the present. But it must be a significant popularization, or they know less about the past and the present than before. Facts without significance are like mileposts without miles; they look nice but they never get anywhere. In much of the history written in the style of the New Popularizers—and the Civil War seems to be their favorite bowling alley at present—the leaves of the trees conceal not only the forest, but also the trees as well.

David L. Smiley.

Wake Forest College.

The Confederacy. Edited by Albert D. Kirwan. (New York: Meridian Books, Inc. 1959. Meridian Documents of American History. Pp. 320. \$1.45, paper.)

"Neglected in song and story, the civilian and the life he led must be studied if we would understand the Confederacy."

Taken from Professor Kirwan's trenchant introduction to one of the first books published in a projected multivolume series aimed at showing America's past through the writings of those who lived it, the above assertion will probably be accepted as offering sufficient justification for this documentary exploration of conditions behind the lines in the Confederate States.

The format used is unlike the traditional approach to documentary studies in that effort is made to piece together a continuous story within the framework of each major topic bearing upon political, diplomatic, economic, and social aspect of life in the Confederacy. More is told than usual about the writers of the documents, and the task of interpretation is left altogether to the reader. Kirwan employs this novel technique so skillfully that a compelling picture of life in the South is revealed through the contemporary accounts left by J. B. Jones, T. C. De Leon, Mary Boykin Chesnut, J. D. B. De Bow, and many others.

Despite the general editor's statement that Kirwan has drawn upon "a variety of fresh sources," practically all of the commentary is extracted from printed materials well known to students of the Confederacy. Fifty-five of the 143 items used in the eleven chapters are taken from the *Official Records*, including 13 of the 14 cited in that about "The Fifth Column." The bibliography is fairly complete although this reviewer thought it rather singular that Kirwan should not have included therein a source—Kate Stone's *Brokenburn*—from which he quotes at some length in five of his chapters. There is a good index.

Both publisher and editor deserve commendation for their endeavor to present documents interestingly and inexpensively. Readers not previously familiar with the materials set forth in this volume will discover that those writing about

civilians in the Confederacy sometimes fail to portray the full drama of life behind the lines. Too often the synthesis is but a pale reflection of the real story. The collection should appeal particularly to undergraduates and general readers.

H. H. Cunningham.

Elon College.

Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders. By Ezra J. Warner. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Pp. xxvii, 420. \$7.50.)

A recent advertisement appearing in a nationally known magazine announced, in conspicuous print, a series of "hand colored reproductions of Confederate Generals—famous civil war heroes Lee, Jackson, Stuart and Pickett in the full splendor of their original uniforms." Following a radiant description was an incidental notice that similar pictures of four Yankee generals were "also available," presumably at the same price.

What is there about the Confederate commanders that inflames the imagination—and enslaves biographers? Why should Pickett, who is famous only for his failures, and A. P. Hill, who never matured as a corps commander, command greater attention than Sedgwick or Hancock, two of Grant's most successful generals? The late Douglas Southall Freeman wrote three exciting volumes about Lee's lieutenants; the only comparable work for the Union side is Bruce Catton's trilogy, which concentrates upon the Army of the Potomac rather than its leaders. Is the shift in emphasis significant?

Now we have *Generals in Gray*, a formidable book of biographical sketches of the general officers of the Confederacy—all 425 of them. This has been obviously a labor of love, for in addition to tracing the Civil War career of each, the author has spent ten years corresponding with their descendants, ransacking newspaper files, tracking down photographs and searching family records to establish the salient facts of their personal lives, particularly dates of birth and death, military ranks, and the present places of burial.

Much of this information will be of interest primarily to the "buff," who will be fascinated by the summary of facts about some of the lesser known generals—men like Frank Crawford Armstrong, who fought as a Union officer at Bull Run and subsequently entered Confederate service as a colonel; Franklin Gardner, whose father served as a clerk in the Treasury Department in Washington throughout the war; Victor Jean Baptiste Girardey, jumped from captain to brigadier general for his work in repelling the Union assault on the Crater; and James Dearing, mortally wounded in a pistol duel with a Union general. Conceivably the book can even serve as a guide to those extreme enthusiasts who may wish to make a pilgrimage to the last resting place of their favorites.

But *Generals in Gray* can also serve a more useful purpose. It is a unique reference work, the introduction contains some provocative statistics and generalizations, and the bibliography is extensive. But while the book reveals many unvarnished facts about the Confederate generals, it obviously cannot determine what made them tick. Like many recent books on the Civil War, therefore, while it adds to our knowledge it fails to contribute to our understanding of the conflict.

Jay Luvaas.

Allegheny College.

Vicksburg: A People at War, 1860-1865. By Peter F. Walker.
(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1960.
Pp. xvi, 235. \$5.00.)

“. . . It was from the river that the city drew its life.” And from the river came its death. Vicksburg is first presented in its days of vigor and prosperity. Professor Walker acquaints the reader intimately with the city, from its citizens down to the cobblestones of Jackson and Washington streets. The city derived its cosmopolitan air from the river and from its sizeable element of foreign born. In fact, with its Unionist sentiments and its more national economic interests, the city was almost foreign to its State; a doorway to cotton country.

Having introduced the city, the author chronicles the early events of the war and their impact upon the civilian population. As the war progresses, the city ridded itself of the faint-hearted and of many of its illusions. As the joint forces of enemy closed upon Vicksburg, severing its normal means of sustenance and intercourse, "war rot" appeared. Black markets, the shortage of food, and cotton smuggling ate into the city's moral fibre and eroded its will to resist. The end did not come suddenly, but the last few days dragged on, with hope periodically poking its head inside the siege lines to tantalize the occupants. It was then that a little girl could cry, "I's so 'fraid God's killed too!" On July 4, 1863, the people came out of their "rat-holes," but the city as they had known it was dead.

This book goes far in supplying the "other" side of the Vicksburg story. In Walker's account military operations rather than civilian life are used as the background. The author has a readable, almost aphoristic style. He is sensitive to the drama of his subject and uses his sources effectively to provide the alternating moods of those times. Because of the nature of the sources, the book fails to enter the city council and to give the account of the siege from the vantage point of the chief officials. Pemberton and Martin L. Smith, the two most important inhabitants of war-time Vicksburg, remain shadows. The section devoted to Vicksburg after the surrender lacks the close treatment and concern that the earlier sections enjoyed.

Vicksburg stands as a fresh and invigorating entry in Civil War historiography. This study's civilian approach coupled with its appropriate style make it valuable for the Civil War historian. Moreover, the human drama of that "high tragedy . . . on those hills overlooking the Mississippi" will have a general appeal. Its theme, unlike Grant's generalship, is timeless.

N. C. Hughes, Jr.

Webb School.

The Military Legacy of the Civil War: The European Inheritance. By Jay Luvaas. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1959. Pp. 253. Preface, illustrations, appendixes, and index. \$5.95.)

This is the first of a projected three-volume series dealing with the military legacy of the War Between the States. Succeeding volumes will relate in turn to the American inheritance and to naval warfare.

Judged by the first volume, much is promised from this series, which was suggested, the author states, by Theodore Ropp of Duke University. If one wants to know what contributions to the art of war the European armies discovered in the campaigns of Lee and Jackson, Sherman and Grant, and other generals who led in this most spectacular of conflicts, there is no better place to seek them than in this volume.

While not lengthy, it is convincing in its grasp and thoroughness. The findings of the European observers who accompanied the northern and southern armies, and of the newspaper correspondents and historical writers of the next half-century, are evaluated ably. Few if any books of the present day have shown as impressive an understanding of military practices—of armaments, equipment, the employment of the artillery and cavalry arms, and the host of other things that went to make up the science of death and destruction in the last half of the nineteenth century—as has this volume written with such admirable sureness.

The only question is whether the subject deserves such a talented examination. The answer must await the completed project of the three volumes. One wishes that then the author will turn to broader areas. This book will be relished by observers of the evolution of warfare, by professors of military schools, studious army officers, and Civil War buffs of advanced standing. For the casual and average fan who wants to hear the sabers clash and see the infantry march across the fields, who is more interested in a narration of events than an analysis of methods, the book will perhaps prove too specialized.

Among his competent appraisals the author has discussed the influence of the writings of Lieut.-Col. G. F. R. Henderson

of the British army, best known as the biographer of Stonewall Jackson. One is impressed with the solid scholarship and background preparedness possessed not only by Henderson, but also by other European writers of this war—Sir Frederick Maurice, Justus Scheibert, Field Marshall Sir Garnet Wolseley, the Count of Paris, Captain de Thomasson, among them. The saber-swinging Heros von Borcke, in his bugle-call *Memoirs*, idolatrous of Jeb Stuart, serves to show how the eddies of influence spread. In World War II an American soldier picked up on a battlefield a copy of the *Memoirs* that had been studied and cherished in his youth by a German general. The general's name: Erwin Rommel.

While Luvaas, a Professor of History at Allegheny College, Pennsylvania, has written a book for the post-graduate, it will last for a long time.

Glenn Tucker.

Flat Rock.

They Who Fought Here. Text by Bell Irvin Wiley, illustrations selected by Hirst D. Milhollen. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. vii, 273. \$10.00.)

Only a person with very strong will power will be able to resist the temptation to rush through this book page by page enjoying and studying the interesting, the pathetic and heart-rending pictures which illustrate it. They are taken from many sources; the originals are contemporary drawings and paintings, daguerreotypes, and photographs. There also are a few pictures of objects from modern museums. They depict war at its grimmest as well as during its lighter moments. There are posed pictures and candid shots, but perhaps the most appealing is a portrait of a beautifully groomed but sad-faced little girl which was found on a battlefield between the bodies of a Federal and a Confederate soldier.

Professor Wiley's text takes no sides. Chapters devoted to such topics as "Joining Up," rations, clothing and shelter, weapons, diversions, crime and punishment, morals and religion, and the sick and wounded tell in a very straightforward way what the soldiers on both sides did in many situa-

tions and how they were treated by their superior officers as well as by their governments. Many of their complaints and much of their treatment will sound familiar to the veteran of World War II. The author's knowledge of the diaries and letters, as well as the official records, of the men about whom he writes enables him to bring into his account many details and accounts of a personal nature.

Ample picture credits are given, but there is no bibliography or index.

William S. Powell.

University of North Carolina.

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Volume I. Edited by Leonard W. Labaree; Whitfield J. Bell Jr., Associate Editor. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1959. Pp. lxxxviii, 400. \$7.50.)

With this volume the long-heralded new edition of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* is formally christened. It may be said initially that all expectations are met in full.

The first of some forty projected volumes, the current work covers but the first twenty-eight years of Franklin's life (1706-1734). Its contents include legal documents and records, newspaper pieces, pamphlets, and handbills, as well as all of Franklin's correspondence which survives for this period.

Concerned largely with Franklin's early efforts as printer, journalist, and businessman, this volume will be of especial value to scholars of the colonial period for the material it offers on the printing trade in early eighteenth-century America and for the insight it affords into the conversational concerns and social mores of Philadelphia society in the 1720's and '30's, as such are reflected in Franklin's efforts for the *American Weekly Mercury* and *Pennsylvania Gazette*. For the general reader the present volume will provide interest primarily on two grounds: the entertainment inherent in certain of its more famous pieces and the chance it affords to become better acquainted with a most versatile and engaging American.

In this volume are to be found Franklin's famous autobiographical epitaph, his deistic Ritual for Private Worship,

the superbly sententious *Queries* of the famous Franklin Junto, and the *Poor Richard's Almanacs* for 1733 and 1734. It is almost impossible to peruse these and other early writings of Franklin without gaining a fresh appreciation of the man and his amazingly swift development as both writer and apprentice sage. At the age of 28 Benjamin Franklin was well on his way to becoming "a harmonious multitude." Here is Franklin the economist promoting the cause of paper money; Franklin the dutiful brother expounding the wages of virtue to his sister, Jane Mecom; Franklin the observant traveler; Franklin the loyal Free-Mason; Franklin the hater of Cant and believer in Providence; Franklin the promoter of a subscription library and a charm cure for breast cancer.

The contributions of the editors exhibit meticulous care. The table of contents, illustrations, index, genealogical tables, and general format are exemplary. The footnote annotation is complete yet unobtrusive and the editorial headnotes concisely describe the background and general context of each selection. To say that Professors Labaree and Bell have matched the excellence of Julian Boyd's *Jefferson Papers* is to describe both the level of their achievement and the importance of their task.

Richard E. Welch, Jr.

Lafayette College.

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume I, 1801-1817. Edited by Robert L. Meriwether. (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, for the South Carolinian Society. 1959. Pp. xlii, 469. Introduction, chronology, 1782-1817, calendar, genealogical table, bibliography, and index. \$10.00.)

In the past fall three first volumes of famous American papers were published. These were the Franklin, Calhoun, and Clay papers. These volumes represent the beginning of the fulfillment of three ambitious undertakings. Whether or not these additions to significant bodies of major source materials to our published historical literature improves the quality of our historical writings rests with future historians. So far the editors have done their part.

The late Professor Robert Meriwether attacked his editorial task with an almost furious zeal. He was convinced that Calhoun had not been dealt with soundly by historian and bibliographer, and he now had a chance to set the record straight. He wrote in his preface of former editions of papers that, "For correction of the merely preposterous interpretations of Calhoun which have flourished from an early date, these already published volumes should have proved ample, but for a thorough study of his forty years of intense activity in the public service they are utterly inadequate."

Professor Meriwether devised a dual system of reference editorial notes and editorial procedures which keeps the reader alert as to which line he is following, one note system is for location and physical description of the document, the other is for content and factual identification and clarification. In dealing with the eccentricities and characteristics of the Calhoun writing quirks the editor has made certain common sense modifications.

The scope of this volume covers the years from September 6, 1801, to November 15, 1817. It is almost a certainty that every reader who reads these papers will be in search of the Calhoun personality and process of development. It is perhaps fitting that the first letter should be addressed to the Reverend M. Waddell, academy master. The first eight letters are concerned with the affairs of the up-country lad in search of education. There are glimpses of family affairs, and some of family background. In 1805 Calhoun went east to school, and for the next five years (and thirty-two years longer) the proper school boy and law student carried on a running correspondence with Mrs. Floride Calhoun, an aunt. The courting of the daughter Floride through her mother is at least one of America's most unusual courtships. If Mrs. Calhoun had not preserved these letters the record of Calhoun's youth would be slim indeed.

A reader is given ample internal evidence that there were very few other letters for the simple reason they were not written. The New England schooling of the youthful South Carolinian is fairly well documented.

The heart of this first volume is to be found in the papers which cover Calhoun's Warhawk and early nationalist years.

From 1811 to 1817 the conscientious young Congressman was deeply engrossed in the affairs of Congress. Like his editor, the reader is caused to feel at the outset that the Carolinian had set a course for himself and was determined to keep it. In sharp debates with John Randolph of Roanoke Calhoun demonstrates marked courage. Both his speeches and letters exhibit a close debater analyzing national issues. Here is the unfolding of a devoted nationalist who presented his views clearly and forcefully. The State papers are serious documents which hew to the line, and are as devoid of humor or human foible as are the statutes. Calhoun dealt with the larger issues in his papers and speeches. Too, these documents reflect a studiousness which are not always to be found in documents of this sort.

Collected between the covers of a single volume it appears on first glance that John C. Calhoun was fairly communicative. There are, however, only 159 entires in this volume as compared with approximately 1,200 Clay items from 1797-1814 in the first Clay volume. There is, nevertheless, in this relatively small collection of papers an image of a personality.

Professor Meriwether did his editing with great care. His notes are full and explicit. He saw his subject as having been cast in a mold of epic proportions, and so he cast his editing responsibilities.

Thomas D. Clark.

University of Kentucky.

Teach the Freeman; The Correspondence of Rutherford B. Hayes and the Slater Fund for Negro Education. Volume I. 1881-1887, and Volume II, 1888-1893. Edited by Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Pp. lv, 538. \$10.00.)

These volumes trace through the principal correspondence the work of the Slater Fund and the relationship of President Hayes to that work. It thus provides important dimensions to the understanding not only of the Slater Fund but also to the other philanthropic activities of the period concerned with the welfare of the southern Negro. In its relatively long Intro-

duction, fifty pages, the development of the Slater Fund and the relationship of President Hayes to its program is carefully described. Among the correspondents quoted are Leonard Bacon, J. L. M. Curry, Atticus G. Haygood, Booker T. Washington, Daniel Coit Gilman, W. E. B. DuBois, and E. C. Mitchell. Among the issues treated is that of whether philanthropic funds are better spent in large grants for the achievement of single objectives or in smaller sums at the discretion of the agent in furthering the general objectives of the donors. The collection and editing of the material presented has been well handled.

Samuel M. Holton.

University of North Carolina.

Mexico, 1825-1828: The Journal and Correspondence of Edward Thornton Tayloe. Edited by C. Harvey Gardiner. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 212. \$5.00.)

In the second decade of the nineteenth century Mexico rebelled against monarchical Spain, won independence, and became a republic. Naturally, the republican United States rejoiced. Not until 1825, however, did the neighbor dispatch its first minister to Mexico, Joel R. Poinsett of South Carolina. With him sailed Edward Thornton Tayloe of Virginia's Northern Neck and the District of Columbia, a twenty-two-year-old graduate of Harvard interested in history and languages and possibly in a lifelong career in the diplomatic profession. That young man's appetite for a peripatetic life had been whetted by his preceding summer's travels to Montpelier, Monticello, and Virginia's mineral springs.

In Tayloe's nature there were curiosity about many aspects of the past and of his own times, a reasonable measure of the capacity to be a discerning observer, no desire to be unduly profound, and a willingness to write systematically and without excessive flourish what was really worth recording if perchance his memories should need to be bolstered. In his baggage was a quarto volume of blank pages. It was destined to be almost filled with his unspectacular but notably sound

journal covering three years and 2,000 miles of life and journeying in Mexico. The result is the earliest reasonably comprehensive and objective commentary on the new republic by a citizen of the older one. It might well be so partly because the young Virginian served the twenty-year-old South Carolinian in the capacity of personal secretary not as a federal employee but at his father's expense; his duties were usually light, his freedom considerable.

The manuscript volume returned to Virginia with its author, chiefly to remain in a plantation library until the author's death in 1876. Only once did the stalled traveler bestir himself to give excerpts to a wide audience, and then only anonymously. Four selections appeared in the first and second volumes of the *Southern Literary Messenger*. At last, a decade after the manuscript landed in the Library of Congress, it has been published attractively and under capable editorship. Its value is much enhanced by an addition: interspersed in it are twenty-seven letters written by Tayloe from Mexico and now preserved in the University of Virginia Library.

Not only does the product become an important item of Latin-American bibliography. It also enriches bits of United States history. Never have these materials been used by biographers of Poinsett. Those of John Slidell have overlooked his three-week tour with Tayloe—indeed, the whole of that diplomat's first visit to Mexico. The death and funeral of the controversial General James Wilkinson are recorded. Mexican opinion of John Randolph of Roanoke is reflected in one revealing paragraph. Prospective migrations by United States capital into Mexican mining ventures elicited from Tayloe more comment than from other travelers of his decade. And there are occasional authorial or editorial glimpses of an ambitious cosmopolitan's disappointments, reactions, and hopes as to the diplomatic world ranging from John Quincy Adams to James K. Polk and from the District of Columbia to the South American Columbia and Paris and Moscow.

The sure-footed editor has added to his author's journal and letters just enough and no more by way of prologue, epilogue, and footnotes. The notes sometimes point to comparable passages in other books about Mexico, sometimes to confirmatory

or supplementary information buried deep in any of several archives. The fact that footnotes are not indexed obscures—to mention two examples—the mention of Poinsett's gift to The College of Charleston, South Carolina, on page 107 and the references to Henry Clay on pages 40, 46, 47, 71, 155, 191, and perhaps others. Nor does the entry in the index for Mount Orizaba refer, as it should, to page 34. An obvious typographical error in the second line of page 64 is one of the few that escaped attention. All told, the volume does credit to its editor, to the publisher, and to the Ford Foundation subsidy that made its publication possible. Scholars in at least two nations should be grateful.

W. Edwin Hemphill.

South Carolina Archives Department.

Nematodes in My Garden of Verse: A Little Book of Tar Heel Poems. Selected by Richard Walser. (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1959. Pp. ix, 134. \$3.50.)

The verminous title of the little volume is an apt and accurate one. It gives fair warning to the reader of the annelidous nature of the verses that make up the volume.

The collection of verse is divided into five sections: newspaper verse, the verse of Mattie J. Peterson, the crossroad bards, Carolina poems, Editor Caldwell's galaxy of genius, and the verse [or warse] of the New School. Much of the verse was exhumed from the special columns for local poets prevalent in nineteenth-century North Carolina newspapers. Not all of the verse, however, came from the newspaper morgues. One group of poems, among several exceptions, is the verse of Mattie J. Peterson, which first appeared as an appendix to her novelette *Little Pansy* (1890). Mr. Walser—no doubt with tongue in cheek—describes Miss Peterson as “the seraphic spirit floating above this collection.”

Mr. Walser instructs the readers of *Nematodes in My Garden of Verse* “to dip in where they choose and to enjoy what they will.” Though many of the pieces are doggerel and some of the parodies are not very cleverly done, some of the verses are enjoyable; several are amusing; and others are interesting

because of their references to North Carolina places and things. "The Snuff Box" ("Oh! snuff box, dear snuff box, when the world is unkind, In you, and you only, a treasure I find"); and "I Saw Her in Cabbage Time" ("She was a-cutting kraut-") and "Hogs-Head Souse" are amusing. "Ode to a Ditch," a piece dedicated to the town commissioners of Fayetteville, celebrates well the "festoons of slime" that floated on the "green, oozy breast" of the "dark foetid sewer" that served the town of Fayetteville in the 1850's. "Blackbeard The Corsair" is one of the best of the poems in the collection. "Minstrels of the Pasquotank" ("Where the bullfrogs jump from bank to bank") is better than the line quoted would seem to indicate.

This reviewer cannot share Mr. Walser's admiration for the morbidly sentimental verses of Miss Peterson, nor is there much wit or any genius in the verse of Editor Joseph Pearson Caldwell's galaxy. The poems of the New School should pass unnoticed.

But if *Nematodes in My Garden of Verse* succeeds in preserving from oblivion even one piece of fugitive verse that does not deserve to be lost (and this reviewer feels that surely more than *one* of the verses in this little volume merits preservation), then Tar Heels are indebted to Mr. Walser for rescuing them and making them available in this collection.

Francis B. Dedmond.

Gardner-Webb College.

Human History: The Seventeenth Century and the Stuart Family. By Rufus Cole. (Freeport, Maine: The Bond Wheelwright Company. 1959. Pp. xiv, 636. Two Volumes, [Vol. I]; ix, 658 [Vol. II]. Index to each volume. \$17.50, the set.)

Since 1937 when Dr. Cole retired as Director of the Hospital of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research he has been engaged in an intensive study of the seventeenth century. A graduate of the Johns Hopkins University, he was for many years interested in the history of medicine, and this fascinating two-volume work is obviously the result of a

lifetime of reading brought to fruition only during his recent years of retirement.

In broad outline the events of the seventeenth century are treated chronologically. Dr. Cole's thesis that "man's actions are dependent on the existing environment, although only in certain cases is a man forced by his environment to act in a particular manner" results in the account of many long, but clearly set forth, chains of events. To explain how certain situations arose he frequently takes the reader back into the age of Elizabeth, and not infrequently more recent events are shown to have had their origin in the seventeenth century. He chose this century to demonstrate his thesis because, he says, it is far enough in the past to be "regarded dispassionately and without prejudice." Politics, religion, art, science, and literature are all considered. Many of the cause-and-effect events of history and the consequences of the action of certain men, which he points out, have perhaps been less obvious to other writers because they did not deal with so broad a sweep of history.

The story of all the important and many of the less significant men and women of the seventeenth century is told here. North Carolinians will find these volumes of especial interest for their accounts of the actions of several of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, for their remarks on John Locke, for information about the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, and, in brief, as a means of determining what was taking place elsewhere in the world, particularly in England, during this century which saw so many events of lasting importance taking place here.

In the Preface to the first volume Dr. Cole has something to say of his sources, but there is no bibliography. Neither are there footnotes. Careful and detailed indexes in each volume help to tie together information about persons and events.

William S. Powell.

University of North Carolina.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

General

The Roanoke Island Historical Association met in Raleigh on January 12 at the Hotel Sir Walter and elected Mr. J. Sibley Dorton of Shelby as Director of "The Lost Colony" outdoor drama, replacing Mr. Richard Jordan who had served as Director since 1952. The drama which will open in June plans the 1,000th performance tentatively for July 9. Mr. Dorton is the son of Dr. J. S. Dorton, long-time manager of the North Carolina State Fair, and is a graduate of Davidson College. He has been executive vice-president of the Southern States Fair at Charlotte and recently served as executive vice-president of the Southern States Improvement Company. Mrs. Mabel Evan Jones and Mr. Albert Q. Bell, both of Manteo, and Mr. I. P. Davis of Winton were elected honorary members of the board. Mrs. Jones produced the first Lost Colony play in 1921, Mr. Bell designed and built the theater in which the present drama is staged, and Mr. Davis has long been active in the work of the Association. Prior to the board meeting, a public relations committee meeting was held to make plans for promoting the drama this summer. Some of the members present were Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby, Mrs. Fred Morrison of Washington, D. C., and Mr. Paul Green of Chapel Hill.

The Executive Board of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History met on January 15 at the Hotel Sir Walter. The Board approved the "A" Budget for 1961-1963 as submitted, as well as the "A" Budget for the Tryon Palace Commission for the same period. The Director, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, reported briefly on plans and programs of the various allied organizations, especially the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission and the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

On January 22 the Executive Committee of the Confederate Centennial Commission met in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History. The committee

voted to request Governor Luther H. Hodges and the Council of State to appropriate funds for operating expenses through June 30. Present for the meeting were Col. Hugh Dortch, Chairman; Dr. Crittenden, Secretary; Mrs. E. A. Anderson, Mrs. D. S. Coltrane, Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, all members of the Committee; the heads of the different divisions of the Department; and Mrs. William A. Mahler, Administrative Assistant of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association.

On March 8 the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission received notice that Governor Hodges and the Council of State had appropriated to the Commission funds from the Contingency and Emergency Fund in the amount of \$8,830 for the remainder of the fiscal year.

Director's Office

On February 10 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, attended a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Washington, D. C. The Executive Board of the General Board of the Baptist State Convention on February 11 rejected a request from the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society to assist in restoring that building known locally as the Calvin Jones House. The building is located in the Town of Wake Forest. Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Norman C. Larson of the staff of the Hall of History were interviewed on February 14 by Mr. George Hall of WRAL-TV. The interview centered around the projected plans for celebrating the series of Confederate centennials beginning in 1961 and continuing into 1965. On February 25 Dr. Crittenden was interviewed by Mr. James R. Lineberger on Radio Station WKIX, Raleigh, on the program of the Department of Archives and History. On March 7 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting of the North Carolina Travel Council at the Washington Duke Hotel in Durham.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, has edited the *Directory of State Archival Agencies, 1959*, for the Society of American

Archivists and the volume was released in January. The publication, distribution of which is limited to members of the society, gives data on the staff, budgets, facilities, salaries, and programs of the various archival agencies in the United States and Puerto Rico. Mr. Jones met with the Council of the Society of American Archivists in Chicago, December 27-30, on a proposed nationwide survey of archival and records management programs. He also met with members of the council and a representative of the Office of Civil Defense and Mobilization on legislation to be proposed to the Council of State Governments. During the same period he attended meetings of the American Historical Association. On March 15 he addressed the annual meeting of Florida Municipal Officers and City Clerks at the University of Florida, Gainesville, on "The Legal Aspects of Preservation and Destruction of Public Records." On February 26 he met with Mr. Charles Adams, Archivist, and members of the Archives Committee of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina and with members of the Dolley Madison Memorial Association in Greensboro where he discussed the preservation of historical documents. Mr. Jones and Rear Admiral Alex M. Patterson (Ret.), Public Records Examiner, have edited *The County Records Manual* for the guidance of county officials in North Carolina in matters relating to the preservation and disposal of county records. In addition to chapters on laws and policies regulating public records, the *Manual* includes suggested schedules for the retention and disposal of all series of records in the various county offices. Distribution of the *Manual* will be limited to county officials.

The Division of Archives and Manuscripts has available for free distribution printed copies of laws pertaining to the activities and functions of the State Department of Archives and History. Requests for copies may be directed to the State Archivist, Box 1881, Raleigh. The Division also has free upon request two revised leaflets, *Genealogical Research in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History* (8 pages) and *Records Management in North Carolina* (12 pages).

In the Archives Administration Section, a program of recataloging personal collections has been inaugurated. All such collections received since the publication in 1942 of the *Guide to Manuscript Collections in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission* will be resurveyed, and some collections received prior to that time will be restudied. It is hoped that a new guide can be published in the next bien-nium. The Section will also report on its holdings to the Library of Congress for inclusion in the National Union Catalogue of Manuscripts. Miss Beth G. Crabtree, Archivist II, will be in charge of the new program.

A total of 598 persons registered in the Search Room during the quarter ending December 31. Approximately 600 persons were given information by mail, and the following quantities of copies were furnished to the public: 580 photostatic copies, 26 microfilm projection prints, 38 typed certified copies, and 403 feet of microfilm. The Laminating Shop restored 4,252 pages of manuscript records, consisting mostly of county records and legislative papers. The Council Journal, 1734-1769, has been laminated and rebound by funds donated to the Department by the North Carolina Branch, Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, Mrs. A. W. Hoffman (of Raleigh), Governor.

Admiral Patterson, Public Records Examiner, supervised the program of inventorying and microfilming records of Chatham, Chowan, and Wilson counties. The permanently valuable records of Chatham County have been microfilmed by the County Records Section, and those of Chowan and Wilson counties are currently being filmed. Records in need of repair are being laminated and rebound, after which they will be returned to the counties.

Admiral Patterson prepared recommended retention and disposal schedules for records in the office of the Clerk of Superior Court of Halifax County, and on January 4 he addressed the Siler City Rotary Club on the county records program.

Mr. C. Douglas McCullough and Mr. Richard G. Stone, Archivists I, resigned on January 31 and were succeeded by Mr. W. Rex Langston, Clerk II, and Mr. W. Reginald Moss, Archivist I. Miss Delores C. Murray was promoted to Archivist I effective February 1.

In the State Records Section, Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Records Center Supervisor, addressed the home management class at Meredith College on January 16 and the Wake County Chapter of the Meredith College Alumnae Association on February 16. She served as chairman of the nominating committee of the State Employees' Credit Union, presenting the report at the annual meeting of the Credit Union on February 8.

Inventories and schedules of records of State agencies recently completed by archivists at the Records Center include those of the Commission for the Blind and the State Treasurer. A rough draft of an inventory of the State Board of Embalmers and Funeral Directors has been completed. During the quarter ending December 31, microfilming output at the Records Center was 1,254,664 images for nine State agencies. During the same period, 488 cubic feet of records were brought into the Section and 298 were removed. Records were serviced by the staff 220 times for eleven agencies and representatives of ten agencies visited the Center 187 times.

Division of Historic Sites

On January 5 Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, attended a meeting of the Historic Bath Commission at Bath. Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington, Chairman of the Commission, with members and guests inspected the Marsh House and later met in a business session. The group voted to proceed immediately with the restoration of the Marsh House and with the raising of additional funds for this purpose. Mr. James A. Stenhouse of Charlotte, architect, is consultant for the restoration and Mr. Grayson H. Harding of Edenton is supervising the on-the-site work. Mrs. Oscar F. Smith and her daughter, Mrs. Roy Charles, both of Norfolk,

have purchased the Bonner House property on Bonner Point and have provided funds for its restoration as a memorial to their husband and father, founder of the Smith-Douglas Corporation. The estimated cost of the property and restoration is \$75,000. Preservation of this house, one of the few remaining eighteenth-century residences in Bath, is a major feature of the over-all Historic Bath restoration.

On January 12 Mr. Tarlton was elected to membership on the Historical Commission of the Baptist State Convention. The function of the Commission is to recommend a program of Baptist historical activity for the Convention's consideration and support.

On February 5 Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist in charge of Old Brunswick Town State Historic Site, attended the annual meeting of the Southeastern North Carolina Beach Association at Wilmington. They served as representatives of the Department. Mr. Tarlton spoke on February 15 before the Civic Club of Wake Forest on preserving the Wake Forest College Birthplace. On February 22 Mr. Tarlton spoke to the Sertoma Club of Raleigh on George Washington and on North Carolina's early historic sites.

On February 8 the groundbreaking ceremony was held for the construction of the museum-visitor center at Alamance Battleground State Historic Site near Burlington. Those who turned earth to mark the official beginning of the museum were Mr. George D. Colclough, Manager of the Burlington Chamber of Commerce; Mr. Tarlton; Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist for Alamance Battleground; Mrs. Charles Foster, President of the Alamance County War Mothers; and Mrs. G. A. Kernodle, representative of the Alamance Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Mr. Howard White, Managing Editor of the *Burlington Dispatch*, was master of ceremonies. Work on the building is expected to be completed by June. It will cost approximately \$31,000 of the which the State appropriated \$15,000. The remainder was secured by local groups. Since construction began an intensive effort has been made to locate and acquire artifacts dating from the War of the Regulation through the

Revolutionary War. Persons who own historical artifacts who wish to donate them or place them on loan are requested to contact Mr. Honeycutt, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh. Items that are needed are manuscripts—books written by or about the Regulators, and other subjects related to the Battle; military items from the Battle and from the period of the 1770's; household furnishings, clothing, and farm implements used before 1771; and any personal items which can be authenticated as belonging to a participant in the War of the Regulation. On February 26 Mr. Honeycutt and Mr. Norman C. Larson, Educational Curator of the Hall of History, accepted for the Department a loan of forty-three items from Mr. Cecil Elder of Burlington. A Revolutionary flintlock pistol, Civil War pistols and rifles, and a number of powder horns and shot bags were included in the collection. All of the items were collected within a radius of twenty-five miles of the Battleground. Mr. Honeycutt will be at the May Memorial Library, Burlington, each Thursday afternoon to receive items from friends of the project who wish their donations placed in the Alamance Battleground Museum-Visitor Center.

E. F. Taylor and Company of Goldsboro, contractor in charge of the restoration of the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site, is currently doing the restoration work on the Harper House at the Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site. This large old farmhouse, built about 1840 or 1850, was used during the Battle, March, 1865, as a hospital, first by the Union forces and later by the Confederates. It is being restored to its 1865 condition and will be used temporarily as a site museum. A separate, especially designed building is needed for a permanent museum. When such a building is provided the Harper House will be furnished as it was at the time of the Battle, including field hospital equipment. Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg is Historic Site Specialist in charge of the restoration work.

The Department has funds to commence a restoration project at Fort Fisher, beginning July 1, 1960. Present plans call for the clearing of brush from the earthworks of the fort

during the summer of 1960. An accurate survey of this Civil War site will be made and a definite plan established for long-range development. Since the series of centennial observances of the War between the States will begin in 1961 and continue through part of 1965, it is highly desirable that restoration of Fort Fisher begin as soon as possible. Among the major improvements needed is an adequate museum-visitor center to house exhibits depicting the history of the fort. It is most important that such a building be provided if the project is to be developed.

Restoration of the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site near Weaverville is proceeding under the direction of Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist in charge of the project. The massive original brick chimney has been restored and logs are being hewn and oak boards split for the reconstruction of the house proper which is scheduled for the spring of 1960. Much of the original paneling and other material for finishing the interior was salvaged from the birthplace when it was dismantled in 1958 and this material will be used in the reconstruction. Vance was born in 1830 in the original two-story house which was of logs. Colonel David Vance, Zebulon's grandfather, built the dwelling in the late 1790's. When reconstruction is completed the house will be fitted with furnishings of the period of Vance's birth, designed to show his early environment and family life. In addition to the dwelling house, construction plans call for a smokehouse, springhouse, fences, and other features common to such a mountain homestead in the 1830's.

The various State Historic Sites are receiving, and expect to continue to receive, an increasing number of visitors. At Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site in Montgomery County, the State's only Indian restoration project, visitation increased ten per cent in 1959 over the previous year totalling approximately 21,000 persons from twenty-six States, the District of Columbia, and two foreign countries.

The Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site, opened November 1, 1959, near Fremont, is receiving an average of seventy-five paying visitors weekly and will per-

haps double this figure during the seasonable weather of the summer months. It is expected that North Carolina school groups in great numbers will tour this project. A charge of \$.25 for adults and \$.10 for children has been set at the Aycock Birthplace to help bear the cost of maintenance.

Old Brunswick Town State Historic Site on the Cape Fear River, Brunswick County, during the winter months had approximately 200 visitors weekly. Visitation is expected to increase greatly following the Azalea Festival in nearby Wilmington and to maintain this increase since the project is adjacent to Orton Plantation and many North and South Carolina beaches. Old Brunswick Town is rapidly becoming known as one of the most interesting colonial archeological sites on the eastern seaboard. When a museum is built, the large collection of colonial relics found during recent excavation can be exhibited, making the project even more attractive to tourists.

Including the Alamance Battleground, the Bentonville Battleground, and others in the process of development, it is not unrealistic to assume that soon an annual average of 50,000 persons will visit the State's Historic Sites.

Work in varying degrees of development and completion is progressing as other projects. At the Bennett House near Durham, site of the surrender of Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston to Union General William T. Sherman on April 26, 1865, further improvements are planned. Mr. R. O. Everett, Sr., Chairman of the Bennett Place Memorial Commission, announces that Mrs. Alexis Gourmajenko of Charlotte, her sister, Mrs. Robert Cabell, III, and her brother, Mr. S. T. Morgan, both of Richmond, Virginia, are contributing funds for the restoration of the kitchen, one of the two main buildings of the Bennett homestead. This was a log building, and reconstruction costs for the kitchen will be between \$8,000 and \$10,000. Rebuilding the dwelling house, made possible by a gift of Mrs. Magruder Dent of Greenwich, Conn., and Southern Pines, is expected to begin soon under the direction of a committee headed by Dr. Lenox D. Baker of the Duke University Medical School. Mr. E. N.

Brower of Hope Mills has donated the materials, from an old building, to be used in the restoration.

The old Owens House at Halifax, an eighteenth-century gambrel-roofed type, is being restored by the Historical Halifax Restoration Association with assistance from the State Department of Archives and History. It is anticipated that the work will be completed and that the house will be formally dedicated on April 12, "Halifax Day." Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson of Rocky Mount is Chairman of the Association.

The Richmond Temperance and Literary Society Hall at Wagram has been restored and is to be formally dedicated at 3:00 p.m., April 6, 1960. Mr. Sam T. Snoddy, Laurinburg architect, is chairman of the restoration committee. This interesting five-sided brick building was built in 1860 and was used as a meeting place for the society until the 1890's. An interesting feature is the prominent finial on the pointed roof—a large wineglass inverted on a Bible. In 1865 General Sherman's men broke into the building and scattered its contents, and the episode is related in a peppery entry in the society's minutes book.

Mr. Tarlton is serving as historical consultant for the above three restoration projects.

The old Freeman House at Murfreesboro, one of the fine brick Georgian houses of eastern North Carolina, has again been restored by the Murfreesboro Woman's Club. The club acquired the house a number of years ago, rescuing it from long usage as a chicken hatchery, and rebuilt it at great expense for use as a meeting place and general community center. Recently moisture had seeped through the brick walls spoiling much of the restoration work. To meet this problem, the interior has been waterproofed, replastered, and redecorated. The Freeman House is again an attraction of historic Murfreesboro.

The rear section of the James Iredell House in Edenton has been restored under the direction of Mr. Grayson H. Harding. The 200th anniversary of this house was celebrated on November 22 at an open house and reception to which the public was invited. A special study has been made by Mr.

Morley J. Williams, landscape architect of New Bern, for the redevelopment of Edenton's courthouse green area.

Division of Museums

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, spoke to the Bloomsbury Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution at the Carolina Country Club, Raleigh, on January 8. Her subject was "Early American Silver and Silversmiths." On January 27 she and two members of the staff of the Hall of History went to Hillsboro to assist the staff of the Orange County Historical Museum in the execution of exhibits. On February 2-4 Mrs. Jordan, accompanied by Mr. Norman C. Larson, Mr. John D. Ellington, and Mr. Samuel Townsend, members of the staff of the Hall of History, and Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg and Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialists, visited Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia; the National Park Service Laboratory, Washington, D. C.; Manassas Battlefield; and museums in Richmond, Virginia. The trip was made to observe ideas in museum exhibit techniques and presentation of material, concentrating on interpretation. On February 9 Mrs. Jordan talked to the Clio Book Club at the home of Mrs. Jerry Gilbert in Raleigh on Tryon Palace and showed slides of the Palace and Garden. On February 16 Mrs. Jordan and Mr. Larson attended a committee meeting of the Durham Junior League at the Hope Valley Country Club to discuss the possibility of establishing a historical museum in Durham. Mrs. Jordan presented a slide program on Tryon Palace to the members of the Garden Division of the Woman's Club in Wilson on February 19, and on February 23 she spoke on "Early American Silver" to the Ad Libitum Book Club at the home of Mrs. Ira Jones, Raleigh.

The Museums Division is presently acquiring and installing weapons in an exhibit depicting the development of military arms. North Carolina-made weapons, as well as those significant because of their use and ownership, will be exhibited.

Division of Publications

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, has been reappointed for 1960 Chairman of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association's Committee on County and Local Historical Societies. During 1959 organizations were perfected in Burke and Wilson counties. More than thirty-five local and county groups have been organized in the past six years.

Mr. Truby H. Powell of Wake Forest began work with the Division on February 8 as Stock Clerk I. He was formerly stationed in Germany with the United States Army.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Murray S. Downs joined the faculty of the Department of History and Political Science at North Carolina State College in September, 1959. He taught at Virginia Polytechnic Institute prior to coming to State College. Dr. Preston W. Edsall resumed his duties as Head of the Department on February 1. He has been on a year's leave of absence to study legislative politics in North Carolina in the 1950's. Mrs. Martha Stennis Stoops, Mr. Thomas Kenneth Lagow, and Mr. Boyd Howard Hill, Jr., have been appointed Instructors in the Department for the second semester of the academic year, 1959-1960. Dr. J. Leon Helguera served as Visiting Professor at the University of North Carolina's Cuban Student Seminar on February 8-11 in Chapel Hill.

Dr. Julian C. Yoder, Head of the Department of Social Studies at Appalachian State Teachers College, announces the appointment of Dr. Edward H. Gibson, III, to the faculty as Professor of European History, specializing in English history. Dr. Edwin S. Dougherty presided at the January 30 meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association held in Asheville. Dr. William S. Hoffmann will teach at Western Carolina College during the 1960, and Dr. Francis B. Simpkins of Longwood College will teach at Appalachian during the second summer term, 1960. Dr. D. J. Whitener is

the author of articles on Asheville and Winston-Salem appearing in the latest revised edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and Dr. Ina W. Van Noppen is the author of "The Louisiana Purchase," "Jefferson Territory," and "Filibuster" in the new edition of *The World Book Encyclopedia*. The annual magazine of the college, *Faculty Publications, 1959-1960*, contains the following articles by Department members: "St. Augustine and Graeco-Roman Art" by Dr. Gibson; "Democracy and Liberalism: An Essay in Contrasts" by Dr. J. Max Dixon; "The Church and Higher Education" by Dr. Whitener; and "Powder, Saltpeter, and Revolution" by Dr. Howard Decker.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Kenan Professor and Chairman of the Department of History of the University of History, delivered the first annual Pi Gamma Mu Lecture, "On Tour with Andrew Jackson," at Elon College on March 24. The lectures are sponsored by the North Carolina Alpha Chapter of the Pi Gamma Mu National Social Science Honor Society in co-operation with Elon College.

Dr. John Richard Alden, Head of the Department of History at Duke University, delivered the twenty-second Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History on February 8 and 9 at Louisiana State University. The lectures are sponsored by the Graduate School of the Department of History there. Dr. Alden's topics were "The First South (1775-1789)," "North and South in the Revolutionary Congress," and "The South Ratifies the Constitution."

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon of Meredith College has been selected as a member of a committee to write the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina. Other persons serving on the committee are Mr. George London, Chairman, Mr. James Brawley, Mr. Martin Caldwell, Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, Mr. Henry W. Lewis, Dr. Robert M. Miller, Mr. William S. Powell, Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson, and Dr. Richard Watson.

Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker is serving as part-time Instructor in History and Government at Meredith.

Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs, Chairman of the Department of Social Studies and History at Greensboro College, announces that Mr. William R. Frazier has joined the faculty as Professor of Economics and Business Administration.

The University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, has issued a leaflet, *The North Carolina Collection*, describing the holdings of the Collection. Some collections mentioned are those of Alexander Boyd Andrews, Kemp Plummer Battle, Bruce Cotten, John Sprunt Hill, Stephen B. Weeks, and Thomas Wolfe. The history, purpose, location, and use of the Collection are briefly discussed. It includes books, broadsides, pictures, music, documents, pamphlets, newspapers, textbooks, journals, maps, film, and recordings.

The University of North Carolina Press has recently issued *Pharaonic Policies and Administration, 663 to 323 B.C.*, Volume XLI of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, published under the auspices of the Department of History and Political Science of the University of North Carolina. Written by Mary Francis Gyles, the 120-page book deals with the religious and historical aspects of the Egyptian kingship during the chronological period studied. A bibliography and index add to the usefulness of the volume.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GROUPS

The Wilson County Historical Society was organized on January 12 at a meeting held in the county courthouse. Mr. Thomas H. Woodard was elected President; Mrs. Harrison Forbes, Secretary; and Mr. Silas Lucas, Chancellor. Dr. C. C. Ware, Head of the North Carolina Disciplina Collection at Atlantic Christian College, presided at the meeting. He spoke briefly on the contributions of Wilson County sons to North Carolina history and particularly stressed the work of the late R. D. W. Connor, first Archivist of the United States, and Bruce Cotten, whose collection of historical materials are housed in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina. Mr. F. L. Carr spoke on the procedures for organizing a county historical group and those present passed a resolution to collect and preserve all Wilson County data and

to make it available to the public. Twenty persons were present for the meeting.

The annual meeting of the Burke County Historical Society was held on January 19 in the county office building auditorium in Morganton. Dr. Edward W. Phifer, President, presided at the business session at which time the membership adopted a resolution requesting the county commissioners to institute plans to preserve the Burke County Courthouse which was erected in 1835. New officers elected at the meeting were Mr. C. K. Avery, President; and Mrs. L. P. Ghigou, Mr. J. Harvey Greenlee, and Mr. W. A. Leslie, all Vice-Presidents. A panel discussion was held on the early history of Burke County. Approximately 100 members and guests were present.

Mrs. Lucile A. Smith presented a paper on the life and activities of Appleton Oaksmith at the January 23 meeting of the Carteret County Historical Society in Morehead City. Oaksmith, who lived the last years of his life in Carteret County, acted as filibuster agent in Nicaragua during the 1850's, and was involved in railroad promotions and gold mining in California during the 1840's and 1850's. The society discussed plans for the spring dedication of the historical highway marker which has been placed in front of the Tuttle's Grove Methodist Church, designating the site of the Quaker's Core Sound Meeting House. This was the first house of worship in the county and was erected in 1737. A tribute was paid to the late Charles W. Davis, charter member of the group. Mr. F. C. Salisbury, President, presided at the meeting which was attended by forty members and guests.

A valuable collection of historical material from the library of the late Lawrence E. Watt, Reidsville attorney, historian, and secretary of the Rockingham County Historical Society, has recently been donated to the society by his widow, Mrs. Elsie Watt. Included in the collection are historical clippings, thirty-odd volumes of old county newspapers, maps, books, and other items relating to the history of Rockingham County.

The society President, Mr. J. O. Thomas, expressed the appreciation of his group for the gift which will be turned over to Miss Maude Reynolds, historical custodian of the society room in the county courthouse in Wentworth. Miss Reynolds will classify and catalog the material as rapidly as possible.

Hidden Seed and Harvest: A History of the Moravians by Chester Davis was issued in the fall of 1959 by the Wachovia Historical Society in Winston-Salem. The history originally appeared as a series of articles in the *Journal and Sentinel* (Winston-Salem) in 1957. The publication in book form was made possible by Mr. John D. Stockton and is dedicated to the late Adelaide L. Fries, Moravian historian. The establishment of Unitas Fratrum, the leadership of Count Zinzendorf, the coming of the Moravians to America, the settlement of Wachovia, and the part the Moravians played in the Revolutionary and Civil wars are briefly discussed. The 85-page booklet is illustrated with reproductions of paintings of Old Salem by the late Pauline Bahnson Gray.

The News Bulletin of the Moravian Music Foundation for the winter of 1960 announces the formation of the Chicago Little Symphony under the direction of Dr. Thor Johnson. Other items of interest are a notice of a grant to the Foundation from the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation; an editorial on the musical heritage of the United States; a listing of Early American Music Editions (non-Moravian); and a note on the cataloging of music manuscripts in the various Moravian archives. Dr. Donald M. McCorkle, Director of the Foundation, will join the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles for the summer session, 1960. He will teach a graduate course in the history of American music and a seminar in historical musicology.

The January, 1960, *Historical Foundation News*, quarterly publication of the Presbyterian and Reformed Church, Inc., Montreat, contains a report to the church on the activities, acquisitions, and needs of the Foundation. Other news notes of interest are an article on the installation of a fountain

which completes the memorial to the late William Henry Belk; a brief history of the *News*; and a story on the collection of 1,913 volumes of church history over the past thirty years.

Quakerism in Fiction and Poetry Recently Written by Woman by Dorothy Gilbert Thorne has been published by Guilford College. The booklet was first presented as the tenth annual Ward Lecture, a yearly program sponsored by Guilford College. Ruth Suckow, Elizabeth Gray Vining, Jessamyn West, Janet Whitney, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Dorothy Mumford Williams, and Winifred Rawlins are among the writers discussed by Mrs. Thorne. The author retired from the faculty at Guilford in 1954 and now lives in Wilmington, Ohio. She was formerly Professor of English and Acting Librarian and served for five years as Recording Clerk of the Five Years Meeting of Friends and of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin, official organ of the county historical society, for January, 1960, has an index for the *Bulletin* for the first six years of publication. The Moses M. Roberts home, built about 1817, is featured in the series, "Old Homes in Gaston." A report on the progress of the writing of the history of Gaston County which is being prepared by Mr. Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill and Mr. Robert F. Cope, a list of new members of the society, and a compilation of old cemetery markers by Mr. Dalton Stowe are also carried in the issue.

The Gaston County Historical Society met on December 11 with Mr. Howell Stroup of Cherryville as principal speaker. Mr. Stroup spoke on the New Year's Eve and New Year's Day shoot in his community—a custom of the past 200 years. The group which participates in the shoot continues its festivity for two days and interest in the traditional meet was at an all-time high this year. The historical society meeting was held in the Atkins Auditorium of the county library. This room was named in honor of Mr. James W. Atkins, Editor of the *Gastonia Gazette*, and in memory of his late wife. Mr. Atkins served as host for the meeting at which Mr. W. Marsh Cavin of Stanley presided. Officers will be elected at the April meeting. Forty members and guests were present.

"A Brief History of Pamlico County, 1584-1960" by Mr. Dallas Mallison has recently been issued. The mimeographed publication deals briefly with the origin of the county's name, the Pamlico Indians, exploration, settlement, and expansion of the county. The author also discusses briefly the economic and educational background of the section.

"Preservation of Historic Sites," by Mr. Henry Jay MacMillan, President of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, is the featured article in the February, 1960, society *Bulletin*. Mr. MacMillan is also the author of an article, "Goose Creek Men," in the same issue. Other items in the *Bulletin* include a letter by William Calder presenting an unpublished account of the Battle of Bentonville written March 23, 1865; and a letter written July 17, 1789, by Adam Boyd, who earlier had published *The Cape Fear Mercury*. These letters are the property of Mr. William Atkinson and were edited with informational comments by Mrs. S. C. Kellam, Society Archivist. A report on various gifts to the society and a notice of future meetings complete the issue.

MISCELLANEOUS

The State Mutual Life Assurance Company of America, Worcester, Massachusetts, has issued *The Glorious Fifty*, a colorful presentation of the stories behind the fifty State flags. The brochure arranges the States in the order in which they were admitted to the Union. The date of adoption and other information is given in a brief statement. The fifty-first flag—that of the District of Columbia—concludes the brochure.

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation Newsletter for the spring of 1960 issues a call for the location of Wilson letters unknown to Wilson scholars. Dr. Arthur S. Link, Editor of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 132 Third Street, S.E., Washington 25, D. C., will be pleased to receive suggestions as to letters which are in private hands, particularly those relating to the early portion of Wilson's career. The editors state that "no Wilson letter is unimportant." The project will be permanently located at Princeton University in the fall of

1960 when Dr. Link joins the Princeton faculty as Professor of History. Grants from the Rockefeller and Ford foundations will partially finance the publication of an estimated forty volumes of Wilson's letters and papers by the Princeton University Press.

Dr. Rudolf A. Clemen, Executive Vice-President of the Society of American Historians, Inc., Princeton, New Jersey, announces the awarding of the Francis Parkman Prize for 1959 to Dr. Matthew Josephson for his book, *Edison: A Biography*. The prize of \$500 and an inscribed scroll are presented annually by the society for that book on American history or biography published during the year which has the highest literary distinction, in addition to historical scholarship, in the opinion of a committee of award.

The Tennessee Historical Society announces the establishment of the John Trotwood Moore and Mary Daniel Moore Memorial Award to be given annually to the author of the best article to appear in each volume, beginning with that of 1959, of the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*. A panel of three judges will select an article, dealing with some phase of Tennessee history, which excels in scholarship, literary quality, and originality, and which contributes to a greater understanding of the State's history. Judges for the 1959 award are Dr. Robert Selph Henry of Alexandria, Virginia; Dr. Donald Davidson of Vanderbilt University; and Dr. Robert L. Kincaid of Middleboro, Kentucky. The award will be \$100 and will be given by members of the Moore family.

Books received for review during the quarter are: William Bell Clark, *George Washington's Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960); Frederica de Laguna, *The Story of Tlingit Community: A problem in the Relationship Between Archeological, Ethnological and Historical Methods* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1960); Waldo R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1960); Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The British Isles and The American Colonies: The Southern Plantation, 1748-1754*

(New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1960); John L. Stroutenburgh, Jr., *Dictionary of the American Indian* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960); Paul Green, *The Stephen Foster Story: A Symphonic Drama* (New York, Samuel French, Inc., 1960); Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960); R. C. Simmini, Jr., *Education in the South: Institute of Southern Culture Lectures at Longwood College, 1959* (Richmond, Virginia: The Cavalier Press, 1959); Powell A. Moore, *The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1959); Robert C. Cotner, *James Stephen Hogg: A Biography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959); Leonard W. Labaree, editor, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Volume I, January 6, 1760 through December 31, 1734* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959); Peter F. Walker, *Vicksburg: A People at War, 1860-1865* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959); Bell Irvin Wiley, *A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond. By Phoebe Yates Pember* (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1959); James F. Hopkins and Mary W. M. Hargreaves, *The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume I, The Rising Statesman, 1794-1814* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1959); Paul K. Conkin, *Tommorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1959); Richard Bardolph, *The Negro Vanguard* (New York: Rinehardt and Company, 1959); Richard Barksdale Harwell, *Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse. By Kate Cumming* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959); Lenoir Chambers, *Stonewall Jackson: The Legend and the Man to Valley V, Volume I; Stonewall Jackson: Seven Days to the Last March, Volume II* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1959); and Robeson County Medical Society, *Our Medical Heritage: A History of Medicine in Robeson County* (Lumberton: Privately Printed, 1959).



