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NORTH CAROLINA'S AGRICULTURAL JOURNALS, 1838-1861: A CRUSADING PRESS

By WESLEY H. WALLACE*

A hundred or more years ago, North Carolina agricultural practices had hardly been touched by science and education. There were, however, a few voices raised in the first half of the last century urging agricultural reform. Beginning in the 1830's, the agricultural journals and their editors were prominent among these few critics. Betterment of agriculture in North Carolina was the almost single-minded purpose of these periodicals; and, as a crusading form of journalism, they are worthy of examination.

Though farm papers as such did not appear in North Carolina until the 1830's, agricultural information had frequently appeared in the State's weekly newspapers for many years.¹ Elsewhere in the South, at least three farm journals had come into existence, including the *Agricultural Museum*, published in Georgetown, District of Columbia, for two years beginning in 1810, the *American Farmer*, an important, long-run paper commenced in Baltimore in 1819, and the Charleston *Southern Agriculturalist and Register of Rural Affairs*, begun in 1828.²

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¹ Cornelius Oliver Cathey, *Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956, Volume XXXVIII of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*), 199, hereinafter cited as Cathey, *Agricultural Developments*.

² Lewis Cecil Gray and Esther Katherine Thompson, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (New York: Peter Smith, 2 volumes, 1941, reprinted with the permission of the Carnegie Institution of Washington), II, 788, hereinafter cited as Gray and Thompson, *History of Agriculture*. For a general survey of the agricultural press see Albert Lowther Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, *Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture*, Number 8).

After these scattered beginnings, the following decade ushered in a host of agricultural periodicals. Lewis C. Gray estimated there were "probably not less than a hundred" such papers started in the South up to the Civil War.³

From August, 1838, when John Sherwood began his *Farmer's Advocate*, through May, 1861, seven farm papers are known to have been published in North Carolina and there may have been others.⁴ Two of the seven were published before 1850; the remaining five all fell in the decade, 1852-1861. During some of this latter period, two papers were being published simultaneously; and though there were short time lapses between the demise of one paper and the birth of its successor, to all intents North Carolina was supplied with at least one farm periodical for the ten years beginning with 1852. (See chart, page 277.)

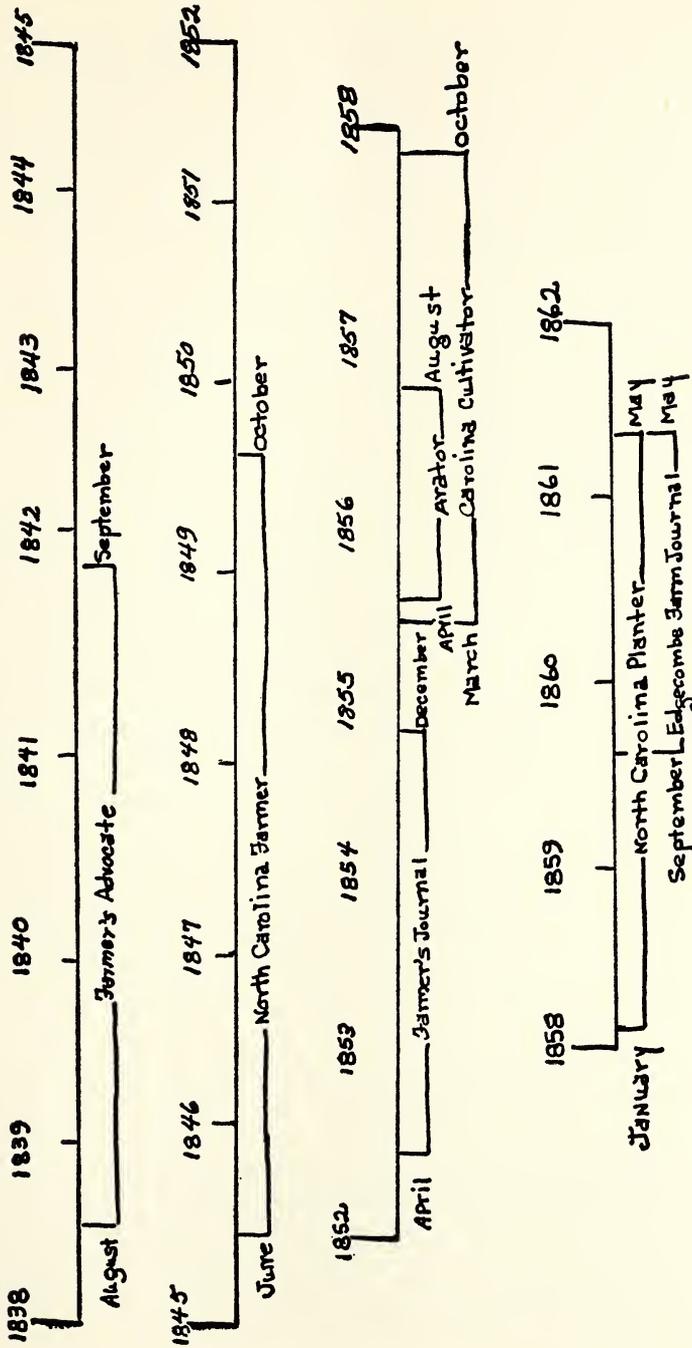
A close study of the seven farm journals in North Carolina to 1861 points to the conclusion that while similarities among them certainly existed each journal was, in fact, distinct from the others in various ways. The *Arator*, published in Raleigh from April, 1855, through August, 1857, exhibited a number of dissimilarities to the first of the seven, John Sherwood's *Farmer's Advocate*, and William B. Smith's *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, which came at the end of the period. It can be granted that the *Arator* is perhaps "typical of the ante-bellum farm papers of North Carolina,"⁵ but only in some respects.

The papers varied considerably in size, and even individual publications changed sizes during their existence. The small-

³ Gray and Thompson, *History of Agriculture*, II, 788. For more than 80 of these papers see Stephen Conrad Stuntz, *List of the Agricultural Periodicals of the United States and Canada Published During the Century July 1810 to July 1910* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1941, *Miscellaneous Publication* Number 398 of the United States Department of Agriculture [Emma B. Hawks (ed.)]). Stuntz is difficult to use because the papers are listed alphabetically. The geographical indexes are available on cards in the United States Department of Agriculture Library, Washington, D. C.

⁴ See Helen D. Wilkin, "The Promotion of Agriculture in North Carolina, 1810-1860" (M.A. thesis, 1941, University of North Carolina), 152-160; Cathey, *Agricultural Developments*, 199; Richard Bardolph, "A North Carolina Farm Journal of the Middle Fifties," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXV (January, 1948), 58, hereinafter cited as Bardolph, "A North Carolina Farm Journal"; Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 795-797, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*.

⁵ Bardolph, "A North Carolina Farm Journal," 60.



Life Span—North Carolina Ante-Bellum Farm Papers

est paper was Volume II of the *Farmer's Advocate*, which was approximately 5¼ inches by 7½ inches, slightly reduced from Volume I. Volume III, on the other hand, increased to 7¼ by 10 inches. Several of the papers were approximately 6 by 9 inches;⁶ though Volume IV of the *North Carolina Planter* jumped to 10 by 13 inches. The largest of the papers was the *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, which measured 11¼ by 16¼ inches.

All the papers were issued monthly except the *Farmer's Advocate* which essayed to appear twice each month, though not always was this aim achieved. There was greater variety in the number of pages in each issue; and, again, some individual papers changed in this respect during their existence. For example, the *Farmer's Advocate* was issued in sixteen pages; the *North Carolina Farmer* started with twenty-four pages, reduced to twenty with Volume V and at its end was down to sixteen. The *Carolina Cultivator* came out in thirty-two pages, as did the *North Carolina Planter* until it increased its page size and then the number of pages was reduced to sixteen. The *Edgecombe Farm Journal* set out to appear in eight pages but its last issue of only four pages probably reflected the outbreak of the Civil War.⁷

The journals varied considerably in the degree to which they were regularly departmentalized. Fewest departments were carried in the *North Carolina Farmer* and the *Farmer's Journal*. The latter publication was put together somewhat as a running account with little order or purpose in the arrangement and the only departments were editorials, a few "communications," or letters to the editor, and advertisements. In contrast to this was the *Edgecombe Farm Journal* which was the best departmentalized of all the papers, with sections featuring agriculture, horticulture, editorials, "Rural-Archi-

⁶ For example, *North Carolina Farmer* (Raleigh), *The Farmer's Journal* (Bath and Raleigh), and *Carolina Cultivator: devoted to Agriculture, Horticulture, and the Mechanic Arts* (Raleigh) until Volume II when the size became 6½ by 10¼ inches. These papers will hereinafter be cited as *North Carolina Farmer*, *Farmer's Journal*, and *Carolina Cultivator* respectively.

⁷ *The Edgecombe Farm Journal. Devoted to Agriculture, Horticulture, Floriculture, Household-Arts, Rural-Architecture, Zoology, Etc.* (Tarboro), I (May, 1861), 2, "Our editors of the Journal being absent on duty in Raleigh . . . will well account for the size in which it now appears." This paper will hereinafter be cited as *Edgecombe Farm Journal*.

ture," household advice, "Zoology" (which the editor explained meant in his paper the section devoted to farm animals), editorial miscellany, advertisements, and floriculture.

There was equally wide divergence in the matter of illustrations. The *Farmer's Advocate* contained none; the *North Carolina Farmer* had a few in advertisements, as did most of the papers, but only one in the editorial portion.⁸ The *Carolina Cultivator* featured a number, including trees, a short-horn bull, a cross section of an apple, an apiary, and houses and plans.⁹

The men who edited and published the agricultural journals in ante-bellum North Carolina were as individualistic as were their papers. Most, though not all, had experience as editors or publishers in other connections. Most were sincerely anxious to promote the best interests of agriculture in a variety of ways. Some of the editors had backgrounds in other professions such as the ministry, medicine, or the law, and some had practical farming experience.

John Sherwood, proprietor of the *Farmer's Advocate*, has left comparatively little record of his activities as a person or farm journalist. Of himself, Sherwood wrote that he was not much of a public figure and was not especially well-off financially.¹⁰ To read his paper, however, is to share Professor Cathey's conviction that Sherwood was "one of the leading advocates of greater efficiency in farm operations."¹¹ Sometime after the *Farmer's Advocate* came to the end of its span, the family moved from "old" Jamestown on the banks of Deep River in western Guilford County to the town of Greensboro, where they "were long identified with the press there."¹²

⁸ *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August 29, 1845), 47—a sketch of a hog.

⁹ *Carolina Cultivator*, I (June, 1855), 118, 119, 123; II (March, 1856), 4, 9, 13; II (April, 1856), 40.

¹⁰ *The Farmer's Advocate and Miscellaneous Reporter, containing Subjects on Agriculture, Literature, Science, The Mechanical Arts, Virtue, and Religion, with a Brief Notice of the Most Important Passing Events, Both Foreign and Domestic* (Jamestown), I (August, 1838), 3, hereinafter cited as *Farmer's Advocate*.

¹¹ Cathey, *Agricultural Developments*, 102.

¹² *The Greensboro Patriot*, June 24, 1929. See Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 796 n.

Thomas J. Lemay, who published the *North Carolina Farmer* (1845-1849) and the *Arator* (1855-1858), both in Raleigh, was a minister and a political journalist who, in 1826, purchased an interest in the *Raleigh Star and North Carolina State Gazette*. Lemay and his partner, Alexander J. Lawrence, published the paper as a half-hearted Jackson organ until 1832, when Lemay bought out Lawrence and brought in the avowed exponent of nullification, David Outlaw. Lemay was a member of the State central committee for Jackson-Barbour in 1832.¹³ Sixteen years later his name was attached to a circular letter of the central committee of the North Carolina Whig Convention.¹⁴ And after the formation of the North Carolina Agricultural Society in 1852, Thomas Lemay took an active part in its affairs.¹⁵

Especially prominent in agricultural advancement in North Carolina, Dr. John M. Tompkins¹⁶ was for a time a resident of Bath, where he edited the *Farmer's Journal*. Though the letters "M.D." appear after his name, there is no indication that Tompkins practiced medicine. After moving to Raleigh sometime about August, 1853, he had a position in the J. M. Lovejoy Academy, teaching elementary, agricultural, and experimental chemistry.¹⁷ In addition, he acted as consultant and soil analyst for farmers.¹⁸ Tompkins seems to have had financial difficulties, however; William D. Cooke, a Raleigh publisher, took over management of the journal until its final issue in December, 1854,¹⁹ and at the time, Cooke later claimed, Tompkins owed him \$1,730.00.²⁰

¹³ Daniel Miles McFarland, "North Carolina Newspapers, Editors and Journalistic Politics, 1815-1835," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXX (July, 1953), 393, 401-402.

¹⁴ Henry Thomas Shanks (ed.), *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 5 volumes, 1950-1956), V, 121.

¹⁵ Joseph Gregoire de Rouilhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 4 volumes, 1918-1920), II, 454, 457, 462, 465, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*.

¹⁶ Dr. Tompkins was chairman of a committee on organization of the State agricultural society and played a prominent part throughout the first meeting. See *Farmer's Journal*, I (November, 1852), 243-244, 245-251.

¹⁷ *Farmer's Journal*, II (November, 1853), 256.

¹⁸ *Farmer's Journal*, I (March, 1853), 393.

¹⁹ The name "Wm. D. Cooke & Co." appears as proprietor on the title page of the *Farmer's Journal*, III (April, 1854).

²⁰ William D. Cooke to Thomas Ruffin, April 20, 1855, Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*, II, 463.

The most controversial of all the editors was Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick, though the controversy was over his support of John C. Frémont and the "free soilers," rather than any disagreement with his agricultural advice. Hedrick was born near Salisbury in 1827, entered the University of North Carolina as a sophomore in 1848, and graduated with first honors in 1851. Through the efforts of President David L. Swain, Hedrick obtained a small navy position at Cambridge, Massachusetts, which permitted him to do advanced work in chemistry and mathematics at Harvard. Returning to the University of North Carolina as Professor of Chemistry, Hedrick was dismissed by the executive committee of the board of trustees in October, 1856, for public expression of unpopular political views.²¹ It was during the months immediately leading up to the controversy that Hedrick was announced as editor of the *Carolina Cultivator*, William D. Cooke's farm publication which followed Tompkins's *Farmer's Journal*. Hedrick's name disappeared from the masthead after the October, 1856, issue; and his letter of resignation was published in the *Cultivator* the following month.²²

The *North Carolina Planter* appears to have been the State's best ante-bellum farm journal in several respects. Among other attributes, it had the most diversified editorial staff of any of the seven agricultural periodicals. Owned and published by A. M. Gorman, the paper eventually boasted four editors, whose names appeared simultaneously on the title page. When the paper started in January, 1858, Gorman, a Raleigh publisher who also issued a general newspaper, seems to have had the over-all editorship. S. W. Westbrook of Guilford County, "well known throughout the entire South" as a gardener and nurseryman and apparently a principal in the nursery firm of Westbrook and Company of Greensboro,²³ was the horticultural editor. William H. Hamilton of Raleigh, a florist, "an experienced practical garden-

²¹ Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, *Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1910, Volume X, Number 1 of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*), *passim*.

²² *Carolina Cultivator*, II (November, 1856), 273.

²³ *The North Carolina Planter: Devoted to Agriculture, Horticulture, and the Mechanic Arts* (Raleigh), I (January, 1858), 17, 32, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Planter*. Gorman's weekly newspaper was *The Spirit of the Age* (Raleigh), 1849-1865?; 1876-1896.

er," was a partner in a florist firm of Hamilton and Carter. Hamilton took care of the floriculture department.²⁴ Two years later, Gorman brought in as the principal editor James M. Jordan, and to take care of the Western North Carolina regional differences John W. Woodfin was added.

Originally from Isle of Wight County, Virginia, Jordan moved to Raleigh toward the end of 1859. He was a widower with two children and was characterized as a "man of education—a farmer of thirty years standing. . . ." ²⁵ His tidewater farming experience was balanced by the mountain valley background of Buncombe County lawyer-farmer John W. Woodfin. John was the well-known younger brother of even more prominent Nicholas Washington Woodfin who served for ten years in the State legislature as the senator from the Buncombe-Henderson district.²⁶ In announcing John Woodfin's appointment as associate editor, the *North Carolina Planter* described him as "of almost universal acquaintance in the Western counties, from Salisbury to the Tennessee line." In addition, the younger Woodfin was "known in his own community as being the *best* and most *practical* farmer in that section of the country; . . ." ²⁷

Beginning with the January, 1861, issue, only the names of Jordan and Hamilton remained on the title page; Woodfin's disappeared after the December number; and the periodical itself ceased after the May, 1861, issue.²⁸

Almost nothing is known of William Benjamin Smith's pre-

²⁴ *North Carolina Planter*, I (March, 1858), 93; I (August, 1858), 264.

²⁵ *North Carolina Planter*, III (January, 1860), 17. Jordan's status as a farmer was confirmed by an advertisement offering his 432-acre farm for sale. The farm was located five miles from the James River, seven miles from Smithfield, and three miles from Pagan Creek. See *North Carolina Planter*, II (December, 1859), inside back cover.

²⁶ Samuel A'Court Ashe (ed.), *Biographical History of North Carolina from Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), II, 481-483.

²⁷ *North Carolina Planter*, III (January, 1860), 17. Woodfin's ability as a farmer had earlier been established when he received first prize in the 1853 Indian Corn Sweepstakes by raising 109 bushels on the test acre. His brother Nicholas also entered the contest but was disqualified because he did not follow the rules for reporting the planting methods. See the *Weekly Raleigh Register* (Raleigh), March 8, 1854.

²⁸ Woodfin became a cavalry major and was killed in ambush near Warm Springs (North Carolina) about November 20, 1863. See Walter Clark (ed.), *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-'65* (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell; Goldsboro: Nash Brothers, 5 volumes, 1901), IV, 112.

Civil War activities except that he was a resident of Tarboro and from there edited and published the *Edgecombe Farm Journal*. While in Tarboro, he was a member of the local Masonic lodge;²⁹ and he also edited and published a magazine devoted to political literature.³⁰ Sometime in 1866, Smith moved to Wake County, where his publishing firm, Wm. B. Smith & Company, issued Smith's own book on the Masonic order and a number of other works. Smith's publishing activities must have been extensive since he was a partner with John H. Bryan, Jr., of Raleigh, and William Evelyn in the Raleigh firm and perhaps was a member of the publishing firm of William Evelyn & Company of New Orleans.³¹

Though North Carolina's farm journals were centered on agricultural activities, their pages contained a greater variety of material than might be supposed. As a generality, Dr. John F. Tompkins's own description of his plan for the editorial content of the *Farmer's Journal* fits the other publications as well. Dr. Tompkins wrote that his aim was to have "one or more" of his own articles, "several communications from our best farmers," and the remainder of each issue to be made up of articles suitable to North Carolina's farming conditions. Tompkins proposed to obtain this last group by reprinting from other papers and journals.³² Though Tompkins did not mention them, other familiar editorial items in all the journals included formal editorials and unsolicited letters from readers.

The feature articles which appeared in most of the publications were either specially-written material by local writers or reprints from other periodicals. In subject matter there was

²⁹ This was the Concord Lodge No. 58, as reported in returns in *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of North Carolina* (Raleigh: A. M. Gorman, 1862), 33, hereinafter cited as *Proceedings of North Carolina Grand Lodge*.

³⁰ *The Mercury, Devoted to Southern Political Literature* (Tarboro), 1859-?

³¹ Smith's name disappeared from the Tarboro Lodge and reappeared in the Rolesville (Wake County) Lodge No. 156 in 1866, *Proceedings of North Carolina Grand Lodge*, 1867, 128. Smith was the author of *The Mysteries of Freemasonry* (Raleigh: Wm. B. Smith and Company, 1866), and it is in the advertisements at the end of this small book that Smith's publishing connections are apparent.

³² *Farmer's Journal*, I (April, 1852), 1.

scarcely a topic that escaped attention.³³ John Sherwood began the *Farmer's Advocate* with an article so extensive as to require publication in three successive issues. Writing under the heading "Striking Contrast," Sherwood argued that North Carolina's agricultural situation compared unfavorably with that of other sections and states.³⁴ More than twenty years later, North Carolina's backwardness in agricultural affairs received editorial comment from the *North Carolina Planter*, indicating that the tune and the words were still much the same as in the earlier day.³⁵

In another article, Sherwood contended that the way to gain information about efficient agricultural practices was through associations and journals. He recommended that "the friends of improvement" form societies, starting with the neighborhood, and these to work with county groups which in turn would be the foundation for a state society, and this would lead into a "great National Society, thus forming efficient channels of communication throughout the union," leading to obviously beneficial results.³⁶

Other feature articles in the *Farmer's Advocate* show the breadth of interest and variety of sources. Among others, there was a long item on "Deep Ploughing" taken from a pamphlet by Thomas Moore of Maryland, a series of pieces on internal improvements put together from several sources, a reprint from the *Franklin Farmer* (Kentucky) of an extract of a report to the Kentucky State Agricultural Society, an item from the *Southern Cultivator* titled "The Mulberry Mania—Humbuggery—Observations on the Extension of the Silk Culture" that warned bluntly against attempts to pro-

³³ It is difficult to define "feature article." Those included in this group were usually longer than the rest and were either "lead" articles or were prominently placed and headed so as to attract attention. Excluded from this group were lengthy reprints of portions of books.

³⁴ *Farmer's Advocate*, I (August 1, 1838), 3-6; I (August 16, 1838), 27-29; I (September 1, 1838), 27-29.

³⁵ *North Carolina Planter*, III (September, 1860), 292.

³⁶ *Farmer's Advocate*, III (January 1, 1842), 235. Though Thomas J. Lemay has been credited with being the earliest advocate (in 1848) of a revived State agricultural society, Sherwood was a vigorous exponent of a well-integrated plan for agricultural societies, including a State society, some seven years earlier. See *Farmer's Advocate*, III (January 1, 1842), 235, and Bardolph, "A North Carolina Farm Journal," 61.

duce raw silk, and "Experiment on the Farm," reprinted from the *Tennessee Farmer*.³⁷

The *North Carolina Planter* had a number of interesting feature articles in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War. Abraham W. Venable, Congressman from North Carolina, contributed advice on crop rotation; Edmund Ruffin, one of the South's leading agriculturalists, was represented in two reprints from the *Southern Planter*, one on the drilling of peas, the other on the use of straw and cornstalks as top dressing; and there was a special contribution by a Whiteville, Tennessee, farmer on corn cultivation.³⁸ Especially featured were several articles on the subject of "horizontal plowing and hillside ditching," each apparently entered in a contest sponsored by the North Carolina Agricultural Society. Dr. Nicholas T. Sorsby of Alabama received the first prize of \$50.00 for his essay which the *Planter* published as it did similar ones from two other correspondents.³⁹ As time passed, three articles appeared which touched on slavery. A reprint from the *Southern Countryman*, discussing the causes and remedy for the low price of land in the South, affirmed that slavery and climate were not among the causes.⁴⁰ The second was a special article for the *Planter* signed only "J.S.D.," titled "Is It Our Interest?" which argued against the re-opening of the slave trade.⁴¹ The third was a comparison of slave labor and free labor systems drawn by Edmund Ruffin from the United States Census.⁴²

As numerous and varied as were the featured articles, unquestionably the bulk of information in every farm journal lay in the short items ranging in length from a paragraph to a page or more on a bewildering array of subjects. The *Farmer's Advocate*, in keeping with its subtitle which promised items on "*Virtue and Religion*," came out briefly but firmly

³⁷ *Farmer's Advocate*, I (October 16, 1838), 81-86; 89-92; I (February 1, 1839), 193-197; I (May 1, 1839), 273-277; I (June 1, 1839), 305-307.

³⁸ *North Carolina Planter*, I (January, 1858), 4-6; I (February, 1858), 42-45; II (January, 1859), 4-7; II (May, 1859), 129-131.

³⁹ *North Carolina Planter*, I (May, 1858), 124-142; I (June, 1858), 169-176; I (July, 1858), 201-203; I (August, 1858), 233-235; I (September, 1858), 281-283.

⁴⁰ *North Carolina Planter*, II (June, 1859), 161-164.

⁴¹ *North Carolina Planter*, II (September, 1859), 257-258.

⁴² *North Carolina Planter*, III (April, 1860), 97-103.

with paragraphs opposing the use of alcohol and tobacco. Examples of other short items include comments on turnips, manures and fertilizers, crop rotation, agricultural schools, and the need for knowledge in farming.⁴³

Cures for various and sundry ailments were frequently included. In the short space of two pages, the *North Carolina Farmer* offered advice, generally culled from other sources, on the cure of cancer, piles, lockjaw, and rheumatism, both inflammatory and common.⁴⁴ The *North Carolina Planter* on one occasion carried an item of "Advice to Consumptive People." As an indication, however, that health items were very much in the minority, the same issue of the *Planter* displayed two items on manures, five items on wheat—two of which dealt with the problem of smut—three pieces of advice on tobacco, and individual items on potato tops, Chinese sugar cane, the value of the earthworm, destruction of caterpillars in trees, fattening hogs, and an account of the value of growing "live" fences. It will be noted that cotton was not included. Of these twenty short items, seven were written especially for the *Planter*, four came from the *Southern Planter* of Petersburg, and one each came from an unidentified New York source, an unidentified Scottish source, the *Journal of the Royal Agriculture Society*, the *Salisbury Watchman*, the *Horticulturist*, *Journal of Health*, *Newberry Sun*, *Country Gentleman*, and *Southern Homestead*.⁴⁵

A short article headed "Snuff Rubbing" appeared in the *Carolina Cultivator's* July, 1855, issue. This item is worthy of special comment because it illustrates the roundabout way news stories sometimes took in finding their way to North Carolina journals and because the subject matter is somewhat out of the ordinary.

⁴³ *Farmer's Advocate*, III (July 16, 1841), 110-111, 112; I (August 1, 1838), 15; I (August 16, 1838), 19; I (March 1, 1839), 221; I (September 1, 1839), 369-370, 370-371, 372-374, 374-375.

⁴⁴ *North Carolina Farmer*, V (October, 1849), 84-85.

⁴⁵ *North Carolina Planter*, I (August, 1858), *passim*. The names in the text are as they appeared in the journal and clarification of their titles is as follows: *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury); *The Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste* (Albany, New York, and Boston, Massachusetts); *The Journal of Health* (London?); *The Southern Farmer* (Petersburg, Virginia); *Rising Sun* (Newberry, South Carolina?); *The Country Gentleman* (Albany, New York); and *The Southern Homestead* (Nashville, Tennessee).

The story seems to have originated with a "special correspondent" of the *Cincinnati Times*, from which paper the *Indiana Farmer* copied it, from which latter journal the *Carolina Cultivator* obtained the item. At the beginning of the story, the *Indiana Farmer* commented that the correspondent's "statements may be true but we are not willing to believe them." Then followed the observations on "snuff rubbing," which was described at considerable length as dangerous and a "sickening, dirty, poisonous practice" that Women's Rights conventions ought to look into. The practice, the correspondent thought, took on aspects of the drug habit. He described the process of "rubbing," or "dipping," as the modern day calls it; and then wrote of its place in society: "At parties, snuff-rubbing forms a portion of the ladies' entertainment. . . . In many of the Southern churches, the ladies side of the house is as badly stained with tobacco as the gentlemen's."⁴⁶

It is scarcely too much to say that no North Carolina agricultural publication was complete without its complement of letters to the editor. Sometimes these were grouped in a department called "Communications";⁴⁷ at other times, they were scattered throughout the journal. The letters asked questions, commented on articles, gave advice, and replied to other letters. For instance, the question of whether North Carolinians engaged in agricultural pursuits should be called farmers or planters, and from that to the farmer's relation to politics, occupied space in the *North Carolina Farmer* for a period of at least five months. Some of the exchanges and the editorial comments are instructive on contemporary attitudes toward a definition of farmer and planter and toward the farmer and his relationship to politics.

The exchange started in the September 15, 1845, issue with a letter from an unidentified writer who thought that the North Carolina "Planter" would have been a better title for the paper than the North Carolina "Farmer." The writer supported his argument with a statement he said was made ten years earlier by the venerable Nathaniel Macon to the effect

⁴⁶ *Carolina Cultivator*, I (July, 1858), 165.

⁴⁷ *Farmer's Advocate*, *Farmer's Journal*, and *Carolina Cultivator* had such departments.

“that the term Farmer was seldom heard in North Carolina, and that he [Macon] was glad of it, as it always indicated to him a state of tenancy—he preferred the term Planter, which conveyed to his mind more of independency and plenty.’ ” Editor Lemay politely disagreed with his “respected” writer:

The appellation *farmer*, in North Carolina and throughout the United States, is applied as a comprehensive term, designating the agriculturist in all his pursuits, and conveying the idea of independency and plenty whenever it is associated with intelligence, industry and economy; whereas the term planter is generally used in a more restricted sense, to distinguish the tobacco or cotton grower. Mr. Macon was mistaken. The reason that he but seldom heard the term farmer is, that he lived in a section of the State where *tobacco* was the great staple of the agriculturist or farmer.⁴⁸

The following month, “A.O.G.” from Duplin County supported Editor Lemay’s contention:

. . . in this section of country, in speaking of an agriculturist, there is not one man in five hundred who would say “*planter*,” it is all “*Farmer*.” Planter! We have too many planters now, to the number of farmers; or rather, I should say, we have *too few farmers* to the number of *planters*.⁴⁹

In this same letter, the writer had sent in \$5.00 for a subscription “club” to the *North Carolina Farmer*. At the same time, he noted that another reader had wished the *Farmer* well even though he differed from Editor Lemay in politics. Correspondent “A.O.G.” turned to this point with vehemence: “Why not! What has politics to do with agriculture? Now, sir, I differ with you in politics myself as wide as the poles, so does every subscriber I have sent you; but, I repeat, what has politics to do with agriculture?” He thought more farmers would be better off if they learned more about farming and paid less attention to politics.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *North Carolina Farmer*, I (September 15, 1845), 81.

⁴⁹ *North Carolina Farmer*, I (October 15, 1845), 114.

⁵⁰ *North Carolina Farmer*, I (October 15, 1845), 113-114.

The following month, the same correspondent sent in more subscriptions, and complained that "for the purpose of making a little political show" many farmers were leaving the soil. He thought that agricultural education was the answer—"then men would quit quarreling about Whigism and Democracy, Texas and Oregon, and turn their attention to farming—to manuring and "plowing deep while sluggards sleep."⁵¹

In January, 1846, a Wayne County writer, perhaps inspired by this series of outbursts on farmers and politics, wondered why Wake County men were so backward in their farming. It was not true in other things. "In politics," he wrote, "I know, they are wide awake, . . ." In fact, politics, to their detriment, was almost their sole concern. He wanted Wake farmers to set an example by forming a county agricultural society.⁵²

In February, the Wayne County writer found concurrence instead of contradiction from a Wake County correspondent who wanted Raleigh editors to take the lead in forming such a society. Noting that the need for agricultural knowledge was great, the correspondent went on:

Every tallow faced stripling at a crossroad meeting, can sit on the root of a tree, and while he turns his 'chaw' from one cheek to the other and whittles his stick, can give his views on a U. S. Bank and Tariff, &c. satisfied if his fence is high enough to keep his neighbor's old sow from jumping over it.⁵³

Though agricultural editors condemned the interference of party politics with the more important—to them—activity of progressive farming, some of these same editors were not above playing a bit of politics in the realm of agriculture. After the North Carolina Agricultural Society was launched in 1852,⁵⁴ Dr. John F. Tompkins's *Farmer's Journal* had been selected as the official periodical of the society; and when that paper ceased publication with the December, 1854,

⁵¹ *North Carolina Farmer*, I (November 15, 1845), 140-142.

⁵² *North Carolina Farmer*, I (January 15, 1846), 183-184.

⁵³ *North Carolina Farmer*, I (February 2, 1846), 205.

⁵⁴ For a description of various agricultural societies, from the first State organization in 1818 to the one started in 1852, see Cathey, *Agricultural Developments*, 77-81.

issue, the society was without an editorial outlet. It is pertinent to the problem which follows to recall that William D. Cooke, a Raleigh publisher, was the actual proprietor of the paper at its end and that Editor Tompkins, according to Cooke's calculations, owed Cooke \$1,730.00.⁵⁵

In the spring of 1855, a teapot-sized tempest blew up over the matter of selecting a new official "organ" of the State agricultural society. Involved were William Cooke, already publisher of the *Southern Weekly Post* and prospective publisher of a farm journal; Thomas J. Lemay, also a Raleigh publisher who had put out the *Raleigh Star* and, in the late 1840's, the *North Carolina Farmer*; and Dr. Edward A. Crudup of Franklinton, chairman of the executive committee of the State agricultural group. Thomas Ruffin, President of the North Carolina Agricultural Society and a leading attorney, jurist, agriculturist, and political figure, served as the focal point of the letters putting forth claims, counter claims, accusations, and denials.

In a letter to Ruffin, dated March 8, 1855, Cooke wanted the State agricultural society president to appoint a new chairman of the executive committee. Cooke, reporting a rumor that Dr. Crudup had resigned, complained that he had written Crudup several times asking for a list of premiums for the State fair the society was staging in the fall. Almost as if it were an afterthought, Cooke noted that he had sent along with the letter a copy of the first issue of the *Carolina Cultivator*, "the paper which I pledged myself to issue at the last meeting" of the society. Cooke told Ruffin he had gotten some of his friends and members of the executive committee to endorse his paper, "for the purpose of assuring those who do not know me that the *Cultivator* had their confidence."⁵⁶

Ruffin wrote from his home near Hillsboro to Cooke saying that the publication of the *Carolina Cultivator* came as a surprise. Though Cooke had been recommended to him, Ruffin said he had not heard of the "pledge" to publish the

⁵⁵ See above, page 280.

⁵⁶ William D. Cooke to Thomas Ruffin, March 8, 1855, Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*, II, 452. The resolution passed at the January meeting of the society

paper and, besides, those recommending Cooke had agreed that he was too busy to take on the job. Ruffin told Cooke that because he had "no personal knowledge of your qualifications for Editor of such a work," he had agreed with others that Thomas J. Lemay should be the one to publish the journal. If by some chance Lemay did not go through with his plans, Ruffin said he would become one of Cooke's subscribers.⁵⁷

On March 13, Dr. Crudup responded to Ruffin's questions about the rumored resignation and about Cooke's new journal. Denying any intention of resigning and reviewing the action taken at the past meeting of the agricultural society, Crudup claimed that it was at Cooke's instigation a resolution was introduced and passed directing the executive committee to choose an "Organ." When this had been done, Cooke and two other editors—Lemay and a "Mr. Kennedy of Goldsboro"—each sought the privilege of publishing the official journal; whereupon Crudup said he had recommended letting the full society choose among the applicants at its fall meeting. According to Crudup, Lemay and Kennedy had agreed but Cooke "seemed rather cross," and objected to Lemay's election as secretary of the society. The next thing Crudup knew was that he had received a proposed title page from Cooke's journal, styling itself as the official voice of the society, and apparently seeking Crudup's en-

was as follows: "Resolved—That the Executive Committee be authorized to adopt, as the Organ of the Society, any agricultural periodical published in this State, which they may think proper: and that they be requested to take such steps toward securing subscribers, as in their judgment they may see proper." This was published in the *Carolina Cultivator*, I (March, 1855), 18, and the following endorsement was added: "And, whereas, William D. Cooke, of Raleigh, late publisher of the 'Farmer's Journal,' proposes to publish an Agricultural Journal . . . therefore, we, the undersigned, members of the Executive Committee appointed by the State Agricultural Society, do hereby take pleasure in recommending the said *Carolina Cultivator* to the planters and farmers of North Carolina; judging from Mr. Cooke's past experience in conducting an Agricultural paper, we feel assured that the *Carolina Cultivator* will prove to be worthy [of] the support and patronage of the Agricultural community.

"And we do hereby appeal to the Farmers of the State, and all others who feel an interest in the Agricultural Improvement of North Carolina to sustain the *Carolina Cultivator*, and use their influence in procuring subscribers for the same." Following the notice were the names of Wilson W. Whitaker, W. H. Jones, James F. Jordan, and John C. Partridge.

⁵⁷ Ruffin to Cooke (copy), March [10?], 1855, Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*, II, 453-454.

dorsement. The executive committee chairman refused but when he saw the first issue of the paper with the endorsement signed by four members of the executive committee, Crudup said he went to Raleigh and persuaded Cooke to "correct the false impression" that the paper was the official journal representing the society.⁵⁸ Crudup told Ruffin he was not pleased with Cooke's actions and that "his whole object had been to forestall the Committee and make it subserve his own private purposes. . . . I intended . . . to thwart him in his selfish design, . . ." Then Crudup revealed his own attitudes about the selection of the paper. He told Ruffin he had called an executive committee meeting in Raleigh for April 2 and that the selection of a journal would be part of the business. "The *Arator*' is clearly the paper for us, and Mr. Lemay I think the most suitable editor we could possibly get. 'The *Arator*' will be out shortly."⁵⁹

The executive committee met but no quorum was present. Of the seven members attending, the vote stood four to three in favor of the *Arator*. In addition Lemay's supporters had garnered four proxies; but because Cooke's friends objected to having these counted the decision was postponed to the May meeting of the committee.⁶⁰

Cooke came to his own defense on April 20. Writing to Judge Ruffin, he reviewed the termination of the *Farmer's Journal* as being due to the lack of subscribers and to the fact that Tompkins owed him money. He then reminded Ruffin that the executive committee wanted another paper, which Cooke told members of the committee he was willing to publish, telling Ruffin that Dr. Crudup at first accepted the editorship of the proposed "Carolina Cultivator," but

⁵⁸ Such a correction appeared in the *Carolina Cultivator*, I (April, 1855), 50: "The endorsement of several individual members of the Executive Committee of the State Agricultural Society, published in our last, was not intend[ed] by the signers or ourselves, to be understood as an official act, but as an emphatic recommendation from gentlemen officially connected with the Society. We ask nothing but a fair examination, and a liberal support."

⁵⁹ Crudup to Ruffin, March 13, 1855, Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*, II, 455-457. On March 16, Crudup wrote Ruffin that he opposed selection of the *Carolina Cultivator* because "it would have savoured of favoritism with which we have already been charged by some of the Editors." Crudup to Ruffin March 16, 1855, Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*, II, 458.

⁶⁰ Crudup to Ruffin, April 14, 1855, Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*, II, 461-462.

changed his mind when he became chairman of the executive committee. However, Cooke says, Crudup urged him (Cooke) to go on with the paper and that Crudup would become one of three partners in the enterprise.⁶¹

William Cooke's version of the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the resolution authorizing the executive committee to select a new "Organ" differed materially from the account given by Crudup. In his April 20th letter to Thomas Ruffin, Cooke claimed the resolution did not begin with him but that he was asked to draw it up in favor of the proposed "Carolina Cultivator." Cooke told Ruffin he did not hear of any other applicants and he did not know about Lemay's intentions to put out a paper "until the Cultivator was in type." Cooke complained of Crudup's actions: "His course has been very severely commented upon in Raleigh by those who have heretofore been his warm friends, and who are acquainted with the facts in the case, not only on [as] a breach of confidence but as calculated to do great injury to the Society." Cooke thought neither his nor Lemay's journal should be selected as the voice of the society. He proposed going ahead with his paper since it would be no more burden than had been the *Farmer's Journal*. He told Ruffin *he* was not *editing* the paper but hoped "to be able to issue an Agricultural Journal equal at least to any in the country."⁶²

Another member of the executive committee, Kenneth Rayner, wrote Ruffin a few days later recommending that Ruffin urge Crudup not to force the issue but to put the matter over to the fall meeting of the full society so that there would be time "for passion and feeling to be allayed." Rayner wanted to avoid the development of ill will "among those [Crudup, Cooke, and Lemay] who have been our most effective men in our great agricultural enterprise."⁶³

Perhaps as a result of Rayner's caution, Cooke's advice that neither paper be selected, and Ruffin's efforts, the North Carolina Agricultural Society did not give the title of "official

⁶¹ Cooke to Ruffin, April 20, 1855, Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*, II, 463-464.

⁶² Cooke to Ruffin, April 20, 1855, Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*, II, 464-465. The editor Cooke then had chosen is not identified. Benjamin Hedrick became editor later in the year.

⁶³ Rayner to Ruffin, April 28, 1855, Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*, II, 465-466.

organ" to any other paper,⁶⁴ though in 1860 the society passed a resolution recognizing "The 'North Carolina Planter' as an Agricultural Journal worthy of our patronage, and [we] hope that the members of the Society will use their exertions to extend its circulation."⁶⁵

This internal struggle for preferment never reached the generality of North Carolina's residents. It was conducted quietly and in a manner to prevent adverse effects on agricultural development. In their own journals, Cooke, Lemay, and the agricultural editors who preceded and followed them usually spoke editorially in harmonious support of enlightening agricultural practices and avoided political controversy.

Though there was considerable variety in the subject matter of editorials in North Carolina's ante-bellum agricultural periodicals, most of the editorials can be grouped around several large topics: the need for more subscriptions,⁶⁶ pleas to farmer-readers to write of their own experiences so that these could be published for the edification of other readers; the need for improvement in agricultural practices in North Carolina; the value of agricultural journals in furthering the best agricultural interests and improvements; and advice on how to farm more successfully. What is surprising about these editorials is the scarcity of mention of sectional partisanship until almost the eve of the Civil War; and, even then, the volume of such material was not large.

Illustrative of the concentration upon general uplift and improvement in agriculture are the twelve editorials in a single issue of the *North Carolina Planter* for June, 1858. In an item on the North Carolina Agricultural Society, the editor suggested that railroads ought to give newspaper and journal editors free tickets to ride the trains to visit the State Fair in Raleigh—permanent passes would be better still, of course. Then the support of the State Fair was urged on everyone,

⁶⁴ Cathey, *Agricultural Developments*, 82. Professor Bardolph discussed Lemay's disappointment that the *Arator* was not chosen. See Bardolph, "A North Carolina Farm Journal," 67-68.

⁶⁵ *North Carolina Planter*, III (November, 1860), 366.

⁶⁶ Pleas for subscriptions ran throughout the journals. In the *North Carolina Planter*, for example, subscriptions were discussed in I (April, 1858), 113; I (May, 1858), 145, 147; I (June, 1858), 186, 188, 190; I (July, 1858), 217-218; II (February, 1859), 49-50, and others.

though the editor complained that it ought to be in early October instead of in November. A third item acknowledged as "The Right Kind of Encouragement" the subscriptions sent in by several people. The next four concerned farming activities—"Home Truths for Farmers"; "Warts on Horses and Cattle"; how to raise sweet potatoes from seed; and how to get rid of the turnip fly. The eighth editorial thanked the Henderson County Agricultural Society for endorsing the *Planter* and recommending that all the society members subscribe. How to defeat the "Chinch Bug" occupied one space; preparation of "Swamp Manure" was described in another. "The Farmer—Morally and Intellectually" gave considerations on the "real grandeur and importance" of farming. And finally, in an editorial headed "Hard Work" the point was made that farming properly was hard work but probably no harder than becoming a scholar such as the historian William H. Prescott, who was known to have had a "long struggle to fame."⁶⁷

Almost from first to last in the 1838-1861 period, farmers of North Carolina were criticized by journal editors for their shiftlessness and for their failure to take advantage of the scientific knowledge of farming available to them. In a long editorial on June 1, 1839, the *Farmer's Advocate* discussed "Our Condition and the necessity of improvement," in which John Sherwood argued against the habit of farming in old, inefficient ways. He criticized the lack of awareness of changes that made North Carolina farmers appear to foreigners or travelers in a most unlovely and unlettered light, and he inveighed against the tendency of North Carolina farmers to procrastinate.⁶⁸ North Carolina was compared unfavorably with Virginia in the matter of members and money in the State agricultural society. The *Farmer's Journal* in December, 1853, pointed out that Virginia had 4,000 members and \$50,000 whereas North Carolina had about 400 members

⁶⁷ *North Carolina Planter*, I (June, 1858), 185-190.

⁶⁸ *Farmer's Advocate*, I (June 1, 1839), 316-318. The word "science" or the term "scientific farming" or similar phrases are found frequently. See, for example, *North Carolina Planter*, III (June, 1860), 193; III (September, 1860), 289.

and \$3,000.⁶⁹ The *Carolina Cultivator* urged that North Carolinians "arouse from lethargy" because other states north, south, and west had left North Carolina behind.⁷⁰ And toward the end of the period, the *North Carolina Planter* seems to have put its finger on why farmers in the Old North State did not do better and why agricultural journals were not better supported:

We have conversed with men in Wake county, who tell us that they farm it according to their own notions, that they don't want any instructions from books—that they farm it after the manner of their fathers, believing that their plowing and hoeing will impart fertility to the soil and make it yield miraculously; at the same time they are ignorant of the *modus operandi*. . . . The old fogies, then, opposed to book farming, as they term it, to the improvement of the times, to the progressive age, must be civilized by the efforts of young America, instructed in the art of doubling their crops, and the use of the improved implements and utensils of farming.⁷¹

In connection with the improvement of agricultural practices, a favorite theme was to urge the taking of the current North Carolina agricultural periodical as a source of agricultural information. Other journals were good but they did not reflect the special conditions in North Carolina.⁷²

The usefulness of agricultural periodicals was sometimes linked with the fact that politics was not discussed.⁷³ John Sherwood thought agricultural journals were not believed by their readers because they had learned to disbelieve items printed in *political* journals. Sherwood was convinced that editors of farm papers were not concerned with party politics but were motivated by a desire to improve agriculture. Sherwood described perfectly the importance of the farm publication to the improvement of agriculture:

⁶⁹ *Farmer's Journal*, II (December, 1853), 272-273.

⁷⁰ *Carolina Cultivator*, I (September, 1855), 224.

⁷¹ *North Carolina Planter*, III (September, 1860), 292.

⁷² See, for example, *North Carolina Farmer*, I (June 13, 1845), 1-4, 13, 23-24.

⁷³ *North Carolina Farmer*, I (June 13, 1845), 17.

. . . discoveries from which great improvements have been made . . . might each have remained confined within the limits of a single neighborhood, had it not been for the publication of Agricultural Journals. But whenever any new improvement is made, and sufficiently tested to confirm its utility, it is . . . communicated for publication in one or more Agricultural Papers; it is then copied from one paper to another, until it becomes known to many thousand readers.⁷⁴

Dr. John Tompkins noted that farm papers were increasing but that it was a lot easier to get a "new party paper" going than to start a farm journal. Reading about agriculture "seems to be held in the very lowest esteem," Tompkins thought, and as a result agricultural journal publishers had to charge prices lower than those "of the meanest and most vulgar vehicle of party trash to be found in the country."⁷⁵

The absence of sectionalism in the State's agricultural journals—either the familiar East-West division in North Carolina or the North-South controversy—was quite remarkable throughout most of the ante-bellum period. It was only in 1859 that the North-South division began to creep in. The *North Carolina Planter* contended that the way to become educated in agricultural matters was to subscribe to the *Planter* which had access to the columns of twenty southern agricultural publications. Nine months later, the sectional difference became more explicit. Editor James M. Jordan pointed out that he believed there were northern agricultural papers which had a larger circulation in North Carolina than did the *Planter*. Because farming was different in North Carolina from that in the North, Jordan could not see the farmers' reasons for "encouraging these Northern agricultural journals in preference to those of their own sunny side." He reminded his readers of the southern rage at John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry but was unhappy to note that this rage had disappeared. Merchants continued to buy from the North, North Carolina newspapers continued to publish items from Northern papers, "by way, we suppose, of recommending them to the favorable consideration of their subscribers"; and it was the South's money and slave system of

⁷⁴ *Farmer's Advocate*, II (December, 1840), 369-373.

⁷⁵ *Farmer's Journal*, I (April, 1852), 21-22.

labor that supported the North. Then Jordan wound up a purely political harangue more usually found in the general newspapers, using terms like "irrepressible conflict," "Northern free soil, black republican, squatter sovereignty," and the like. Jordan's complaints about the preference given northern journals was echoed a few months later by the *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, which objected to the reception given "periodicals from abolition publishing houses. . . ." ⁷⁶

Slavery and slave labor mentioned in Jordan's editorial were not the usual topics. Editors talked about the slave system only occasionally and mostly these comments were grouped in the 1860's. Dr. John F. Tompkins, however, devoted a long editorial in 1853 to the responsibility of the master to his Negroes. Writing under the heading of "Management of Negroes," Dr. Tompkins touched on the moral issue and condemned a show of kindness that was coupled with neglect. "The responsibility of a master is, we think, great—his accountability in the world to come in relation to this matter [of slavery] is immense." It was no kindness to the master or to the Negroes, the editor contended, to let them lie idle yet not feed or look after them. ⁷⁷

Though it is perhaps merely coincidental, it was not until about the time James M. Jordan came to Raleigh from Isle of Wight County, Virginia, that the *North Carolina Planter* began to take part in the defense of the South and southern institutions. Following the editorial in December, 1859, dealing with northern agricultural journals, the southern labor system, and the North's attacks on southern practices and rights, Jordan returned to the same general subject three months later. In the February, 1860, issue he discussed the "Political State of Agriculture." Saying that as editor, "we know no party; it is our duty to encourage, protect and promote the interest of the farmer," Jordan went on to discuss the adverse effects of the tariff on agriculture. Tariffs were not the only troubles, however; the increase in *free* Negroes

⁷⁶ *North Carolina Farmer*, II (December, 1859), 369-370; III (September, 1860), 290-291; *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, I (March, 1861), 4. The slave system of labor was praised in the *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, I (December, 1860), 4.

⁷⁷ *Farmer's Journal*, II (May, 1853), 52-54.

was a major agricultural problem because the free men of color disturbed and disrupted the work of slaves. Since the economy of North Carolina and of the South was based on slavery, Jordan had only two recommendations to make regarding free Negroes: "Remove them beyond the limits of the State or reduce them to slavery."⁷⁸

Two other editorials reviewing the place of southern agriculture with its foundation of slavery appeared in the *North Carolina Planter*; still another was published in the *Edgecombe Farm Journal*. The *Planter* denounced abolitionists and argued the constitutional protection of slavery in one; in the other, James M. Jordan expressed his belief that agriculture was the true foundation of everything but that it was always under attack. In this four-page editorial, Jordan reviewed the attacks on slavery from the Missouri Compromise forward, holding that the Missouri Compromise was wrong because Congress had no authority to go into the question. The Tarboro publication contended that cotton weighed "heavier in the political balances of the world than any other article of agricultural or manufacturing produce" in the United States; and Smith argued "that if the South be deprived of slave labor the world will be deprived of its cotton and cotton fabrics. . . ."⁷⁹

Only rarely was the possibility of military action foreshadowed in editorials of North Carolina's farm papers. In March, 1860, Editor Jordan attached his initials to a recommendation that North Carolina needed to look to her own defenses by getting her militia in a state of readiness. The union ought to stand, he believed, but a Republican victory in the November election would mean the union would be dissolved and North Carolina ought to follow the example of other southern states which were already taking military precautions. Just a year later, the *Edgecombe Farm Journal* urged the need for planting cotton. War was imminent, the paper declared; and if it should "last the whole year, or even longer," cotton would be in great demand as a medium of

⁷⁸ *North Carolina Planter*, III (February, 1860), 50-52.

⁷⁹ *North Carolina Planter*, III (May, 1860), 161-165; III (November, 1860), 353-357; *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, I (March, 1861), 4.

exchange for supplies and equipment which would be needed.⁸⁰

In spite of these examples of militant sectionalism in a few political editorials, the agricultural papers generally kept to those matters which would improve rather than destroy; and whether the tone was one of cajoling, entreating, or prodding, the editorial was used mainly as a support for improved agricultural practices.

The *North Carolina Planter* was not sure that editors of preceding agricultural journals in North Carolina had always known what the best agricultural practices were. At any rate, the forerunners of the *Planter* had been relatively short-lived, a "fate justly befalling all enterprizes undertaken by men not qualified to conduct them." The *Planter* was sure the previous "editors were intelligent men in other departments," but implied that only the *Planter* was edited by a farmer and because this was so the *Planter* would succeed where others failed. Editing was not all, of course; with enough subscriptions, "we shall have the means of going out as missionaries to civilize the anti-book farmers of the State."⁸¹

An examination of North Carolina's agricultural press before the Civil War leads to the conclusion that lack of subscriptions was more truly a cause of failure than was the lack of farming knowledge on the part of journal editors. The lack of subscriptions was likely though not definitely related to another aspect of inadequate financial support for the papers—the general scarcity of advertising. Advertising and subscriptions were the only means by which any journal could pay its own way.

Subscription rates were low, even by the standards of the day,⁸² and there were such things as "club rates" of multiple copies sent to a single address which further reduced the annual rate. The *Farmer's Advocate* charged \$1.25 yearly for twenty-four issues, with a special club rate of ten copies for \$10.00, all payable in advance. The *North Carolina Farmer* was \$1.50 annually, but only \$1.00 if the sum was

⁸⁰ *North Carolina Planter*, III (March, 1860), 81-83; *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, I (March, 1861), 4.

⁸¹ *North Carolina Planter*, III (September, 1860), 291.

⁸² *Farmer's Journal*, I (April, 1852), 21-22.

paid within sixty days, and the club rate was six copies for \$5.00. In the 1850's the rates of other journals were still lower, with the *North Carolina Planter* originally asking \$1.00, which was reduced in January, 1861, to 75 cents for a single annual subscription, a five-copy club for \$3.00, and a ten-copy club at 50 cents each. The lowest rates were those of the *Edgecombe Farm Journal*: 50 cents yearly, and a club of five copies for \$2.00.⁸³

Information about the number of subscribers is fragmentary at best, but the *North Carolina Planter* offers some light. Though claiming to publish "a much neater and more tastily gotten up Periodical than any of its predecessors," the *Planter* complained in October, 1858, that it had fewer than a thousand subscribers. Almost a year later the number was down to eight hundred; and, of these, many received it at club rates of 80 cents annually so that the *Planter's* income from subscriptions for a whole year was only about six hundred dollars. In February, 1860, the list was back up to a "little over one thousand," and up to about thirteen hundred in July. Two months later it had fifteen hundred subscribers and was still complaining about the lack of support from farmers. From an earlier hope of five thousand subscribers, the paper lowered its goal to two thousand but seems never to have reached that figure.⁸⁴

The only paper which did not complain of lack of subscribers was the *Edgecombe Farm Journal*. Early in 1861, the Tarboro paper claimed that, though other papers had stopped publication because of the "unhappy pecuniary state of the country," its own subscription list was large enough "to establish the *Journal* on a permanent basis," and subscriptions were still coming in.⁸⁵ In spite of this claim, the paper failed to appear after the May issue. Whether the claim itself was exaggerated is not known; the paper did,

⁸³ *Farmer's Advocate*, I (August, 1838), front cover; *North Carolina Farmer*, I (June 13, 1845), 21; *North Carolina Planter*, I (January, 1858), 1; IV (January, 1861), 11; *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, I (December, 1860), 7.

⁸⁴ *North Carolina Planter*, I (October, 1858), 4; II (September, 1859), 273; III (February, 1860), 49; III (July, 1860), 288, ". . . our list is larger than it has ever been . . ."; III (September, 1860), 290-291. For the five thousand goal, see I, (January, 1858), 18.

⁸⁵ *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, I (February, 1861), 4.

however, attempt to increase circulation by offering copies free to any North Carolinian who could not afford to take the paper, qualifying the offer by warning: "We mean what we say, but, *we won't pay the postage.*" Another subscription technique of the *Edgecombe Farm Journal* was a fairly elaborate system of premiums to be given to agents who obtained new names. Commencing with 350 subscribers, for which an agent would receive his choice of a \$75.00 melodeon, the premiums were graduated downward through two makes of sewing machines, a subsoil plow, and a hand corn sheller worth \$6.00, for fifty-five names. Agents turning in twenty or more names could obtain books on which an allowance of ten cents per name would be made.⁸⁶

Other techniques for adding to subscription lists were to send the journal to names obtained from other lists and to continue sending the paper unless the recipient returned the copy with the word that he did not want it; or, the journal would continue to be sent until overdue subscription "arrearages" had been paid; or, the editor would praise some friend for sending in long lists of additional subscribers accompanied by payment in advance; or, the paper would receive from its predecessors—as did the *North Carolina Planter* from both the *Arator* and the *Carolina Cultivator*—lists of patrons who had subscribed to the earlier papers and might want to have the newer publication.⁸⁷

Cheap postal rates were an inducement to subscribers; and the *North Carolina Farmer* late in 1845 pointed out that, being classed with newspapers, the *Farmer* would be delivered free anywhere within thirty miles of Raleigh and for only one cent per issue anywhere within North Carolina or a hundred miles of the State and just a cent and a half beyond that distance.⁸⁸ In 1858, the *North Carolina Planter* called attention to the fact that postal rates were only half a cent per issue if the postage was paid in advance each quarter; if paid at the

⁸⁶ *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, I (December, 1860), 4; I (March, 1861), 7.

⁸⁷ *North Carolina Farmer*, I (June 13, 1845), 21; *Farmer's Advocate*, I (September 1, 1839), back cover; I (February 1, 1839), back cover; *North Carolina Farmer*, I (February 16, 1846), 211-212 (thirty-eight copies were going to Albertson's post office in Duplin County, mainly as the result of work by "A. O. G."); *North Carolina Planter*, I (January, 1858), 19; I (March, 1858), 82.

⁸⁸ *North Carolina Farmer*, I (November 15, 1845), 144.

end of the quarter, the rate doubled. "Six cents, paid in advance, will pay the postage for one year to any place in the United States."⁸⁹

The *Edgecombe Farm Journal* changed the tune slightly, asking its subscribers to stop sending in postage stamps as payment for the paper. The *Farm Journal* said it had more than enough stamps; besides, the gummed sides had a bad habit of sticking together; and it concluded its plea with the flat statement: "We much prefer money to stamps."⁹⁰

Another way to come by money to support the agricultural journal was to persuade advertisers to use the columns of the periodical. Until the 1850's, advertisements were few; the *Farmer's Advocate* only once had as many as two in the same issue, and both of those offered mulberry trees for sale.⁹¹

Commencing with the *Farmer's Journal*, advertising showed considerable increases. The publisher charged by the "square" (approximately two column inches). Usually the first insertion cost from \$1.00 to \$1.50, depending upon the journal, with subsequent insertions of the same advertisement costing from 75 to 80 cents per "square." The *Farmer's Journal* charged \$10.00 per year for a "square," \$30.00 for half a column in every issue for a year, and \$50.00 for a year's run of a full-column advertisement.⁹² The *Carolina Cultivator* set its rates at \$16.00 for a quarter-page in each issue for a year, with charges of \$30.00 for a half-page, and \$50.00 for the entire page.⁹³

Few generalizations can be made concerning the subject matter of advertising and the geographical location of the advertiser. The *Farmer's Journal* for March, 1854, contained 18½ column inches of advertising divided into eight separate advertisements. Dr. Tompkins figured in three of these; and the other five included two for nurseries, a factor and commission merchant, an iron and brass foundry and machine shop, and one advertiser of agricultural implements who noted that he was offering a "large number of articles brought

⁸⁹ *North Carolina Planter*, I (October, 1858), 313.

⁹⁰ *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, I (December, 1860), 4.

⁹¹ *Farmer's Advocate*, I (February 1, 1839), 206, 208.

⁹² *Farmer's Journal*, I (March, 1853), 394.

⁹³ *Carolina Cultivator*, II (February, 1857), 377.

to the late [North Carolina] Fair and left with me on sale, on all of which the Railroad freight will be saved to the purchaser, a very important item on heavy goods." The geographical sources of these advertisements included Brinkleyville (North Carolina), Fayetteville, Charleston (South Carolina), Petersburg (Virginia), and Raleigh.⁹⁴

Among interesting advertisements carried by the *Carolina Cultivator* was one for a Raleigh mutual life insurance company which insured, among others, slaves "for a term of one to five years, for two-thirds their value." In the same issue there were advertisements for two mutual insurance companies covering property, a notice from The New Hotel at Weldon, "Meals Always Ready on the Arrival of the Cars," and one for farm machinery such as bailers, a patented cornsheller, and sausage stuffers and cutters.⁹⁵ Suffolk and Essex hogs, Shanghai and Brahma Putra chickens, and Merino sheep were all offered for sale in an earlier issue.⁹⁶

The *Carolina Cultivator* for February, 1857, is an excellent example of variety in subject matter and point of origin in its advertisements. There were twenty-six advertisements in all; two were full page insertions, and the remainder were smaller. The full-page notices included one from William Cooke's own publishing firm for a new North Carolina map that was endorsed by Governor Thomas Bragg, William A. Graham, State Geologist Ebenezer Emmons, and scientist and university professor Elisha Mitchell. The second full page was for Horace Waters who sold pianos, melodeons, and music. The other advertisements included six for farm implements, four for periodicals, three for patent medicines and preparations, two for book publishing, and one each for a commission merchant, a book binder, a book store, a school, a nursery, a fertilizer firm, a seedsman, a maker of hemp fire hose, and a position as a school teacher wanted by a northern girl. In origin, seven came from New York City, five from Raleigh, three from Philadelphia, two from Brookville in Granville County, and one each from Warrenton and New Bern, Richmond (Virginia), Atlanta (Georgia), Riceville

⁹⁴ *Farmer's Journal*, II (March, 1854), 383-384.

⁹⁵ *Carolina Cultivator*, I (February, 1856), 398-400.

⁹⁶ *Carolina Cultivator*, I (December, 1855), 333, 334.

and New Brunswick (New Jersey), and Boston and Lowell (Massachusetts). The applicant for the teaching position asked that replies be sent to the editor.⁹⁷ Of the twenty-six advertisements, seventeen originated outside of North Carolina.

What is somewhat surprising is the scarcity of patent medicine advertisements in the agricultural journals. There were such notices, of course, and some of them occupied considerable space;⁹⁸ they were not nearly so prevalent, however, as were similar advertisements in contemporary family or political journals.⁹⁹ Nor were these advertisements as numerous as might be expected from the Southerner's constant concern for the poor state of his health.¹⁰⁰

In looking broadly at the agricultural journals in North Carolina between 1838 and 1861, several points stand out. The number of forward-looking farm editors and others who were interested in improving agriculture was small, but the number was growing in the 1850's and early 1860's. The editors and publishers of farm journals were frequently interested in other publishing activities and in a variety of other agricultural improvement activities such as the State fair and various agricultural societies. Except in a very few instances, these editors were not farmers; or, if they farmed, it was incidental to their main occupations or professions.

As for the journals, there seems to have been more sense, a greater variety of information, and a great deal more *useful* information in their pages than perhaps has been generally believed. To a surprising degree, political subjects were avoided or minimized to the point that a reader who relied solely upon agricultural papers in the State for his knowledge of the world and the nation might have been shocked by the

⁹⁷ *Carolina Cultivator*, II (February, 1857), 377-384. Almost as much variety was apparent in other journals. See *North Carolina Planter*, III (November, 1860), inside front cover, inside back cover, and back cover; *Edgecombe Farm Journal*, I (November, 1860), 7.

⁹⁸ See *North Carolina Planter*, III (March, 1860), inside front cover.

⁹⁹ See the *Greensborough Patriot* (Greensboro), August 4, 1849, in which there were nine of the fifty-four advertisements; the *Weekly Raleigh Register*, September 21, 1853, contained four of thirty advertisements, two of which occupied an entire column.

¹⁰⁰ James W. Patton, "Facets of the South in the 1850's," *The Journal of Southern History*, XXIII (February, 1957), 5-7; Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 722-743.

onset of the Civil War in 1861. In fact, the agricultural journals continued to publish letters, reprints of articles, and advertisements originating in the northern states right up to the outbreak of fighting.¹⁰¹

The lack of public support for these agricultural periodicals, in the form either of subscribers or of advertisers, is somewhat more difficult to explain. General family or political papers in the State were numerous, some of them were long-lived and crowded with advertisements, and the outstanding papers in Raleigh, Fayetteville, Tarboro, Salisbury, Greensboro, and elsewhere had healthy subscription lists.¹⁰² Poverty may have had an effect; one paper had to serve. The State's citizens were perhaps preoccupied with political matters. It could have been that the lack of support stemmed from the fact that the farm journals generally *were* noncontroversial and nonpolitical.¹⁰³ But the main reason would seem to be that farming was something which one learned by doing and learned by following a father's example—not something to be learned from books or newspapers.¹⁰⁴

In spite of their shortcomings, their brief existences, their small subscription lists, the agricultural journals of antebellum North Carolina strove manfully to fill the role of "missionaries to . . . the anti-book farmers of the State."

¹⁰¹ See reprint from the *Indiana Farmer* in *North Carolina Planter*, III (December, 1860), 377. See also the following in the *Edgecombe Farm Journal*: I (September, 1860), 1-6, an Ohio exchange, *Albany Knickerbocker* (New York), *Express* (New York), *New England Farmer*, *Farmer* (Genesee), I (February, 1861), 4, 6, a letter from Jonathan Edgecomb [*sic*], Lima, La Grange County, Indiana, and an item from the *Maine Farmer*, as well as various advertisements. In the *North Carolina Planter*, III (November, 1860), there were four advertisements from New York City, and one each from Cennaminsen, New Jersey; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Lowell, Massachusetts, among others.

¹⁰² Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 772-773, points out that in 1850, North Carolina's fifty-one newspapers and journals had circulation in excess of two million and that in ten years the number of papers had reached seventy-four and that the circulation had climbed almost to five million.

¹⁰³ See Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 786, for a report of criticism of a newspaper that was too self-controlled in the matter of partisan politics.

¹⁰⁴ See above, page 296.

EUGENE CLYDE BROOKS: EDUCATIONAL JOURNALIST IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1906-1923

By WILLARD BADGETTE GATEWOOD, JR.*

Eugene Clyde Brooks, one of the architects of the present school system in North Carolina, was an active force for educational progress in the State for more than three decades. Between 1898 and 1934 he occupied almost every rung in the educational ladder, and a striking feature of his career was the remarkable success that he achieved in each capacity. At one time or another during this period he was a teacher, principal, school superintendent in Monroe and Goldsboro, clerk in the State Department of Education, Professor of Education in Trinity College, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, President of North Carolina State College, and leader in important educational organizations. His popular reputation rested largely upon his work as first director of Governor Charles B. Aycock's campaign for better schools; his pioneer program in teacher training at Trinity College; his full-scale reorganization of the public school system as State Superintendent between 1919 and 1923; and the expansion of State College under his guidance. Brooks, however, made another significant contribution to education as editor of a magazine for North Carolina teachers which was first published in 1906.¹

North Carolina had lacked such a periodical since 1901, when P. P. Claxton moved his *North Carolina Journal of Education* outside the State. Claxton's magazine, like several others in the previous quarter century, had been unable to overcome the obstacles that beset educational journalism in North Carolina. The educational renaissance, initiated by Aycock during the next four years, pointed up the need for another journal devoted to public education. Henry E. Seeman, a printer by trade who had manifested interest in North Carolina educational publications for more than a decade,

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¹ See Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., "Eugene Clyde Brooks: Educator and Public Servant" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1957, Duke University, Durham).

led the movement to establish another teachers' magazine and regularly attended the sessions of the Teachers' Assembly to plead the cause of such a journal. Finally, he offered to publish and finance the magazine, if the educational forces of the State would support it. In 1905 the State Association of County Superintendents and other groups affiliated with the Teachers' Assembly endorsed Seeman's enterprise.²

A committee representing the Assembly met in Raleigh in July, 1906, to hear Seeman explain the details of his proposition. After a full discussion the group decided to begin publication of a teachers' journal. The Assembly was to select the editor and assist in securing subscriptions, while Seeman was to be publisher and financial manager. Brooks, who had been in Raleigh lecturing at North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts earlier that summer, had undoubtedly discussed the question of an educational magazine with his old friend State Superintendent James Y. Joyner, and probably indicated his willingness to accept the editorship. Brooks's previous journalistic experience with the *Wilson Mirror* and *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), his reputation among school men, and Joyner's endorsement were apparently the factors that persuaded the Assembly representatives to appoint him editor of their magazine at a salary of \$1,200. The new *North Carolina Journal of Education* was to be published bi-weekly in Durham, and Brooks was to give up his current position as superintendent of the Goldsboro schools in June, 1907, in order to devote full time to his editorial work.³

² Edgar W. Knight, *Public School Education in North Carolina* (Boston, 1916), 364, hereinafter cited as Knight, *Public School Education*; Charles L. Lewis, *Philander Priestley Claxton: Crusader for Public Education* (Knoxville, 1949), 98-109; Ruth Groom, "North Carolina Journals of Education," *North Carolina Education*, VIII (May, 1914), 8-10, 15, hereinafter cited as Groom, "North Carolina Journals of Education"; E. D. Fowler, *The Seeman Printery: Fifty Years, 1885-1935* (Durham, 1935); E. C. Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," *North Carolina Education*, XI (May, 1917), 17-18, hereinafter cited as Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman"; William K. Boyd, *The Story of Durham: City of the New South* (Durham, 1927), 253-254; "Two Score Years and Ten: A Half-Century of Educational Journalism," *North Carolina Education*, XXIII (September, 1956), 17, hereinafter cited as "Two Score Years and Ten."

³ Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," 17-18; *Goldsboro Daily Argus*, July 23, 1906. Various inquiries and searches indicate that the Brooks manuscripts relating to the teachers' magazine have been destroyed.

Brooks and Seeman spent "the greater part of July and August making plans for the new publication." The first issue of the *North Carolina Journal of Education* appeared on September 15, 1906, at an annual subscription rate of one dollar. The magazine had a rather impressive format and was divided into several departments, including articles of especial interest to school superintendents, primary teachers, the Women's Association for the Betterment of School Buildings and Grounds, and teachers in high schools, academies, and colleges. Other sections were devoted to "educational method," current events, feature articles, and personal items. Brooks announced that, in addition to these regular departments, a series of useful articles by experienced teachers and announcements by State Superintendent Joyner, chairman of the advisory editorial board, would be published from time to time.⁴

In the first issue of the *Journal* Brooks stated the editorial policy which he would consistently support for the next seventeen years:

The policy of the *Journal* is, and will continue, to do everything to advance the cause of education, to call attention to work that is well done, and to discuss problems that are giving the teachers most concern. We believe the profession should be improved by raising the standards of teachers and that a high grade certificate should command a high salary in any county. In order to provide opportunities for the improvement of teachers we believe each county should establish free township and county high schools. We believe the State should provide for a longer school term by so amending the Constitution that the county commissioners may levy sufficient tax for better houses and longer terms. We believe further that after the State opens its doors to the children, they should be compelled to enter, especially the smaller children who are too small to work, and all who are unable to read and write.⁵

He gave more explicit expression to this policy in his first editorial comments. The lead editorial, entitled "Is the School Term Long Enough," declared that "the average length of

⁴ Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," 18; *Goldsboro Daily Argus*, August 31, 1906; "Two Score Years and Ten," 17, 44; *North Carolina Journal of Education*, I (September 15, 1906).

⁵ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, I (September 15, 1906), 12.

schooling for the country child is about three years of four months each." Brooks dismissed as absurd the idea that the State was financially unable to provide better schools and longer terms for rural children, and declared that the first remedial step was to amend the constitution in order that the counties could levy taxes sufficient to meet the demands of rural education. In two other editorials he urged the county boards of education to enlarge the powers of the county superintendents, and deplored the rapid turnover of teachers which resulted from appallingly low salaries.⁶

During its first year the *Journal* largely continued the "departmental" arrangement of the initial issue. Editorially, Brooks hammered away on such themes as longer school terms, qualified teachers, and higher salaries. He described the pathetic plight of rural schools which were kept open less than four months each year and whose qualified teachers "flocked to wealthier counties." He demanded a public high school in each township in order to provide a "training ground to prepare a sufficient number of teachers for the entire public schools." In almost every editorial he concluded that the basic problem of public education in North Carolina was "the lack of money," which he attributed to the defects of a Reconstruction constitution and to the decisions of the State Supreme Court in 1870 and 1885. In 1906 the court still held that county officials could not exceed the constitutional tax limitation in providing for the constitutional school term of four months. According to Brooks, it was high time the legislature and the people rectified these "ancient decisions" of the Supreme Court by constitutional amendments increasing the school term and removing the tax limitation for educational purposes.⁷

Immediately prior to the opening of the legislature of 1907, Brooks increased the tempo of his editorial campaign for various reform measures. He insisted that the State possessed adequate wealth to equalize and raise educational opportu-

⁶ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, I (September 15, 1906), 12.

⁷ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, I (October 15, 1906), 8; I (November 1, 1906), 10; Charles L. Coon, "School Support and Our North Carolina Courts," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), 403-405, 412-417, hereinafter cited as Coon, "School Support and Our Courts."

ities in the several counties and to establish a minimum salary for teachers with superior qualifications.⁸ For the benefit of legislators he presented statistics showing that one-fourth of the children in the State did not have advantage of the minimum school term of four months required by the constitution. "Those who have taken an active part in the educational campaign of the past few years," he wrote, "have seen one or two land owners in a district exercise authority over his tenants whose children ought to be in school, and turn the election against schools, saying . . . that education for these is not a 'necessary expense', and the children had better work in the fields—yes 130,620 of them."⁹ He also implored the legislature to provide adequate facilities for training elementary teachers, and heartily endorsed proposals to increase the State Superintendent's salary and enforce school attendance.¹⁰

In 1907 Brooks threw the support of the *Journal* behind a measure declaring public schools a necessary expense and requiring counties to levy a tax sufficient to maintain at least a four months term in every school. The defeat of this bill brought him great disappointment, but he urged the teachers and school officials of the State to keep such a law before the people until the meeting of the next legislature. Brooks supported Joyner in opposing a bill to elect county boards of education by popular vote. He argued that many people in the State did "not even believe in education at all" and to place the boards of education in the hands of "active politicians" would destroy the educational progress made since 1901. The bill was defeated, largely because the Democrats were yet unwilling to endanger their power over such local offices. Despite certain disappointments, Brooks concluded that the legislature of 1907 had taken "no backward steps" and had left the schools "considerably stronger." Later in the same year the State Supreme Court reversed the Barksdale decision of 1885 and declared that county school officials

⁸ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, I (December 1, 1906), 10.

⁹ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, I (January 1, 1907), 12.

¹⁰ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, I (March 1, 1907), 4.

could exceed the constitutional limitation in levying taxes for the maintenance of the four months school term.¹¹

When Brooks became professor of education in Trinity College in 1907, he retained his position as editor of the teachers' journal. The move to Durham made it possible for him and Seeman to work more closely and conveniently on the publication. By that time, however, it appeared that the magazine would suffer the dismal fate of its predecessors. Brooks declared that subscriptions "came in so slowly that one would think that the teachers of the state had no interest in the publication." So few were the advertising contracts that they were "kept on one page in the ledger."¹² Although Brooks had refused to accept further pay after December, 1906, there was a deficit of \$2,000 by the end of the first year of publication. The journal probably would have collapsed had it not been in the hands of such men as Seeman and Brooks, who saw in it something more than a financial investment. Both men had "faith" in the publication. Seeman told Brooks, "We will make it go." In October, 1907, Brooks described the unsound financial condition of the *Journal* to the Association of County Superintendents and insisted that 6,000 subscriptions were necessary to save it. Each superintendent then promised to solicit a certain number of subscriptions from his county. Also, Brooks persuaded Seeman to publish the magazine monthly instead of bi-weekly, retaining the original price of one dollar. Through these means and increased advertising receipts, the *Journal* reduced its deficit to \$500 in 1908.¹³

From 1907 to 1909, Brooks continued to crusade for a progressive educational program through his editorial columns. In May, 1907, he was again writing about the length of the school term and speaking of "four or five months" as a minimum term for rural children.¹⁴ After the passage of the high school law in the same year, the *Journal* increased the num-

¹¹ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, I (March 1, 1907), 4; I (March 15, 1907), 4, 9; I (April 1, 1907), 8; Coon, "School Support and Our Courts," 412-417.

¹² Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," *North Carolina Education*, XI (October, 1917), 17-18.

¹³ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, II (October, 1907), 17.

¹⁴ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, I (May 15, 1907), 9.

ber of articles of interest and value to secondary school teachers and officials. Brooks urged county school officials to take full advantage of the law, but warned against overloading the high school curriculum with textbooks and rote memory work. In this connection he pointed out the necessity for qualified teachers and insisted that the material progress and popular support of public education had surpassed that other essential ingredient to efficient schools—the training of teachers. He was convinced that most teachers were plodding along in “the old ways,” adding nothing new to their classroom instruction. He suggested, as a partial remedy, a more efficient corps of county superintendents who would personally supervise the work of the teachers and encourage in-service training.¹⁵

In November, 1908, Brooks answered the attacks of certain church groups who opposed the State high school law on the grounds that it was detrimental to denominational secondary schools. He insisted that State control of education could be traced to Martin Luther and that the problem was not “how far the state shall educate, but how much education can an individual receive.”¹⁶ He argued that the separation of church and State necessitated State control of education and that the destruction of State schools was not a part of the church’s mission. According to Brooks, the chief claim of the church on education lay in the State’s neglect of its duty in the past. “Religious instruction,” he concluded, “does not depend upon church control and ownership of the school any more than a religious people depend upon a theocracy.” This was a rather strong editorial for a professor in a Methodist college to direct to one of the leading Methodist journals in the State.¹⁷

By the end of the third year of publication the *North Carolina Journal of Education* had paid off its debt and become self-supporting. In December, 1908, Seeman announced that he had sold the magazine to W. F. Marshall of Raleigh, a

¹⁵ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, II (February, 1908), 14-16.

¹⁶ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, II (March, 1908), 5-7.

¹⁷ “Our State Educational Policy,” *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, LIII (October, 15, 1908), 1; *North Carolina Journal of Education*, III (November, 1908), 14-16.

printer and former teacher. It was moved to Raleigh shortly thereafter, and the name changed to *North Carolina Education*, in January, 1909. Brooks remained editor, purchasing half interest in the journal in 1910. At the end of the fourth year he announced that the financial condition of the magazine continued to improve but was yet "unsatisfactory." In 1910 the monthly circulation had risen to 1,400 copies. This fell to 1,200 in the following year, but rose to 1,600 in 1912. Brooks and Marshall, as editor and publisher respectively, maintained the arrangement of 1910 until August 1, 1919.¹⁸

One of the principal handicaps to the development of education in North Carolina, as Brooks continued to point out, was the large percentage of teachers without normal school training. In 1908, for example, two-thirds of the teachers in the State lacked any such training. A partial remedy for this situation was offered at the meeting of the Association of County Superintendents in August, 1909, by J. A. Bivins, State Supervisor of Teacher Training. He announced the establishment of the North Carolina Teachers' Reading Circle, which was designed "to furnish from year to year a carefully selected course of reading adapted to the professional needs of the teacher." The members of the Reading Circle would take an annual examination on the books which would be prepared by the State Supervisor of Teacher Training and given by the county superintendents. Upon successful completion of a four-year course in reading, the teacher would receive a diploma from the State Department of Public Instruction, entitling him to preferential treatment regarding jobs and salaries. The county superintendents were "advised to renew, free of cost, the first grade certificate to all who are members of the reading circle. . . ." ¹⁹

Brooks attended the meeting of the county superintendents in 1909 and participated in the discussion of the Reading Circle project. In the October issue of *North Carolina Educa-*

¹⁸ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, III (December, 1908), 1; Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," 17-18; Groom, "North Carolina Journals of Education," 15, *North Carolina Education*, V (September, 1911), 2; W. F. Marshall to E. C. Brooks, September 19, 1913, Eugene Clyde Brooks Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited as Brooks Papers.

¹⁹ *Report of the Supervisor of Teacher-Training, 1908-1910*, 112-114.

tion he initiated the Reading Circle program with a treatment of Hamilton's *Recitation*. He was requested to undertake this work by Joyner and Bivins because of his success in extension work among Durham County teachers. Apparently, his direction of the Reading Circle was intended at first to be temporary, but he continued to supervise it for a decade, which suggests that the State officials considered his work of a superior quality. In fact, Joyner rarely failed to compliment Brooks's conduct of the Reading Circle in his biennial reports to the Governor. Since more than half of the 11,915 teachers in the State participated in the Reading Circle, Brooks exerted a significant influence in raising the qualification of teachers through his reading courses in *North Carolina Education*.²⁰

In addition to this reading program, the columns of the magazine carried a variety of information valuable to the teacher. Brooks published articles on the teaching of history which were based upon his work with the Committee of Eight in revising the elementary school courses in history. He frequently included descriptions of efficient programs and successful innovations in certain school systems. He had faith in the power of example and publicized "model" school programs with a view toward arousing other areas to benefit by their success. Similarly, he seemed to believe that publicity of glaring defects would elicit a public indignation strong enough to demand remedial measures. In various ways Brooks's journal stimulated a professional spirit, an *esprit de corps*, among North Carolina teachers. To determine his influence in this direction is obviously impossible, but the elevation of the professional status of the teacher was a constant concern and a frequent editorial theme.²¹

In September, 1910, Brooks published his personal observations on the progress of teacher training during the past decade. After eight years of summer institute work, he re-

²⁰ *Report of the Supervisor of Teacher-Training, 1908-1910*, 114; *North Carolina Education*, IV (October, 1909), 16-17; *Report of the President of Trinity College to the Board of Trustees*, 1915, 6-7; *Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1910-1912*, 10, hereinafter cited as *Biennial Report*.

²¹ *North Carolina Education*, IV (October, 1909), 8; Knight, *Public School Education*, 363.

ported: "There is to be found considerable improvement in the professional spirit of teachers and county superintendents. There are, of course, more than one thousand local tax districts. These as a rule draw teachers of superior training, who, mingling with other teachers of the state have made a better spirit and there is a greater incentive to progress." Despite these improvements, he noted several inexcusable defects. For example, some county superintendents confined their efforts to a "little clerical work"; many teachers did not own the textbooks required by law and did "not know the lessons when they go to class"; and summer institutes still concentrated upon grammar and arithmetic at the expense of literature, geography, and history. "These conditions existed more widely ten years ago," he concluded, "but they exist today and are a barrier to the progress of education."²²

Between 1909 and 1913, Brooks waged a vigorous campaign for several educational measures, with the purpose of gaining support for them among school officials and teachers who, in turn, would arouse the people. One such measure was a legislative provision for agricultural instruction in public schools. Brooks had first published his ideas on the subject in 1902 in *The News and Observer*. By 1909 he was waging an editorial campaign for farm-life schools. He opened the columns of his journal to the editor of the *Progressive Farmer* and to a professor at the State agricultural school, both of whom heartily endorsed the establishment of farm-life schools. Brooks also publicized the work of the Boys' Corn Clubs, a movement sponsored in the South by Seaman Knapp in 1908, and financed by the General Education Board. The clubs, enrolling over 3,000 members in North Carolina by 1911, were usually conducted in connection with local schools, under the direction of State Supervisor I. O. Schaub. The purpose of the clubs was to introduce future farmers to scientific agriculture and to increase soil productivity. Prizes were awarded to boys whose land yielded unusually large quantities of corn. Brooks considered this competition "a significant educational contest" and pointed to the work of

²² E. C. Brooks, "Progress in Teaching—Some Notes and Observations," *North Carolina Education*, V (September, 1910), 6-7.

the corn clubs as the first step toward incorporating scientific agriculture into the public school curriculum. Largely as a result of the agitation for agricultural education by Brooks, the Farmer's Union, and various educational organizations, the legislature provided for ten farm-life schools in 1911, and two years later the provisions were extended to include the establishment of such schools in every county in the State.²³

Another educational innovation that Brooks endorsed was the creation of a professional textbook commission. In 1911 he directed an editorial to Governor W. W. Kitchin requesting his support for such a reform. Brooks pointed out that the State Board of Education consistently rejected textbooks recommended by the sub-textbook commission composed of professional school men. At the same time, Joyner pleaded with the legislators to amend the law in order that teachers could be represented on the textbook commission, which then consisted of members of the State Board of Education. The legislature of 1911, following the advice of Brooks and Joyner, provided that, in addition to the seven members of the State Board of Education, six professional school men should be appointed to the textbook commission. Since Joyner was already a member, this act gave the school men a majority on the commission.²⁴

One of Brooks's favorite editorial topics was the office of county superintendent, which he considered the fulcrum of the public education system and, at the same time, one of the weakest links in the whole structure. In his critique of "a good superintendent" he declared that such men "should know how to teach and how to teach well," but above all, they should possess "the saving grace of common sense and should be able to judge good teaching, not so much from the standpoint of so-called theoretical pedagogy as from the

²³ *North Carolina Education*, IV (November, 1909), 4; IV (December, 1909), 8-9; IV (January, 1910), 9; IV (February, 1910), 21-22; IV (June, 1910), 3-26; Frederick B. Mumford, *The Land Grant College Movement* (Columbia, Missouri, 1940), 133-134; E. C. Brooks, *The Story of Corn and Western Migration* (Chicago, 1916), 259-265; *Biennial Report, 1910-1912*, 12; *Biennial Report, 1912-1914*, 17; *North Carolina Education*, V (May, 1911), 11; VII (January, 1913), 3.

²⁴ *North Carolina Education*, V (March, 1911), 13; V (February, 1911), 4-5; *Biennial Report, 1908-1910*, 18-20; *Biennial Report, 1910-1912*, 15.

effect of the instruction on the child." The superintendent, of course, must be an efficient administrator and business manager, fully acquainted with school law and finance. Brooks believed that a superintendent should "remain long enough in a community to work out something worthwhile," and decried the fact that many county superintendents were political appointees who devoted only part of their time to school work. Such men failed to provide that supervision so essential to an efficient school system, and offered no assistance to teachers desiring professional improvement. In 1913, Brooks urged the legislature to remedy this situation by requiring all superintendents to possess at least the requirements for a first grade elementary certificate. The General Assembly refused to go as far as he suggested, but it did provide that superintendents must have taught during the five years immediately prior to his election.²⁵

Perhaps Brooks's most vigorous editorial campaign in *North Carolina Education* concerned the six-months school term. In March, 1909, he urged a crusade to amend the State constitution to provide for a minimum term of six months.²⁶ From then on, rare was the issue of *North Carolina Education* that did not carry an article or editorial on the six-months term. Brooks intensified his campaign for such legislation in the fall of 1912, an indication that he thought that the next legislature would be receptive to the existing agitation. In November, 1912, he wrote:

It is apparent to all that the public school term in a large number of counties is too short. In fact, a four months term is so short that pupils will forget in the remaining eight months what they have learned in four months . . . The minimum term should be moved up to six months within the next year and every teacher in North Carolina should become interested enough to make this a live issue in every county. The General Assembly will meet in January. But between now and then teachers and school officers could bring this need home to those who will represent the counties in the next General Assembly.²⁷

²⁵ *North Carolina Education*, V (June, 1911), 15; V (September, 1910), 6-7; VII (January, 1913), 3; VII (April, 1913), 5-6; VII (May, 1913), 15.

²⁶ *North Carolina Education*, III (March, 1909), 13.

²⁷ *North Carolina Education*, VI (November, 1912), 19.

Brooks later suggested that the legislature provide an additional tax of five cents on each \$100 valuation of property in order to increase the school term. The legislature of 1913 followed his advice both in providing a six-months term and a five cent tax which yielded \$375,000. The legislators recognized that this amount would hardly insure a six-months term in all schools. Moreover, the constitutional minimum was still four months. In short, Brooks and his cohorts had won only the first round in their fight. They had to continue their efforts until 1918, when the people of North Carolina finally ratified a constitutional amendment providing a minimum school term of six months.²⁸

Brooks exhibited courage in editorials on many occasions. His bold criticisms of the courts and of many accepted educational practices, as well as his rebuttal to the attack on public high schools by a Methodist publication, serve as examples of his fearlessness. Even more significant was his defense, in 1909, of Charles L. Coon, Superintendent of the Wilson county and city schools, who had described in an address the unequal division of school taxes between Negroes and whites. Coon concluded that Negro education was not a burden upon white taxpayers. Many North Carolina newspapers were highly critical of Coon's remarks, and some launched a full-scale attack upon him. Brooks's position was that, although he had not fully agreed with Coon at the time of the address, he did agree that "the negro school is not a very great burden on the white race." He complimented the Wilson school board for supporting Coon, declaring that it was "refreshing to be assured that the members were not swept off their feet by the hysterics of the crowd."²⁹

While Brooks was at Columbia University in 1913-1914, he continued to edit *North Carolina Education*, with the assistance of S. S. Alderman, executive secretary of the Cen-

²⁸ *North Carolina Education*, VII (January, 1913), 3, 5; VII (February, 1913), 1-2; Fred W. Morrison, *Equalization of the Financial Burden Among the Counties in North Carolina: A Study of the Equalizing Fund* (New York, 1925), 13-14.

²⁹ *North Carolina Education*, IV (November, 1909), 14. In 1907 Brooks described Coon as "one of the best school men in the state" who was often unpopular because of his "plain language." E. C. Brooks to F. A. Woodward, April 20, 1907, Charles L. Coon Papers, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

tral Campaign Committee. He still furnished monthly installments of the Reading Circle course. He also published two especially significant articles concerning teacher education and the high school curriculum. In the first article he decried the existing tendency of summer institutes in North Carolina to emphasize "method courses" at the expense of courses providing teachers with "a working knowledge of the school subjects." In his opinion it was absurd to offer instruction "in the general method of conducting a recitation" to teachers without adequate preparation in such subjects as literature, geography, and history. He believed too that institute conductors had to apply educational theory to practical situations before their instruction would become worthwhile.³⁰ In the second article, concerning the high school curriculum, he reiterated his demand for a broad, flexible course of study, asserting that the "existing emphasis on the curriculum with its 'points' and 'credits' and pages to be covered, its arbitrary standards, and its logical balance of studies, has gone far to obscure the real meaning of education as a process of choosing and applying those things that will secure the strongest and most profitable reaction in the child." He placed the major responsibility for the rigid high school curriculum, "wrongly conceived and wrongly used," upon the colleges. "No study or group of studies," Brooks concluded, "has any importance for its own sake; its value assists a teacher in bringing a pupil into those relations with his environment that are agreeable, stimulating, and promising for him personally and profitable to society. The curriculum should include any body of knowledge that can be successfully organized to this end."³¹

When Brooks returned to Durham in 1914, after a year at Columbia University and a summer at Peabody College, Europe had embarked upon a long and costly war, and North Carolina stood ready to launch another battle in its educational crusade. He immediately arranged for the publication of articles to provide teachers with information necessary

³⁰ E. C. Brooks, "A Word as to Teacher Training," *North Carolina Education*, VIII (June, 1914), 6-7.

³¹ E. C. Brooks, "An Example of a Misdirected Educational System," *North Carolina Education*, VIII (March, 1914), 6-7.

for a "broader perspective" of the European conflict. In September, 1914, he wrote an article on "A European War and the Geography of Europe." His colleague at Trinity College, William T. Laprade of the History Department, consented to prepare a series of articles describing the background of the war. Between October, 1914 and May, 1915, Laprade published seven articles in *North Carolina Education*, bearing such titles as "Nationalism in the Balkans and the European War," "Bismarck and the German Empire," and "Policies of Kaiser William II." With the entry of the United States into the war, *North Carolina Education* participated in the various patriotic and propaganda campaigns conducted in the public schools.³²

From 1914 to 1919, North Carolina witnessed the passage of much important educational legislation, stimulated in part by circumstances produced by the war. By 1916 the public schools had reached a point that demanded significant changes. One proposed reform concerned the method of examining, accrediting, and certifying teachers. According to Superintendent Joyner, the existing method had been "in operation in this State, almost without the crossing of a 't' or the dotting of an 'i', since 1881." There was no uniformity in the certification of teachers, and each of the one hundred county superintendents could "establish practically his own standard."³³ In 1897 the legislature had created the State Board of Examiners, appointed by the State Board of Education, to prepare and grade examinations of applicants for first grade certificates. With the passage of the high school law ten years later, the Board of Examiners was given charge of certifying teachers in public high schools in rural areas. Thus, teacher certification rested almost solely upon examination.³⁴ In describing the situation in 1916, Joyner declared:

³² *North Carolina Education*, XI (September, 1914), 6-7. For the Laprade articles see *North Carolina Education*, IX (October, 1914-May, 1915).

³³ *Biennial Report, 1912-1914*, 25-26; *Biennial Report, 1914-1916*, 24.

³⁴ James E. Hillman, "The Story of Teacher Education and Certification in North Carolina," *The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes*, XXI (January, 1953), 21-23, hereinafter cited as Hillman, "Teacher Education and Certification"; Gilbert Tripp, "James Yadkin Joyner's Contribution to Education in North Carolina as State Superintendent of Public Instruction" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina), Chapter V, 50-71.

All teachers in elementary rural public schools are required to be examined and certificated by the county superintendent of the county in which they teach: first grade teachers biennially, second and third grade teachers annually. There is no provision to secure exemption from this endless round of examinations on the same subjects. . . . Previous preparation and successful experience count nothing toward certification. . . . All teachers in all city, town and other public schools operated under special acts of the General Assembly are exempt from examination or certification of any sort by anybody.³⁵

In Joyner's opinion this antiquated, chaotic method of teacher certification had to be reformed if the State consolidated the educational progress of the past decade. This reform, he thought, would mean a higher quality of instruction, better-trained teachers, and higher salaries for teachers.³⁶

Changes in the certification system had the backing of *North Carolina Education*. In fact, few measures received such strong editorial support from Brooks. In January, 1913, he urged the legislature to establish "a uniform examination, graduation, and certification system for teachers, with a minimum professional and scholastic requirement in advance of the present requirement for teachers." Although the legislature ignored the plea, Brooks continued to champion such a provision. By 1914 Joyner was more urgent in his recommendation for the establishment of a "uniform standard of academic qualifications" for teachers by the State Board of Examiners and for the "classification of certificates that would reward teachers with successful experience and advanced training by reasonable increases in salary. Shortly after this recommendation, the Legislature of 1915 empowered the Board of Examiners, in its discretion, to accept successful experience and academic and professional credit from approved colleges in lieu of examinations. Brooks expressed disappointment with this provision, charging that the legislature had refused to accept Joyner's entire plan because of its fear of centralization of power in the State Superintendent's office.³⁷

³⁵ *Biennial Report, 1914-1916*, 71.

³⁶ *Biennial Report, 1914-1916*, 27-28.

³⁷ *North Carolina Education*, VII (January, 1913), 3; *Biennial Report, 1912-1914*, 26-27; Hillman, "Teacher Education and Certification," 22; *North Carolina Education*, X (October, 1915), 12.

At the same time Brooks outlined a plan which would combine the work of the summer institute conductors and examiners under the direct supervision of the State Department. In discussing his plan, he wrote:

The law requires that each county hold an institute biennially and the teachers to be certified biennially. The officers of the institutes are county superintendents and two institute conductors. It would be a simple matter therefore to have these officers of the institute changed into an examining board with full power to license teachers in the county. The State Department could have supervision over the entire work of this board as it does today. Then, it would hardly be necessary to enforce attendance upon institutes. Furthermore, after a teacher received a first grade certificate, she would not be required to stand examination on the same public school studies two years hence; but a progressive course should be outlined, and it should be part of the work of the institute conductors to outline this course for the approaching year and to examine in the course of the preceding year. In this way the Teachers' Reading Course will be of great advantage to the teachers of the state. This plan could be enforced with but little change in the present law.³⁸

Brooks claimed that his plan, which was endorsed by several influential school officials, would incur little additional expense and would avoid the cry of centralization.³⁹

He admitted that his plan was "different from that proposed by the State Superintendent."⁴⁰ Indeed, Joyner was concerned about the proposal and willing to modify his own scheme to avoid an open break with Brooks. He argued, however, that Brooks's plan for the institute conductors to become the board of examiners was impractical because of the rapid turnover in institute conductors from year to year. "I should like to talk to you about the plan for the uniform examination and certification of teachers," he wrote Brooks, "before you discuss it further along the line of your last editorial."⁴¹ Joyner's concern about their differences indicated that he considered Brooks's support in *North Carolina*

³⁸ *North Carolina Education*, X (October, 1915), 12-13.

³⁹ *North Carolina Education*, X (November, 1915), 19.

⁴⁰ *North Carolina Education*, X (October, 1915), 12.

⁴¹ J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, October 18, 1915, Brooks Papers.

Education of primary importance to the success of the proposed measure.

The objectives of their plans were identical. Their differences lay only in the matter of organization and operation. Both were straight-forward men who could discuss their divergent views and appreciate the merits of the other's plan. Moreover, their genuine interest in the progress of public education would not permit them to endanger the success of a needed reform by an open disagreement. The unified endorsement of one plan of certification by all educational forces was a prerequisite for persuading the legislature to enact the measure. Brooks and Joyner continued to iron out their differences from time to time through correspondence and conversation. In the spring of 1916, Brooks still considered "the time ripe for a union of the institute work . . . with the examining work," while Joyner held this combination as a future goal. They discussed the matter when Joyner visited Brooks for several days in the summer of 1916 in order to get his assistance on an address to be delivered at the National Education Association. Finally, a compromise plan incorporating ideas of both men was approved by the Teachers' Assembly. Brooks championed the new plan in *North Carolina Education*, declaring that "the cause of education would be generally improved by its enactment."⁴²

The work of Joyner, Brooks, and many others on teacher certification came to fruition during the Legislature of 1917. The Legislature abolished the Board of Examiners and created the State Board of Examiners in Institute Conductors, composed of three men and three women, with the State Superintendent as chairman and the State Supervisor of Teacher Training as ex officio secretary. This board possessed "entire control of examining, accrediting, and certifying all applicants for teaching positions in the State and was also put in charge of directing and conducting the teachers' institutes for a term not less than two weeks biennially in every county."⁴³ Every teacher in the State was required to hold a cer-

⁴² E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, April 28, 1916; J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, June 27, 1916, Brooks Papers; *North Carolina Education*, XI (February, 1917), 13.

⁴³ *Biennial Report, 1916-1918*, 12.

tificate from the board except those with second and third grade certificates which were issued by local superintendents. The board certified teachers on the basis of professional and academic credit as well as examination.⁴⁴

For Brooks the next important step after the creation of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors was the appointment of the "right" people as members. He requested Governor Bickett to avoid the mistake of appointing persons without an intimate knowledge of the actual educational conditions in the State. He feared that such persons would place the academic requirements for certification too far beyond the reach of the "rank and file of teachers." He suggested that Bickett appoint A. T. Allen, N. W. Walker, and Edgar W. Knight as members of the board. Of these, Allen was appointed. Brooks also worked with the board in organizing the certification system and advised the members to work for a "better course of study," more adequate school libraries, and larger enrollment in the Reading Circle. On May 12, 1917, he arranged for *North Carolina Education* to become "the official organ of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors."⁴⁵

In addition to the certification law, the Legislature of 1917 enacted several other measures that Brooks supported in his editorial columns. In that year the State accepted federal aid for vocational education provided by the Smith-Hughes Act, which was passed by Congress while the Legislature was in session. For Brooks this was the reward of long years of crusading for the incorporation of agriculture and domestic science into the public school curriculum. The Legislature of 1917 also provided \$25,000 for the education of illiterate adults. For several years, night or "moonlight" schools for illiterate adults had flourished in various parts of the state. Brooks had publicized the movement through numerous articles; in his opinion the most beneficial result of these

⁴⁴ *Biennial Report, 1916-1918*, 12. There was little opposition to the creation of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors. In 1917 the legislators waged their most vigorous battle over the perennial question of popular election of county boards of education. See *The News and Observer* (Raleigh) March 4, 1917.

⁴⁵ E. C. Brooks to T. W. Bickett, April 2, 1917. Brooks Papers; *North Carolina Education*, XII (October, 1917), 4; XI (June, 1917), 15.

schools was their promise of giving illiterate parents "the mental concepts necessary to reason on educational questions . . . and to think in terms of better schools" for their children.⁴⁶

The General Assembly of 1917 endorsed a constitutional amendment for the six-months school term; this amendment was to be submitted to the voters in November, 1918. Brooks had waged a relentless editorial campaign in behalf of such a measure ever since the establishment of his magazine in 1906. Between the adjournment of the Legislature in 1917 and the election more than a year later, he renewed his appeal to the teachers to arouse popular support for the amendment. Joyner, as director of the campaign for the six-months term, relied heavily upon Brooks and *North Carolina Education*. In August, 1918, Joyner wrote him: "Give us a strong editorial. You might also print a copy of the planks in the state platforms of the two political parties strongly endorsing the amendment."⁴⁷ Brooks wrote articles entitled "Why All Good Citizens Should Work For the Six Months' Amendment" and "Preach a Crusade Against Ignorance." Joyner himself published an article in *North Carolina Education* expounding the advantages of the constitutional amendment. In November, 1918, the people of the State passed the amendment for a minimum school term of six months by a vote of 122,062 to 20,095. A week later the First World War ended with the signing of the Armistice. North Carolina was now prepared to implement more fully the educational legislation passed in 1917, and to adjust its school system to the new conditions created by the war.⁴⁸

In the meantime Brooks continued to publish a wide variety of material in *North Carolina Education* that was valuable to teachers and school officials. In addition to the Read-

⁴⁶ *North Carolina Education*, IX (February, 1915), 11; XI (April, 1917), 5-7; X (November, 1915), 4-5.

⁴⁷ J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, August 17, 1918; J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, October 1, 1918; and E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, October—(?), 1918, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Public Instruction Correspondence.

⁴⁸ *North Carolina Education*, XIII (September, 1918), 3-5; XIII (October, 1918), 4-5; XIII (November, 1918), 4-5; *Biennial Report, 1916-1918*, 16.

ing Circle assignments, he provided numerous suggestions on "how to improve the teacher in service," which was a major problem confronting school men. He gave specific hints for more effective classroom procedures, while such regular features of the journal as book reviews and reports of the North Carolina Story-Tellers League afforded teachers other useful information. In 1920 Brooks induced Professor Laprade to write seven articles on "teaching citizenship in history classes," which emphasized the necessity for a broader aim than the accumulation of facts or the promotion of provincial pride. A year later, Laprade contributed eight articles to the journal in which he, a professional historian, discussed such subjects as "The Use of Textbooks in History and Civics" and "Planning the Work of a Course in History." He included lesson plans which the teacher could use as guides for his own class work. Through similar methods Brooks sought to furnish information valuable to school officials. For example, he himself published articles in *North Carolina Education* in 1917 and 1918 on school law and administration which were designed for principals and superintendents. He also acted as his own "roving correspondent" and reported proceedings of educational meetings in his magazine, in order that school men might be informed of developments in the field of education. For Brooks this was an essential factor in the growth of a professional spirit among the educational forces of the State.⁴⁹

By 1919 Brooks had edited *North Carolina Education* for thirteen years. During that period he had co-operated with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in all matters affecting public schools. Whatever the differences of opinion between Joyner and Brooks, they remained close personal friends and partners in the building of a reputable school system in North Carolina. Brooks rarely missed an opportunity to compliment Joyner's leadership. He supported Joyner in all campaigns for re-election and described him as the

⁴⁹ *North Carolina Education*, X (January, 1916), 4-5; XV (September, 1920—March, 1921); XVI (September, 1921—February, 1922), XII (November, 1917—February, 1918). See also E. C. Brooks to W. F. Marshall, August 3, 1920, Public Instruction Correspondence.

“leader of educational thought in North Carolina.” When Brooks succeeded Joyner as State Superintendent in January, 1919, he described his “distinguished predecessor” as “one of the finest products of the state” who was leaving office “at the height of his power and popularity.”⁵⁰

Upon his elevation to the State Superintendency, Brooks feared that he would have to terminate his connection with *North Carolina Education*. Professor M. C. S. Noble of the University expressed a desire to become editor if Brooks relinquished the position. But the Governor and Attorney-General assured him that he would in no way violate “the spirit or letter of the law” by retaining his relation with the magazine while holding a State office. However, on August 1, 1919, Brooks leased his half interest in the publication for \$500 to W. F. Marshall, the publisher, and became “contributing editor.” For the next four years *North Carolina Education* was in effect the press organ of the State Department of Public Instruction. It, of course, carried a wealth of material of practical value to teachers and also served as a medium of communication between State Superintendent Brooks and the educational forces during a period of rapid change in school legislation which necessitated numerous announcements and explanations. In fact, the volumes of *North Carolina Education* between 1919 and 1923 provide a large part of the history of Brooks’s administration as State Superintendent.⁵¹

For seventeen years Brooks closely adhered to his original editorial policy “to do everything possible to advance the cause of education.” He possessed a great deal of pride in the publication which through his faith and diligence managed to survive longer than any other educational journal in the State. He reluctantly severed his connection with the maga-

⁵⁰ *North Carolina Journal of Education*, I (June 1, 1907), 9; *North Carolina Education*, XIII (December, 1918), 15; XIII (January, 1919), 5. For the financial condition of *North Carolina Education* from 1917 to 1919 see Report of the Business Manager of *North Carolina Education*, July 1, 1918, Brooks Papers; Report of the Business Manager of *North Carolina Education*, July 1, 1919, Public Instruction Correspondence.

⁵¹ E. C. Brooks to M. C. S. Noble, January 9, 1919; W. F. Marshall to E. C. Brooks, August 1, 1919, Public Instruction Correspondence.

zine in 1923 upon becoming president of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering.⁵²

⁵² After Brooks severed his relationship with the magazine, Marshall became the sole owner, and Brooks' successor as State Superintendent, A. T. Allen, served as contributing editor. In 1924 *North Carolina Education* was purchased by the North Carolina Education Association and its name changed to *North Carolina Teacher*. Ten years later it reverted to the title, *North Carolina Education* and celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in September, 1956. E. C. Brooks to A. T. Allen, August 16, 1923; A. T. Allen to E. C. Brooks, August 20, 1923, Brooks Papers; "Two Score Years and Ten," 17, 44-46.

FURNITURE MAKING IN HIGH POINT

By CHARLES H. V. EBERT*

The North Carolina Piedmont with its abundant forest stands and water power resources became the cradle of a great lumber industry that filled the needs of the settlers. As in the case of other regions that had the same over-all conditions, such as suitable timber, water power, and a growing population, furniture making was the outgrowth of lumber operations. Frequently the lumber mill operator turned to the making of furniture. These early establishments worked on a very small scale without access to outside capital and served local needs only. A great number of these small furniture making shops located throughout the Piedmont and eventually gave rise to larger furniture making centers. Furniture is manufactured in about thirty out of a hundred North Carolina counties but there is a distinct concentration of this industry within the Piedmont proper. High Point has become the heart of this furniture making region and its rise reflects most typically the evolutionary trends of this industry.¹

High Point, the furniture center of the South, is situated on the interstream divide between the Deep River and the Yadkin River in the central Piedmont of North Carolina. This section of the Piedmont consists of gently to steeply rolling hills and generally is less rugged than the foothills of the Blue Ridge to the west or the maturely dissected eastern margin of the Piedmont.

Two transportation lanes were responsible for the geographical location of High Point. First, the east-west Fayette-

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¹ Editor's Note: This is the first article to be published in *The Review* dealing with furniture manufacturing in North Carolina. Even though High Point is considered the center of furniture manufacturing in the State, it is by no means the only town in which furniture manufacturing plays an important economic role. An article on the subject covering the State would probably have a wide appeal. This brief article, based as it is on Mr. Ebert's unpublished master's thesis (The University of North Carolina, 1953, Department of Geology and Geography, Chapel Hill), will, we hope, stimulate such interest in the subject that someone will undertake to prepare a broader and more detailed study. Mr. Ebert's thesis will hereinafter be cited as "High Point as a Furniture Town."

ville and Western Plank Road that utilized the smoother upland of the stream divide, and second, the north-south route of the old North Carolina Railroad, now part of the Southern Railway, which followed the central belt of the Piedmont. At the point where the railroad intersected the plank road High Point developed.² In its subsequent evolution High Point went through four major phases: (1) from the late 1850's to the Civil War it served as a trading center and after the war as summer resort; (2) from the 1870's to about 1897 it developed a small tobacco industry; (3) from 1889 to the present it grew into the leading furniture making and marketing center of the South; and (4) from the turn of the century to the present it became the site of a rapidly expanding textile industry.

The activity that made High Point known nationally and is mostly responsible for its growth between the late 1880's and the present is the furniture industry. Particularly in the beginning stages of the industry High Point had several advantages over the older furniture making centers of the North: (1) it was surrounded by then undepleted stands of excellent hardwoods; (2) it enjoyed a favorable, less severe climate than that of the North; (3) topographic features and abundant well-distributed precipitation offered excellent water power potentials all year; and (4) it had plentiful, cheap, and dependable labor from surrounding rural areas.

Originally the Piedmont was covered by a dense forest of southern hardwoods with a slight admixture of pine. This forest is classified as Southern Oak-Pine Forest.³ The original abundance of this fine hardwood timber was one, if not the most important, prerequisite for the successful rise of the furniture industry. Practically all of the original timber has been cut so that today the region offers only inferior second-growth hardwoods with a much greater admixture of pine than in the previously existing forest.

The furniture industry of High Point depends almost entirely upon hardwoods. For example, in the year 1940 of all wood used in the southern furniture manufacturing in-

² Ebert, "High Point as a Furniture Town," 31.

³ U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Atlas of American Agriculture* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), IV, 13.

dustry, 97 per cent was hardwood and only three per cent softwood.⁴ Since then there has been only a slight increase in the utilization of softwoods. Within the present oak-pine forest of the Piedmont are about forty important species and about eighty of less significance. Of the hardwoods only two species are still relatively abundant within the Piedmont proper and both are used to a large extent in the High Point furniture industry. Quantitatively leading is the yellow poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*) and the white oak (*Quercus alba*). The yellow poplar reaches its best development along streams and in the western Piedmont sections and in the foothills of the Blue Ridge. This tree is classified as "hardwood" although the wood actually is rather soft. The wood is not hard enough to be used as surface material but serves for painted furniture, for non-exposed parts, and as core material for plywood. The white oak is especially abundant in the Piedmont and on the lower slopes of the Blue Ridge. The wood is moderately heavy and quite resistant so that it can be used for the exposed parts of furniture. There is a great deficiency in all other hardwoods and these must be brought in from other forested regions of our nation.⁵

The climate of the Piedmont section in which High Point is located in many ways aids furniture making. The warm summer temperatures permit relatively quick natural drying of lumber in the outdoor yard. At the same time the predominantly high humidity prevents excessive drying and possible cracking of stored lumber. The mild winters require only a proportionally small amount of coal for additional heating to supplement available wood waste from the furniture plant. This fuel economy lowers production costs somewhat in comparison with those of furniture making establishments in the northern states. Finally, the warm south-

⁴Harold E. Klontz, "An Economic Study of the Southern Furniture Manufacturing Industry" (unpublished dissertation in the Department of Economics, University of North Carolina, 1947), 67, hereinafter cited as Klontz, "Southern Furniture Industry."

⁵Local woods not suitable to furniture making are frequently utilized by the supplying and parasitic industries that are drawn to furniture making centers. These are the manufacturers of crating and packing materials, or makers of veneer, plywood, and general building material.

ern climate with its long growing season makes for rapid tree growth which encourages reforestation.⁶

The natural environment thus was very favorable to the development of woodworking establishments in and around High Point. One of the earliest lumber companies was the E. A. Snow Lumber Company which was established in 1881 and in 1886 became the Snow and Dalton Company. A local paper described their establishment as follows:

Messrs. Snow and Dalton are the biggest wood-workers in North Carolina, have the largest planing mill. They employ seventy-five men in their shops and turn out all kinds of wood-work from clothes pins to warehouses. Their wagon and lumber yards are daily loading and unloading wood and woodwork.⁷

With a growing population there was a steadily increasing demand for furniture. Many of the early traveling cabinet-makers settled down and started local workshops. They made not only household furniture but also coffins, window frames, spokes and handles, and other wooden utensils. The fact that there was a great number of small furniture making and woodworking establishments in neighboring settlements was of outstanding significance to the early development of High Point's furniture industry. The first factory, the High Point Furniture Company, began manufacturing in July of 1889. This plant produced a general line of cheap and medium-grade furniture.⁸

Several conditions promised a successful development of this first establishment: (1) in and around High Point was a pool of skilled woodworkers; (2) some of these men were actually experienced in the making of furniture; (3) after the completion of the High Point—Randleman—Asheboro and Southern Railway abundant stands of excellent hardwoods became available with an operational reserve for many years to come; (4) the new factory could benefit from mistakes made by early furniture plants in other communi-

⁶ Ebert, "High Point as a Furniture Town," 13.

⁷ *High Point Enterprise*, June 3, 1887.

⁸ James J. Farriss, *High Point, A Brief Summary of its Manufacturing Enterprises* (High Point, The Enterprise Press, 1896), 39.

ties; (5) suitable cheap factory sites were available along the railroad; (6) local capital was at hand; and (7) the growth of population of the North Carolina Piedmont cities, as well as that of the entire South, created a good market potential.

Up to 1921, furniture produced in High Point was sold throughout the South only. The steady growth of southern towns and the increase in the number of factory wage earners created a market for cheap furniture. The young industry was fortunate that such a market was available. Furniture makers of those days would have been unable to send their products to the northern markets where they had to compete with the older and more experienced manufacturers.⁹

By 1921, the total farm value of cotton had dropped by about 69 per cent severely affecting southern purchasing power. As the young furniture industry depended on this southern market it found itself in a serious predicament. The way out of this situation was to find a new market, and this new market could be found in the North. In order to invade the North, High Point's furniture makers had to produce higher quality goods, higher priced, and of better design than that made previously. This was by no means an easy task. For thirty years they had concentrated exclusively on the making of cheap household furniture. They had not attempted to keep up with the changes in styles and did not try to compete with the high-grade workmanship of northern furniture makers. But the thirty years experience was not in vain. The people in the factories were no longer mere cabinet-makers or ordinary hands with some experience in woodworking. They had learned how to operate woodworking machinery and knew how to produce simple but adequate furniture of practical design. No attempt was made to produce the highest type of furniture. The emphasis lay upon the reproduction of the best furniture line in a medium price range. The new products resembled good quality furniture of northern manufacturers but were considerably cheaper in price. This opened the road to broad strata of buyers and promised large sales once this type of furniture had pene-

⁹ Ben F. Lemert, "The Furniture Industry of the Southern Appalachian Piedmont," *Economic Geography*, X (April, 1934), 183.

trated the new market. The subsequent development fulfilled this hope.

Up to this time most factories in High Point had developed small showrooms to which the buyers came to view lines of furniture. The showrooms were scattered over a wide territory and too often were in quite inaccessible places. It became apparent that there was a need for a central showroom where the many lines of all the factories might be assembled for the buyer to look over. Soon the plan was conceived to erect a central furniture mart.

In June, 1921, the Southern Furniture Exposition Building opened its doors for the first time. The location of the building, one of the outstanding landmarks of High Point, was well-chosen. It is situated in the heart of the city symbolizing the industry that made High Point known in the furniture-making world. With a display space of 440,000 square feet this building was the third-largest furniture mart in the United States.¹⁰ Twice a year furniture buyers from all over the United States came to the expositions. From this time on, the High Point furniture maker had to keep up with styles and special demands for certain lines on a nation-wide market. A local newspaper reported:

The output of furniture has increased every year and at the same time the quality of the goods has improved. The best grades of furniture now are placed along with the finer lines of goods manufactured elsewhere. This gradual improvement in the grades of the manufactured products is now occupying the attention of the manufacturer more than any other phase of the business and no doubt in a few years furniture of the very highest type may be secured on this market.¹¹

Competition was keen and brought about an impressive development of the furniture industry in High Point. New plants began operating, more workers from other communities in the area moved to High Point. Its population grew from 14,302 in 1920 to 36,745 in 1930.¹² This was an increase

¹⁰ James T. Ryan, Executive Vice-President of the Southern Furniture Manufacturers Association, Special Memorandum, High Point, March 17, 1953.

¹¹ *The High Point News*, January 11, 1923.

¹² U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931), I, 789.

of about 156 per cent during that decade. During the year 1923 fifteen new furniture factories were organized. This brought the total number of furniture-making establishments in High Point up to thirty-four. It is significant that of these fifteen new plants only two have remained in business until today. They are the National Upholstery Company and the High Point Mattress Company.

The number of furniture-making establishments changed continually. New factories opened, others closed, some transferred their capital to other establishments or invested in textile mills. While the number of factories decreased at times, the total value of furniture produced constantly increased. This growth cannot be shown in figures dealing with High Point alone because no such figures are available. However, the value of furniture produced in North Carolina increased from almost thirty million dollars in 1920 to fifty-six million dollars in 1929, so that North Carolina ranked sixth in the United States in that year.¹³

Improvement in quality and quantity alone did not account for the successful development of High Point's furniture industry after the great structural change in 1921. Three factors contributed to the success. First, the High Point Furniture Exposition Building and its biannual expositions attracted many buyers and visitors from all over the United States. Only 772 furniture dealers registered in July, 1923. Sixteen years later, in July, 1939, the attendance had reached 2,229. In the first post-war market in January, 1947, attendance had climbed to 5,147.¹⁴ The display of furniture is of special importance to the High Point manufacturer and to the dealer. Most furniture made in High Point is wooden household furniture which is quite unstandardized. Because there is no standard line the dealers have to buy on an inspection basis. Some of the dealers place orders with the manufacturers during the exposition, but it is estimated that about 75 per cent of the sales are made through salesmen who call on the trade.¹⁵

¹³ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufacturing: 1929* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930), II, 503-512.

¹⁴ Ebert, "High Point as a Furniture Town," 73.

¹⁵ Klontz, "Southern Furniture Industry," 172.

The second factor that contributed to the success of High Point's furniture making is the Southern Furniture Manufacturers Association which was organized in August, 1911. In its early stages the organization was chiefly interested in freight rates, shipping conditions, and related problems. During subsequent years the scope was expanded to deal with advertising, marketing, and industrial promoting. After the Second World War a special committee was appointed to establish in the South an educational program with a two-fold purpose: (1) to offer young men who have a desire to enter the furniture industry an opportunity to prepare themselves better, and (2) to furnish a reservoir of technically trained and educated young men to which the industry may look as a source of recruits in technical and managerial fields. The committee visited a number of educational establishments. Finally it was decided that the new training program should be placed at North Carolina State College. The furniture training course was announced on October 30, 1946, and became operative with the opening of the winter quarter in January, 1947.

The third factor that had a favorable influence on the successful development of High Point's furniture industry was the creation of a new publication, *The Furniture South*. This magazine, though not officially connected, works closely with the Southern Retail Furniture Association and with the Southern Furniture Manufacturers Association. This publication is aimed at the dealers and retailers and not at the consumer.

The years following the 1930's showed a further steady growth of furniture making in High Point. The Second World War interrupted this development by causing temporary shortages in labor and raw materials. Both shortages were eliminated and immediate post-war demand for furniture led to an unprecedented boom in the industry. Today, although High Point does not have the greatest number of workers employed in the furniture manufacturing industry of North Carolina, its central geographical location as a marketing and display center within a great furniture-making region, as well as the actual value of furniture produced, make it the hub of

the southern furniture industry. Within a radius of approximately 150 miles from High Point is concentrated the greatest wooden household furniture-making area of the United States. In this region is produced about 20 per cent—in value—of all wooden household furniture and about 40 per cent of all bedroom and dining room furniture of the nation.¹⁶

Labor for the industry was available from the surrounding rural areas where small farms and partially poor, eroded land created a rural population surplus that tended to drift to the city. It was soon absorbed by the growing furniture making factories and by supporting and parasitic industries. Today, High Point itself cannot satisfy the labor demand so that about 25 per cent of the presently employed workers commute from an area extending about fifteen miles around the city.

Most of the labor force is made up of white male workers. Furniture making is man's job and is not suited to female labor, although some women are employed in the plywood and upholstery departments. There are several reasons why few women can be employed: (1) most phases of furniture making require long hours of standing and bending; (2) handling of lumber and core stock requires great physical strength; (3) relatively high accident rates discourage women workers.¹⁷ Consequently High Point early developed a potential female labor pool that eventually became absorbed by the textile industry that developed rapidly after the turn of the century and particularly in the 1920's. It is a typical pattern that wherever a furniture factory exists sooner or later cotton and knitting mills are built around it.

The first cotton mill in High Point was built by Oliver S. Causey who later became a prominent textile manufacturer in Greensboro. His factory was rather small and was located on the site of the High Point, Thomasville and Denton Railway Station.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that as early as 1912 a High Point furniture maker decided to go into some other line of manufacturing. G. H. Kearns, a successful furniture producer, saw a better future in textiles. With some local

¹⁶ Ebert, "High Point as a Furniture Town," 81.

¹⁷ Klontz, "Southern Furniture Industry," 110.

¹⁸ *High Point Enterprise*, January 20, 1935.

men and local capital he started the then small Crown Hosiery Mill. This factory has grown to one of the largest hosiery manufacturing plants in High Point. Today, textile manufacturing has by far outgrown the furniture-making industry in number of workers employed. However, for so many decades this city has been known as the leading furniture center of the South that this industry tends to obscure others.

Furniture making will stay in High Point despite the growth of diversified industries and the competition from other furniture manufacturing centers in various parts of the nation. This writer feels that the following factors will justify this assumption. First of all, the natural environment still is favorable to the furniture-making industry. Even though the original forest has been depleted to a large extent additional timber supplies will remain available through reforestation and natural reproduction. Secondly, High Point has developed a considerable pool of skilled labor that has a tendency to keep the industry from moving to a new location. This phenomenon, sometimes called industrial inertia, is clearly evident in other furniture-making communities, such as Grand Rapids, Michigan, where the industry still is predominant although the initial advantages have disappeared. Finally, the name High Point is linked with the tradition of furniture making. This fact must be exploited because tradition builds trust and reputation, and both are needed for the continued successful growth of the industry.

In January, 1959, a new wing to the Southern Furniture Exposition Building was opened for the winter show, adding 150,000 additional square feet of display space for the furniture manufacturers. The present total is 711,896 square feet with only a percentage being used for mid-season shows. High Point is today among the five leading furniture markets, ranking third in the number of buyers attending the shows, with approximately 20,000 buyers representing every State in the United States and several foreign countries. High Point has experienced a tremendous growth in this industry and has become an international market.

THE NORTH CAROLINA RECORDS MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

By FANNIE MEMORY BLACKWELDER*

The General Assembly of North Carolina, realizing the value of the State's records and the importance of preserving those of historical importance, enacted a public records law for North Carolina in 1935. The preamble to this law stated that "The public records of North Carolina and of the counties and municipalities thereof constitute the chief monuments of North Carolina's past and are invaluable for the effective administration of government, for the conduct of public and private business, and for the writing of family, local and state history. . . ." The General Assembly continued by indicating that "the failure of the State heretofore to make systematic provision for the preservation and availability of public records has resulted in untold losses from fire, water, rats and other vermin, carelessness, deliberate destruction, sale, gifts, loans, and the use of impermanent paper and ink, and often in the unnecessary expense of copying and repairing records, to the lasting detriment of effective governmental operation and of family, local and state history. . . ." Following the statement of public policy and legislative thinking, the chapter on public records was enacted into law. Sections defined public records, provided that records could not be disposed of without the authorization of the Historical Commission,¹ and gave the Commission the right to examine into the condition of public records and to give advice and assistance to public officials concerning their problems of preserving, filing, and making available records in their custody.²

Though the Historical Commission realized its responsibilities for handling and preserving old records, the 1935

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¹ The name of the agency was changed from Historical Commission to Department of Archives and History in 1943.

² *Public Laws and Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly at Its Session of 1935 Begun and Held in the City of Raleigh on Wednesday, the Ninth Day of January, A.D. 1935*, Chapter 265, hereinafter cited *Session Laws*. See also Chapter 132 of *The General Statutes of North Carolina*.

law made it clear that the Commission had a duty with respect to records as they were created. In the agency's *Biennial Report* for 1940-1942, the need for a more comprehensive program was stressed, with emphasis being placed on the Commission's duty of "advising them [State agencies] as to the care and handling of their records, receiving from them valuable noncurrent records, and co-operating, as prescribed by law, in the disposal of useless records."³

Despite the realization that action should be taken, the Commission had neither staff nor equipment to inaugurate a records management program. The first step in this direction occurred about 1939, when the staff noticed in the newspaper that the Governor and Council of State had allotted money from the Contingency and Emergency Fund for a warehouse at the State Fairgrounds to be used for records of the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration.⁴ These records, created from 1933 to 1935,⁵ dealt with economic conditions throughout the State. They were turned over to the Historical Commission to be arranged, classified, preserved, and made available to the public. The final federal grant had included funds for the liquidation of the Emergency Relief Administration and for preservation of its records. The remaining funds were, therefore, allotted to the Commission with the proviso that any balance remaining after the records were properly processed should revert to the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. The act was ratified on March 15, 1941.⁶ Under the provisions of this act, the Historical Commission took over the records, and the necessary work of getting them ready for use was undertaken.⁷

After the records were turned over to the Commission, custody of the warehouse itself was given to the agency in 1941.⁸ The warehouse proved to be more of a "white ele-

³ *Nineteenth Biennial Report of North Carolina Historical Commission*, July 1, 1940, to June 30, 1942, 49, hereinafter cited *Biennial Report*.

⁴ Christopher Crittenden, "The North Carolina Record[s] Center." *The American Archivist*, XVIII (January, 1955), 53, hereinafter cited "The Record[s] Center."

⁵ *Biennial Report*, 1946-1948, 19.

⁶ *Session Laws*, 1941, Chapter 252.

⁷ *Biennial Report*, 1940-1942, 26.

⁸ *Biennial Report*, 1952-1954, 7.

phant" than an asset when its defects became obvious. The brick shell, 150' x 30', was one floor in height. In one corner was a room which served as an office; the only heat came from a coal stove located in the office. Plastering began to fall from the inside; the electric wiring was so defective that the current soon had to be cut off; leaks developed under the doors and in the windows as well as in the roof; the roof had to be replaced. One of the chief difficulties was the fact that the building was located on the fairgrounds, several miles from the Archives.⁹

The year 1941 was a difficult time for the Department to take over the ERA records because of lack of personnel to process them. Two students were employed in the summer of 1941, however, to work on them;¹⁰ and in due time the 10,000 cubic feet of records were inventoried.

Some of the records were disposed of, and the space thereby released was assigned to State agencies needing space for their semicurrent and noncurrent records. Within a few years, the space was entirely filled.¹¹ It seemed obvious that State agencies would require more space for the tremendous volume of records being created annually. In its publication, *Forty Years of Public Service, 1903-1943*, the Commission predicted that it would become accepted practice for records of State agencies to be transferred to the custody of the Commission when they became noncurrent. Such a procedure would mean that badly needed space would be made available and that expert handling of records would assure preservation of valuable records while worthless ones would be promptly destroyed.¹²

Steps were taken in the early forties to bring about the realization of this prediction. On May 24, 1943, a letter went out from Governor J. Melville Broughton to the heads of the several State agencies and institutions inviting each of them to appoint a records administrator. Governor Broughton, quoting the law, pointed out the Department's legal

⁹ Crittenden, "The Record[s] Center," 53-54.

¹⁰ *Biennial Report, 1946-1948*, 19.

¹¹ Crittenden, "The Record[s] Center," 53-54.

¹² *The North Carolina Historical Commission: Forty Years of Public Service, 1903-1943*, 48.

responsibilities and functions with regard to records. He invited agencies to participate in the "program by which the State Department of Archives and History is undertaking to render a greater service to the various state departments, institutions and agencies." Records officers were to seek advice and assistance from the Department in solving their records problems.¹³

As a follow-up to this letter, the records administrators who had been designated to represent their agencies met on June 21, 1943, to discuss their mutual problems. The Governor attended the meeting, as did Dr. R. D. W. Connor, then Chairman of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History and former Archivist of the United States. Governor Broughton urged the State agencies to take advantage of the services offered by the Department. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department, indicated that the staff was in a position to co-operate with other agencies in preserving important noncurrent records, to assist records administrators in disposing of old, useless records of no value, and to co-operate in handling current records, keeping in mind the disposition of records in the future.¹⁴

Though interest was expressed in the program, little was done during the next several years toward actually establishing a records management program. At the end of each biennium in the 1940's, as it reported its activities, the Department stressed the need for such a program as a primary function of an archival agency. Need for a new records building, with adequate equipment for handling records, was emphasized.¹⁵

Though the Department continued to point out the need for a records building, pressure came from another source when the fair management insisted that the building on the fairgrounds be vacated so that it could be used for fair purposes. When the Governor gave a tentative commitment to

¹³ Letter from Governor J. Melville Broughton to State agencies and institutions, dated May 24, 1943. Unless otherwise specified, the originals or copies of all manuscripts referred to herein are in the files of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹⁴ Minutes of Meeting of Records Administrators, June 21, 1943.

¹⁵ *Biennial Report, 1944-1946*, 10-11. See also *Biennial Reports, 1942-1944, 1946-1948, and 1948-1950*.

move the records out, the Department hastened to explain that it had no space for the records and that they could not be destroyed.¹⁶

The basis for a records management program was clearly continued and expanded when the basic law governing the Department of Archives and History was rewritten in 1945. The Department's primary functions of collecting, preserving, and administering records were outlined, and the law provided that records could be destroyed after the agency creating them certified that they had no further administrative value and the Department of Archives and History certified that they were of no historical value. The law further provided that records turned over to the Department could be microfilmed or photographed in other ways if the Department thought such a plan to be practicable.¹⁷

Despite the fact that the Department had the legal authority to operate a records management program, despite the fact that the fair management wanted the warehouse housing records, and despite the fact that the Department was willing to help agencies solve their records problems and at the same time wanted to assure the preservation of historically important records, the sad fact remained that there were no appropriations for the operation of such a program as was needed.

In 1945, however, the General Assembly authorized the Governor to appoint a commission of five citizens to study the needs of the State with regard to buildings.¹⁸ The commission, composed of one senator, two representatives, and two contractors and builders, was duly appointed and one of its first steps was to write a letter requesting the head of each State agency to furnish information concerning the needs of his agency. The letter, dated October 16, 1945,¹⁹ gave the Department the opportunity to conduct a limited survey immediately to ascertain the need agencies would have for space in a records building.

¹⁶ Crittenden, "The Record[s] Center," 54.

¹⁷ *Session Laws*, 1945, Chapter 55.

¹⁸ *Session Laws*, 1945, Joint Resolution No. 40.

¹⁹ Letter from Public Buildings Commission, dated October 16, 1945, to State agencies.

Because the Public Buildings Commission had requested a reply by November 1, there was time to survey only five agencies—the Department of Conservation and Development, the Department of Public Instruction, the Industrial Commission, the Department of Revenue, and the Department of Archives and History—but this investigation revealed a definite need for space for records. Records were found in basements, sub-basements, attics, hallways, in the State Textbook Commission's warehouse on Caswell Square, in the old State Laboratory of Hygiene Building, a mile from the Capitol, and in the warehouse at the fairgrounds. Most of these locations were definite fire hazards, and it was obvious that the records were not easily accessible.

In its report to the Commission, dated October 31, 1943, the Department recommended that the state project and execute "a well-planned solution of the records problem." In the report, the agency suggested that a records building should be constructed as near as practicable to agencies that would use it and that it should have priority in the State's building program; the building should provide space for semicurrent records, should insure proper preservation and care of those records in a fireproof structure with modern equipment and an expert staff, should assure State officials that the records would be conveniently and easily available for use, and should release valuable office space. The importance of having a new building which would be a *records center*, not a mere warehouse, was stressed. The report emphasized the fact that such a records center would be for the benefit of all State agencies, not merely for the benefit of the Department of Archives and History.²⁰

Because the initial survey was so limited, letters were sent from the Department of Archives and History, in the spring and summer of 1946, to the several State agency heads explaining that the Department was investigating the needs of agencies to determine the amount of additional space which would be needed for records so as to present fuller informa-

²⁰ Letter and report from Christopher Crittenden to U. B. Blalock, Chairman of the North Carolina Public Buildings Commission, October 31, 1945.

tion to the Building Commission.²¹ The various agencies appointed representatives to work with the Department. The survey resulted in a brief description of the functions of each agency, the location and volume of records with a breakdown into current, semicurrent, and noncurrent records, and additional data and recommendations. The feasibility of microfilming was also considered.²²

The survey revealed that of the 26 agencies studied, only two needed no space; 15 could partially solve their problem by microfilming but would still need space in the building; nine agencies could not solve their records difficulties by microfilming but would need space. Recommendations were made that provision be made to care for the records then in halls, basements, and warehouses; that a centralized microfilm unit be established rather than having each agency go into the microfilm business; and that legislation be introduced to give microcopies the force of original records when introduced as evidence in court.²³

The first step to carry out these recommendations occurred when the money for the Records Center was appropriated in 1947,²⁴ and the Budget Bureau, after the end of the 1948-1950 biennium, authorized the construction of a building for semicurrent records.²⁵ A contract was let during the 1950-1952 biennium for a building, the second floor of which was to be used as a records center.²⁶ Actual construction did not begin until 1952; at that time the building was erected on the corner of West Lane and North McDowell streets in Raleigh, a site three blocks from the State Capitol.

The Records Center was opened September 2, 1953.²⁷

²¹ See copies of letters from Christopher Crittenden to State agency heads in files of Division of Archives and Manuscripts, Department of Archives and History.

²² Results of the surveys of the 26 agencies are to be found in the files of the Department of Archives and History.

²³ W. Frank Burton, State Archivist, to Henry L. Bridges, State Auditor, December 1, 1952. See also *Biennial Report*, 1948-1950, 30.

²⁴ W. Frank Burton to Morris L. Radoff, Archivist and Records Administrator, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, September 30, 1953.

²⁵ *Biennial Report* 1948-1950, 11-12.

²⁶ *Biennial Report*, 1950-1952, 30.

²⁷ From September, 1953, until March, 1955, the North Carolina Medical Care Commission occupied part of the second floor space. See Quarterly Report of Division of Archives and Manuscripts for January 1, 1955—March 31, 1955.

The brick structure and the land on which it stood cost \$375,000. The records area was equally divided with a fire wall and fire doors; the ceiling had a pitch of 7 feet, 11 inches; the lights were arranged to illuminate three-foot aisles; receiving ramp and freight elevator meant that records could be moved in and out with a minimum of effort.²⁸

Before occupying the building, plans had been made for the use of the space. A survey had been made in 1948 to ascertain the amount of space which would be needed by each agency to house its semicurrent records. This particular survey, which showed the needs of 17 agencies, revealed that they would need a total of 19,327 cubic feet to take care of their noncurrent and semicurrent records.²⁹

North Carolina was the first State to have a records center.³⁰ When it was opened, policies were established to govern its use. It was decided that filing cabinets would not be stacked so high as to require the use of ladders in servicing the records, that five-drawer filing cabinets or sections of five steel transfiles would be permitted but no more. The policy of using steel transfiles or steel cabinets was established, with the agency creating the records providing its own filing equipment, and no pasteboard files were permitted except in cases where records were to be microfilmed rather than be retained in the Records Center. Because the inspection of some records is restricted by law, anyone using the records had to be duly authorized to do so by the agency creating the records.³¹ Permission was refused when agencies wanted to use space in the new building for storage.³²

Immediately upon its opening, records from eight agencies using the fairgrounds warehouse were transferred to the new Records Center.³³ Records in the Records Center were normally serviced by the agency of origin.³⁴ With the small staff at the Records Center, the Department of Archives and History was able to service records to a limited extent but was

²⁸ W. Frank Burton to Morris L. Radoff, September 30, 1953.

²⁹ Christopher Crittenden to George B. Cherry, Superintendent of Public Buildings and Grounds, November 4, 1948.

³⁰ Morris L. Radoff to W. Frank Burton, October 5, 1953.

³¹ W. Frank Burton to Rex Beach, August 28, 1953.

³² W. Frank Burton to Morris L. Radoff, September 30, 1953.

³³ *Biennial Report*, 1952-1954, 20.

³⁴ *Biennial Report*, 1954-1956, 19.

not in a position to do extensive research for material.

Prior to the opening of the Records Center, steps had been taken to initiate a microfilm program. The General Assembly of 1951 provided that any document which had been reproduced by any photostatic, microfilm, or other such process could be admitted in evidence as the original itself. An enlargement or facsimile was also admissible if the original reproduction was still in existence; however, the original records could be destroyed after they were photographed unless the records were held in a custodial or fiduciary capacity or unless the law required that they be preserved.³⁵

This enactment meant that agencies which might have had some hesitation about having their records filmed were actually enthusiastic about the space-saving microfilm.

Though a flatbed camera had been purchased in July, 1949, and a microfilm reader had been installed,³⁶ a centralized microfilm project was not established until July, 1951, when the Council of State allotted \$14,333 from the Contingency and Emergency Fund to operate the project for 1951-1952. A microfilm unit was rented and three staff members were employed. During the first 11 months the program was in operation, 3,092,244 images were photographed on 429 reels. It was estimated that the saving to the State was \$1,643.

The success and advantages of the program were so obvious that the Council of State allotted to the Department an additional \$25,204 to continue the project during the fiscal year of 1952-1953.³⁷

On July 1, 1952, the program was expanded by the addition of two workers and an additional microfilm unit.³⁸ Microfilm equipment was secured on a rental basis, and the project functioned under the supervision of the Department's Division of Archives and Manuscripts.³⁹ An expanded microfilm project was made possible by the 1953 General Assembly.⁴⁰

³⁵ *Session Laws*, 1951, Chapter 262.

³⁶ *Biennial Report*, 1948-1950, 32, 41.

³⁷ *Biennial Report*, 1950-1952, 30-31.

³⁸ W. Frank Burton to Irving Zitmore, Records Engineering, Inc., Washington, September 8, 1952.

³⁹ W. Frank Burton. "A Tar Heel Archivist and His Problems," *The American Archivist*, XV (July, 1952), 217, hereinafter cited "Tar Heel Archivist."

⁴⁰ *Biennial Report*, 1952-1954, 20.

When the new Records Center building was completed, the microfilm staff was moved to the building so as to coordinate the microfilm project with the over-all records control program.⁴¹

Even before the Department of Archives and History engaged in microfilming itself, its staff was called on for advice concerning filming. The State Highway and Public Works Commission, for example, asked for advice concerning the filming of approximately one million highway drawings. After surveying microfilm equipment in Washington, at the Navy Records Center, the Army Records Center, the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and the Walter Reed Hospital, the Department's staff was not only in a position to advise the Highway Department at the time,⁴² but valuable knowledge was acquired which proved helpful when the Department's centralized microfilm project was initiated.

With the Records Center a reality and with the microfilm project established, the Department knew that there should be a systematic means of determining what records would be kept in the Records Center and for how long, what records should be microfilmed, and what records were of sufficient historical significance to merit space in the Archives.

The staff had long worked with State agencies in an advisory capacity concerning the disposal of obsolete records. The Attorney-General, interpreting the basic law governing the Department of Archives and History as it was rewritten in 1945, had indicated that the law had eliminated any requirement that the Council of State be consulted before records were destroyed. The legal responsibilities of the Department of Archives and History with regard to disposal of records were clearly stated.⁴³

On January 19, 1948, the Director of the Department had sent a letter to State agencies indicating that the Department could not offer the relief to space problems that it would like, but the suggestion was made that prompt disposal of useless records would afford one solution. Dr. Crittenden offered the

⁴¹ Crittenden, "The Record[s] Center," 55.

⁴² *Biennial Report*, 1948-1950, 31.

⁴³ Harry McMullen, Attorney-General, to Henry E. Kendall, Chairman, Employment Security Commission, August 29, 1946.

co-operation of the Department of Archives and History in working with agencies along the lines suggested.⁴⁴ By July, 1951, an Advisory Committee on Disposal of Noncurrent Records, made up of representatives of State government, counties and municipalities, and professors of history, had been formed. The group met in Raleigh on July 19, 1951, to discuss the magnitude of the problems concerning records. The Committee also went into the question of microfilming and archival preservation. The members went so far as to set up definite recommendations for schedules to govern records found in the offices of county registers of deeds and clerks of superior court. The group asked Harry McGalliard, Revisor of Statutes with the Department of Justice, to compile a list of all laws relating to records disposal,⁴⁵ but such a study was not made until some years later.⁴⁶

Though the Advisory Committee was a step in the right direction, and though the Department continued to authorize State agencies to dispose of records from time to time, there was no systematic program. In the 1948-1950 biennium, for example, disposal of obsolete records was authorized in 13 agencies.⁴⁷ Even after the Records Center was opened, the same system of authorizing disposal was continued, though some schedules were worked out to cover future records, and some records were transferred to the Archives.⁴⁸

Of course, one of the primary purposes of the Records Center was to provide control in the handling of semicurrent records as well as to provide security and to alleviate space problems in office buildings. However, the more or less haphazard way in which schedules had been determined led to concentration on the best method of actually controlling records. Two developments resulted. First, a series of administrative histories was undertaken, with a view of obtaining a better understanding of the records problems of the agencies; and second, a system of inventorying records was adopt-

⁴⁴ Christopher Crittenden to heads of State agencies, January 19, 1948.

⁴⁵ Minutes of Advisory Committee on Disposal of Noncurrent Records, July 19, 1951.

⁴⁶ Memory F. Blackwelder, "Records in North Carolina." Typed copy in Department of Archives and History.

⁴⁷ Burton, "Tar Heel Archivist," 216-217.

⁴⁸ *Biennial Report*, 1950-1952, 30.

ed, which meant wiser disposal plans, more economical microfilming, and insurance that valuable historical materials would be saved for the Archives. Three members of the staff of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts were assigned to this program.⁴⁹

With the aim of helping the Department establish definite policies to govern records management, still another committee was set up late in 1954. Dr. W. T. Laprade of Durham, a member of the Department's Executive Board, had suggested the formation of a committee to advise the Department on archival problems.⁵⁰ He indicated that the committee would face "formidable difficulties that may require prolonged study before they are willing to formulate even a tentative policy." Dr. Laprade felt that questions would be involved which only active historians could fully appreciate.⁵¹

Consequently, nine university and college professors, representing the University of North Carolina, Duke University, and Davidson College, were asked to serve. Dr. James W. Patton, of the University at Chapel Hill, became chairman.⁵² The first meeting of the Advisory Committee on Records Preservation was called for February 4, 1955. Dr. Laprade and Frank Burton, State Archivist, made statements concerning records management and the members toured the Archives and the Records Center.⁵³

Before the second meeting, a list of articles appearing in *The American Archivist*⁵⁴ and reprints of an article by the Director of the Department on the North Carolina Records Center had been circulated so that members could inform themselves on records management practices. In acknowledging receipt of the North Carolina article, one Committee member expressed the opinion that the Department was "already so cognizant of the problems and so familiar with

⁴⁹ *Biennial Report*, 1952-1954, 8, 20, 22.

⁵⁰ Christopher Crittenden to W. T. Laprade, October 8, 1954.

⁵¹ W. T. Laprade to Christopher Crittenden, November 9, 1954.

⁵² Report to the Executive Board [of the Department of Archives and History] by the Director for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1955.

⁵³ See Agenda for meeting of February 4, 1955, and also Report to the Executive Board by the Director for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1955.

⁵⁴ James W. Patton to Committee members, February 26, 1955.

the possibilities of the disposal of records that our committee is a superfluous one."⁵⁵

Evidently others shared this opinion. Only the Chairman and two members of the Committee attended the April 1, 1955, meeting. A report was given on procedures followed by other States. The Committee was furnished information on records transferred to the Archives, and copies of an administrative history and inventory of records were circulated.

At the close of the meeting, the Chairman expressed the opinion that the two meetings had been worthwhile in that the members had gained an over-all picture of the Department's work in records administration. He raised a question concerning the future role of the Committee. The statement was then made that the field was being well-covered and a motion was passed that Committee members be available in the future to give advice on specific problems which might arise but that regular meetings be discontinued.⁵⁶

The staff of the Department was, thereby, left by the Advisory Committee to formulate its own policies in records management. Efforts were continued by those working in the field to systematize the program.

Progress was made when a physical consolidation occurred and the entire records management staff was moved to the Records Center Building from the Education Building in the summer of 1956.⁵⁷ Partitions put up after the building was completed provided office space apart from the stack areas.

The records management program has continued in two sections—the inventory program and the microfilm project. Each is dependent on the other. Schedules indicate the ultimate fate of each series of records and show which records are to be microfilmed.⁵⁸ Three trained Archivists I, who are in a position to give advice and assistance to State agencies concerning their records problems and who can judge the historical and research value of records, are assigned to the program of inventorying and scheduling.⁵⁹ They are guided

⁵⁵ Fletcher M. Green to Christopher Crittenden, March 3, 1955.

⁵⁶ Minutes of Advisory Committee on Records Preservation, April 1, 1955.

⁵⁷ *Biennial Report*, 1954-1956, 7.

⁵⁸ *Biennial Report*, 1954-1956, 16, 18.

⁵⁹ *Records Management in North Carolina*, leaflet published by North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1957.

by policies, adopted by the Department, to govern records administration.⁶⁰

The schedules, which are followed when an inventory is approved by the head of the agency creating the records and by the Director of the Department of Archives and History, make provision for each series of records. Some are transferred to the Records Center for a definite limited period of time, others are microfilmed, still others are destroyed by agencies when they become obsolete, and the records that seem to have research value are preserved permanently in the Archives.

The Records Center has provided needed space for the filing of semicurrent records, and it has also provided space for the microfilm project. Through a planned program of microfilming, through use of the space in the Records Center, and through careful evaluation of records, the records management program provides proper controls over noncurrent records at minimum expense to the State.

As of July 1, 1958, up-to-date inventories had been completed for 21 State agencies, and another five were in process. Two of the first inventories, finished in 1953 and 1954, need to be revised; they are not included in the 21 considered to be adequate.

From the beginning of the microfilm program through June 30, 1958, the Department of Archives and History microfilmed 30,860,274 images; this work is now being done at the rate of ten to twelve million images each biennium. Records on film occupy only one to two per cent of the space needed to file the originals. In most instances, a security copy of film is retained at the Records Center, to be transferred to the Archives, and a copy is sent to the agency which created the records. Microfilming had been done for 19 State agencies and had been scheduled for four others as of July 1, 1958. Four Clerks II are employed on the microfilm project full time.

Because of microfilming and scheduling, it has been possible to destroy 20,692 cubic feet of records at the Records

⁶⁰ Memory F. Blackwelder, "Handbook of Procedures and Policies: Records Management Program," mimeographed manual issued by North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1957.

Center. With few exceptions, the original records are destroyed after they have been microfilmed. Schedules have provided for the destruction of 10,876 cubic feet of records by agencies themselves. Thus a total of 31,568 cubic feet of records has been destroyed. To contain these records, 4,932 four-drawer filing cabinets would have been needed. At \$63.75 per cabinet (the State contract price), and allowing six square feet of space for each four-drawer cabinet, at \$2.00 per square foot each year, a total of \$462,412.50 would have been needed to provide adequate equipment and space for these records had they been saved after becoming obsolete. The total program, exclusive of the cost of the building, has cost \$246,274.96, meaning a saving to the State of \$216,137.54. This is \$28,637.54 more than enough to pay for the Department's share of the building in which the Records Center is located.

Through June 30, 1958, 5,036 cubic feet of the most valuable records had been put under schedule for protection in the Archives. They had, therefore, been assured permanent preservation. Some of these records have already been transferred and others are under schedule to be transferred when the agency of origin has ceased to need them for administrative purposes. Still other records are under schedules providing that they be "weeded" so that routine records will be discarded without risking the destruction of records possessing historical significance.

Controls are maintained so that there is constant turnover of records and those which become obsolete are destroyed promptly. A shredding machine has replaced the old method of burning useless records. The office areas were repainted in the spring of 1958; concrete seal was applied to the floors.

A procedural handbook was written for the use of the records management staff. A mimeographed pamphlet and a printed leaflet have done much to publicize the program and make State agencies aware of the services available without cost to them. The demand for help is increasing as the word spreads and the results of the program become known to State agencies.

Though much has been accomplished in the past decade, plans are being made to strengthen the records management

program. Microfilm equipment, which was rented for several years, was purchased in 1957. Plans to keep the equipment up to date and requests for appropriations have been made. To enable the Department of Archives and History to make maximum use of the space, shelving is to replace filing cabinets at the Records Center. The first shelving was installed in the fall of 1958.⁶¹ The capacity for records will be nearly doubled by this move.⁶²

In planning for the future, the Department has received assistance from the Department of Administration and from the Commission on the Reorganization of State Government. The Commission took an interest in records management as a result of a conflict in the law, and the members reviewed the program with the idea of making recommendations to the 1959 General Assembly. The 1957 legislative body, in setting up the General Services Division, provided that the Division be required to establish and operate records centers.⁶³ The Department of Archives and History was, of course, already carrying out this function. Appearing before the Commission on January 31, 1958, H. G. Jones, State Archivist, explained the Department's program to the group and answered questions.⁶⁴

A report on records management, prepared by the Institute of Government for the Commission, summarized the program for the members. In reviewing the developments, the report pointed out the fact that the program's success depended on voluntary co-operation of various State agencies.⁶⁵

⁶¹ After this article was written, the erection of shelving and the transfer of records from filing cabinets to boxes was completed in approximately one-half of the Records Center. The project was finished early in 1959. Plans for a continuation of the change in the large room still containing filing cabinets are expected to be carried out in the 1959-1960 fiscal year.

⁶² The information on the current program and future plans is taken from the report prepared for the Commission on the Reorganization of State Government by the Department of Archives and History in April, 1958, and from records maintained in the Records Center files. Figures are as of July 1, 1958.

⁶³ *Session Laws*, 1957, Chapter 215.

⁶⁴ H. G. Jones to David Clark, Chairman, Commission on the Reorganization of State Government, February 19, 1958.

⁶⁵ John L. Sanders, "A Report on State Public Records Control," prepared for the Commission on the Reorganization of State Government by the Institute of Government, Chapel Hill.

The Commission called for a hearing in April, 1958. In accepting the invitation to appear before the group, the Director of the Department of Archives and History, asked the Commission members to allow time for a visit to the Records Center in connection with the hearing.⁶⁶ The hearing had to be postponed until May 19, 1958, and on that date, the Commission members met, heard presentations by representatives of the Department of Archives and History and the General Services Division, and made a visit to the Records Center.⁶⁷

At the conclusion of the hearing, the Commission asked for suggestions as to changes in the laws affecting records management. These suggestions, submitted by the Department, were incorporated in the Commission's tentative report.⁶⁸ The Commission recommended that the provisions with regard to the operation of records centers by the General Services Division be stricken from the law and that the basic law of the Department of Archives and History be strengthened so as to make a records management program one of the mandatory functions of the Department. Under the proposed changes, State agencies would be required to work with the Department when inventories of records were undertaken.⁶⁹ This report, if adopted by the 1959 General Assembly, will permit the Department of Archives and History to conduct a stronger records management program than ever before.⁷⁰

Though much remains to be done, the records management program in North Carolina has grown in prestige, and its accomplishments have been recognized and appreciated

⁶⁶ David Clark to Christopher Crittenden, March 28, 1958; and reply from Christopher Crittenden to David Clark, April 3, 1958.

⁶⁷ Memorandum from Christopher Crittenden to heads of divisions of the Department of Archives and History, May 20, 1958.

⁶⁸ The Commission's final report, issued in November, 1958, after this article was completed, incorporated the suggestions made in the tentative report. In addition to approving plans for shelving, the Commission also suggested that additional space be made available when needed. The report indicated that consideration should be given to turning over to the Department of Archives and History the first floor of the building in which the Records Center is located and making other provision for housing the textbook distribution operation now located on that floor. See *Seventh Report of the Commission on Reorganization of State Government: Public Records Management*, November, 1958.

⁶⁹ Tentative Draft of Report of the Commission on Reorganization of State Government: Public Records Management, [1958], 6-7.

⁷⁰ After this article was completed, House Bill 26 was enacted into law by the 1959 General Assembly. The new law (*Session Laws*, 1959, Chapter 68), incorporating the recommendations of the Commission on Reorganiza-

by personnel of State agencies who have found the program worthwhile.⁷¹ Records management is saving money for the taxpayer; records of historical significance or research value are being protected; records of temporary usefulness are being destroyed when they have no further value; valuable office space is being released for more pressing needs.⁷²

In the Department's twentieth *Biennial Report*, covering the period from July 1, 1942, through June 30, 1944, a section entitled "The Department and the Future" indicated that

An enlarged program of handling the state archives should be conducted. Under the present law any state, county, or other public official is authorized and empowered to turn over to the Department any noncurrent records in his custody, and the Department is required to provide for their permanent preservation—with a provision for the disposal of useless archives. Under this authority, large quantities of noncurrent state archives have been turned over to the Department, and a cooperative program is being developed whereby the Department assists other state departments and agencies in taking over non-current records which have value and in disposing of those which are useless. This program should be developed and broadened so that ultimately, as soon as any state archives become non-current, they will come under the control of the Department of Archives and History.⁷³

What was a look into the future in the early forties is a reality today.

tion of State Government, specifically provides that public officials shall assist the Department of Archives and History in the preparation of inventories of records and schedules to govern the disposition of records. It further provides that the Department, in so far as staff and facilities are available, shall make space available in the Records Center and in the Archives and render other needed assistance, including microfilming, in order to help agencies carry out the provisions of the schedules. The Department is expressly authorized and required to conduct a records management program, and the provision of the 1957 statute, concerning the function of the General Services Division in the field of records management, is deleted.

⁷¹ Crittenden, "The Record[s] Center," 56.

⁷² *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), February 9, 1958.

⁷³ *Biennial Report*, 1942-1944, 57-58.

THE JOURNAL OF EBENEZER HAZARD IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1777 AND 1778

Edited by HUGH BUCKNER JOHNSTON *

Ebenezer Hazard¹ (January 15, 1744/5-June 13, 1817) was a son of Samuel Hazard of Philadelphia, an educated merchant who had himself done considerable traveling. The younger Hazard was graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) with the degree of M.A. in 1765. He worked in a New York bookshop until October 5, 1775, when he was appointed the local postmaster. A little over a year later he was appointed Surveyor (*i.e.*, Inspector) by Postmaster General Richard Bache. Having orders to regulate the Continental postal route² between Philadelphia and Savannah, Hazard made a preliminary trip to Edenton and back

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¹ Dumas Malone and others (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes, Index volume, and Supplement One [XXI], and Supplement Two [XXII], 1928—), VIII, 469-470.

² It is of real importance to compare the North Carolina section of Hazard's route with the Colonial "Route from Suffolk in Virginia to the Boundary House of North and South Carolina on the Sea Coast," which was reported from Brunswick Town on January 3, 1766, in a letter from Governor William Tryon to Benjamin Barons, Esq., Deputy Post Master General for the Southern District.

	Miles
From Suffolk to Cottons Ferry on Chowan River	40
Appletree Ferry on the Roanoke	30
Salters on Tar or Pamlico River	35
Kemp's Ferry on Neuse do	28
Newbern	10
Trentbridge	13
Mrs Warburton's	13
Snead's on New River Ferry	26
Sage's	13
Collins	14
Wilmington	15
Brunswick	15
The Ferry	2
To Bells	20
The Boundary House	23
<hr/>	
Total miles	297

William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 10 volumes, 1890), VII, 148-149.

between May 15 and July 8, 1777, followed by a complete round trip to Savannah between October 8, 1777, to March 5, 1778.

The fact that Hazard was both intelligent and highly educated greatly increases the value and importance of the often detailed observations that he recorded in his two-volume manuscript entitled "The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard." Fred Shelley suggests, in editing "The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard in Virginia, 1777,"³ that the latter may have intended the two volumes as source material for the "American Geography" that he contemplated but never wrote. The leisureliness of Hazard's journey would have allowed him sufficient time and opportunity for collecting many of the basic documents on early American history that appeared some years later in his *Historical Collections*.⁴

Hazard continued in the office of Postal Surveyor until his term as Postmaster General of The United States from January 28, 1782, to September 26, 1789. He visited a son at Huntsville, Alabama, in 1816 but does not appear to have taken any notes on that trip. The "Journal" was handed down in the family until 1945, when Spencer Hazard gave it to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.⁵

The two extracts which follow were taken from a microfilm copy of the original manuscript secured through the courtesy of this organization. Although Alonzo T. Dill made several references in *Governor Tryon and His Palace*⁶ to Hazard's visit to New Bern, the fascinating details of the remainder of the 1777 and 1778 journeys into North Carolina have not previously appeared in print.

SUFFOLK, VIRGINIA, TO EDENTON, JUNE 12-JUNE 20, 1777

June 12. Intended setting out for Edenton, but being informed that some Swamps through which I must ride are probably impassable by the late heavy Rains, I think it adviseable to stay

³ *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXII (Richmond, October, 1954), 400-423.

⁴ Ebenezer Hazard, *Historical Collections* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: 2 volumes, 1792 and 1794).

⁵ No. 1398 in the *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1950).

⁶ Alonzo T. Dill, *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill, 1955), 120, 185, 188, and 240, hereinafter cited as Dill, *Tryon's Palace*.

till Tomorrow.—Saw Mr. Lunen⁷ early this Morning: he is as drunk as ever.—One Purcel is in Confinement in this Town, upon Suspicion of being concerned with Murphy in forging Drafts on the Treasury.—There is a great Deal of Tar & Turpentine here; I am told that it is made a few Miles off, & that very large Quantities are annually made in this Part of Virginia. It sells today for 9/6 Pr Bbl.—Yesterday was very sultry before the Rain; this Day is almost intolerably hot.—Lodged, by Invitation, at Col. Willis Riddick's.⁸

13th. I find that Tar & Turpentine are the Staple of the South Parts of Virginia.—Set out early in Company with Co. Morgan,⁹ Capt. Cha^s. Biddle¹⁰ & a Mr. Shoemaker of Phil^a.—After riding about 6 or 7 miles from Suffolk we came to one of the Swamps mentioned yesterday; the Water in the Post Road was up to my Horse's Knees; this Place was about 150 Yards in Length. About three Miles farther we came to another of these Swamps, on which the Water on the Post Road extended, as near as I could judge, a Quarter of a Mile, & for about half that Distance it was with Difficulty I could keep my Knees out of it; had I come to this Place yesterday I certainly could not have crossed it. It is a fortunate Circumstance for Travellers that the Bottoms of These Places consist of Land which being wet is very firm, & as there are no Stumps or Roots in the Road there is no Danger of the Horses Stumbling: it is, however, a scandalous Thing that the Legislature do not order Bridges to be built there. This last mentioned Swamp empties into another called the Dismal Swamp¹¹ which is about 50 Miles in Length, & 15 Miles in Breadth: in this is a Lake 5 Miles long & from 3 to 4 Broad, which was first discovered about 20 Years ago, as I am informed. About six Miles from the second Swamp I rode through is the

⁷ The Reverend Mr. Patrick Lunan, "on Account of his Ill behaviour and neglect of duty in the Churches," was finally dismissed by the Upper Parish of Nansemond County. Wilmer L. Hall (ed.), *The Vestry Book of the Upper Parish, Nansemond County, Virginia, 1743-1793* (Richmond, 1949), xliii, hereinafter cited as Hall, *Nansemond Vestry Book*.

⁸ Colonel Willis Riddick was a Churchwarden, Sheriff, Militia Officer, and Tobacco Collector in the Upper Parish. Hall, *Nansemond Vestry Book*, 87, 92, 120, and 256.

⁹ This was either Colonel George Morgan, Deputy Commissioner General for purchases in the Western District of Pennsylvania; or Colonel Jacob Morgan, Jr., of the Pennsylvania Militia, 1775-1779.

¹⁰ There was a Captain Charles Biddle in the Continental Navy. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution* (Washington, D. C., 1914), hereinafter cited as Heitman, *Historical Register of Continental Officers*.

¹¹ The Dismal Swamp has been reduced by drainage from 2,200 square miles to 750 square miles, much of which area is still virtually an unbroken wilderness. Blackwell P. Robinson (ed.), *The North Carolina Guide* (Chapel Hill [second edition], 1955), 287, hereinafter cited as Robinson, *North Carolina Guide*.

Line between Virginia and North Carolina. I saw great Numbers of Pines which were cut to get Turpentine: a large Notch is cut in the Trees cross-wise, the lower Part of which is hollowed to receive the Turpentine; a pretty large Slip is cut off the Tree on the upper Part of the Notch.—Tar is made by taking a Parcel of Pine Knots or other Parts of the Trees which contain a large Quantity of Turpentine, & piling them up, covering & burning them in the same Manner as Blacksmiths in the Country usually do their Wood which they intend for Charcoal: A Trough is dug all round the Pile, with Drains communicating with both, which all empty themselves into a large Hole, from which the Tar is taken out & put into Barrels. The Coals serve for the same Purposes with other Charcoal.

In one Part of the Road [I] met with large Quantities of a fine, light, soft Kind of Grass which had been blown by the Wind out of an adjoining Field: it was the Color of Flax, & branched in a very singular manner. Breakfasted at a House called *the Folly*¹² in North Carolina. I forgot to mention that in crossing the second Swamp all Cap^t. Biddle's Cloathes &c in his Chair Box¹³ got wet: when I overtook him I found him drying them on the Bushes. Dined late at a Cap^t. Sumner's,¹⁴ 21 Miles from Edenton, a tolerably good House where we met with civil Usage. At 6 oClock in the Evening my Company (among whom was a M^r. Vashon¹⁵ of Baltimore, whom I forgot to mention) determined to set out for Edenton; but as the Distance was great, & I was informed there were more Swamps & a very dangerous Bridge to be passed, & no House on the Road where it was probable we could lodge, I thought it best to stay at Sumner's, & they went off & left me.—The Road today excepting the Swamps has been exceeding good.—The Land in the Part of North Carolina I have passed through appears to be better than that in the lower Parts of Virginia, & produce good Oak & other Timber;—the Farming looks much like that in Pennsylvania, but I meet with no Meadow yet.—At Sumner's is a large Cypress (white

¹² "The Folly" appeared on both Henry Mouzon's Map of 1775 and John Collet's Map of 1777.

¹³ This was a storage compartment in the bottom of a riding chair.

¹⁴ On April 4, 1776, the Provincial Congress at Halifax commissioned Lieutenant James Sumner of the Second Company of Light Horse Troops. John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 2 volumes, 1851), I, 80, hereinafter cited as Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*. James Sumner died in Gates County in 1787. In 1790 Mrs. Mourning Sumner was listed with two males, two females, and ten slaves. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: North Carolina* (Washington, D. C., 1908), 24, hereinafter cited as *Census of 1790*.

¹⁵ On April 11, 1794, Charles Vashon was buried in St. Paul's Cemetery in the City of Baltimore.

Cedar) Swamp. Though there has been a fine Air today, the Heat has been so great as to give me a violent Head-Ach.

The Virginians who are rich are in general sensible, polite, hospitable, & of an independent Spirit;—the poor are ignorant & abject;—all are of an inquisitive Turn, & in many other Instances very much resemble the People of Connecticut, but differ widely from them in their Morals; the former being much addicted to Gambling, drinking, swearing, horse-racing, Cock-fighting, & most Kinds of Dissipation.—There is a much greater Disparity between the Rich & Poor in Virginia than any of the Northern States. Lodged at Cap^t. Sumner's, who keeps as good an House as the Times will admit of. Variety of Provision must not be expected in this Country at this Time of the Year; Bacon is almost the only Dish to be had, & I do not recollect that I have dined any where since I first entered Maryland but Bacon was upon the Table.

June 14th. Set out early for Edenton where I breakfasted, & met with my Company again. The Road from Sumner's to Edenton is not as good as from Suffolk to Sumner's, (excluding the Swamps) being more sandy & the Land is many Places deep.—

The Country is a Pine Barren. The Ticks, Gnats & Horse Flies are very troublesome; particularly the latter, which are large, vigorous, & endowed with no small Share of Perseverance; if they once get fixed upon a Horse, it is not an easy matter to remove them. My Companions set out for the Southward, but the Heat is so intense I cannot stand it & have determined to return. Edenton is a small Town (the Capital of Chowan County) situate upon Albemarle Sound; the Houses in general are low, wooden Buildings & much scattered.—The Hon: Joseph Hewes¹⁶ & three other Gentⁿ. are building a Rope-Walk¹⁷ here w^{ch}. I imagine will be the best on the Continent. The Sound at Edenton is twelve Miles wide, & in blustering Weather the Navigation is very dangerous; the Water is fresh, has no Currents, & is crossed in open Boats badly fitted. This Ferry must be crossed by all who go by the lower Road, as it is called, to Charlestown;¹⁸ the other, or upper Road, goes through Hallifax; the Country upon it, I am told, is well settled, & all the large Ferries are avoided by going that Way.—Some Quakers in North Carolina have lately emancipated their Negroes, & the Assembly have passed

¹⁶ Joseph Hewes (1735-1779) of Edenton, a wealthy shipbuilder and also one of the North Carolina Signers of the Declaration of Independence, was born in New Jersey and was buried in Philadelphia. Robinson, *North Carolina Guide*, 181.

¹⁷ This was a long, low building used for the manufacture of rope.

¹⁸ Charleston, South Carolina.

a Law for apprehending the Negroes, and selling them as Slaves; the Money to be put into the public Treasury. The Reason assigned for this Proceeding, I am told, is that the Quakers refuse to give Security that the Negroes shall not become Burthensome to the State. I think this Conduct cannot be vindicated; it is infamous & a violent breach of Faith, as well as an intrusion upon private Property, & directly repugnant to every principle upon which we contend for Liberty. It certainly would have been better to allow of the Emancipation & passed a Law that such Negroes as could not maintain themselves, & actually became burthensome to the State, should, when they became so, be hired as Servants to some Person who should maintain them.—I am told, that at the Meeting of the Assembly, a Dispute arose between them & the Senate, which should be the Upper House; it was determined by a Majority of Votes, & as each County send two Assembly Men & but one Senator, the Assembly carried it of Course. A Vessel is lately arrived at Edenton from Cape Francois¹⁹ wth. 117 Pigs of Lead & 100 french Hhd^s. (about 60 gall^s. each) of Rum, belonging to Congress; the Lead is Part of a large Cargo from old France, which has been distributed among a number of small Vessels to prevent its falling into the Hands of the Enemy; brass Field Pieces, I am told, formed a Part of it. Lodged at George Gray's,²⁰ a pretty good House, at which I met with Cap^t. Fairchild²¹ of New York.

June 15th. Last Night a Sloop arrived from St. Croix²²—loaded with Rum. Dined with the Hon. Joseph Hewes Esq^r. formerly Member of Congress for this State, but left out now as he has served 3 years, & the People think that a sufficient Length of Time for one Man to be entrusted with so much Power.

I learned in Virginia that Richard Henry Lee²³ was not continued in Congress by that State, because he leased his lands upon Condition that the Rent should be paid in *hard Money* or

¹⁹ The Port of Cape Francois, on the northern coast of Santo Domingo, is now called Cabo Frances Viejo.

²⁰ George Gray of Edenton died testate in 1785. On June 13, 1785, the heirs of Captain George Gray were granted 3,840 acres of land for his 84 months of military service. *Roster of Soldiers from North Carolina in the American Revolution* (Durham, 1932), 270, hereinafter cited as *Roster of Soldiers in the Revolution*.

²¹ Captain Reuben Fairchild, Master of the ship "Jenny," was mentioned in a letter from Jacob Henry Chabonel of Amsterdam to James Beekman of New York, October 3, 1776. Philip L. White (ed.), *The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799* (New York, 2 volumes, 1956), II, 691.

²² This is a West Indian Island forty miles SSE of St. Thomas.

²³ Richard Henry Lee (1732-1794) of Virginia was a distinguished statesman of the Revolutionary War period. On June 7, 1776, he introduced the motion that severed political connections with England. *Virginia, A Guide to the Old Dominion* (New York, 1947), 546-547.

something which would produce it, thereby depreciating the Continental Currency.—

Hot, sultry Weather, but the Heat a little alleviated by a Breeze from the Sound. This being Sunday, the Negroes have an Holy-Day, according to the Custom of the Southern States. There is the same Nakedness among the Negroes all along the Road & here which I observed at Williamsburgh; both there & in the other Places I have passed through the Females have a coarse Kind of Cloth wrapped round their Waists unless they are very small.

16th. The Edenton People themselves acknowledge this to be an exceeding hot Day;—there is no Wind at all. At Night a very heavy Squall of Wind from the North West drove a Brig & Schooner on Shore in the Sound directly opposite to Edenton; it was accompanied with as heavy a Rain as ever I saw; red Lightnings flashed almost incessantly, and Peals of dreadful Thunder followed each other in terrible Succession. The Oaths & Imprecations of some Sea Captains who were uneasy about their Vessels added Horror to the awful Scene.—Prophane Swearing is but a rascally Vice at best, but at such Times seems more unpardonable than at any other. Mr. Buchanan²⁴ (Brother to Mr. Tho^s. Buchanan²⁵ of New York) was crossing the Sound at the Time. The Squall came up & [he] had got within a Mile of the other Shore, but was forced to return to Edenton.

17th. The Court sits today at Edenton. It is expected that some Persons supposed to be unfriendly to the American Cause will be called upon to take an Oath of Fidelity to the State, or to give Bond to depart from it in 60 Days, agreeable to a late Act of Assembly.

The Court met & adjourned till tomorrow.

In Consequence of last Night's Rain the Weather is more cool than it has been, but it is hot enough to satisfy any reasonable Man yet.—

18th. The suspected Persons were called upon to & refused to take the Oath of Fidelity;—they are to leave the State.—No

²⁴ George Buchanan was a member of the Saint Andrews Society of the State of New York. William M. MacBean, *The Biographical Register of The Saint Andrews Society of the State of New York* (New York, 1922), I, 97.

²⁵ Thomas Buchanan (1744-1815) of Thomas Buchanan & Company of New York. John A. Stevens, Jr., *Colonial Records of The New York Chamber of Commerce, 1768-1784* (New York, 1867), 125-126. It is likely that he was a brother of Messrs. George and John Buchanan, Merchants, of Glasgow, to whom his firm gave a bill of exchange dated January 5, 1792. Leake Papers, I, Manuscript Division of the New York Historical Society.

Dignity in the Court.—A hot Day.—The Court House is a decent two Story Brick Building.

Edenton is a dull disagreeable Place.

I am told the following Lines were written by a Man who was ill-treated here, & put up at the Church Door;—

A broken window'd Church
With an unfinished Steeple,
A Herring catching Parson
And a d---d set of People.—

19th. No remarkable Occurrence. Very warm Weather.

20th. Set out in Company with Cap^t. Fairchild for Williamsburgh. There is a large Quantity of Moss on many of the Trees; some of it is above four Feet in Length. I am told that the North Carolina People frequently stuff the Seats of their Chairs, & Mattresses with it. Lodged at the Folly.

21st. Rode as far as Smithfield, where we lodged. Saw some Rice growing.—Howel²⁶ has a Daughter whose Christian Name is *Mourning*.

22^d. Got to Williamsburgh. . . .

WILLIAMSBURGH TO EDENTON, BATH, NEW BERN, AND
WILMINGTON, DECEMBER 14, 1777—JANUARY 16, 1778

[December] 14th. [1777] Moderate Weather. A Methodist of the name of Hill²⁷ preached in the Capitol; he appears to be an honest man, but does not shine as a Preacher. Nine french Soldiers deserted last Night.

15th. Cloudy all Day & was rather sultry towards Noon. Set out for Edenton. Got safe over Sandy Bay (a narrow deep Gut, washed through the Sand near James Town, by the Tide, which

²⁶ Thomas Howell died intestate in Isle of Wight County, Virginia, shortly before January, 1778, leaving daughter Mourning and widow Mary. Will Book 8, 484; 9, 51.

²⁷ Green Hill (November 14, 1741-September 11, 1826) was from Bute (now Franklin) County, North Carolina. On April 20, 1785, the first North Carolina Methodist Conference met under his roof. Robinson, *North Carolina Guide*, 67 and 355. See also Worth S. Ray, *Tennessee Cousins, A History of Tennessee People* (Austin, Texas: 1950), 610.

is very dangerous at high Water) & James River, & rode to Nelson's²⁸ where I lodged.—

16th. Rain at Night. Very foggy in the Morning but cleared up warm afterwards. Rode to Suffolk, where I lodged at Whitefield's,²⁹ who keeps the only Tavern now in the Town, which is a bad one. He at first denied me Admittance on Acco^{nt}. of his House being full, but after enquiring for Lodgings at five private Houses, I was obliged to return to Whitefield's and coax him to take me in. Met with a young married Woman who disliked her Husband.

17th. Rode to Sumner's where I lodged. The old Woman at the Folly was so drunk that she could not cook me any Dinner, & I was forced to go without.—There was a very heavy Fog this Morning; the Remainder of the Day was clear & moderate; some Parts of it rather warm. Suffolk is crowded at present by People who have come there to purchase Salt &c lately arrived at South Quay.³⁰ Met with Cap^t. Fairchild. The Chevalier de la Roche³¹ lodged with us at Sumner's. He described the heat of Charlestown by saying "between Sharles-Town & Hell is no more as one Sheet Papier, & dat is very tin too."

18th. Very foggy all the Morning & cloudy the rest of the Day. Dined at Edenton. In my Way saw vast Numbers of Robbins: as they are the very same Thing we have among us, & I saw none here last Summer, I conclude that they are a Bird of Passage, & that these have come from the Northward.—This is the Day appointed by Congress for a general Thanksgiving on acco^t. of the Victory obtained over Gen^l. Burgoyne.³²—Guns were fired at Noon from the Fort & Ships in the Harbour.

19th. At Edenton. Clear, cold Weather. I understand that M^r. William Lowther³³ who left Edenton because he would not

²⁸ William Nelson (died in 1785) married Ann Baker, daughter of Lawrence and Ann Baker of Isle of Wight County. She was born on September 21, 1735. John B. Boddie, *Seventeenth Century Isle of Wight County, Virginia* (Chicago, 1938), 180. In 1782 Nelson was listed in Surry County with nine whites and twenty-six blacks. *Heads of Families at The First Census of The United States Taken in The Year 1790: Virginia* (Washington, D. C., 1908), 43.

²⁹ This was William Whitfield, Sexton of the Upper Parish Church in Suffolk Hall, *Nansemond Vestry Book*, 218, 222, *passim*.

³⁰ South Quay is on the Blackwater River four or five miles south of Franklin and about sixteen miles WSW of Suffolk.

³¹ Heitman, *Historical Register of Continental Officers*.

³² General John Burgoyne surrendered to General Horatio Gates at Saratoga, New York, on October 17, 1777.

³³ The Collet Map of 1777 shows the Lowther plantation just north of the entrance of Roanoke River into Albemarle Sound.

take the Test ordered by the Ass^y. is gone to New York.—The Assembly have passed a Law directing a Tax of a Halfpenny in the Pound to be raised upon all Property in North Carolina: one of the Collectors told me it would amount to £60,000.

20th. Fine, clear Weather. An Aurora Borealis at Night.

21st. Exceeding fine moderate Weather. Dined with Mr. Hewes. Am informed the halfpenny Tax will amount to £120,000.

22^d. Intended setting out for Bath, but the Ferryman has run away, which prevented me. Tried to get over in the Boat from the other Side of the Sound, but as the Wind was ahead, & we should not get over till some Time after Night, I concluded to stay for another Opportunity.

23^d. Rain all Day. Supped at Capt. Collins's.³⁴ Had arrack Punch³⁵ Oranges & Almonds.

24th. Cloudy Weather.

25th. Xmass. Heard Mr. Earl³⁶ preach in the Church. The Clarke, previous to singing an Hymn to the Tune of "God save the King" said "Let us sing upon this solemn & rejoicing Occasion, a few Lines composed by Dr. Whitefield."³⁷ The Parson's Notes were very yellow & the last Leaf loose, from which I conjecture they were rather ancient & had been much used. Our Landlord, Geo. Gray, entertained his Lodgers today gratis & genteely. We had, inter Dia, Arrack Punch and Venison.—Spent

³⁴ Captain Josiah Collins belonged to the Edenton firm of Collins, (Nathaniel) Allen, and (Samuel) Dickinson. Collins owned thirty slaves in 1790, and the company one hundred and thirteen. *Census of 1790*, 19.

³⁵ It is suggested that the thirsty modern reader try the following recipe: Strain the juice of two large oranges and pour over three-fourths of a pound of loaf sugar. Add several very thin slices of the outside peeling. Pour upon this one quart of boiling water, one pint of West Indian arrack (rum), and one pint of hot red wine. Stir thoroughly and serve cold. The punch can be bottled and will improve with age. For alternate recipes, see Mrs. Helen Bullock, *The Williamsburg Art of Cookery*, . . . (Richmond, Virginia: 1949), 217.

³⁶ In 1759 the Reverend Daniel Earl succeeded the Reverend Clement Hall as Rector of St. Paul's Parish in Edenton. He served until 1778 and died testate in 1785. Robinson, *North Carolina Guide*, 185 and 187.

³⁷ Dr. George Whitefield (1714-1770), founder of the Calvinistic Methodists, was an immensely popular preacher in both England and America. Abel Stevens, *The Centenary of American Methodism* (New York, 1866), 21ff.

the Evening with Cha^s. Bondfield Esq^r.³⁸—Had a Frolic afterwards. Guns were fired at noon by Way of rejoicing, & all the Negroes had a Holiday. In the Morning I attempted crossing the Sound but the Wind blew up right ahead, & I was forced to stay at Edenton.

26th. Appointed Cha^s. Bondfield Esq^r. Post Master. Put my Horse on board the Ferry Boat, but as the Wind was ahead, & the Passage would be tedious I preferred going in what they call a Canoe but it is more like one of our New York small Pettiaugers³⁹ without Masts. For this Purpose I hired a Negro to assist one of the Ferrymen in rowing me over, but when I got down to the Boat I found the Fellow had given me the Slip, & I was forced to return. A Mr. Ryan⁴⁰ who lives on the South Side of the Sound was kind enough to lend me one of his Negroes, & I was rowed over to M^{rs}. Pierson's,⁴¹ which is seven Miles from Edenton. People going to Cha^s. Town⁴² usually cross over to Mackay's⁴³ (12 Miles) which is the best Way, as several Ferries are avoided by it, but a Kind of Fatality seemed to attend me, which prevented my going there. In my Way to M^{rs}. Pierson's I passed the Mouth of Chowan River, which appears to be about 3 Miles wide. The Water in the Sound near Edenton is very shoal & brackish. As there was no Wind my Horse did not get over till after Night. I lodged very comfortably at M^{rs}. Pierson's, who keeps an exceeding good House, & is sensible. She is from Lancashire in England.—The Weather has been very fine today, & moderate.

27th. Set out on my Journey; the Weather warm & cloudy.

³⁸ In 1775 Rebecca Bondfield was one of the fifty celebrated women of Edenton who refused to use British tea. In 1779 Charles Bondfield was Clerk of the Superior Court of Edenton District. Worth S. Ray, *The Lost Tribes of North Carolina* (Austin, Texas: 1947), 12, hereinafter cited as Ray, *The Lost Tribes*. The Bondfield family was not listed in North Carolina in 1790.

³⁹ This is a variation of the Spanish "piragua," a large dugout or a flat-bottomed boat with two masts.

⁴⁰ Cornelius Ryan of Bertie County had a large family and thirty-eight slaves in 1790. *Census of 1790*, 14.

⁴¹ Margaret Pearson was the widow of a lawyer named John Pearson who had died in 1777. She died in 1785. Ray, *The Lost Tribes*, 125. Her first husband had been Nathaniel Duckinfield of Cheshire, England, who died in Bertie County in the latter part of 1756. J. Bryan Grimes, *Abstract of North Carolina Wills* (Raleigh, 1910), 102-103, hereinafter cited as Grimes, *Abstract of Wills*.

⁴² Charleston, South Carolina.

⁴³ In 1735 William Mackey of Edenton petitioned the General Assembly for permission to operate a ferry. Ray, *The Lost Tribes*, 100. By 1751 Captain Mackey was living on the Tyrrell County side of Albemarle Sound.

I was directed to go to Kooshoak,⁴⁴ but understanding afterwards that it was out of my Way, I Rode to Spruel's Ferry⁴⁵ upon Kooshy River.⁴⁶ I was caught in several Showers in my Way, but before I could leave M^{rs}. Spruel's it began to rain very fast, & continued so till Night. A very heavy Fog came rolling up the River and soon disappeared: it looked much like a white Cloud. M^{rs}. Spruel informed me that they sometimes have dreadful Storms of Wind in this Country which do a vast Deal of Damage. There was one about six, & another about two Years ago. In the last she left her Dwelling House & went to a Negro Cabbin for Shelter. M^{rs}. Pearson told me she did so too, & that she had two framed Houses blown down by that Storm. It happened in September. M^{rs}. Spruel observed that she had been told that Philadelphia was the "Metropolisest City of this America." Lodged at her House, which has not a Pane of Glass belonging to it.—

28th. Cloudy Weather, & a heavy mist in the Morning. Crossed Cooshy River, which is not half a Mile wide in the broadest Part. It empties into Albemarle Sound, & runs into the Country a little above Windsor, where there is a Bridge across it. After I had crossed it I found that one Stewart⁴⁷ (to whose Ferry I was to go) no longer kept a Ferry, & I went to the Widow Ryan's,⁴⁸ from whence I was rowed by two Negroes a little Way down Cooshy River, then through a Thoroughfare (as they call it) of two Miles in Length, into Roanoke, & down that River about 4 Miles to a Place called the Wharf. I was caught in several Showers in my Way down. The Lands on both Sides of the Thoroughfare & Roanoke are Swamps, which the People of this County call *Pocosin*. Another Thoroughfare runs from Roanoke to Cooshy called the Middle River. Between the first & the Warf in Roanoke is an Island⁴⁹ about a Mile long which ends within half a Mile of the Wharf. Roanoke always runs toward the Sound

⁴⁴ On December 22, 1745, the will of Mary Jones of Bertie County mentioned a niece Elizabeth Spruell and left a nephew named John Sutton one hundred acres "in Cishooke." On December 7, 1753, James Lockhart of the same county bequeathed two plantations "at Cashoak" to his son George Lockhart. Grimes, *Abstract of Wills*, 195 and 219.

⁴⁵ Elizabeth Spruill died testate in Bertie County in 1788. Ray, *The Lost Tribes*, 159.

⁴⁶ Cashie River.

⁴⁷ John Stewart died testate in Bertie County in the last of 1774. Ray, *The Lost Tribes*, 161.

⁴⁸ She was probably the widow of James Ryan who died in Bertie County in 1771. Ray, *The Lost Tribes*, 145.

⁴⁹ This was Batts Island, or Batts Grave, named for Nathaniel Batts, an early settler who formerly lived in Nansemond County, Virginia. Nell M. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers* (Richmond, 1934), 543. Do not be misled by the romantic but purely fictional account of Jesse Batts in Robinson, *North Carolina Guide*, 186-187.

(into which it empties). It appears to me to be about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile wide. When I landed at the Wharf I went to a Mr. Webb's⁵⁰ who treated me with great Civility but could not lodge me. I met there with a Mr. Hough⁵¹ (Cousin to Tommy Hough of Phil^a.) who invited me to his House. I ate nothing there, & drank nothing but Water, & Milk & Water; Slept very comfortably. Pine Knots (according to the Custom of the Country) served for Candles.

29th. Set out for Bath, but before I got away from Mr. Hough's my Horse ran away, but I was fortunate enough to catch him again.—Weather very clear & intensely cold.—Made a late Breakfast at Hardeson's,⁵² upon cold Boiled Pork, Pone Toast,⁵³ & Yopon⁵⁴ Tea sweetened with Honey. The Tea was made in a Coffee Pot, & had no Milk with it. It has not the same Taste with Bohea,⁵⁵ but I think is not inferior to it: the Bush is an Evergreen, & has a Leaf much like the Prim of which Hedges are made. The Country between Hough's & Bath is very poor, & mostly low, sunken Land. Lodged at *Major* Brown⁵⁶ at Bath, who is Post Master, Tavern Keeper, & Member of Ass^v.

Dec^r. 30th. Water froze in my Bed Chamber last Night: very cold this Morning: grew something warmer towards Noon. Bath is a small Town in Beaufort County, situate upon a Creek called Bath Town Creek, which is about a Quarter of a Mile wide & empties itself two Miles below the Town, into Pamlico River. The Town contains about 20 framed Houses, & I am informed is the oldest in North Carolina.

31st. Met with Rich^d. Nassau Stephens⁵⁷ who formerly lived at New York: He invited me to his House. I lodged there. Clear,

⁵⁰ Harmon Webb, Sr., of Tyrrell County owned seventeen slaves in 1790. *Census of 1790*, 34.

⁵¹ The Tyrrell County Census of 1790 lists Richard Hoff with a family of five and three slaves. *Census of 1790*, 33.

⁵² Benjamin Hardison of Tyrrell County had four in his family and two slaves in 1790. *Census of 1790*, 33.

⁵³ This was toast made from corn bread.

⁵⁴ Yaupon is a southern holly of the class *Ilex vomitoria*. There are both shrub and tree varieties.

⁵⁵ Bohea is the name of an inferior kind of black tea, also applied to Souchong, Pekoe, and Congou.

⁵⁶ William Brown sat in the Provincial Congress at New Bern on August 25, 1774, and was on the Committee of Safety in 1775. On April 22, 1776, he was commissioned First Major of the Militia Regiment in Beaufort County. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, I, 66, 73, 78, 81, and 86.

⁵⁷ Stephens had been a "freeman" of New York City before coming to North Carolina. *Collections of The New York Historical Society* (New York, 1886), 234. He was the Commissary for Beaufort in 1782, but had died or left the State before 1790.

moderate Weather. In North Carolina they have Deer, Bears, Wild Cats, Opossums, Panthers, Alligators, Snakes in Abundance, & a very great Variety of other Animals.—The female Opossum has a false Belly in which she *breeds* & protects her Young: they appear at first (or in Embryo) like a Kidney Bean upon the Teat, & hang or stick to it till they are big enough to venture abroad. When they want to suck, or are in Danger they go into the false Belly of their Dam, & remain there as long as they find it convenient. Among the Snakes is one called the *Glass Snake*, of which I heard also in Virginia: I have been told by those who have seen it, that this Snake, when struck, breaks into Pieces (from whence it gets its Name) & it is commonly *reported* that these Pieces will again unite, & the Snake be as lively & vigorous as ever. Among their Plants in this State is the Myrtle, an odoriferous Bush, which bears a small Berry, of which the Inhabitants frequently make a Wax: mixed with Tallow this Wax makes excellent Candles. It is of a dusky green Color, & they commonly add a little Verdigrease to brighten it.—N^o. Carolina abounds with wild Fowl of almost all Kinds. Went to Town with Mr. Stephens & did not return home till 2 O'clock in the Morning.

1778

Jan. 1st. Fine, clear, moderate Weather in the Day, but cold at Night. Went to Town again, & returned between 1 & 2 in the Morning. Appointed Mr. Stephens Surveyor of the Post Office in the Southern District of the United States;—to begin to act after 5th. April, 1778. Supped at Cap^t. Keyes's.⁵⁸

Jan. 2^d. Exceeding pleasant Weather.—Went to Town again. Saw some Negroes hired out for a Year; it was done by Way of Vendue. For several of them £28.15. each was bid.

3^d. Set out in Company with Mr. Stephens for Newbern. Bath Town Creek (see Dec^r. 30th) empties itself but 2 Miles below the Town into *Pamtico* River, which is here 3 Miles wide: this River runs about 16 Miles up & then forks; the right Hand Fork is called Tar River: *Pamtico* empties into *Pamtico* Sound. From M^{rs}. Bond's⁵⁹ (on the South Side of the Ferry) we rode to

⁵⁸ Captain Nathaniel Keias entered service in the Second North Carolina Regiment on September 1, 1775, and retired on June 1, 1778. *Roster of Soldiers in the Revolution*, 39. In the Beaufort County Census of 1790 Nathaniel Kies (*sic*) had seven whites, six blacks, and two other free persons in his listing. *Census of 1790*, 126.

⁵⁹ Bond's Ferry is shown on Mouzon's Map of 1775. Mrs. Bond was undoubtedly the widow of John Bond who died testate in Beaufort County in 1749. Grimes, *Abstract of Wills*, 37. Their sons John and Robert Bond were well-to-do planters of Beaufort County in 1790. *Census of 1790*, 125.

Moore's Tavern,⁶⁰ where we Lodged. The Road from Mrs. Bond's all the Way to Newbern (which is 28 Miles) runs through a barren Neck of Land, which is formed by Pamlico & Neuse Rivers.

To make Myrtle Wax the Berries are put into warm Water, which makes the Wax separate from them; it is then skimmed off & melted into a Cake.

The Generality of the Farmers in N^o. Carolina take no Care of their Horses, Cattle, Sheep & Hogs during the Winter but let them shift for themselves in the Woods as well as they can: the Woods produce a small Reed, an Evergreen, of which the Cattle &c are very fond, & on which they feed.

Instead of Mile Stones, Posts are usually fixed by the Road Side, with the Number of Miles marked on them in Roman Numerals, & as many Notches cut in the Side of it as you have Miles to travel; these Notches I suppose are for the Benefit of the unlearned.—Saw a Tar Kill.

Jan. 4. Rode to Newbern. In my Way crossed Neuse River, which is 2½ Miles wide: it empties into Pamlico Sound. There is an Island in the ferrying Place, which produces nothing but Sedge. Between Bath & Newbern are large Quantities of Land which have never yet been patented. The Reason is that they are so poor that they would not produce enough to pay the Quit Rent; they serve at present at Ranges for Cattle. There is in North Carolina a Briar called the Bamboo Briar; it grows exactly like a Grape Vine, runs up to the Top of the highest Trees & bears a pretty Flour: it is very tough. Last Night there was a severe Frost; this Morning the air was very keen, but the Weather grew warm at Noon & continued so the rest of the Day. The Weather is amazingly fine for the Season; in many Places the Grass is quite green. Lodged at Wrensford's⁶¹ at Newbern.—Saw a Kind of Grass called Fox Grass from the Seed Part (or Head) of it curling like a Fox's Tail: when it is green it smells exactly like Lime, & has a sourish Taste. The natural Grapes of N^o. Carolina are the red & white Muscadine, the former very plenty, the latter scarce; male & female of both; red ripe Middle Sept^r white latter End d^o. The red & white Fox Grape, the latter scarce, ripe about latter end September. The Bunch Grape, a

⁶⁰ In 1790 John Moore had a family of seven persons in Beaufort County. *Census of 1790*, 127.

⁶¹ On August 17, 1774, Edmund Wrenford was executor and his wife Susannah was a legatee in the will of Mary Conway of New Bern. Grimes, *Abstract of Wills*, 80. Because of his Loyalist leanings, Wrenford was ordered to leave New Bern by June 12, 1777, but he decided to take the Test Oath on June 14. Dill, *Tryon's Palace*, 180. He died or moved out of the State by 1790.

blackish red, & very sweet, plenty; ripe 1st. Week Sept^r. Small black Winter Grape; ripe 1st. Frost.

Mr. Stephens informs me that a Mr. Barrow⁶² (whom I saw at his House) made an Experiment upon Persimons by distilling them agreeable to the Directions published in the Memoirs of the American philosophical Society;⁶³—he expressed the Juice & distilled it immediately, but as it did not yield as much Spirit as he thought he had a Right to expect from the Quantity of Juice, he fermented the next he was to distil, & then distilled it: in Consequence of the Fermentation he got upwards of a Gallon more Spirit from a Barrel of Juice than he had in the former Way (& could have got more) & of a vastly superior Quality. He fermented the Liquor with the Yeast of small Beer: he filled the Cask with the Liquor, & stopped the Fermentation (as soon as the Froth began to lower at the Bung Hole) by putting in the Bung, but opened a Vent Hole now & then, to prevent the Cask's bursting, until he could distil the Liquor.—

The Produce of the Lands along the Coast of North Carolina is

Indian Corn	}	in large Quantities
Wheat		
Oats		
Cotton		
Flax		
Pease	}	in small Quantities
Rye.....		
Barley (just beginning)		

They are famous for great Numbers of small horned Cattle, and Hogs—few Sheep. The Banks (so called) abound with wild Horses; they were formerly so plenty that any Horse in the *Going* might be bought for 40/. (5 Dollars) The Timber (along the Coast) is Pitch Pine (of which they make Pitch, Tar & Turpentine) Cypress, Juniper, red & white Oak, spanish Oak, Post Oak (which lasts many Years in the Ground) & live Oak. There is also Hickory & a Variety of other Wood, but in small Quantities.

The principal Exports are Tobacco (which comes from the back Country) Naval Stores, Raw Hides, Deer Skins, Raccoon Skins, Myrtle & Bees Wax, & Tallow; Pork, Beef in small Quan-

⁶² On November 12, 1776, John Barrow represented Beaufort County in the Halifax Congress. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, I, 85.

⁶³ The distinguished American Philosophical Society was organized at Philadelphia in 1744 and has published over twenty volumes of transactions and over one hundred parts of proceedings.

tities, Boards, Scantling & Staves, Snake Root both Seneca & Virginia. The Country produces Ipecacuanha in Abundance. Both Indigo & Rice are raised here, but in small Quantities; however some Gentⁿ. have raised so much (by Way of Experiment) as to encourage them to go on; one of them sold so much of one Year's Produce as amounted to £1000. The wild Indigo grows here in great Abundance; it need be sown but once forever; it makes a tolerable Dye.—Laurel is plenty.

5th. At Newbern. Dined with Col. Cogdell⁶⁴ on Comp^y. with his Son in Law M^r. Ja^s. Green.⁶⁵ The Weather is so warm that we sat without Fire.

6th. Very fine, clear, warm Weather. I have lately met with a Number of Negro Children of both sexes, entirely naked: I suppose they have never had Clothes on them.

7th. Intended setting out for Wilmington, but was prevented by my Washerwoman's not bringing my Cloaths home seasonably. Exceeding fine Weather. Dined with Tho^s.⁶⁶ & Titus Ogden.⁶⁷ People begin to talk of Gardening. Wrensford keeps an exceeding good House, but his Charges are extravagant. Newbern covers more Ground than any Town I have met with since I left Annapolis, but the Houses are scattered, & each of them has a Garden Spot belonging to it. The Buildings are mostly framed. The Town is situated on the Side of a Bay between Neuse River on the North, & Trent River on the South. The Governor's Residence, called the Palace,⁶⁸ is an elegant, two Story, Brick Building with proper Offices. Upon opening the Street Door you enter a Hall in which are four Niches for Statues: directly opposite the Street Door is another Door which opens into an Entry leading to the back Part of the Palace: over

⁶⁴ On March 14, 1758, Richard Cogdell witnessed the will of Robert Carruthers of New Bern. Grimes, *Abstract of Wills*, 63-64. He represented New Bern at the Provincial Congress of August 25, 1774, the Hillsboro Assembly of August 21, 1775, and the Smithfield Assembly of May 3, 1779. He served on the Committee of Safety, and also on the Committee for Superintending the Printing of Bills of Credit. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, I, 64, 73, and 74.

⁶⁵ James Green sold his local property and bought a vessel and a cargo of corn, all of which was lost at Antigua when the British confiscated it. Dill, *Tryon's Palace*, 181-182. He was not in Craven County in 1790.

⁶⁶ He was a merchant of New Bern at that time. Dill, *Tryon's Palace*, 197.

⁶⁷ On August 19, 1781, he was one of those who went into hiding at New Bern when Major James H. Craig and the British troops arrived. Dill, *Tryon's Palace*, 207. Neither of the Ogdens was listed in the *North Carolina Census of 1790*. (There had been a family of Ogden living at Newton on the Cape Fear River in 1738.)

⁶⁸ Refer to Dill, *Tryon's Palace*.

it is this Inscription, painted in white Capital Letters upon a black Ground; viz.

“Gulim^o. Tryon Armig^o. &c &c &c:
 Regnante Provinciam An: Dom: 1771
 Augusto huic Aedifico ea Carmina vovit Gul^s. Draper
 Balnei Eques, Manilla Victor” (in one line)

underneath

“Rege pio felix, diris inimica Tyrannis
 Virtuti Has Aedes libera Terra dedit
 Sint Domus & Dominus Saeclis Exempla futuris
 Hinc Artes, Mores, Justitiamq: colant. D: D: D:”

(Manilla Victor reminded me of a Piece of Sir William Draper's Vanity exhibited on a Cenotaph at his Seat at Clifton Down near Bristol in England, on which is this Inscription “Here lies the Mother of S^r. W^m. Draper”).⁶⁹

Immediately on getting into the Entry you see an elegant Stair Case with Mahogany Banisters, which reaches to the Top of the House, & is there covered by a glazed Cupola, which serves to illuminate it. The Rooms are spacious, elegant, & neatly finished: one of them is appropriated to the use of the Senate (Council) which I think is an Imposition upon the Gov^r. In this are the Pictures of the King & Queen at full Length.—I am told that some of the back Country Members moved for Leave to bring in a Bill for selling the Palace; & that some of them when they come to attend the Assembly bring their Pork in their Wallets with them by Way of saving Expences.—I met with a Tree in Seed, called the Pride of China: the Seed hung in Clusters, & looked like Cherries, only that they were yellow: the Tree grows very quick & bears (as I am informed) a very beautiful Flower. Sent M. C. some of the Seed.

8th. Mr. Stephens set out for home & I for Wilmington. Crossed Trent River 13 Miles from Newbern; the River is not above 20 Yards wide here, but very deep; the Boat is pulled across by a Rope. Dull, cloudy Weather, high Winds, & small drizzling Rains all Day. It is very dangerous riding in N^o. Carolina when the Winds blow hard, for you ride all the Way through

⁶⁹ Sir William Draper (1721-January 8, 1787) received his M.A. from Cambridge University in 1749. On October 6, 1762, he and Admiral Cornish captured Manila from the Spaniards by assault. In 1770 he traveled through North Carolina. Sir Leslie Stephens and Sir Sidney Lee (ed.), *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1938), VI, 4-7.

Pines, many of which have been "boxed" to get the Turpentine out & others have been so much burned by burning the Woods that a high Wind is very apt to overset them. There is an exceeding good Causeway of near 8 Miles long on the Road between Trent River & Mrs. Warburton's⁷⁰ where I lodged to Night. It extends from Trent to White Oak River, which is rather a Swamp covered with Water than a River. Mr^s. W. told me it was made out of Spite. The Overseer of the Road's Daughter was delivered of a Mulatto Child. The Women of the Neighborhood talked freely of it: one swore she had slept with her one Night & in the Morning she observed her Shift had been much wet with Milk from her Breasts; another swore that the young Woman had gone to a Midwife, and enquired of her whether it was possible for a Woman to be got with Child when she was asleep without knowing it, &c: the Overseer of the Road, Believing the Fact to be as it was, & finding it would go hard with his Daughter, compromised the Matter as well as he could, & in Order to have Satisfaction of his Neighbours, altered the Road & made them come & make this Causeway through a Swamp. The Road all the Way from Newbern to Mrs. Warburton's is very good. Nutmeg, scraped, & put into a hollow Tooth, gave immediate Relief.

The Assembly of North Carolina have passed an Act for confiscating the Estates of the King & Lord Granville⁷¹ in that State. I understand that Lord Granville is both a Minor & an Idiot. I am informed that Trent River, though so narrow where I crossed it, runs 40 Miles up the Country by Land, but to that Place by Water is 150 Miles, the River being extremely serpentine.

The Rattan grows in some of the low Grounds of N^o. Car^a. in the Form of a Vine.

Brick Dust & Vinegar rubbed on Mahogany will take out all Staines, & then a little Oil or Cream will give it a fine Gloss.

Newbern is the Capitol of North Carolina, & is in Craven County—While there I went into the Church Yard where I met with the following Inscriptions

⁷⁰ Mrs. Warburton's place appears on the Mouzon Map of 1775. It was about halfway between Trent River and Snead's Ferry. She was not listed in the *Census of 1790*.

⁷¹ John Carteret, Earl Granville, (1690-1763) had a daughter Louisa who married Thomas Thynne, second Viscount Weymouth. Their younger son, Henry Frederick Thynne (d. s. p. in 1826), "succeeded to the Carteret estates on the death of his uncle Robert" Carteret, second Earl Granville, who died without children in 1776. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1950), X, 641-642.

To the Memory of
Charles Elliot ⁷² late attorney General

For this Province who died anno 1756.
An honest Lawyer indeed.

Here Lyes Buryed the Body of
M^r. Josiah Howard
Son of John Howard Esq^r.⁷³

A Young man of Surprising Ingenuity
who departed this Life Octob^r. 10th.
1759 aged 22 Years.
Ingenuous Youth thou art Laid in Dust
Thy Friends for thee in Tears did burst
But as thy Youthful Piety was Great
We all Submit with thee to follow CHRIST the great
Altho in Youth thou art Laid in Dust
Thy GOD will Raise thee up we Trust.

I rode through Part of Craven, Carteret & Onslow Counties today.

M^{rs}. Warburton says she has had Pease in the Ground a Week: it is a common Practice to plant them by *Twelfth Day*.

Saw a Number of negro Children of both Sexes, stark naked today; they have never been cloathed yet: saw also a Negro Woman with nothing on her but a very ragged Petticoat.

9th. A clear, severe Sky. Air rather cool. Towards noon the Wind rose, & blew flawy all the rest of the Day. The Country hitherto has been remarkably level, but I have met with a Number of Hills today though they are small. The Road from M^{rs}. Simmons's⁷⁴ (where I dined) to M^r. Snead's⁷⁵ on New River, where I lodge, is, for the most Part very sandy; in some Places the Sand is very deep:—the Roots of the Pine Trees run across

⁷² Charles Elliott was appointed Attorney General by Governor Arthur Dobbs. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, I, 47. He made his will in Edgecombe County on October 15, 1753, and it was probated in Northampton County in May term, 1757. The Honorable John Rutherford was the executor and sole legatee. Grimes, *Abstract of Wills*, 112.

⁷³ John Howard, Esq., was a Justice in Onslow County as early as March 11, 1741-1742. On May 3, 1756, he was a legatee in the will of James Denson of the same county. Grimes, *Abstract of Wills*, 56 and 96.

⁷⁴ A widow named Nancy Simons was listed in Onslow County in 1790, with two females and three slaves. *Census of 1790*, 196.

⁷⁵ Robert W. Snead, Esq., represented Onslow County in the House of Commons in 1789 and in the Senate in 1790, 1791, and 1793. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 299. He owned twenty-four slaves in 1790. *Census of 1790*, 194.

the Road, & are so buried in the Sand that a Horse can not see them, & they are very apt to trip him. New River, at the Ferry, is about three Eighths of a Mile wide, but a little lower down is three Miles broad: it empties into the Sea.

There is an upper Road from Newbern to Wilmington by which New River Ferry⁷⁶ may be avoided; but the Stages on it are not as good as on the lower Road. New River is about 40 Miles long; it is but 6 Miles from Snead's to the Sea. Saw a Handmill for grinding Corn with a Pair of Stones. The Stones were about the Size of middling large Grind Stones.

10th. Crossed New River Ferry. The Road from hence to Collier's,⁷⁷ (where I lodge to-night) is a very fine, deep, loose, white Sand, in some Places four, & in some even six Inches deep: the Depth of the Sand & blundering over the Roots of the Pines fatigued my Horse very much. From Snead's to Sage's⁷⁸ (which is 13 Miles) there is but one House on the Board, the Country is totally uncultivated. I have frequently rode 5 & 6 Miles in this Journey without seeing any Sign of Cultivation.—Weather clear & moderate today. Had Excellent Oysters for Supper last Night at Snead's. Notwithstanding M^{rs}. Collier's Character for Singularity, she treated me with great Civility & I fared very well there—so did my Horse.—

11th. Set out for Wilmington. It rained & blew very hard in the Night, and there was some Rain this Morning. This was much in my Favor, for it settled the Land in the Road: it was deep notwithstanding. When I was between 7 & 8 Miles from Wilmington, at a Mile's Distance from any House, there came up a violent Storm of Wind & Rain;—my Horse could not face it but turned his Head in order to avoid it:—I rode fast, but was wet to the Skin before I could get to a House: a little hospitable Hut afforded me Shelter for myself & my Horse. I set out again after the Rain, but it began to rain again when I was within two Miles of Wilmington; I stopped at one McCulloch's (a Tavern) where I dined, & when the Rain was over I went to Wil-

⁷⁶ Mouzon's Map of 1775 shows the Ferry on the east side of New River, but the modern town of Snead's Ferry is on the west side.

⁷⁷ The Collet Map of 1777 shows the Collier place about three-fifths of the way from Snead's Ferry to Wilmington. In 1790 John Collear (*sic*) of Onslow County was listed with three whites and three blacks. *Census of 1790*, 195.

⁷⁸ The Collet Map shows Sege's (*sic*) about two-fifths of the distance between Snead's Ferry and Wilmington. Private Edward Sage received 640 acres for eighty-four months of Revolutionary War service. *Roster of Soldiers in the Revolution*, 282. This surname was not represented in Onslow County in the 1790 Census.

mington. Lodged at Mr. DuBois's.⁷⁹—There are vast Quantities of Moss (very long) & Mistletoe all along the Sea Coast of North Carolina; they are not confined to the Oak, but each of them grows on a Variety of Trees. From Snead's at New River, all the Way to Wilmington the Road is remarkably sandy, but the deepest Land is from Sage's to Wilmington.—

12th. Wilmington is a small Town situated in a sandy Hollow surrounded with Sand Hills; it lies upon the North Branch of Cape Fear River which is here about 300 Yards wide: it is the Capitol of New Hanover County. The River is defended by a Battery of 9 nine Pounders, & another of 8 Guns from 5 to 12 P^{rs}.—Here are also two Iron Field Pieces on traveling Carriages. The Houses in Wilmington are mostly framed, & but indifferent Buildings. When M^{rs}. Tryon⁸⁰ was in North Carolina she desired the Ladies to address her, when they spoke or wrote to her, by the Title of her Excellency; and intimated that they ought to *stand* when in her Presence, alledging that as the Governor & his Lady were the Representatives of their Majesties, they ought to be treated with equal Ceremony.—People in North Carolina differ much respecting Gov^r. Tryon's Conduct in the affair of the Regulators; some blame him & some them, & some both of them; but all agree that Col. Fanning⁸¹ was at the Bottom of it: they say that he insisted upon & took larger Fees than the Law allowed; & that when he was in the Back Country he took Money from them for Lands of which he promised to procure Grants for them, but neither did it nor returned the Money; & when they complained to the Gov^r. for Redress, he told them he would believe Col. Fanning's Word sooner than their Oath.—

The following Instance of Gov^r. Tryon's Cruelty has been mentioned by every Person with whom I have conversed about the Regulators.

There was one Merol⁸² (see March 27th.), a Rifle-Maker by Trade, from whom some of the Regulators purchased their Rifles; upon their saying they bought them to him, the Man was

⁷⁹ There was a Captain Dubos (*sic*) from Wilmington District in the Revolutionary War. Nicholas Dubois enlisted for the war in Captain Bradley's Company on June 18, 1779, but deserted on October 26 following. *Roster of Soldiers in the Revolution*, 119, 377, and 519.

⁸⁰ Margaret Wake of London married Captain William Tryon in 1757. She possessed a tidy dowry of £30,000. Dill, *Tryon's Palace*, 6.

⁸¹ The career of Colonel Edmund Fanning received considerable attention in Marshall DeLancey Haywood, *Governor William Tryon*, . . . (Raleigh, 1903), hereinafter cited as Haywood, *Governor Tryon*.

⁸² Hazard's informant offered a confused account of Captain Benjamin Merrill who was hanged by Governor Tryon and was survived by a wife and only eight children. Haywood, *Governor Tryon*, 147-148.

apprehended as belonging to their Body, & tho' no further Proof of it appeared against him he was hanged. He left behind him a Wife & eleven Children. Staid in Wilmington till the 16th. when I crossed the Ferry, rode over a dismal, swampy Island, (which seems to be a Haunt for Herons & Turkey Buzzards) of about a Mile & a Quarter wide, crossed a Ferry over Northwest River (about 150 Yards wide) & lodged, not far from the Bank of it, at M^{rs}. Eagan's.⁸³—

The Weather has been rather cool, & there have been two pretty smart Frosts since the 11th.

Saw Cap^t. Will^m. Robeson.⁸⁴—There is a Causeway across the Island, but it is in very bad order.

17th. Agreeable Weather early in the Morning, but rather cool; rode over a Causeway 3 Miles long:—it is in bad Order.—Took a "short Cut" to save 12 Miles Riding—Memorandum. Take no more short Cuts in North Carolina.—Had to cross two Mill Dams & met with great Difficulty. Rode through a very gloomy Cypress Swamp:—lost my Way.—Saw Palmettos growing; they look like Fans.—Crossed Town Creek at Davis's Ferry;⁸⁵—very narrow.—Met with a Man at Davis's of the Name of Leonard;⁸⁶—a Relation of the Leonards at Princeton;—fortunately, for me, he was going to Lockwood's Folly;⁸⁷—we rode in Company. After riding 2 Miles reached one Potter's;⁸⁸ did not see him: he is said to be very sensible but married to a Mulatto Woman. The Corn there was mouldy. My Horse would not eat it. Got a Draught of Yellow Water at this rascally House: it afforded nothing better. Was caught in the Rain here, & had to stay till 2 O'clock P.M.—Very cloudy all the rest of the Day.

From Potter's to the Widow Mills's is 12 Miles, & not a House all the Way. The Road is nothing more than a Foot Path, & runs through Swamps & wet Savannahs (or Heaths) for the most Part. In one of the Swamps the Water came up to my Saddle

⁸³ James Eagan died in Bladen County early in 1738, leaving a wife and daughter. Grimes, *Abstract of Wills*, 106. The surname was not listed in that county in the 1790 Census.

⁸⁴ William Robeson represented Pitt County at the Halifax Provincial Congress on April 4, 1776. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, I, 78 and 86.

⁸⁵ Mouzon's Map of 1775 shows Davis's Ferry on Old Town Creek. In 1790 Thomas Davis of Brunswick County was listed with seven whites and thirty-five blacks. *Census of 1790*, 189.

⁸⁶ The Brunswick County Census of 1790 listed Henry Leonard with five whites, Eleanor Leonard with nine whites and ten slaves, and Samuel Leonard with five whites and two slaves. *Census of 1790*, 189.

⁸⁷ Lockwood's Folly Inlet and Creek lie between Southport and Shalotte. As early as December 18, 1743, William Rigby bequeathed land on Lockwood's Folly. Grimes, *Abstract of Wills*, 314-315.

⁸⁸ James Potter had a family of seven persons in Brunswick County in 1790. *Census of 1790*, 189.

Skirts. If Mr. Leonard had not been with me I certainly should have returned to Mrs. Eagen's, for the Swamps had so terrible an appearance that I should not have ventured through them. Mrs. Mills's⁸⁹ House looked so badly that I would not stop there, especially as I was but 5 Miles from Lockwood's Folly, & the Sun began to appear in such a Manner as to induce me to think I might get to the Folly before it rained. In my Way saw 5 or 6 wild Deer run across the Road. The Wind has been very high the most of the Day.—A vicious Mare which Mr. Leonard led, kicked at my Horse as she passed him; she was very near hitting my Leg: had she done it, I think she must have broke it.—Could get no Fodder for my Horse last Night;—instead of it he had *Marsh Hay*, which is a Composition of Weeds & the wildest Kind of Grass imaginable;—he would not eat it.—He would have been a Fool if he had.—Lodged at Bell's at Lockwood's Folly, a mean looking House where both I & my Horse had plenty with Civility.—Mrs. Bell⁹⁰ is from near Montock at the East End of Long Island: her maiden name was Parsons.—Lockwood's Folly is a Creek which empties into the Sea: it gets its Name from one Lockwood who mistook it for Cape Fear Inlet, & lost his Vessel. Crossed it by a Bridge near Bell's.—But little Rain before Bed Time, but the Wind excessively high. Mrs. Eagen's House (where I lodged last Night) had many Panes in the Windows broke; each of these was stopped up with a Bunch of Moss. Sultry the most of the Day.

18th. Rained, & blew excessively hard in the Night. Fine clear Weather this Morning. As I understood I could get no Corn on the Road I took some with me, & fed my Horse in the Woods. No House for 9 Miles, & after that none within 13.—No Tavern at present in 26 Miles. Sandy Road. Crossed Little River in South Carolina by a Bridge. Lodged at Mr. Verreen's,⁹¹ a private Public House in Craven District. Neither ate nor drank from the Time I first set out this Morning till I reached Verreen's.

⁸⁹ In 1790 Jane Mills of Brunswick County had herself, one male under sixteen, and three slaves. *Census of 1790*, 189.

⁹⁰ She must have been the wife of James Bell, Sr., who was listed in Brunswick County in 1790 with himself, two females, and nine slaves. *Census of 1790*, 189.

⁹¹ Mouzon's Map of 1775 shows the Varen (*sic*) place about a mile below the present Little River and two or three miles north of Conway, South Carolina. "Old William" Vereen owned one plantation on Little River and another further inland.

BOOK REVIEWS

Short Stories from the Old North State. Edited by Richard Walser. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959. Pp. 288. \$5.00.)

The purpose of this collection, like that of Mr. Walser's earlier anthology, *North Carolina in the Short Story*, was to bring together stories that reflect "those characteristics and features of life in North Carolina which had received significant artistic interpretation." The book includes fifteen stories: eleven by North Carolinians; four by writers who made the State their home. Pieces by James Boyd, William T. Polk, and Thomas Wolfe are the same that appeared in the 1948 collection. O. Henry, Paul Green, Frances Gray Patton, Charles Chesnutt, Olive Dargan, Wilbur Daniel Steele, and Bernice Kelly Harris are again represented, but by different stories. Five new contributors are John Ehle, Tom Wicker, Noel Houston, Doris Betts, and Lucy Daniels.

Though the stories range, geographically, from the mountains to the Piedmont to the coast, only four are reflective, in any special sense, of the life of North Carolina: Olive Tilford Dargan's study of "Evvie: Somewhat Married"; Noel Houston's war-time tale of the Outer Banks; James Boyd's excellent "Old Pines;" and Charles Chesnutt's melodramatic romance of Reconstruction days. Others have settings in North Carolina; but, as Mr. Walser points out in his Preface, this is a fact of secondary importance.

The tender and probing "How Beautiful with Shoes" has become an American classic. Profoundly moving, also, is Paul Green's depiction of how a broken wagon-wheel and sharp words change the joyful self-respect of a Negro boy and his father into a shamed despair. Of the stories by younger writers, "The Sword," by Doris Betts, is perhaps the best. It is a deeply felt portrayal of the chasm between father and son which cannot quite be bridged, however much each may wish that it might be. Mrs. Harris, in "The Lace Cloth," belabors her point more than she needs to; Miss Daniels, in "Half a Lavendar Ribbon," shows great sensitivity and social

concern but somewhat over-contrives her plot. The story by O. Henry seems an unfortunate choice, for it displays some of his worst faults: strained humor, wordiness, and a certain artistic crudity. Mrs. Patton's "Grade 5B and the Well-Fed Rat" is a masterpiece of satiric humor which should be required reading for every tight-minded person who finds regimentation easier to understand than feeling and imagination.

Biographical sketches and brief critical comment preface the stories in a helpful way, though readers may not always agree with appraisals made: for example, the statement that O. Henry is "one of the most significant figures in the history of the American short story," or the claim that Thomas Wolfe's "literary reputation has steadily increased."

If there is inequality among the selections in this volume, that will no doubt be a natural consequence of any such attempt to group writers in a classification determined by State boundaries. The level of merit, in any case, is high; and the collection surely will be widely enjoyed.

Mildred E. Hartsock.

Atlantic Christian College,
Wilson.

Nag's Head and Bertie: Two Novels. By George Higby Throop. Introduction by Richard Walser (Charlotte: Heritage House. 1958. Pp. xxi; Nag's Head, 180 pp.; Bertie, 242 pp. \$4.95.)

A plethora of books on the Outer Banks of North Carolina has come from the presses of the State in recent years. Richard Walser has added two more in his facsimile reprints of George Higby Throop's *Nag's Head* (1850) and *Bertie* (1851). Throop, a Yankee schoolmaster, came down into North Carolina in 1849 to be the tutor of the twelve-year old son of George Washington Capehart of Scotch Hall, near Merry Hill, Bertie County. Throop's *Nag's Head* (then spelled with the apostrophe)—no doubt in conscious imitation of the *Sketch Book* of Washington Irving, a letter from whom Throop published in the "Introduction" to *Bertie*—recounts the manners and diversions of the wealthy planters

at their favorite summer seaside retreat. *Nag's Head*—published under Throop's pen name, Gregory Seaworthy—is not a novel in any accepted sense of the term; it is rather a series of sketches, in a familiar style, of the ill effect of bilious fever, a storm on the banks, the antics of the sand fiddlers, and vignettes of the Negro servants, to mention but a few. Interspersed with the sketches are tales of the banks.

Bertie, on the original title page, is called a humorous novel. In any modern sense of the term, however, *Bertie* falls far short of being a novel. It lacks the essentials of a well developed plot. Humorous episodes were constructed around the colorful Professor Funnyford (Fatty) Matters, practical hydrologist and a native of Maine, who came to sell the Carolinians on the virtues of hydraulic cisterns. Professor Matters was befriended by Colonel John Smallwood of Cypress Shore, Bertie County. Cypress Shore was located "not two hundred yards from the head of the sound, between the mouths of the Roanoke and Chowan." Here Professor Matters was introduced to life on a southern plantation. The main narrative interest centers in the love affairs of Professor Matters and the Widow Julia Blossom and of Captain Seaworthy and Helen Jeffreys. The novel gave the Yankee Throop an opportunity, through the eyes of the Maine hydrologist, to size up or to poke good-natured fun at southern slavery, life on a southern plantation, traditional southern slowness ("Everybody a' most goes jest so; white and black. Creepin' along as if they was jest goin' tew die."), court days, the militia, and the "John Kooner" custom of the Negroes at Christmas.

Nag's Head and *Bertie* are not great American novels. In fact, as I've pointed out, they are not, strictly speaking, novels. The reader seeking a good, rollicking yarn will come away disappointed. They are, however, valuable social documents; and the devotee of the Outer Banks, interested in the life and manners of a bygone day, or the student of antebellum life in eastern North Carolina will find in Throop's books much interesting fare and valuable information.

Francis B. Dedmond.

Gardner-Webb College,
Boiling Springs.

Carolina Power and Light Company, 1908-1958. By Jack Riley. (Raleigh: Privately Printed. 1958. Pp. xiv, 338. \$5.00.)

As part of the observance of its fiftieth anniversary, the Carolina Power and Light Company has published its own history. Half of the book is devoted to the work of men who introduced electricity to North and South Carolina. The Raleigh Electric, Cape Fear Power, Consumer's Light and Power, Asheville Power and Light, Pigeon River Power, Yadkin River, and Rockingham Power companies, all of which became part of Carolina Power and Light, are given separate chapters. The remaining chapters are devoted to the growth of the concern from 1908 to 1958.

Jack Riley, who is Carolina Power and Light's public relations man, has written an attractive and useful volume. Illustrations are numerous and supplement the text. The prose style is informal and readable. The study itself represents the first effort to tell the story of Carolina Power and Light. Furthermore, it is a pioneer history of the power business in North Carolina.

The volume, however, is scarcely definitive. Riley clearly enjoyed telling about the early years. The history of fledgling companies provided occasions for relating oddities and telling human interest stories. This is amusing, but repetitious. The development of the new companies ran along similar lines. Material in several chapters might well have been compressed into a single one. The story of Carolina Power and Light's corporate development, on the other hand, suffers from inadequate discussion. The operations of the Electric Holding Company, which held a controlling interest in the Carolina firm until 1946, are barely outlined. A study of the relationships of the two firms would provide useful information about the place of northern capital in southern industry. Again, only passing references are made to the development of public regulation of the power industry. Carolina Power and Light and other firms were attacked, especially during the 1930's and 1940's, for failing to expand service and lower rates. The company felt the impact of TVA. Yet, the longest passage devoted to these things is given over to a speech by Mr. Louis Sutton praising free enterprise. This is poor his-

tory. It is not even a good presentation of the company's case.

Riley is to be commended for contributing to the slim literature on business development in North Carolina. His volume, however, should not be used as a model for subsequent studies.

Burton F. Beers.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

Southeastern Indians, Life Portraits, A Catalogue of Pictures, 1564-1860. Edited by Emma Lila Fundaburk. (Luverne, Alabama: Privately printed. Illustrations, notes, bibliography and index. Pp. 136. \$7.50.)

This is a companion book to *Sun Circles and Human Hands, The Southeastern Indians, Art and Industries* by Miss Fundaburk published in 1957. *Southeastern Indians, Life Portraits* is a collection of paintings, drawings, sketches, and photographs of Indian subjects as observed by various artists during historic times. The pictures are arranged according to artists including the works of John White, Jacques le Moyne, Du Pratz, De Batz, Joshua Reynolds, George Catlin, and many others. Each plate is numbered and corresponds to the Notes section which gives references to the drawings.

This excellent comparative pictorial record of many of the Southeastern Indian groups brings together over 354 pictures of interest to students of the area. This book represents the first collection to bring together so much information from a wide variety of sources on Southeastern Indians. Previous to the publication of this book, students interested in historical drawings of various Indian groups were forced to do a considerable amount of research in order to have access to only a small percentage of the drawings illustrated in this book. This publication is a welcomed addition to the literature on Southeastern Indians, and constitutes a valuable reference source for students of anthropology, ethnology, and the general reader interested in the American Indian.

Stanley South.

Old Brunswick Town State Historic Site,
Wilmington.

Colonial Records of South Carolina. [Series 2]. Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750-August 7, 1754. Edited by William L. McDowell, Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958. Pp. xxii, 592. \$12.50.)

The South Carolina Archives Department is publishing the Colonial Records of South Carolina in several series. This is the second of three projected volumes of "Indian Books." The first, issued in 1955, contained the Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710-August 29, 1718. In the present volume there are letters, affidavits, depositions, memorials, petitions, "talks," treaties, and agents' journals for the years 1750-1754. For the most part the letters passed between Governor James Glen and other colonial governors and the Indians. The documents generally concern the Indians occupying the territory west of the South Carolina boundary to the Mississippi and deal with Indian fighting and the relations between the Indians and settlers and traders.

A calendar of the manuscripts and a detailed index serve as guides to the rich contents of this volume. No attempt has been made throughout the text to identify people, places, or events mentioned in the documents. Since the original spelling has been retained this may lead to some confusion; in some cases, however, the index will help. A reference to "Neborn" on page 213, for example, is not explained, but the index entry under "New Bern" refers to "Neborn." The reader will be well advised to study the editor's "Note on the Index" which precedes that section of the book and then to use his imagination in checking for possible variations of index entries on subjects for which he is searching.

There are many references here to North Carolina, its colonial officials, and Indians which will be studied with interest by those concerned with this period in our history.

William S. Powell.

University of North Carolina Library,
Chapel Hill.

The American Revolution in Georgia, 1763-1789. By Kenneth Coleman. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 352. \$5.50.)

Georgia, the smallest and poorest of the thirteen British North American colonies to undergo revolution in the period 1763-1789, has all too often been neglected by general historians—or mentioned only in connection with her strategic importance or peculiarities. It is pleasing to note that three able Georgia historians are rapidly filling this void in their state's record: to the well-established name of Alexander A. Lawrence, author of *Storm over Savannah* and *James Johnson: Georgia's First Printer*, must be added W. W. Abbot for his *The Royal Governors of Georgia* and Kenneth Coleman for his *The American Revolution in Georgia, 1763-1789*.

Mr Coleman's book, under consideration here, is based on a thorough investigation of numerous original sources, especially the published and unpublished colonial and state records. Written simply, without flourish or wasted motion, it is sober, scholarly, and judicious. In it emerges the story of Georgia in transition, from colonial dependence in 1763 to equality in a union of states in 1789. In the decade or so before Lexington and Concord, Georgia grew and prospered as never before, her coastal merchants and planters content with the mercantilistic regulations of the empire, her inland farmers thankful for the work of the British Indian Department in keeping peace along her far-flung frontiers. Why then the revolution in Georgia? Certainly the principles behind the Stamp, Townshend, and Coercive acts were repugnant to Georgians; but equally if not more important, as Mr. Coleman points out, were the geographical weaknesses of Georgia which inevitably drew the colony nearer to her powerful Carolina neighbors when the center of power in America shifted from the royal government in London to the patriot bodies on this side of the Atlantic. As would be expected of a small, poorly defended state close to the British forces in Florida and to the hostile Creeks on her borders, Georgia contributed relatively little to the Continental war effort; moreover, the eastern part of the state was held by the enemy after 1778. Even so, state government functioned—

with some interruption—throughout the war; and the constitution of 1777 remained in effect in the postwar Confederation years, during which time the economy was successfully reoriented to a peacetime basis.

In a survey work such as this, there is always a problem of emphasis. This reviewer, for example, would have placed more stress on partisan warfare and on political developments during the 1780's; and he notes that W. W. Abbot's excellent article, "The Structure of Politics in Georgia, 1782-1789," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, XIV (January, 1957), 47-65, was not cited.

Don Higginbotham.

College of William and Mary,
Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Territorial Papers of the United States, Volume XXIII:
The Territory of Florida, 1824-1828. Compiled and edited by
Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: United States Govern-
ment Printing Office, 1958. Pp. v, 1,189. \$6.50.)

This second volume of the Territorial Papers of Florida begins with a recommendation for a lighthouse keeper on July 1, 1824, and closes with a letter of April 16, 1828, which protests the removal of Federal troops from central Florida. Between these dates more than 1,060 pages of letters, reports, petitions, appointments, tables, lists of jurors, and other source materials are recorded. In part four of this volume the records of Governor DuVal's first administration are concluded. He was reappointed on March 8, 1825, for a second term of three years and part five comprises the papers for his entire second administration.

The problems confronting the territory are reflected in numerous references to land, transportation, communication, Indians, education, agriculture, and government. Settlement of lands claimed by whites and Indians together with the work of Surveyor General Robert Butler enabled Federal agents to sell land to prospective colonists. The needs for transportation facilities were met in part by building a road

which ran from St. Augustine to Pensacola, and by the summer of 1826 two mails per week were scheduled between these settlements. Treaties and trade, raids and the harboring of fugitive slaves, and problems arising from the use of liquor kept civilians and soldiers busy in the attempt to control the Indians. Federal largess included land grants for the capital and for education; aid in projecting canals, improving harbors, and clearing rivers; construction of roads; and completion of local and territorial governmental organizations. The increasing number of references in this volume to the towns of St. Augustine, Pensacola, Tallahassee, Jacksonville, and Key West reflect the growth of the territory.

Dr. Carter's editing continues the high standards of the *Territorial Papers of the United States*. Cross references are used to advantage, locations of original documents are clearly indicated, all letters and documents referred to in the text but not extant are noted, individuals are identified in footnotes, and the index is complete. This important volume of source material deserves praise, for it will be of great value to scholars.

Rembert W. Patrick.

University of Florida,
Gainesville.

Civil War in the Making, 1815-1860. By Avery O. Craven.
(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 115. \$3.00.)

In 1938 Professor Craven spoke on the "Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861" for the second series of Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University. After twenty years of additional study and in the maturity of his scholarship he returned to analyze again the causes of the Civil War. These published lectures contain no bibliography, for the author has undoubtedly drawn his conclusions from almost a lifetime of research in so many books and manuscripts that a listing of them would dwarf the text of this volume.

The decades following the War of 1812 brought profound economic and cultural changes in the United States. North of the Mason and Dixon line factories and towns, capitalists and laborers changed the face of society, but south of that line the Industrial Revolution did little more than to widen old furrows of agriculture. Although the revolution created interdependent men inhabiting interdependent sections, industrial and agricultural cultures developed distinct ways of life which fought for regional supremacy. In that struggle the advantages lay with those who owned factories, controlled finances, and dominated markets. Thus the South was forced steadily toward a colonial status. The puritanical urge to eradicate sin, particularly sin in distant places, and the belief that ownership of Negroes degraded and shackled all labor made northerners denounce southerners. Yet the democratic process continued to function where concrete issues were involved for most Americans were conservative and anxious to settle differences by legislative compromise. That process floundered on abstractions, on rigid but conflicting interpretations of right and wrong. By 1861 moderates were silenced and radical minorities in the North and in the South used fear, anger, and hate to make war inevitable.

These lectures are stimulating and provocative. Many students will disagree with some of the author's conclusions, but even they will not deny the importance of his essays or the clarity of his expression. Even rabid southerners should be pleased with the sympathetic treatment given the South.

Rembert W. Patrick.

University of Florida,
Gainesville.

This *Infernal War: The Confederate Letters of Sgt. Edwin H. Fay*. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley, with the assistance of Lucy E. Fay. (Austin: The University of Texas Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 474. \$6.00.)

Edwin H. Fay enlisted in a Confederate cavalry company, the Minden (Louisiana) Rangers, in April, 1862. He served

as private, later orderly sergeant, in Tennessee and Mississippi until March, 1864, when he was transferred to the Engineer Bureau of the Trans-Mississippi Department. Late in 1864 he became a captain and assistant quartermaster, supervising the collection of the tax-in-kind in the Fourth Louisiana District, with headquarters at Opelousas, until the end of the war.

One hundred and fifteen of the letters Fay wrote to his wife during these three years have been preserved and are now published in *This Infernal War*. They are good letters. Few enlisted men and not many officers were so literate and articulate as Fay. His long easy letters are filled with vivid, intimate detail.

Fay's parents were of northern birth and education; he himself was a Harvard graduate who grew up in Alabama and taught in Louisiana. A slaveholder, he was an ardent secessionist in 1861, but a reluctant soldier in 1862. In time, his dislike of Confederate civil and military authority was exceeded only by his hatred of Yankees. His concern for his family and his preoccupation with home affairs render his letters almost as revealing for civilian as for military life. While he participated in few major engagements, the value of his letters is enhanced by his location in the less well-documented areas of the Confederacy.

The letters are presented without alteration or deletion. An occasional awkward sentence sounds as though it may have resulted from a mistake in transcription; the letter of April 10, 1864, is clearly misdated and belongs with those of 1865; but on the whole the editorial work appears to be careful and thorough. The informative Introduction and Appendix are aids to the understanding of Fay and his letters. As reading matter, the book is uneven, often fresh and graphic but at times quite repetitious; as source material, it should prove useful in a variety of Civil War studies.

Carolyn Andrews Wallace.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

Cleburne and his Command. By Capt. Irving A. Buck. Pat Cleburne, Stonewall Jackson of the West. By Thomas Robson Hay. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc. 1959. Pp. 378. \$6.00.)

The title page and the dust jacket of this volume are somewhat misleading. Instead of a two-books-in-one package, we have a 54-page introduction by Mr. Hay, followed by Captain Buck's study of the Arkansas general, on whose staff he served for nearly two years.

Captain Buck's volume was first published in 1908, and appears to have been written during a rather lengthy period preceding that date, although internal evidence suggests that much of the composition occurred after 1905. The book tells the story of Cleburne's years in Helena, Arkansas, following his emigration from Ireland in 1849, and then presents a narrative account of his Civil War career, beginning with his enlistment as a private in the "Yell Rifles" and ending with his death as a major-general shot through the heart while leading his division at the battle of Franklin. From his own memory, the author gives an occasional insight into Pat Cleburne's character and personality, but the bulk of the work appears to have been drawn from the narratives and reports of *Battles and Leaders* and the *Official Records*. Under these circumstances, the reader plods through the campaigns in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Georgia, enjoying only infrequent glimpses of the man Cleburne and finding, at times, that the story of his hard-hitting division is pushed aside and the center of the stage is filled with the follies and misfortunes of Bragg and Hood.

From an old soldier writing about a beloved commander, one expects a laudatory account. It should be noted, however, that Mr. Hay, as editor, does little to reappraise Cleburne in the light of recent research.

Richard E. Yates.

Hendrix College,
Conway, Arkansas.

In Support of Clio: Essays in Memory of Herbert A. Kellar. Edited by William B. Hesseltine and Donald R. McNeil. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1958. Pp. x, 214. \$5.00.)

This is a collection of essays on activities that support, rather than directly produce, historical study and writing, except for one bibliographical summary. Each one notes Dr. Kellar's work in the field, and the record is impressive. The book should be "must" reading for graduate students, indicating the ancillary fields of which the historian should be informed.

In his welcome review of the Historical Records Survey, David Smiley recognizes the main contribution of that project in the devising of workable instructions for thousands of untrained workers. He laments the slight use of Survey products today, due largely to regulations that prevented their being printed.

The essays on manuscript collecting, public archives, the foundations, and historical organizations are essentially narratives of major developments. Lucile Kane inveighs against dispersal of manuscripts and urges co-operation among collecting agencies. Philip Bauer stresses the gradual recognition of public ownership of archives and responsibility for their care. Richard Younger warns that most foundation grants are for "team projects," threatening loss of the imagination and insight of the individual scholar. David Van Tassel and James Tinsley, speaking of historical organizations, see a hazard to the close liaison between historian and historical agency in the increasing professionalization of historical agency workers.

George Anderson's incisive review of mechanical aids suggests several fields in which these devices may profitably be used. He warns, however, that the machine cannot capture the quality of uniqueness in historical circumstances, as can the scholar himself.

Lester Cappon's thoughtful essay discusses historical editing as concerned with human relationships, among the original authors of documents or articles, the editors, the publishers, and the readers, "keyed of course to the indispensable

requirements of scholarly production." His statement of qualifications and responsibilities should steel the resolution of all historical editors. Edward Alexander's appealing treatment of historical restorations emphasizes the growth of standards of authenticity. He gives many enticing examples, including Dr. Kellar's work on the McCormick gristmill.

Philip C. Brooks.

Harry S. Truman Library,
Independence, Missouri.

Out of Our Past, The Forces That Shaped Modern America. By Carl N. Degler. (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers. 1959. Pp. xvi, 484. \$6.00.)

This broad survey seeks with some success to explain the influence of great ideas—Christianity, puritanism, freedom, democracy, and social justice—upon American history. Its purpose is to answer the question, "How did Americans get to be the way they are in the middle of the twentieth century?" However, where we now are, the author does not quite reveal. Written for the general public and student, it lacks originality in design and treatment. More descriptive and interpretive, than narrative and chronological in approach, it is really a long essay upon certain themes of American history.

Too much space is given to a discussion of the words "radical," "liberal," and "conservative." The author seems to think Americans have been almost invariably conservative, seldom radical; liberals and conservatives are scarcely distinguishable; and Hamilton and Jefferson, for example, agreed more than they differed in outlook. Although very readable, ably written and often stimulating, it is regrettably anti-southern on the Civil War, Negro, and civil rights issues. Even his lengthy and critical bibliographical essay, full of stinging judgments, refers to the "southern-born callousness" on the racial issue of U. B. Phillips and other students of southern history. Important as the race question is, to devote three out of thirteen chapters to the Negro seems excessive.

The author implies that ideas are more powerful and important forces than economic factors, but then devotes much of his space to industry, agriculture, and urbanization. He does not clearly show how ideas affected and related to these developments. The volume nowhere hints at foreign or military problems. Apart from a fine section on the immigrant, it is purely domestic history.

In spite of its many brilliant sections on social justice, the Negro, civil rights, Jacksonian democracy, and the Third Revolution or New Deal, it is a sketchy and inadequate study. Snap judgments and loose generalizations mar the work. This reviewer does not agree with the author that: the Jamestown Assembly of 1619 was a casual affair; all the towns of Massachusetts obeyed the early requirement to establish public schools; the social consequences of the American Revolution were meager; the mold of the American character was hardened by 1700; the main business of America has been business; the Radical Republicans were not vindictive; the southern yeomanry had little impact upon southern history before 1865; only the marketable surplus of slave labor afforded the basis for southern culture before the Civil War; and the average slave was rebellious and restless.

Beyond an occasional comment, no footnotes are included. The reader can only imagine the source of endless quotations. The index is adequate.

Weldon A. Brown.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute,
Blacksburg, Virginia

Fifty Years of Collecting Americana for the Library of The American Antiquarian Society, 1908-1958. By Clarence S. Brigham. (Worcester, Massachusetts: 1958. Pp. 185. 1,000 copies printed for presentation only to the friends of The American Antiquarian Society.)

Thirty-six of the outstanding collections of Americana in the library of the American Antiquarian Society are described in this volume.

Founded in 1812, with collection and preservation among its primary purposes, the Society has assembled an excellent reservoir of source material for the student of American history. Scholars think immediately of its strong collections of early newspapers, early American imprints, and its well-selected collections of manuscripts. The collecting activities of the Society have broadened in the last half century and now include every phase of the history of this hemisphere. Selected at random from the descriptions in this volume are the following dozen collections which illustrate the range of interest and collecting activity: almanacs, theater posters, annuals, menus, directories, amateur journals, caricatures, children's books, western narratives, Spanish Americana, Hawaiiana, and watch papers.

Anticipating that some readers might question the value of menus, and that others might be unfamiliar with watch papers, the author, as he describes each collection, explains how and why it was formed, estimates its strength and its significance to scholarship and tells where other similar collections may be found. In the last chapter he writes briefly about the Society's buildings and grounds, its early meetings, and its publications.

Mr. Brigham's qualifications for the authorship of this book derive in part from his having served from 1908 to 1930 as librarian and, since 1930, as director of the Society, during which period the library grew from 100,000 to 600,000 volumes. In sharing the wealth of his knowledge, this great bookman has placed a valuable guide in the hands of book dealers, librarians, and collectors of Americana.

Benjamin E. Powell.

Duke University Library,
Durham.

The Army Air Forces in World War II, Volume VII: Services Around The World. Edited by W. F. Craven and J. L. Cate. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. lii, 668. \$8.50.)

"Whatever the deficiencies of this history may be, none of them can be attributed to censorship, either over or by indi-

rection. It is a point the editors make with some pride, as citizens of the country and former officers in it's Air Force." Upon this note the editors preface the final volume of over ten year's work—describing the development of the Army Air Force in World War II.

This final volume documents the efforts of the supporting services of the Army Air Forces. The Air Transport Command, The Aviation Engineers, The Weather and Communications Services, The Medical Corps, Air Sea Rescue, Women in the AAF, and the manifold problems of Redeployment and Demobilization. How each of these services met the day-to-day problems with inadequate equipment, shortage of time, and long hours of stress is told with more human interest than the editors have done in the previous volumes. Those who did not serve during the war in support roles will appreciate what was done by these branches of the Army Air Force to help maintain the continuity of the actual combat operation.

Few actually realize how badly women were needed by the military forces, nor do they realize how well these women performed their duty while subjected to minor irritations and denied many of the privileges and benefits authorized for the men. This story is extremely interesting and will be most beneficial to those who might need to understand these problems in future periods of national Demobilization. The same applies to the problems of morale. When men did not receive mail; promotions were frozen in one area and were liberally granted in another; where food was inadequate and poorly prepared; and entertainment was scarce, commanders faced some of the most serious and violent results of poor morale. Future commanders and students of global warfare will learn some rather valuable lessons from the episodes described by the editors in these areas.

This volume is well-written in a style that will appeal to those who are frightened by the usual pedantic history book. The footnotes are copious but are arranged so that instant reference is possible without becoming lost at the bottom of every page.

The editors' research has been thorough, with much of the source material provided by some of the finest staff officers of the Air Force who assisted the editors on this project. Students of air power and military history will forever be indebted to the Air Force and to editors Craven and Cate for the massive store of detailed information compiled in the seven volumes of *The Army Air Force in World War II*.

R. S. Milner, Colonel.

Strategic Air Command,
Los Angeles,
California.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

General

On May 7, 1959, Herschell V. Rose, member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, died at the age of 72 in his home town of Smithfield, Johnston County. Born and reared on Bentonville Battleground, for many years he worked to secure proper recognition and maintenance of that historic site, and it was largely due to his influence that funds were raised and a State appropriation was made to purchase part of the area and to make that part a State Historic Site in 1957. The same year the Governor appointed him a member of the Department's Executive Board. He was the first Superintendent of Public Welfare of Johnston County, 1919, and from 1926 until his death he served as Clerk of the County Superior Court. So popular was he that he never had opposition in the Democratic primaries, and only twice did he have opposition, which he easily overcame, in the general elections.

Dr. Daniel J. Whitener, Dean of Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone, has been appointed by Governor Luther H. Hodges to the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History for a six-year term. Dr. Whitener, a native of Catawba County, received his Ph.D. degree from the University of North Carolina and was formerly Head of the Department of History at Lenoir Rhyne College. He was later Head of the Department of History, and in 1955 was made Dean of Appalachian State Teachers College. He served as President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in 1958 and is the author of a number of articles and books—his most recent book, *North Carolina History*, was published in 1958.

At the same time Governor Hodges reappointed Mr. McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro and Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern. Mr. Lewis has served as a member of the Board since May 30, 1947, and as Chairman since August 20, 1954.

Miss Carraway is Restoration Director of Tryon Palace and has been a member of the Board since February 6, 1942. The terms of these three appointees will expire on March 31, 1965.

On April 8 Tryon Palace was opened to the General Assembly of North Carolina with Governor Luther H. Hodges cutting the ribbons at the entrance gates to the grounds. The Assembly met in the Palace as a part of ceremonies which lasted for several days. The Palace, which was reconstructed on the site of the original structure, is now open daily (except Monday) from 9:30 to 4:00; Sunday, from 1:30 to 4:00. Costumed guides will direct visitors through the buildings and grounds.

On April 14 the Sir Walter Cabinet held their business meeting in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History after which Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, welcomed the group and introduced the heads of the various divisions of the Department. Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, introduced Mr. Morgan Bisette, Public Relations Manager of the Allstate Insurance Company, Charlotte, and Mr. Norman C. Larson, Education Curator of the Hall of History. Mr. Bisette and Mr. Larson had collaborated in preparing a program of recorded interviews with North Carolinians of more than ninety years of age. Mr. Nevin Rice, Regional District Manager of Allstate Insurance Company, made a brief talk setting forth his company's ideas for public service. A program followed with the State's oldest citizens telling of their early years by tape recording. Mrs. Robert Shultz, Jr., of the staff of the Hall of History, moderated four scenes with 25 children and a number of adults dramatizing life in the past. A social hour followed the program.

The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association held its spring regional meeting in Hertford County on May 1-2. Among those on the program, which included a tour of historic sites in the county, were Mr. Richard Walser, President; Mr. Richard Vann, Mayor of Murfreesboro; Mr. Russell

P. Martin; Dr. Bruce E. Whitaker; and Mr. Roy Parker, Jr., President of the Hertford County Historical Society.

The General Assembly and History

The General Assembly at its regular 1959 session, which adjourned sine die on June 20, enacted a number of measures relating to the Department of Archives and History and to historical interests and activities throughout the State. The Department's annual operating appropriation for 1959-1960 and for 1960-1961 is some \$400,000, an increase of more than twenty per cent over 1958-1959. In addition to expansion in various phases of the Department's program, the two big additions (covered in detail below) will be a newspaper microfilming project and a county records microfilming project. A bond issue was voted, subject to approval by the voters, that includes \$250,000 for capital improvements at historic sites (also covered below).

The Department was given specific authorization to conduct the State's Records Management Program (Session Laws, 1959, Chapter 68),¹ and authorization for the General Services Division of the Department of Administration to conduct such a program was deleted.

Chapter 1162 provides funds for the Department to conduct a program of microfilming for security purposes county records of permanent value. The proposal, first suggested by the State Archivist in a letter to county officials in January, 1958, was the outgrowth of consultations with county officials since that time. The program is endorsed by the North Carolina Associations of County Commissioners, Registers of Deeds, and Clerks of Superior Court, the State Director of Civil Defense, and many other organizations and individuals interested in the preservation of essential records. The act provides for appropriations of \$75,730 for the fiscal year 1959-1960 and \$71,680 for 1960-1961 for "inventory, repairing and microfilming official county records and providing safe storage for such films. . . ." These amounts will make it possible, under the County Records Program of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, to put two cameras, each with an

¹ All references to acts given below are to the Session Laws, 1959.

operator, in county courthouses to begin a concerted program of microfilming and repairing *permanently valuable* county records. The initial program should be completed in about seven years. Thereafter, it will be the intention of the Department to film permanently valuable county records each year in each county.

The General Assembly appropriated \$27,832 to the Division of Archives and Manuscripts for the 1959-1961 biennium for the inauguration of a program of microfilming North Carolina newspapers. Plans are being made to obtain a copy of every known newspaper published in North Carolina before the end of the Civil War, after which the papers will be filmed. It is hoped that this task can be completed within the next two years. Upon completion of this phase of the long-range program, it is anticipated that attention will be given to filming papers of the post-Civil War or "pulp paper" period. The latter project, if consummated, will make possible both the conservation of the papers in the form of film copies and major space-savings in libraries desiring to substitute film copies. The Department of Archives and History proposes to keep only the master negative film copy, and positive film copies will be for sale to institutions and individuals.

Legislation affecting specific historic sites maintained by the Department includes an appropriation of \$10,804 to be used the second year of the biennium (1960-1961) for the operation and development of the Fort Fisher State Historic Site (Chapter 1249).

Bentonville Battleground received an appropriation of \$7,500 for the restoration of the Harper House (Chapter 1331).

Other special legislation authorizes a North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission (Chapter 323), an act sponsored by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. The funds for the Commission are authorized to be made available from the Contingency and Emergency Fund (with the approval of the Governor and the Council of State), and the following membership will make up the Commission: the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Directors of the Departments of Conservation and Development and Archives and History, and twenty-five members appointed

by the Governor who are to serve two-year terms without pay but who will be allowed travel and subsistence allowances provided for State Boards and Commissions generally.

An appropriation in the amount of \$500 each year of the biennium was made to the Moores Creek Battleground Association for the celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge (Chapter 1266).

The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission was established (Chapter 1238) to plan for and conduct the 300th anniversary celebration of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663. The Commission will consist of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Directors of the Departments of Conservation and Development and Archives and History, and twenty-two members appointed by the Governor for two-year terms. Expenses are to be allotted to the Commission from the Contingency and Emergency Fund.

Old Salem, Inc., one of the most outstanding private restoration projects in North Carolina, was the beneficiary of an appropriation of \$50,000 for the year 1959-1960 (Chapter 1053).

The following acts do not carry appropriations: Resolution 7 provides for "commemorating the 200th anniversary of the establishment of Hertford County." The act invites citizens and residents of the State and absent sons and daughters of the county to attend at a date to be fixed later the celebration of the establishment of the county.

The New Bern 250th Anniversary Commission was established (Chapter 1321) with the following membership: the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Directors of the Departments of Conservation and Development and Archives and History, Chairman of the Board of Commissioners of Craven County, the Mayor of New Bern, and twenty members to be appointed by the Governor.

The Historic Bath Commission was established (Chapter 1005) "for the purpose of the acquisition, repair and maintenance of historic sites in the Town of Bath in Beaufort County." The Mayor of Bath, Chairman of the Board of Beaufort County Commissioners, and Director of the Department of Archives and History are members *ex officio*

and there will be fifteen members appointed by the Governor.

The John Motley Morehead Memorial Commission was established (Chapter 1308) and authorized "to acquire property and gifts and to do all things necessary to establish a perpetual memorial at the Blandwood Homeplace of John Motley Morehead, Greensboro, North Carolina." Membership of the Commission will be composed of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Directors of the Departments of Conservation and Development and Archives and History, the Secretary of State, and nine appointees by the Governor, three of the Guilford County Commissioners, and three members of the Greensboro City Council. Later, when the necessary property has been acquired and fully restored, it is to revert to the Department of Archives and History (if the State is willing to accept it), and the Commission is to be dissolved.

The one hundred-fiftieth anniversary celebration of the establishment of Columbus County was authorized (Resolution 29) at a date to be announced later.

The people of the State will have an opportunity later this year to vote on a bond issue for capital improvements totaling \$34,400,000 (Chapter 1038). Included is the sum of \$250,000 for capital improvements in the Historic Sites Program. These funds will provide three reception center-museum buildings and two dwelling houses, and will make possible (or aid in) the acquisition and restoration of historic site properties in the program. An enumeration of the sites and improvements by county follows:

Alamance County

Alamance Battleground, supplement	\$15,000
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Montgomery County

Town Creek Indian Mound, museum and general purpose building	42,500
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Wayne County

Charles B. Aycock Birthplace, museum and general purpose building	35,800
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Buncombe County	
Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace, museum and general purpose building	49,200
Brunswick County	
Old Brunswick Town, museum and general purpose building	20,000
Beaufort County	
Marsh House, restoration	15,000
New Hanover County	
Fort Fisher, restoration, supplement to local funds	30,000
Rowan County	
Old Stone House, restoration, supplement to local funds	7,500
Scotland County	
Temperance Hall and Literary Society, restoration of building and improvements to grounds	10,000
Mecklenburg County	
James K. Polk Birthplace, restoration, supplement to local funds	15,000
Davidson County	
Daniel Boone Homeplace, restoration	10,000
Total	<u>\$250,000</u>

The Tryon Palace budget for 1959-1960 is \$107,887 (estimated receipts \$35,000, appropriation, \$72,887), and for 1960-1961, \$104,055 (estimated receipts \$35,000, appropriation \$69,055).

Director's Office

On April 7 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, met with the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission in Kinston for the

purpose of employing Mr. Morley J. Williams, Landscape Architect of New Bern, to make plans for landscaping the site of Caswell's grave near Kinston. Another meeting of the same group was held on April 27 in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Raleigh. Members of the Commission voted to approve a model prepared by Mr. Williams for the development of the Caswell grave site. The group also voted to authorize the chairman, Mr. John G. Dawson, to seek additional appropriations from the General Assembly in order to continue the Commission's program. From April 8 to 10 Dr. Crittenden attended the various meetings connected with the formal opening of Tryon Palace in New Bern. The one hundred and eighty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Halifax Resolves was celebrated on April 12 in Halifax. Dr. Crittenden introduced the speaker, Major General Hamilton H. Howze, Commander of the 82nd Airborne Division, Fort Bragg. Mr. C. S. Bartholomew pronounced the invocation and Mrs. Quentin Gregory led the pledge of allegiance to the Flag of the United States. Guests were introduced by Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson, Chairman of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association. Dr. Crittenden met with the United States Civil War Centennial Commission in Richmond, Virginia, on April 16 in a series of sessions that were harmonious and informative. Those attending obtained good ideas on how to observe the approaching series of centennials of the Civil War. Others present from the Civil War Centennial Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association were Col. Hugh Dortch of Goldsboro, Chairman; Mayor Hector McLean, Lumberton; Dr. James W. Patton, Chapel Hill; and Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely, Asheville. On April 23 Dr. Crittenden attended the unveiling of the portrait of the late Governor J. Melville Broughton in the State Capitol. The portrait, painted by Mr. Joe King of Winston-Salem, was given by the Broughton family. A similar ceremony in the Capitol was held on May 7 when the family of the late Governor W. Kerr Scott presented his portrait to the State. It was painted by the late Howard Chandler Christy while Scott was Governor. The authority for select-

ing a suitable portrait of each of the governors of the State is delegated to the Director of the Department of Archives and History (*Session Laws*, 1955, Chapter 1248). Recently a committee was formed to assist in the fulfillment of this responsibility. On May 10 Dr. Crittenden made a brief talk at the unveiling and dedication of a marker honoring Lt. Col. Charles de Choisel, C.S.A., at St. John in the Wilderness Episcopal Church in Flat Rock. Others on the program sponsored by the Margaret Davis Hayes Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, were Mr. Francis Craighill, Mrs. A. L. Beck, Mrs. E. A. Anderson, Mrs. T. C. Jowitt, Gen. John E. Sloan (U.S.A., Ret.), Mr. John M. Barr, Mrs. Roy H. Cagle, Mrs. Ralph Ramsey, Mrs. J. P. Quarles, Mrs. Asbury Barnett, Mrs. William J. Reilly, Mr. Robert Collier, Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, Mr. Henry Laurens, and Mr. Mark Jenkins. On May 12 Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan spoke to the Garden Club in Winston-Salem on the Tryon Palace Restoration. He made a memorial address at special exercises sponsored by the Vance County Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, at the Confederate Cemetery, Kittrell, on May 17. Others participating were the Kittrell Boy Scouts, the Kittrell Girl Scouts, Mr. R. C. Young, Dr. W. Leathers, Mrs. A. H. Moore, Mrs. R. M. Ray, Mr. H. A. Dennis, and Mr. W. T. Hearne. On May 25 Dr. Crittenden attended the meeting in Decatur House, Washington, D. C., of the Board of Trustees, National Trust for Historic Preservation.

In the spring (1959) issue of *Historic Preservation*, quarterly publication of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, appeared an article by Dr. Crittenden, "Historic Sites: A Few Problems and Pitfalls." The article was presented originally as an address on October 31, 1958, at a meeting of the Association of Historic Sites Administrators in New Orleans, Louisiana. It had also been previously published in *The Wi-Iyohi* (December 1, 1958), monthly bulletin of The South Dakota Historical Society.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, addressed the Scholarship Recognition Convocation at Appalachian State Teachers College in Boone on April 29 on the subject, "The Historian and the Scholar." He and Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Records Center Supervisor, attended the annual meeting of the National Microfilm Association in Washington, D. C., April 1-4. On June 9 Mr. Jones spoke at the annual convention of the North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds in Asheville on the Department's county records program.

Mrs. Blackwelder spoke to two classes at St. Mary's Junior College in Raleigh on April 12 on "What Women Should Know About the Law." On May 8 she talked to the Peace College International Relations Club on "Women Who Have Served in the North Carolina General Assembly." She spoke to the Raleigh Civitan Club, May 14, on the records management program as a function of the Department of Archives and History. Mrs. Blackwelder has recently been appointed to serve on the Records Management Committee of the Society of American Archivists.

Rear Admiral Alex M. Patterson (Ret.), Public Records Examiner, visited the Georgia Department of Archives and History in Atlanta, April 5-10, and observed that State's county records program. On June 15-17 he attended the annual convention of the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners in Asheville and discussed the public records work of the Department.

Mrs. Lodosca R. Penny and Mrs. Betty M. London resigned in May as Steno-Clerk II and Archivist I, respectively. New employees reporting to work June 1 were Miss Mary Deane Stevenson as Archivist I and Miss Nan G. Bailey as Steno-Clerk II; and at the Records Center, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Levings as Archivist I. Mrs. Ernestine H. Harrell was a temporary Steno-Clerk II in the Archives Division during April and May.

The officers and legislative committee of the North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds met in the State Archivist's office on April 16. Mr. Jones and Admiral Patter-

son accompanied the group to lunch and discussed the progress of legislation of mutual interest.

A total of 657 registered for research materials in the Search Room during the quarter ending March 31. In addition, 736 mail inquiries were answered, not counting letters handled directly by the State Archivist. The following photocopies were supplied: 738 photostats, 65 paper enlargements from microfilm, 42 typed certified copies, and 224 feet of microfilm. Pages totaling 3,512 of manuscript records were laminated for the Department. Increased emphasis on county records in recent months has resulted in the arrangement of significant groups of records from the counties of Chatham, Cumberland, Lincoln, Orange, and Wake. Attention has now been turned to the arrangement of a valuable collection from Rowan County.

In the Records Center, 1,001,183 images were microfilmed on 141 reels during the quarter ending March 31. This filming was done for eight State agencies. A total of 2,115 cubic feet of records were brought into the Center and 715 cubic feet were removed.

Boxes of records have been placed on the metal shelving recently installed in the Records Center, and an index to the location of records has been completed. The 272 units of shelving are now in use and approximately half of the storage area has been converted to the shelf-corrugated box system. Construction of shelving in the remaining records area is contemplated in the coming fiscal year. The receipts from surplus filing equipment amounted to more than \$4,000.

Inventories and schedules have been completed recently for the Budget Division and the Merit System, bringing to 30 the number of agencies whose records have been scheduled. Rough drafts of inventories for the Utilities Commission and the State Hospital at Raleigh have been prepared and submitted to the officials of those agencies.

In the first three months of the year, representatives of 11 agencies used their records in the Records Center a total of 180 times. Records were serviced by the Records Center staff 259 times during the quarter.

Division of Historic Sites

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, attended a meeting of the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission in Raleigh on March 16 (and also the meetings of the Commission on April 7 and 27¹). The Commission accepted the resignation of Justice R. Hunt Parker, North Carolina Supreme Court, who was Chairman of the Commission, and elected Mr. John G. Dawson of Kinston. Plans for developing the Caswell grave property were discussed. On April 14 Mr. Tarlton spoke to the Newton Grove Men's Club on Bentonville Battleground. On May 1 Mr. Tarlton, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, and Mr. J. C. Harrington, Chief of Interpretation, Region One, National Park Service, Richmond, Virginia, visited Fort Fisher and Old Brunswick Town State Historic Site to discuss interpretive problems and plans for development. Mr. Stanley A. South, Historic Site Specialist at Old Brunswick Town, guided them on the tour of the Brunswick site. On May 2 the first three attended the dedication ceremonies of the new Visitors Center at Moores Creek National Military Park. Dr. Crittenden extended greetings from the Department of Archives and History. The following persons (in the order of their participation) took part in the ceremonies: Mr. J. V. Whitfield, Maj. F. H. Muret, Mr. Fitzhugh Clark, Mr. John G. Britt, Jr., Mr. J. M. Ford (Park Superintendent), Mr. Hugh Walker, Mrs. C. S. Morse, Mr. Ashley M. Murphy, Mrs. Clifton L. Moore, Mrs. William D. Holmes, Mr. A. H. Page, Mr. Cicero Yow, Mrs. Norman Cordon, Mrs. Henry L. Stevens, Jr., Mrs. W. G. James, Mr. Elbert Cox, Mr. Addison Hewlett, Jr., Mr. E. T. Scoyen, Mrs. Robert Grady Johnson, Mr. E. L. White, and Judge Clifton L. Moore. On May 8 Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Tarlton attended a conference in Richmond, Virginia, with a number of national and regional officials of the National Park Service to discuss mutual problems relating to historic sites in North Carolina. Among the subjects discussed was that of interpreting historic sites along and near to the Blue Ridge Parkway in western North Carolina. Meetings of the Advis-

¹ See above, pages 406-407.

ory Committee on Historical Highway Markers were held in Chapel Hill on April 24 and May 15 to consider proposed markers. A total of 66 inscriptions was approved at the two meetings. The Committee studied a great number of requests which have accumulated during the past two years—a period in which the marker program has been relatively inactive for lack of a Researcher. The Historical Highway Marker Program was begun in 1935 and since that time more than 800 markers have been erected.

The Harper House-Bentonville Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, sponsored a special memorial service at the Harper House on May 10 with Mr. Billy Britt of Smithfield as principal speaker. Mr. Britt spoke on the Battle of Bentonville and the restoration in progress, and paid tribute to the late Herschell V. Rose, who was president of the Bentonville Battleground Association. Approximately 30 people attended the service. Twenty-nine cast aluminium markers have been erected recently on the Bentonville Battleground, denoting the principal sites and actions of the battle, March 19-21, 1865. Mr. R. Judson Mitchell is Historic Site Specialist for this project.

Restoration of the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace—the dwelling house, kitchen, corn barn, and two smokehouses—was completed on June 1. A new access road and parking lot have been graded, and plans are being made for the development of the yard areas around the historic buildings and for refurnishing the dwelling house as of the time of Aycock's birth in 1859. Plans are in progress to dedicate the restoration on November 1, 1959, exactly the one-hundredth anniversary of Aycock's birth. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., who is Historic Site Specialist for this project, has completed a brochure, *Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site*, which is available free upon application to the State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Historic Site Specialist for Old Brunswick Town State Historic Site, reports that a new access road and parking area have been built at this site recently. Several exhibits and signs have also been placed to illustrate the history of the site.

Division of Museums

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, made a talk on Tryon Palace to the Lanier Book Club in Raleigh on March 24. On May 14 she and Mr. W. S. Tarlton went to Littleton where she spoke to the Woman's Club on tavern furnishings. The club is sponsoring restoration of Person's Ordinary, one of the few remaining examples of an eighteenth-century tavern, having been built prior to the American Revolution. On May 20 Mrs. Jordan went to Faison to view a collection of twenty-eight oil portraits by Mary Lyde Hicks Williams. The paintings were done on the farm of Isham R. Faison and depict scenes of plantation life during the post-Civil War days and the early twentieth century. From June 2 to 6 Mrs. Jordan attended the annual convention of the American Association of Museums in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. While there she attended a meeting of the Association's Committee on Placement, Service, and Job Information to which she has recently been appointed for a term of three years, and a meeting of the Council of the Southeastern Museums Conference.

Division of Publications

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, attended the luncheon meeting of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians in Chapel Hill on March 22; the meeting of the Pitt County Historical Association in Greenville on April 26; and the tri-county meeting of the Johnston, Sampson, and Wayne historical groups on May 31.

North Carolina in the American Revolution, by Mr. Hugh F. Rankin of the Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, is available for distribution by the Division of Publications, Box 1881, Raleigh, for \$.50. The booklet has 75 pages and 21 illustrations and was written primarily as supplementary material for the school children of the State. It is one of a series of pamphlets being prepared by the Department for this purpose.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Chairman of the Department of History at the University of North Carolina, read a paper, "On Tour with President Andrew Jackson," at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Denver, Colorado, April 24, at which meeting he was elected Vice-President of the Association for 1959-1960. He will teach at the Blue Ridge Assembly in the second term of the summer session. Dr. William M. Geer of the Social Science Staff has been on leave for the spring semester, under a grant from the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, to complete his study of the late Governor O. Max Gardner. Dr. Robin D. S. Higham has recently published "The British Government and Overseas Airlines, 1918-1939" in the *Journal of Air Law and Commerce* and "The Royal Navy's Freak Submarine Designs" in the *Journal of the American Society of Naval Engineers*. He will spend the summer in England on grants from the University Research Council and the Royal Aeronautical Society doing research for a book on "The British Rigid Airship Programme." Dr. Stephen B. Baxter is the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1959-1960. He will spend the year in research for a biography of William III (1650-1702) and will reside at The Hague. His studies will take him also to Paris, London, and Dublin. Dr. James E. King had an article, "The Baroque Spirit and the Decline of France," in *Modern Age*, III (spring, 1959). Dr. Loren C. Mackinney had an article, "Medical Miniatures in Medieval Manuscripts of the Vatican Library," in *Manuscripta*, III (February-July, 1959). He will spend the summer in libraries in the eastern United States and Canada in completing his studies of medical manuscripts in American libraries. He recently lectured on medieval medicine at the University of Kentucky and to the North Carolina Chapter of the American College of Surgeons. Dr. George Brown Tindall is the recipient of a fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. He will spend 1959-1960 completing the research and in writing "The Recent South, 1913-1950," which is to be volume ten of *A History of the South* being published by the Louisiana State University Press.

Dr. George Pasti, Jr., of East Carolina College, has been awarded a fellowship to study the history of the Far East at Harvard University for the academic year 1959-1960. Dr. Richard C. Todd had an article, "C. G. Memminger and the Confederate Treasury Department," in the *Georgia Review* (winter, 1958). Mr. Herbert Paschal, Jr., read a paper, "North Carolina under the Heath Charter," at a meeting of the Pitt County Historical Society. During the 1958-1959 college year the Danforth Foundation sponsored a program at East Carolina College, "Creativity and Productivity in an Age of Tension and Stereotypes." Specific topics and speakers were: Dr. John Gillin, Anthropologist, University of North Carolina, who spoke in October on "Understanding Cultural Values"; Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, Social Psychologist, Harvard University, who spoke in October on "The Nature of Southern Prejudice"; Mr. Gerald Johnson, journalist of Baltimore, who spoke in November on "Tensions, Stereotypes, Creativity, and Productivity in 1958"; Dr. Harold C. Hunt, Harvard University, who spoke in January on "Looking Ahead in Education"; Dr. Peter Viereck of Mount Holyoke College who spoke in February on "The American Dilemma: Preserving Inner Liberty in a Machine Age"; Dr. T. Z. Koo, world student leader of Wilmington, Delaware, who spoke in March on "Nationalism, Communism, and Religions in the Far East"; and Dr. M. J. Herkovits, Anthropologist at Northwestern University, who spoke in April on "A Cross-Cultural View of Bias and Values." Dr. George A. Douglas of the Social Science Department was the director of the lecture series. In September a new series, "Risks and Responsibilities in a World of Revolutionary Changes," will begin with speakers to be announced later.

Mr. Frank Harvin of Brevard College will serve as Visiting Professor in the Department of Social Sciences at Western Carolina College during the summer of 1959. Dr. D. C. Sossaman of the department will teach in the summer session of the George Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. Malcolm Lester has been appointed Professor of History at Davidson College beginning in September. Dr. Lester

has been Professor of History and Dean of the Faculty at Mercer University for the last five years.

Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs, Chairman of the Department of History at Greensboro College, spoke on May 9 at the annual State Convention of the Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century on "The Birth of North Carolina."

Effective July 1 Dr. David Smiley became an Associate Professor of History at Wake Forest College. Dr. Robert G. Gregory has received a grant to participate in the Duke Commonwealth-Studies Program during the summer of 1959, and Dr. Lowell R. Tillett has received a fellowship to participate in the summer program on the Soviet Union at Ohio State University for 1959. Dr. W. B. Yearns will be Visiting Professor of History at Mercer University this summer, and Mr. Keith A. Hitchins, Instructor in History, will spend the summer studying in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon of Meredith College read a paper, "Raleigh in 1890," on April 24 at a meeting of the Social Studies Section of the Baptist Colleges of North Carolina held at Chowan College. Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace made the dinner address at the same meeting on "Protestant England and Rome in the Nineteenth Century." On May 18 Dr. Wallace made two talks from the Chapel Hill studio of WUNC-TV for the In-School Program. The first talk on the "Far East" was made to the American history class; the second, "Europe and the Middle East," was made to the world history class.

COUNTY AND LOCAL GROUPS

Mrs. W. E. White read a paper, "History of Fishing at Colerain," at the meeting of the Bertie County Historical Association on October 23, 1958. Dr. W. P. Jacocks was elected President to succeed the late E. S. Askew. Dr. J. B. Nicholls, Mrs. Moses B. Gillam, and Mrs. Ruth Lyon were elected Vice-Presidents and Mr. T. S. Norfleet, Secretary-

Treasurer. Mr. John E. Tyler, who is Historian, holds office for an indefinite period.

The Chronicle, published by the association, has the following articles in the April issue: a copy of the paper read by Mrs. White, a report of the meeting of the association with a listing of the award-winning essays by the school children of Bertie County, and an article on two battles fought in Bertie—one during the Colonial period and the other in 1864. Mrs. Laura F. Harrell of Windsor is serving as Editor of *The Chronicle* at the present time.

The Burke County Historical Society elected officers at a meeting on March 10 and adopted a constitution and by-laws for the society. Charter memberships were extended through June 30. Dr. E. W. Phifer was installed as President, and the following other officers were elected: Mr. C. K. Avery, Vice-President; Mr. Harry L. Hallyburton, Secretary; Mrs. Alma Stamey, Treasurer and Assistant Secretary; Mr. John Guigou, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Elizabeth Finger, Third Vice-President; and Mr. Charles Gordon Tate, Jr., Curator. Dr. D. J. Whitener of Appalachian State Teachers College spoke to the society in Morganton on April 21 on the subject of collecting materials for and the writing of a county history.

The Historical Society of North Carolina met at Duke University on April 17 with Mr. D. L. Corbitt, President, presiding. Following the afternoon business session Mr. Winston Broadfoot, Director of the George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University, read a paper, "Some Problems of Historical Judgement," and Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, Head of the Department of History, Wake Forest College, read a paper, "Clerical Morale Builders: The Religious Press of the Confederacy and the Civil War." At the evening session Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely of Asheville presented a paper, "The Union Underground in the Mountain Region," and Mr. Burke Davis, author of Greensboro, talked on fan mail he had received and read excerpts from some of the letters.

New members are Dr. Burton Floyd Beers of North Carolina State College; Mr. Jonathan Daniels, Editor of *The News*

and Observer of Raleigh; Dr. George Brown Tindall of the University of North Carolina; and Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist of Raleigh.

The Carteret County Historical Society met in the Methodist church at Smyrna on April 25 with Mr. F. C. Salisbury, President, presiding. Miss Amy Muse read a paper, "Fort Macon, April 25, 1862," in recognition of the ninety-seventh anniversary of the Battle of Fort Macon. Mrs. Hilda Gillikin prepared a paper on the early history of Smyrna which was read by Mr. Tucker R. Littleton. Miss Emma Lawrence and Mr. William Davis, Smyrna High School students, presented papers on the history of the high school and the old Hancock House respectively. The house built about 1820 has been occupied by six generations of Hancocks of the same family as John Hancock, signer of the Declaration of Independence. Forty-five members and guests were present and visited the Hancock House following the meeting.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians and the Bentonville Battleground Association jointly sponsored a tour of Bentonville Battleground on April 19. More than 200 people met at the William and Mary Restaurant in Newton Grove and participated in the tour. Mrs. Taft Bass of Clinton, President of the society, led the tour and Father Frederick Koch led the invocation. Mr. D. P. Herring and Mr. Hubert Tart, Sr., extended greetings to the group. Places visited included House's Mill which has been operated by descendants of the original owner for the past 137 years; the Holy Redeemer Catholic Church; and the Blackman Lee store. A memorial service at the Confederate cemetery and monument was one of the highlights of the tour. The service was conducted by Col. Hugh Dortch of Goldsboro, Chairman of the Civil War Centennial Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Mr. R. Geddie Herring of Roseboro, one of the six North Carolinians awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor in World War II, laid a wreath on the monument. A color guard from Ft. Bragg fired a salute to the Confederate dead. The tour

also included a stop at the Harper House where Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, greeted guests and spoke briefly on plans for restoring the Harper House and developing the Battleground. Lunch was spread in the Bentonville Community House where the late Herschell V. Rose, President of the Bentonville Battleground Association and member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, welcomed participants to Johnston County. Mrs. Bass presided and Dr. Crittenden and Dr. James W. Patton, Director of the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill, made brief talks.

The Pitt County Historical Society and the Pitt County Bicentennial Commission met in the Pitt County Courthouse on April 26 and discussed plans for the celebration of the bicentennial in 1960 of the erection of the county. Persons participating in the discussions were Miss Jessie R. Moyer, Dr. J. D. Messick, Dr. Robert Lee Humber, and Mr. D. L. Corbitt.

The first issue of the *Harnett County Historical Society News Letter* has been received by the Department of Archives and History. Mrs. J. W. Thornton, Sr., of Dunn is the editor of the paper which lists the names and addresses of the more than 500 members of the society. Other items include a message from the President, Dr. Leslie H. Campbell; a tribute to the late Leon McDonald; and a brief summary of points of historical interest in Harnett County by Malcolm Fowler.

The May, 1959, issue of the *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin* carries a message from the President, Mr. Henry Jay MacMillan, in which he gives a summary of the activities of the society for the past year and an outline of proposed projects for the future. A full-page article on the Tryon Palace Restoration, which was visited by the group in a body on May 17; amendments to the bylaws of the society; a feature on the building of Jacobs Run Tunnel; and a listing of the names and addresses of the twenty-seven new members are also included in the issue.

The society held its annual meeting at the Sorosis Club in Wilmington on May 15 with Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, Kenan Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, as principal speaker. Dr. Lefler spoke on "Some Problems in Writing State and Local History." The following officers were chosen for the coming year: Mr. MacMillan, President; Mr. Leslie N. Boney, Jr., Vice-President; Mrs. C. Wayne Spencer, Secretary; Mr. Ludlow P. Strong, Treasurer; Mrs. Ida B. Kellam, Archivist; and Miss Carolyn Flanner, Mr. Randolph B. Gregory, Dr. B. Frank Hall, Mr. Glenn M. Tucker, Mrs. A. T. St. Amand, and Mr. Joshua S. James, directors. The society has 362 members at present.

The Dolley Madison Memorial Association, Inc., held its first meeting on May 16 in the College Union at Guilford College. Charter memberships are open throughout 1959 with dues as follows: \$3.00, contributing member; \$10.00, sustaining member; and \$100.00, patron member. Application may be sent to the association, Guilford College. The association is planning to build a suitable shrine or memorial to Dolley Madison which will be the first such shrine in the United States. Mrs. Eleanor Fox Pearson is President; Mr. Nick Robinson, Vice-President; Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett, Secretary; and Mrs. Alice M. Bray, Treasurer.

Mr. George L. Ross of Jackson Springs, former Moore County legislator and State Department of Agriculture official, who retired following service as Director of the State Department of Conservation and Development under Governor W. Kerr Scott, has been elected President of the Moore County Historical Association. Mrs. Ernest Ives has been acting president since the death of C. J. McDonald. Other officers elected were Mrs. Katherine S. McCall of Southern Pines, First Vice-President; Dr. Colin G. Spencer of Carthage, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Albert S. Tufts of Pinehurst, Third Vice-President; Mrs. L. T. Avery of Southern Pines, Secretary; and Mr. Norris L. Hodgkins, Jr., of Southern Pines, Treasurer.

The April 23 issue of the *Rockingham Post-Dispatch* featured a lengthy article on John London, Secretary to the Governor for several years, and his descendants in the United States. John London served from October 21, 1769, into the 1770's. He signed many of the land grants issued by Governor Tryon in 1770. Interest in collecting the genealogical information in the article was prompted by the opening of Tryon Palace in New Bern. The descendants of London alternate annual reunions between Pittsboro and Rock Hill, South Carolina.

The May issue of *The Gaston County Historical Bulletin*, official organ of the Gaston County Historical Society, announces the election of Mrs. Wilma Ratchford Craig (William N.) of the Union section of Gaston County as editor of *The Bulletin*. Items in the issue include a continuation of the article on the Moore family by Mr. Robert F. Cope; reports on the two recent meetings of the society; a brief sketch of Mr. W. Marsh Cavin, new President; an article on the decision of the society to publish Mr. Cope's "History of Gaston County," which appeared serially in a newspaper; and an article on how Gaston County received its name, by Mrs. Craig.

The annual tri-county meeting of the Johnston, Sampson, and Wayne historical societies was held on May 24 in Smithfield. Mrs. Doc R. Oliver welcomed the group and Mr. Ivan Adams gave the invocation. Mrs. T. J. Lassiter gave a memorial tribute to the late H. V. Rose of Smithfield, and Mrs. W. B. Beasley introduced the speaker, Mr. Ray Armstrong, who spoke on "The Value of Preserving County History." Dr. Luby Royall, Jr., recognized special guests and gave a slide program on old homes in Johnston County with a commentary by Mrs. Tilden Honeycutt. A social hour followed the meeting.

The News Bulletin of the Moravian Music Foundation (winter, 1959) carried an article on the festival and seminar in June; notice of two reprints by the Foundation; a sketch of John Antes, Moravian composer; a report on the program of

research and publication by the Northern and Southern Provinces of the Moravian Church in America; and notice of four professional concerts of Moravian music in the United States. Dr. Donald M. McCorkle, Director of the Moravian Music Foundation, Inc., has announced the appointment of Miss Erwin M. Robbins as Administrative Assistant to the Director beginning June 1. Miss Robbins, a June graduate of Salem College, was a music major. She has completed one year as a student assistant with the Foundation and will assist in research, publication, and education. Miss Robbins is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Marvin R. Robbins of Rocky Mount. In the spring-summer, 1959, issue of the *Bulletin* the Foundation announces that negotiations have been completed between Mr. David J. Oppenheim, Director of Masterworks Artists and Repertoire of Columbia Records, and Dr. McCorkle for a new project in recording early American music exclusively for the Foundation. The arrangements mark a milestone in the history of the recording industry, and will provide a series of long-playing records, both monophonic and stereophonic, which will include the finest of sacred choral and vocal compositions of the Moravians. The series, moreover, will be the first strictly commercial recordings of early American music to be made by a major company and distributed internationally. Columbia Records will assume all costs of engineering, manufacturing, and marketing. The first two recordings will be made at the summer seminar with Mr. Oppenheim supervising and Mr. Thor Johnson directing.

“The Roanoke-Chowan Story,” Chapter Three, has been published in the *Daily Roanoke-Chowan News*. This chapter deals with the explorations and early settlement of this section and is illustrated with the Nicholas Comberford Map of 1657, the Theodore de Bry Map of 1590, and a composite of the two. The chapter ends with John Lawson’s version of the legend of Raleigh’s phantom ship.

Chapter Four, “Two Ways to the Roanoke-Chowan,” discusses the inland water route from Virginia to Carolina; the John Drummond trip into Carolina in 1657; the abundance

of natural food and game in the region; and the hanging of William Drummond in 1677 following Bacon's Rebellion.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians held a luncheon meeting at Lenoir Hall in Chapel Hill on March 22 with Mrs. Taft Bass, President, presiding. The meeting was held to discuss various problems connected with the tours of historic sites in the State and to arrange proposed tours for the season. Mr. Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill and Mr. Glenn R. Tucker of Carolina Beach spoke briefly. Col. Jeffrey Stanback of Mt. Gilead has been appointed as a Vice-President to complete the unexpired term of the late Leon McDonald. District Vice-Presidents accepting appointment are Mr. Herbert Paschal of East Carolina College; Mr. Herbert O'Keef of Raleigh; Mr. F. C. Salisbury of Morehead City; Mr. John McPhaul, Jr., of Fayetteville; Mr. Phillip N. Alexander of Charlotte; and Mr. Malcolm Fowler, Lillington.

On May 31 the Society of County and Local Historians co-sponsored a tour of New Bern. Places of interest visited by the group participating were the Attmore-Oliver House, the Firemen's Museum, Tryon Palace (at the regular fee of \$2.00), and a number of other sites of historical importance. The group shared a picnic lunch at the New Bern Recreation Center.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association met in Tryon on April 25 at which time Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock was presented the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Literary Cup for his recent book, *High Tide at Gettysburg*. Mr. Tucker won the same award in 1956 for *Tecumseh: Vision of Glory*. Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville read a paper on the history of Polk County, and the following officers were elected for the coming year: Dr. Edwin S. Dougherty of Appalachian State Teachers College, President; Col. Paul Rockwell of Asheville, Vice-President; and Miss Cordelia Camp of Asheville, Secretary-Treasurer.

MISCELLANEOUS

Mill Creek Story by Charles Crossfield Ware, Curator of the Carolina Disciplina Library in Wilson, has been received by the Department of Archives and History. The monograph includes a concise historical sketch of the fifteen churches which make up the Mill Creek Union of the Disciples of Christ Church. The stories are based chiefly on documentary sources housed in the Library and tell of the establishment of the churches, ministers who served them and their tenure, prominent laymen, the church buildings, and present membership. The churches discussed, which are located in seven east-central counties of the State, are Beulah Hill, Carr Memorial, Dudley, Dunn, Eureka, Fayetteville, Goldsboro, Lumberton, Mill Creek, Mount Olive, Pleasant Union, Rocky Fork, Selah, Smithfield, and Wilson's Mill. There is also a brief history of the Mill Creek Union. The booklet may be obtained for \$1.00 by writing Dr. C. C. Ware, Box 1164, Wilson.

Joseph of Kernersville, being the Stories of the Families Körner-Kerner, Kastner, Spach, Gardner, Pike, and Wiesner, and their Descendants in the Town of Kernersville by J. Gilmer Körner, Jr., has been received by the Department of Archives and History. The book is principally about Joseph Körner-Kerner, great-grandfather of the author, who came to America in 1785. The story also tells of the family in Europe and of the life in Salem and Friedland. Joseph purchased the "Cross-Roads" which grew into the Town of Kernersville. Much of the book is a genealogical study of the families mentioned in the title and other families, such as the Coffyns (Coffins), Starbucks, and Boncoeurs, with forty pages of charts and a number of pictures. The book sells for \$10 and may be ordered from the Seeman Printery, Box 930, Durham.

A companion volume to the above is *I Remember* by Polly Alice Masten Körner (Mrs. J. Gilmer Körner). This 69-page book, published in 1956, carries an introduction with a biographical sketch of the author who lived at "Körner's Folly" until her death in 1934. The book is written as a series of reminiscences and covers the years from 1858 until 1934.

Published by her son, Mr. J. Gilmer Körner, Jr., and her daughter, Mrs. Doré Körner Donnell, it was privately printed and has an appendix with explanations and notes on the stories.

A significant portion of the Truman Presidential Papers was opened to researchers at the Harry S. Truman Library in Independence, Missouri, on May 11. Persons wishing to use papers and other related materials are requested to make application to Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director of the Library, at Independence. Students will normally be expected to include a letter of introduction from their professors with their application. At the same time the Harry S. Truman Institute for National and International Affairs initiated a program of grants-in-aid. These will generally be grants of less than \$500 to provide travel and living expenses for short periods of work at the Library. For the present grants will be concentrated on persons working on the period of former President Truman's public career and those who will be using the resources of the Library. All correspondence relative to the use of the papers available should be made to Dr. Brooks.

Dr. Richard L. Morton, retiring Professor and Chairman of the Department of History of William and Mary College, was honored at a dinner by the Institute of Early American History and Culture at the Williamsburg Inn on April 16. Highlight of the evening was the presentation to Dr. Morton of a specially-prepared, calf-bound copy of *The William and Mary Quarterly*. Dr. Morton has served as editor, contributor, and member of the board of editors since the beginning of the Third Series of the Journal in 1944. He had been on the faculty of the college since 1919. In addition, he is the author of several books and has contributed to a number of historical periodicals including *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture and the Jamestown Foundation announce the establishment of a special prize competition for the best unpublished book-length manuscript about seventeenth-century America. The

annual prize will consist of \$1,000 and publication by the Institute. All manuscripts submitted, whether winning an award or not, will be considered for publication by the Institute. The competition will be judged by the publications committee of the Institute Council, in association with the editorial staff of the Institute. Manuscripts should be submitted not later than December 1, 1959, to Dr. James M. Smith, Editor of Publications, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Society of American Historians, Inc., announces that Dr. Ernest Samuels, Professor of English at Northwestern University, has been awarded the Francis Parkman Prize for 1958 for his book, *Henry Adams: The Middle Years, 1877-1891*. The Francis Parkman Prize is given annually for that book on American history or biography published during the year which has the highest literary distinction in the opinion of the Committee of Award, of which Dr. John A. Garraty, Department of History, Columbia University, is Chairman for 1959. The prize, \$500 in cash and an inscribed scroll, will be awarded at a dinner held in the late fall or early winter in New York. Dr. Rudolph A. Clemen, Executive Vice-President of the Society, has announced the 1959 competition. For details write Dr. Clemen at the Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

Books received during the quarter for review are: Jay Taylor, *Reluctant Rebel: The Secret Diary of Robert Patrick, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959); W. W. Abbott, *The Royal Governors of Georgia, 1754-1775* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg [Virginia], 1959); Clair A. Brown, *Vegetation of the Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959, Louisiana State University Studies, Coastal Studies Series, Number Two); James W. Silver, editor, *A Life for the Confederacy, as Recorded in the*

Pocket Diaries of Pvt. Robert A. Moore, Co. G. 17th Mississippi Regiment, Confederate Guards, Holly Springs, Mississippi (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1959); Eugen Weber, *The Nationalist Revival in France, 1905-1914* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959); Frank Cunningham, *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians* (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1959); John Anthony Caruso, *The Appalachian Frontier: America's First Surge Westward* (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1959); Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, 1959); Mary U. Rothrock, editor, *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee up to the First Settlements therein by the White People in the Year 1768. By John Haywood, including Archaeological, Geological, and Historical Annotations bringing the Ancient Account into Focus with the Present Day Knowledge and an Introductory Sketch of the Author, John Haywood, Historian of the Western Country* (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1959); Hugh T. Lefler, *North Carolina: History, Geography, Government* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1959); James Morton Smith, *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959); Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, Number One, Winter, 1959); and Jack Geddie, *The Families Geddie and McPhail* (Fort Worth, Texas: Henry L. Geddie Company, 1959).

