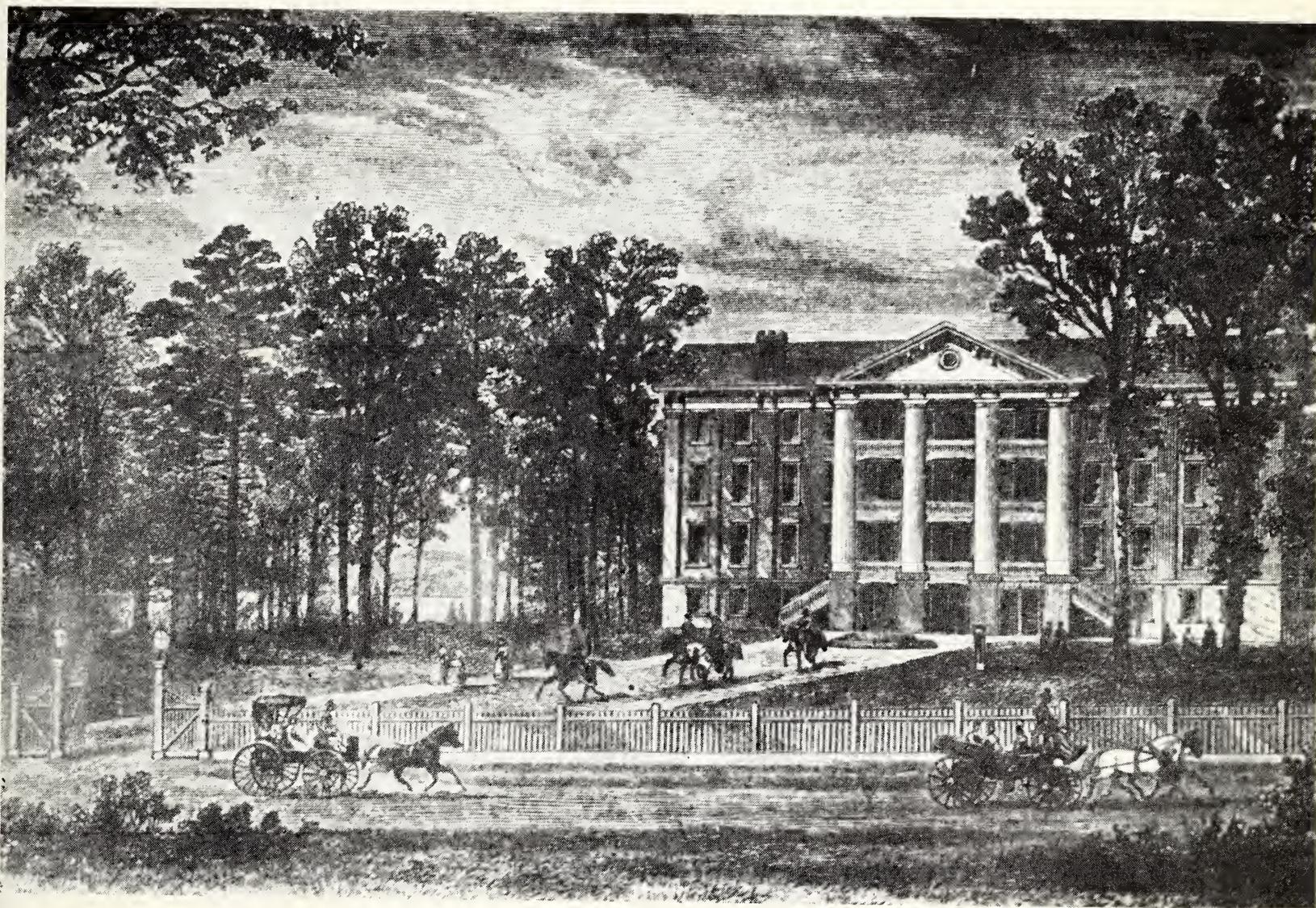


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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW



APRIL 1958

VOLUME XXXV,

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COVER: Peace Junior College is located at the north end of Wilmington Street, Raleigh, and was opened in 1872. It was organized in 1857 as a Presbyterian school for girls, but during the Civil War the partially completed building was used for a Confederate Hospital, and later housed an office of the Freedmen's Bureau. See pages 153-166.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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POSTAL HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1789-1795

By ARTHUR HECHT *

For the period prior to 1789 Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Dr. Wesley E. Rich cover the history of the North Carolina postal system. It was not, however, the intention of these historians to furnish details of a governmental operation in a specific area. In his articles¹ Dr. Crittenden wrote mainly about travel, transportation, and communications in North Carolina with references to postal services. Dr. Rich's publication² encompasses British North America and later the United States to 1829 and presents a comprehensive history with general remarks about all aspects of postal operations which also are applicable to North Carolina. The earliest details about the financial operations of North Carolina post offices appear about October, 1789, and continue until the end of December, 1795. For this period, the information that might have come to light by a review of correspondence, lists, and ledgers of the General Post Office³ was unavailable be-

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¹ Christopher Crittenden, "Overland Travel and Transportation in North Carolina, 1763-1789," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII, No. 3 (July, 1931), 239-257, hereinafter cited as Crittenden, "Overland Travel and Transportation in North Carolina"; and "Means of Communication in North Carolina, 1763-1789," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII, No. 4 (October, 1931), 373-383.

² Wesley E. Rich, *The History of the United States Post Office to the Year 1829* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1924), hereinafter cited as Rich, *United States Post Office*.

³ The General Post Office (or the Post Office Establishment) was originally subordinate to the Treasury Department. As the office developed in importance, it assumed the privileges and autonomy of a ranking administrative department and it was seldom challenged. The Postmaster General became a member of the cabinet in 1829, but it was not until June 8, 1872, that the Office became known officially as the Post Office Department.

cause of the inaccessibility of these records to the public. In the 1940's the Post Office Department and the Library of Congress transferred to the National Archives the existing outgoing correspondence of the Postmaster General and his assistants and a few accounting ledgers of the General Post Office Establishment. From these records and from postal laws and regulations and instructions issued to deputy postmasters⁴ it has been possible to determine the extent of the postal service in its operations during the last decade of the eighteenth century in North Carolina.

There had been no change in postal legislation since the enactment of *An Ordinance for Regulating the Post Offices of the United States of America* on October 18, 1782. Supplementary measures thereto were passed on October 28 and December 24, 1782. The acts of September 22, 1789, August 4, 1790, and March 3, 1791, provided for the temporary establishment of the Post Office. These acts extended the colonial postal service. The acts of February 20, 1792, and of May 24, 1794, further revamped the colonial post office into the General Post Office of the United States. Both of these acts authorized the establishment of specific post roads, fixed rates of postage, decreed the activities of deputy postmasters, and provided punishment for tampering with the mails. The Postmaster General was empowered to appoint deputies and make contracts for carrying mails over post roads designated by Congress.

POST OFFICES

By October of 1789 towns had been well established on the coastal plain area of Albemarle Sound at Edenton, Newbern, Wilmington, and Washington. In the central part of North Carolina there were Halifax, Tarborough, and Fayetteville (formerly Cross Creek). The network of roads extending to the piedmont area led to Salem, Salisbury, Charlotte, and Hillsborough. Although postal service was extended to each of these towns, only the deputies at Edenton, Newbern, Washington, and Wilmington maintained correspondence

⁴ Term applied to each local postmaster.

with the Postmaster General and submitted their quarterly accounts as of October 1789. For the period 1790 and 1791 people continued their emigrations to North Carolina and settled chiefly around county courthouses and churches, but the Postmaster General did not authorize the creation of any post office. Thirteen post offices were established in 1792, 9 in 1793, 25 in 1794, and 1 in 1795.⁵ The names of these offices were usually derived from names of English and French royalty, colonial proprietors, North Carolina governors, military men, founders of settlements, and European towns.⁶

⁵ Contrary to the usual policy of this journal, the spelling of the various place names has been left in both the text and the footnotes as it appeared in the source material used by the author.

1792: Fayetteville, Martinsville, Halifax, Hillsborough, Indiantown, Plymouth, Princeton, Salem, Salisbury, Sawyer's Ferry, Tarborough, Warrington, and Williamsborough (formerly Nutbush).

1793: Elizabethtown, Hertford, Iredell Courthouse, Nixonton, Smithfield, Warrenton, Waynesborough, Wilkes (later Wilkesboro), and Williamston.

1794: Anson Courthouse, Averysborough, Bethania, Caswell Old Courthouse (later Leasburg), Chapel Hill, Charlotte Courthouse, Chatham Courthouse (later Pittsboro), Duplin Courthouse, Germanton, Greenville, Huntsville, Kinston, Lincolnton, Louisburg, Lumberton, Montgomery Courthouse, Moore Courthouse, Morganton, Murfreesborough, Raleigh, Richmond Courthouse, Rockford, Rockingham Courthouse, Windsor, and Winton.

1795: Person Courthouse (later Roxboro).

Throughout the 1789-1795 correspondence of the Postmaster General and in the accounts of the General Post Office there are references to communities, dwellings, or structures at which post riders stopped to deliver and pick up mail at the following stops: Bath (formerly Pamticough), Blountville (later Columbia), Bridge on Bennett's Creek, Cabarras Courthouse, Caswell Courthouse, Daily's, Nash Courthouse, Oxford (or Oxford Church), Randolph Courthouse, Richard Mitchell's, Sampson Courthouse, and South Washington.

The number of North Carolina post offices in comparison with those established throughout the United States for 1790-1795, as cited in Rich, *United States Post Office*, 182, was:

<i>Years</i>	<i>North Carolina Post Offices</i>	<i>United States Post Offices</i>
1790	4	75
1791	4	89
1792	17	195
1793	26	209
1794	51	450
1795	52	453

⁶ A few examples of derivative names are as follows: Fayetteville for Marquis de Lafayette, Salisbury for Marquis of Salisbury, Waynesville for General Anthony Wayne, Greenville for General Nathanael Green, Charlotte for Queen Charlotte, Lincolnton for Colonel Benjamin Lincoln, Martinsville for Alexander Martin, Halifax for the second Earl of Halifax, Newbern for Bern (Switzerland), and Morristown for Robert Morris. Other towns received their names as follows: Kinston for King's Town in honor of George III, Louisburg for the French fortress at Louisburg (Nova Scotia), Plymouth for Plymouth (Massachusetts), and Lumberton which was a trading center for timber and naval stores. The derivation of these names is generally accepted although there is no legal proof that the towns were named for the person or place or reason specified.

DEPUTY POSTMASTERS

A rather simple procedure was used by the Postmaster General in establishing a post office and appointing a deputy postmaster. Recommendations and/or a petition for authorizing a post office and appointment of a deputy were often submitted simultaneously to the Postmaster General. Upon the creation of a post office and the approval of a person⁷ to serve at that office, the Postmaster General offered the appointment to the nominee by letter and enclosed a bond. The bond was executed with "sufficient sureties" (two) and oaths⁸ were subscribed to and taken. Shortly after these forms were returned to the General Post Office, the newly appointed deputy was sent his commission,⁹ a table of United States Post Offices showing their distances to the seat of the Government,¹⁰ a copy of the most recent postal laws and regulations,¹¹ a copy of a map of the United States,¹² a saddle bag

⁷ The Postmaster General characterized a deputy postmaster as "accurate and punctual in the business and of perfect Integrity, who would give entire Satisfaction to the people of [community]." Postmaster General Letterbook "C," 45, National Archives, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Postmaster General Letterbook.

⁸ "I . . . do swear (or affirm as the case may be) that I will faithfully perform all the duties required of me, and abstain from anything forbidden by the law in relation to the establishment of post-offices and post-roads within the United States.

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm as the case may be) that I will support the constitution of the United States." *Regulations to Be Observed by the Deputy Postmaster in the United States, 1794.*

All postal officials and employees took these oaths for faithful performance of their responsibilities. They were the continuance of the practice in the period prior to the American Revolution.

⁹ The appointment of a deputy postmaster became effective upon the date his commission was signed by the Postmaster General. However, in the eighteenth century there were instances whereby the deputy postmaster was requested to conduct the business of a post office pending the receipt of his commission for the position or when the deputy postmaster executed his bond. The dates were sometimes delayed until the end of the month or until it was convenient for the preceding deputy to turn over his office to his successor.

¹⁰ Existing lists are dated 1789, 1790, 1792, 1794, and 1795.

¹¹ Extracts of postal legislation of 1782, 1792, and 1794.

¹² Although the General Post Office had not printed any post route maps during the eighteenth century, it may have sent to deputy postmasters copies of the maps of the United States prepared either by Samuel Lewis or Abraham Bradley. Library of Congress, Division of Maps and Charts, Washington, D. C.

or portmanteau with a key, forms (or folios),¹³ a table of rates of postage,¹⁴ and ledgers.

When the mail arrived at an office, the deputy postmaster or his assistant unlocked the portmanteau and removed all bundled letters and packets addressed to his office. This mail was accompanied by a post bill showing the number of letters enclosed and the postage of each. Another bill known as the "way bill" of the through mails was endorsed at each post office and showed the arrival time of the mail. These way bills enabled the General Post Office to locate all mail delays and penalize mail contractors for late mail deliveries. The deputy postmaster marked all letters, newspapers, periodi-

¹³ The records do not show all the forms used by a deputy postmaster; however, the *Postal Laws and Regulations of 1794* contain the following form descriptions:

- No. 1 Account of letters and newspapers received at a post office.
- No. 2 Post bill (number of letters and newspapers which were paid and unpaid and then bundled and sent to the next office on the mail route). Included on the post bill were references to way letters which the post rider or carrier accepted from persons who were more than two miles from a post office.
- No. 3 Account of letters and newspapers sent.
- No. 4 Account of ship letters received.
- No. 5 Statement of number of sea letters, the name of the vessel which would carry the letters, and the names of the seaports which would receive the letters.
- No. 6 List of sea letters and name of addresses.
- No. 7 Account of dead letters.
- No.— Account and receipts for contingent expenses.
- No.— Accounts current.

¹⁴ Postal legislation of February 20, 1792, and of May 24, 1794, provided for the following rates:

By land, a single letter:

- Up to 30 miles, 6 cents
- 30 to 60 miles, 8 cents
- 60 to 100 miles, 10 cents
- 100 to 150 miles, 12½ cents
- 150 to 200 miles, 15 cents
- 200 to 250 miles, 17 cents
- 250 to 350 miles, 20 cents
- 350 to 450 miles, 22 cents
- Over 450 miles, 25 cents

Newspapers

- Up to 100 miles, 1 cent
- Over 100 miles, 1½ cents

Periodicals and pamphlets:

- Up to 50 miles, 1 cent per sheet
- 50 to 100 miles, 1½ cents per sheet
- Over 100 miles, 2 cents per sheet

Franking privileges were extended to congressmen and heads of departments [of the federal government].

Double and triple letters were accordingly rated.

By sea in vessels or ships provided by the United States or property thereof and sailing from seaport to seaport:

- Single letter, 8 cents
- Double letter, 16 cents
- Triple or Packet letter, 24 cents

By sea in a private vessel or ship, an additional 4 cents to the rates mentioned.

cals, and pamphlets; noted paid and dead letters; redirected missent letters; advertised letters on hand;¹⁵ made up the land or sea mail; and kept quarterly accounts. The act of 1792 contained a reference to hours of attending a post office. On this subject Postmaster General Timothy Pickering on June 15, 1792, commented to a deputy postmaster:

I have not before been desired to fix the hours of attendance of a postmaster in his office. The reason may be that the Postmasters generally, or those who assist them are commonly in the way to serve such as call upon them; and being disposed to accommodate their fellow citizens restrain them to no fixed hours. Yet where the business is considerable, *constant* attendance is not to be expected. But tho' authorised by law it will be extremely difficult, I apprehend, for the postmaster General to determine what ought to be hours during which post offices should open. . . .¹⁶

Letters which were brought to an office a half hour before the mail was made up were included in the next pick-up, and in exceptional cases the post rider or stage coach driver could not be delayed beyond an hour.

Compensation paid to a deputy postmaster was based on a commission of monies collected. Prior to February 20, 1792, the Postmaster General fixed the amount of the commission.¹⁷ Thereafter, postal legislation specified the following commissions of postage paid to the deputies and other additional bases for earnings:

- 30 per cent of \$100 collected
- 25 per cent of \$100 to \$300 collected
- 20 per cent of \$400 to \$2000 collected
- 8 per cent of \$2400 and above collected

¹⁵ The names of addressees of these letters were either listed for three successive weeks in one of the local newspapers or posted in conspicuous places in the post town for three months before they were sent as "dead" letters to the General Post Office.

¹⁶ Postmaster General Letterbook "B," 16.

¹⁷ 40 per cent of gross receipts until the deputy's commission became \$50 per annum.

\$40 for receipts between \$125 and \$167.

30 per cent of gross receipts between \$167 and \$334.

\$100 for receipts between \$334 and \$500.

20 per cent of gross receipts over \$500.

American State Papers, Post Office, (Washington, D. C.: Gales and Seaton, 1834), 13, hereinafter cited as *American State Papers, Post Office*.

Additional amount not exceeding \$25 in a three-months' period to those deputies involved with foreign mail.

Additional amount of 50 per cent on \$100 collected in a three months' period where the mail regularly arrived between 9 PM and 5 AM.

50 per cent of postage collected on newspapers, magazines, or periodicals.

2 cents for every free letter (the deputy's excepted) delivered to the person addressed, out of the deputy's office.

1 cent for each letter delivered from the post office where it was lodged merely for such delivery and not carried by post.

1 cent for each letter carried by private vessel or ship.

Between 1789 and 1795 there were 60 deputy postmasters who served at 52 North Carolina post offices. The names of the post offices, names of the deputy postmasters and dates of their appointment, compensations paid to the deputies, and receipts reported to the General Post Office are shown in the following table:

TABLE I

<i>Post Office and Period</i>	<i>Deputy Postmaster</i>	<i>Date of Appointment</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Compensation to Deputy Postmasters</i>
Anson Courthouse	Thomas Wade	October 1, 1794*	—	—
Averysborough 1794 (from October 1) 1795	Charles S. Carraway	October 1, 1794*	\$.50 11.03	\$.10 3.25
Bethania 1794 (from October 1) 1795	—	—	1.05 4.29	.19 1.34
Chapel Hill Nov. 30, 1794 to Feb. 23, 1795 1795	Samuel Hopkins	November 30, 1794	.73 17.03	.52 4.60
Caswell Old Courthouse —	Lawrence Lea	October 1, 1794*	—	—
Charlotte Courthouse 1794 (from October 1) 1795	Edward Wayne	October 1, 1794*	16.50 295.85	5.09 68.19
Chatham Courthouse —	Michael Sperlock	August —, 1794	—	—
Duplin Courthouse 1795	James James	October 1, 1794*	1.04	—
Edenton Oct. 5, 1789 to Jan. 5, 1790 Oct. 5, 1790 to Oct. 5, 1791 1793 (from October 1) 1794 1795	Lemuel Standin	July 1, 1786	55.75 267.00 84.58 217.37 428.06	11.15 53.40 27.27 76.48 101.65

Elizabethtown	William Richardson	July 1, 1793*	—	—
Fayetteville	John Sibley	July 10, 1792	131.22	42.11
1793 (from October 1)			465.11	24.01
1794			472.81	112.67
1795				
Germantown	Joseph Bitting	October 1, 1794*	\$ 20.04	\$ 8.08
1795				
Greenville	Grove Wright	October 1, 1794*	2.29	.94
1794 (from October 1)			20.04	5.57
1795				
Halifax	Thaddeus Barnes	September 4, 1793	54.33	17.37
1793 (from October 1)			268.47	65.77
1794			156.84	36.94
1795				
Hertford	Thomas McNider	October 1, 1794*	2.34	.59
1795				
Hillsborough	David Ray	June 12, 1792		
	Henry Thompson	April 1, 1794*		
	William Hooper	April 12, 1794		
	John Allison	July 1, 1794*		
1793 (from October 1)			19.59	12.89
1794			83.86	45.74
1795			98.67	30.18
Huntsville	Henry Young	January 1, 1795*	4.52	.95
1795				

*Certain Federal records have disappeared with the passage of time and to arrive at an approximate date with as much accuracy as possible, it is necessary to depend on accounts submitted by deputy postmasters and letters written to them or about them.

TABLE I

<i>Post Office and Period</i>	<i>Deputy Postmaster</i>	<i>Date of Appointment</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Compensation to Deputy Postmasters</i>
Indiantown	Thomas P. Williams	July 1, 1793*	—	—
Iredell Courthouse Oct. 16, 1794 to Jan. 7, 1795 1795	Archibald Young	July 1, 1793*	5.62 26.46	1.65 9.92
Kinston 1794 (from October 1) 1795	Thomas Lester	October 1, 1794*	2.80 22.62	1.25 9.17
Lincolnton 1794 (from October 1) 1795	Joseph Morris	October 1, 1794*	\$ 2.65 17.63	\$ 1.14 1.08
Louisburg 1794 (from October 1) 1795	—	—	6.15 57.04	2.37 20.36
Lumberton 1795	John Noyes	October 1, 1794*	11.64	1.92
Martinsville 1794 1795	Smith Moore	June 18, 1792	27.40 37.42	10.59 11.09
Montgomery Courthouse 1794 (from October 1) 1795	—	—	2.18 1.61	.53 .74
Moore Courthouse 1795	Joseph Lea	November 28, 1794*	.37	.85

Morganton	William Watson	October 1, 1794*	2.99	1.36
1794 (from October 20)			9.76	2.96
1795				
Murphreesborough	Murfree Knight	October 14, 1794*	91.43	21.95
1795				
Newbern	Henry Machen	April 5, 1786	43.13	8.90
Oct. 5, 1789 to Jan. 5, 1790	Francois X. Martin	June 1, 1790*	200.00	44.00
Oct. 5, 1790 to Oct. 5, 1791			90.05	29.19
1793 (from October 1)			423.95	104.94
1794			498.39	130.42
1795				
Nixonton	Charles McMorine	December 3, 1793		
1794 (from December 3, 1793)	Matthias Sawyer	August 15, 1795	104.94	21.23
1795			19.99	5.54
Person Courthouse	Charles Moore	February 25, 1795	\$ 8.67	\$ 3.11
1795				
Plymouth	Martin R. Byrd	July 18, 1792	41.90	17.36
Apr. 1, 1793 to Mar. 31, 1794			70.26	18.61
1795 (from April 1, 1794)				
Princeton	John Harrison	June 18, 1792		
1794	Benjamin Coakley	January 14, 1795	172.79	.90
1795			9.09	3.21

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<i>Post Office and Period</i>	<i>Deputy Postmaster</i>	<i>Date of Appointment</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Compensation to Deputy Postmasters</i>
Raleigh 1794 (from October 21) 1795	William Shaw	January 1, 1795*	4.93 127.94	1.84 39.23
Richmond Courthouse 1795	Toddy Robinson	October 1, 1794*	3.40	1.42
Rockford 1795	Thomas Lester Isaac Bills	January 1, 1795* October 1, 1795*	12.45	5.18
Rockingham Courthouse Nov. 9, 1794 to Feb. 9, 1795 1795	Peter Watson	January 1, 1795*	1.40 16.17	.83 6.75
Salem 1793 (from October 1) 1794 1795	Gottlieb Shober	July 18, 1792	16.12 62.64 57.95	7.05 21.57 17.98
Salisbury 1793 (from October 1) 1794 1795	Samuel Dayton William Winder	June 12, 1792 April 1, 1793*	47.69 224.57 139.03	20.96 ¹ / ₂ 76.96 ¹ / ₂ 58.00
Sawyer's Ferry 1795	Enoch Sawyer Michael Fennel	June—, 1792 October 1, 1795*	—	—
Smithfield 1794 1795	William Sasser	August 10, 1793*	\$ 87.31 18.67	\$ 29.86 6.24

Tarborough	Joseph Ross	July 18, 1792	
1793 (from October 1)	G. L. John Schenk	January 25, 1795	29.79
1794 (includes Jan. 24, 1795)			158.24
1795			234.82
Warrenton	Thomas Gloster	October 1, 1793*	
1793			11.35
1794			53.40
1795			79.13
Washington	William Groves	October 5, 1788	
Oct. 5, 1789 to Jan. 5, 1790	John Gray Blount	November 8, 1791	29.18
Oct. 5, 1790 to Oct. 5, 1791			138.00
1793 (from October 1)			38.01
1794			259.03
1795			266.21
Warrington	Thomas Collins	June 12, 1792	—
Waynesborough	Arthur Jernigan	January 1, 1793*	
1794 (from October 1)			1.08
1795			1.36
Wilkes	John Dobson	January 1, 1793*	
1794 (from October 1)			1.11
1795			4.23

*Certain Federal records have disappeared with the passage of time and to arrive at an approximate date with as much accuracy as possible, it is necessary to depend on accounts submitted by deputy postmasters and letters written to them or about them.

TABLE I

<i>Post Office and Period</i>	<i>Deputy Postmaster</i>	<i>Date of Appointment</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Compensation to Deputy Postmasters</i>
Williamsborough 1794 1795	Stephen Sneed	June 12, 1794	\$ 28.80 63.44	\$ 10.97 20.81
Williamston 1793 (from July 1) 1794 1795 (from October 1, 1794)	Thomas Jones	July 1, 1793*	20.91 42.76 40.72	10.31 15.63 12.30
Wilmington Oct. 5, 1789 to Jan. 5, 1790 Oct. 5, 1790 to Oct. 5, 1791 1793 (from July 1) 1794 1795	John Bradley	February 16, 1790	72.12 400.00 322.96 580.45 639.96	14.22 80.00 70.50 130.22 141.23½
Windsor 1794 (from October 1) 1795	William Benson	October 1, 1794*	4.18 27.43	1.23 8.67
Winton 1794 (from October 1) 1795	Lawrence Mooney	January 1, 1795	8.16 43.22	3.54 15.78

*Certain Federal records have disappeared with the passage of time and to arrive at an approximate date with as much accuracy as possible, it is necessary to depend on accounts submitted by deputy postmasters and letters written to them or about them.

MAIL ROUTES

As mentioned previously, the 1792 and 1794 postal legislation authorized the establishment of post routes throughout the United States. The Postmaster General was instructed to enter into mail contracts for periods not exceeding eight years. However, for the period 1789-1795 mail contracts were let for about one year, and they generally became effective on January 1. Nearly all payments for mail transportation were controlled by Congress, and the Postmaster General did not always have an opportunity to display his bargaining ability. It was the practice of the General Post Office to make contracts "on condition that the expense thereof shall not exceed the revenue thence arising. . . ." ¹⁸ Mail contractors were paid for their services by drafts on deputy postmasters on the routes they served. This payment was made promptly irrespective of whether the legal requirements were met.

To encourage the extension of postal service to frontier settlements, the Postmaster General was allowed "to authorize the person or persons contracting to receiving, during the continuance of such contract according to the rate by this act established, all the postage which shall arise on letters, newspapers and packages conveyed by any such post." ¹⁹ Private post roads were at first financial burdens, and the average cost of carrying weekly mails on such roads was a little less than \$5 per mile. Although postal legislation did not allow the Postmaster General to discontinue unproductive mail service, mail post routes were broken off when they failed to produce at least one-half of the cost of transporting mail on them after two years. By November 1795, though, Postmaster General Habersham remarked, "It is evident, however, pleasing circumstances that some of the most remote post roads already pay their full proportion towards defraying the expenses of transporting the mails throughout the United States." ²⁰

¹⁸ *Postal Laws and Regulations, Post Roads, 1794*. Thirty days after a mail contract not extending beyond four years was concluded, it or a copy thereof and the proposals (other bids) received were deposited in the Office of the Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States. Act of May 8, 1794.

¹⁹ Act of May 8, 1794.

²⁰ Postmaster General Letterbook "E," 13.

The Postmaster General decided who was to carry the mail, the mode of transportation on each route (stage coach or post rider), and the mail schedule. Mail contracts were not let to strangers. "It will be indispensably necessary that he [mail contractor] furnish me [Postmaster General] with undoubted evidence (by letters, or certificates, of gentlemen of known respectability) of his good character and ability to perform the contract."²¹ Mail contracts to be let were advertised for at least six weeks in one or more newspapers both at the seat of the Federal Government and in the State or States where the contract was to be performed.

The act of 1794 designated for the first time the provision of "the carriage of mail on any road on which a stage wagon or other stage carriage shall be established."²² Such modes of mail transportation were not used south of Petersburg, Virginia,²³ during the eighteenth century for the sparse populations of the southern areas offered little profit to mail contractors. Post riders carrying saddlebags were employed and occasionally slaves carried the mail. Travelers often carried letters, and people were inclined to be faithful about forwarding public letters, thus extending the postal service. Mail robberies were frequent in the south in spite of the death penalty.

In 1789 Colonel John Hoomes²⁴ of Bowling Green, Virginia, served as mail contractor over the main post road in North Carolina extending from Alexandria by way of Petersburg and Suffolk to Edenton over which the mail was carried three times a week. From Edenton the mail was transported twice a week in the summer and once a week in winter through

²¹ Postmaster General Letterbook "B," 200.

²² Stage coaches, wagons, carts, and "pleasure vehicles" were occasionally used in North Carolina. Their use was very limited for the "Roads were of the worst. In the east they were full of deep ruts through sand and mud, since too little attention was paid to surfacing and drainage. In the piedmont, roads were made difficult by great boulders and steep hills, as well as by the notorious red clay which in rainy weather becomes at the same time both sticky and slippery." Crittenden, "Overland Travel and Transportation in North Carolina, 1763-1789," 239.

²³ Not until 1803 was mail carried by stage coach from Petersburg through North Carolina on the main post road.

²⁴ Hoomes had a monopoly of the mail service extending to Edenton over the period 1787 to 1799. He had been a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, 1791-1795, and in the Senate, 1796-1803. He also served as deputy postmaster at Bowling Green, 1790-1803.

Washington, Newbern, Wilmington, and Georgetown to Savannah. Roads which were not graded, surfaced, or properly marked; inconvenient, inadequate, and expensive ferry service; and the absence of bridges or ferries over some rivers and creeks compelled Hoomes to employ only post riders throughout North Carolina. The riders were expected to ride about sixty miles a day, six days a week. It was seldom that the carriers were able to adhere to such mail schedules. Some of Hoomes' riders were boys²⁵ whose frequent sicknesses and carelessness about losing horses caused such great irregularities of mail deliveries that southern merchants and plantation owners complained repeatedly to the Postmaster General.

During 1790 the following mail contractors served in North Carolina on the main post road: John Hoomes, from Alexandria to Edenton, 286 miles, three times a week, at \$3,456 per annum; Bryan McCabe, from Edenton to Washington, 56 miles, twice a week in summer and once a week in winter, at \$760 per annum; John G. Blount, from Washington to Newbern, 93 miles, twice a week in summer and once a week in winter, at \$800 per annum; and Alexander McKinzie, from Newbern to Wilmington, 93 miles, twice a week in summer and once a week in winter, at \$800 per annum.²⁶ There was also an authorized mail post route from Wilmington to Georgetown which was let for \$980 per annum.²⁷

Throughout 1791 Hoomes "agreed to carry the mail from Suffolk through North Carolina to Savannah at the rate of 50 miles per day in winter and 75 in summer on an average."²⁸ The post riders were unable to maintain these mail schedules, and consequently Hoomes lost a bonus of over \$500.²⁹ In the spring of 1792 the main post road was altered to the "Upper Road" and passed from Petersburg by way of Fayetteville, Camden, and Columbia to Charleston. The former route on the "Lower Road," however, was not aban-

²⁵ In 1791 a Negro boy was used as a post rider for the mail route between Newbern and Washington. The Postmaster General remarked that Colonel Hoomes "is at liberty to employ what Riders he pleases, but he incurs a heavy penalty if they neglect their duty. I do not much like his employing Black Boys. . . ." Postmaster General Letterbook "A," 218 and 219.

²⁶ *American State Papers. Post Office*, 10.

²⁷ Postmaster General Letterbook "A," 172.

²⁸ Postmaster General Letterbook "A," 252.

²⁹ Postmaster General Letterbook "A," 269.

done. President George Washington had suggested to the Postmaster General that the mail on the "Upper Road" be carried at a rate of 100 miles a day with a post rider starting at 3:00 A.M. and travelling until 11:00 P.M.³⁰ The President felt such fast mail service would be possible if pouches were carried in daylight by post riders and at night by coaches.

With the establishment of more post offices in 1793 in both of the Carolinas and Georgia, Hoomes complained about the increased number of newspapers and periodicals³¹ sent southward. He wanted the General Post Office to use the "Lower Road" for conveying the increased mail to Washington, Newbern, and Wilmington. In July, 1793, Hoomes was ordered to employ more post riders so as to assure the delivery of all mail instead of withholding the heavier mail until the letter load was lighter. By April, 1794, post riders were required to use a lead horse to convey the mail south to Petersburg, and the mail contractor was paid \$2 more per mile for such additional expense. Also in 1794 (October 1 through December 31, 1795), Colonel Hoomes was awarded the mail contract from Petersburg by way of Goldson's, Warrenton, Lewisburg (or Louisburg), Raleigh, Averysborough, and Fayetteville to Lumberton, a distance of 236 miles, for \$15 per mile. From Lumberton through Cheraw Courthouse to Augusta, a distance of 224 miles, the mail contract had been let to Thomas Sumpter, Jr., 1794-1795, at a rate of \$15 per mile.

The Postmaster General considered the mail service from Petersburg to Augusta³² of vital importance, and he became annoyed by the "communications of extraordinary failures." John Noyes, the deputy postmaster at Lumberton, was instructed to keep accounts of the arrival and departure of mail

³⁰ Postmaster General Letterbook "A," 429.

³¹ By 1792 ten magazines were published in the United States. John Back McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, II, 1790-1803 (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), 66.

³² The mail schedule for this post route was as follows: Leave Petersburg on Friday noon, arrive at Lumberton on Monday at 9:00 P.M., leave Lumberton on Tuesday at 4:00 A.M., and arrive at Augusta on Friday noon.

Samuel Wilds served as one of the post riders from Lumberton to Cheraw Courthouse until November 14, 1795. John Punch, Jr., another post rider, carried the mail from Cheraw Courthouse to Georgetown for \$420 per annum. Postmaster General Letterbook "D," 383, and Assistant Postmaster General Letterbook "A," 88.

on the main post route and to submit them each month to the General Post Office. Noyes was also requested to offer any plans for improving the regularity of the mail service.³³ So insistent was the Postmaster General that mail had to be "carried with greatest punctuality and dispatch" that he notified Dr. John Sibley, deputy postmaster at Fayetteville, "whatever the expense the mail on the road must not be delayed."³⁴

The existence of private post riders who were paid directly by the patrons they served became an important development of the United States postal service. Such mail service over Indian and traders' trails in central and western North Carolina, as well as in other parts of the United States, led to the authorizations by Congress in 1792 and 1794 for cross post routes.³⁵ They served as feeders to the main routes, and it was hoped that any surplus income from the latter would be diverted to meet the expenses of operating the cross post routes. The expenditure for conveying mail by horse on cross post routes was in almost every instance greater than its income. On this subject the Postmaster General stated, "Yet as it opens a communication for several counties with their seat of government, & has a port of entry and divers ports of delivery on its route, it will doubtless be proper to continue it."³⁶

About thirty cross post routes were authorized to be established in North Carolina from 1789 to 1795. Of these only the following references have been found:

³³ Postmaster General Letterbook "D," 383.

³⁴ Postmaster General Letterbook "D," 78.

³⁵ In the east-west direction these cross roads were delayed mainly "because of the north-west direction of the rivers and the natural trade connection of the Piedmont with Virginia, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina. The 'Great Trading Path'—rough, long, and circuitous—ran from the Sound region to the mountains, and there were a few other roads that ran from east to west for shorter distances, but these were not major factors in trade." Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina, The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 95.

³⁶ Postmaster General Letterbook "C," 101.

TABLE II

<i>Route</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Mail Contractor</i>	<i>Compensation</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Tarborough to Wilmington (by way of Greenville and Washington)	1790	—	—	86 miles. Post route was ap- proved by the House of Representative but not by the Senate.
Fayetteville to Wilmington (by way of Elizabethtown)	—	—	—	96 miles. Post route was ap- proved by the House of Representatives but not by the Senate.
	Apr. to Dec. 1792	John Hoomes	—	—
	Jan. 1, 1793 to May 31, 1794	Matthew Young	\$672 per annum	John Bedle served as post rider for \$20 per quarter period.
	July 1794	John Sibley	\$224 per annum	—
	Oct. 1, 1794 to Dec. 31, 1795	Matthew Young	\$742 per annum	—
Edenton to Washington	1790	Joseph Blount	—	Blount also served as deputy postmaster at Washington.
Tarborough to Halifax	1792	—	—	37 miles.
Tarborough to Fayetteville	1792	—	—	110 miles.

Suffolk to Wilmington	1793	John Spence West	\$1,475.80 per annum	257 miles. West's post riders continually failed to make their mail connections. It was necessary for the Postmaster General to instruct West in June and November, 1793, to order his post riders to meet post riders leaving Wilmington and Fayetteville.
	1794-1795	John Spence West	\$1,542 per annum	Mail service was once a week.
Halifax to Plymouth (by way of Blountsville, Williamston, and Daileys)	1792	Blake W. Wiggins	\$300 per annum	Mail service once every two weeks.
	1793-1795	John Watts	\$250 per annum	79 miles. Mail schedule was as follows: Leave Halifax on Monday morning [day of arrival at Plymouth not shown]. Leave Plymouth on Thursday or Friday and arrive at Halifax on Saturday at 3:00 P.M.
	1794-1795	James Bradley	\$369.28 per annum	Accounts show that during September of 1794 John Coleman was paid \$5 for express service.
	Mar. to Dec. 1795	William Pierce	\$250 per annum	—

TABLE II

<i>Route</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Mail Contractor</i>	<i>Compensation</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Wilmington to (not shown)	July 1, 1793 to July 1, 1794	Robert McWhorten	\$266 per annum	—
Edenton to Indiantown (by way of Hertford, Nixonton, and Sawyer's Ferry)	1792 to Sept. 30, 1794	Joseph Blount	\$260 per annum	54 miles. Mail schedule was as follows: Leave Edenton once every other week on Monday at 1 P.M. and return Thursday at 11 A.M. The schedule was altered so that the post riders met the mails from Suffolk and Washing- ton.
	Oct. 1, 1794 to Dec. 31, 1795	Ann Blount	\$180 per annum	—
Halifax to Salisbury (by way of Warrenton, Williamsborough, Oxford, Hillsborough, Martinsville, and Salem)	Aug. 1792 to Sept. 30, 1794	John Hawkins	\$3 per mile	Mail was carried once every two weeks. Receipts for carrying this mail from 1792 to the end of 1793 were only \$35.00.
	Oct. 1, 1794 to Dec. 31, 1795	Stephen Sneed	—	211 miles. This mail con- tract and that from Hills- borough to Bethania were let for \$1,179 per annum. Sneed also served as deputy postmaster at Williams- borough.

Newbern to Wilmington by way of Tarborough and Greenville)	1793	James Foy	—	100 miles. Mail schedule was as follows: Leave Newbern every Friday at 5 P.M., arrive at Wilmington on the following Saturday evening or Sunday morning by 9 A.M., leave Wilmington every Monday at 5 A.M., arrive at Newbern the next Tuesday at 7 P.M.
	Oct. 1, 1794 to Dec. 31, 1795	James Foy	\$500 per annum	
	Oct. 1, 1794 to Dec. 31, 1795	Robert Donnell	\$4 to \$6 per mile	The records do not clearly show that Donnell succeeded Foy as mail contractor or that he was employed as one of two mail carriers for the same route.
Halifax to Washington (by way of Tarborough and Greenville)	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	James Bradley	\$3 $\frac{1}{3}$ per mile	
Halifax to Charles Harris's on Nottaway River (by way of Hicks' Ford)	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	—	—	
Newbern to Raleigh	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	Robert Donnell	\$400 per annum	
Washington to Suffolk	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	Samuel Tredwell	\$680 per annum	

TABLE II

<i>Route</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Mail Contractor</i>	<i>Compensation</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Salem to Pinkney Court-house	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	John Capehart	\$510.50 per annum	—
Prince Edward to German-ton (by way of Martins-burg)	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	Lewis Blume	\$316 per annum	—
Halifax to Edenton (by way of Princeton, Mur-freesborough, Winton, Bridge on Bennett's Creek, and Richard Mitchell's)	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	—	—	—
Harris's to Washington	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	James Bradley	\$800 per annum	—
Salisbury to Charlotte (by way of Cabarras Court-house)	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	Samuel Dayton	\$100 per annum	
Raleigh to Hillsborough (by way of Chapel Hill) and Chapel Hill to Chatham Courthouse	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	John Hawkins	\$280 per annum	38 miles. 18 miles.
Salisbury to Fayetteville (by way of Montgomery, Anson, Moore, and Randolph Courthouses)	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	John Troy	\$308.88 per annum	144 miles.

Salisbury to Iredell Court-house	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	—	—	—
Charlotte to Raleigh	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	John Troy	\$45.15 paid to him on Aug. 31, 1795	—
Hillsborough to Bethania (by way of Person Court-house)	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	—	—	—
Bethania to Hillsborough	Oct., 1794 to Dec., 1795	Stephen Sneed	—	This mail contract and that from Halifax to Salisbury were let for \$1,179 per annum.

ACCOUNTS

The system of accounting by deputy postmasters in local post offices was handled in a routine manner. At the end of every three months the deputy submitted to the General Post Office transcripts of accounts of letters and newspapers received and sent, ship letters received and receipts for the monies paid for these, letters sent by sea from the post office, printer's accounts receipts for advertising unclaimed letters, the newspaper itself containing the advertisement, a bill for dead letters, post bills, receipts for contingent expenses,³⁷ and quarterly accounts. The quarterly accounts from local post offices were consolidated in the General Post Office and then submitted to the Treasury Department every three months.

According to postal regulations and instructions issued to deputy postmasters, they were to render and adjust their accounts at the end of every quarterly period; otherwise suit would be brought against them. Such delinquent accounts in North Carolina occurred at Anson Courthouse, Caswell Old Courthouse, Chatham Courthouse, Duplin Courthouse, Elizabethtown, Germanton, Lumberton, Moore Courthouse, Murphreesborough, Richmond Courthouse, Sawyer's Ferry, and Warrenton. The Postmaster General did not always institute suit for delinquent accounts for several reasons—neglect of such action by the Postmaster General, pressure of other work keeping the small clerical force from preparing the necessary papers, occasionally through deliberate design, and the hardships introduced during the eighteenth century by complicated currency and banking operations in various parts of the country. Over extension of credit to deputies was evidently responsible for a number of defalcations.

In North Carolina and in other parts of the country mail service was maintained over private post roads, and mail contractors were permitted to collect postage from mail car-

³⁷ These may have included expenditures for office rent, messenger wages, leather or wood cases (for safe keeping of letters), writing desk and stool, cords of wood, sawing wood, chimney sweeping, scales, brass candlesticks and snuffers, candlesticks, brass weights, scale beams, stationery, wrapping paper, mail bags, twine, or a yard of zinc under the wood stove.

ried over such routes. This was particularly true about mail service on cross roads over which merchants demanded regular postal communications. The authorizations of post routes in North Carolina in 1792 and 1794 did not entail their immediate operations for many months and sometimes a year thereafter. Throughout North Carolina mail transportation was slow and irregular because of inadequate roads, faulty causeways and bridges, and insufficient ferry service. The costs of carrying mail were high. Few North Carolinians bid on mail contracts, and those who were accepted by the General Post Office did not perform satisfactory mail service. Their post riders were irresponsible and negligent about adhering to mail schedules. Complaints about the irregularities of North Carolina mail service were frequent.

The self-supporting policy of Congress for the Postmaster General for "carrying the mails and he shall defray the expense thereof, together with all other expenses arising on the collection and management of the revenues of their operations" was not readily adhered to in the United States. The settlers moving into North Carolina requested postal communications with their family and friends, irrespective of the cost to the General Post Office. In general, the mail service which did exist in sparsely settled southern communities was operated at a loss, and the Postmaster General was reluctant to discontinue unproductive routes, to wit:

Our fellow citizens in the remote parts of the Union seem entitled to some indulgence. Their great distances from the seat of government and from principal commercial towns subject them to peculiar difficulties in their correspondence. They have also few or no printing presses among them, hence without the aid of the public post roads they will not only be embarrassed in their correspondence but remain destitute of every necessary information.³⁸

In the last decade of the eighteenth century the troublesome postage rates for letters were changed. There were nine rates established covering eight zones up to 450 miles, and one rate beyond that distance. A flat rate of 25 cents for mail sent more than 450 miles meant a saving to southern mer-

³⁸ Postmaster General Letterbook "C," 57 and 58.

chants. These rates changes evidently produced the expected results for the post revenue from North Carolina towns increased in spite of the haphazard development of mail service on post roads.

EDMUND BURKE HAYWOOD AND RALEIGH'S CONFEDERATE HOSPITALS

BY H. H. CUNNINGHAM*

Numerous hospital centers developed rather early in various parts of the southern Confederacy, and one of the most typical of such centers was that of Raleigh, North Carolina. Centrally located and easily accessible by rail, some distance removed from the main theaters of active military operations throughout most of the conflict, and containing a fairly sizeable population that could do much to relieve the suffering of the sick and wounded, Raleigh was selected early in the war as headquarters for the first Surgeon General of the State, Dr. Charles E. Johnson, a Raleigh resident. Immediately after his appointment by Governor John W. Ellis on May 16, 1861, Dr. Johnson opened and equipped in Raleigh the State of North Carolina's first military hospital, an institution known as the Fair Grounds Hospital. Other State hospitals were established by Dr. Johnson later in 1861 and early the next year in Petersburg and Richmond, Virginia, nearer the scene of fighting. Generally speaking, all of these institutions, along with wayside hospitals set up in Weldon, Goldsboro, Tarboro, Raleigh, Salisbury, and Charlotte in the summer of 1862, were changed to Confederate military hospitals before the end of that year.¹ Raleigh came to be the home of three general hospitals and might therefore be regarded as an important medical center of the Confederacy. Some better understanding as to the development of, conditions in, and problems facing the personnel of the average Confederate hospital may perhaps be gained from a rather close look at the situation in the City of Raleigh.

The surgeon appointed by Dr. Johnson to take charge of North Carolina's first military hospital was Dr. Edmund Burke

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¹ Peter E. Hines, "The Medical Corps," in Walter Clark (ed.), *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina, in the Great War 1861-'65* (Raleigh: Published by the State, 5 volumes, 1901), IV, 623-624, hereinafter cited as Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*.

Haywood, member of a prominent family and one of antebellum North Carolina's finest physicians. Educated at the Raleigh Academy, the University of North Carolina—where he “took first distinction in his class”—and the University of Pennsylvania, he had attained pre-eminence in his profession before the war's outbreak. Shortly after the secession of North Carolina, Dr. Haywood, a firm believer in the righteousness of the southern cause, enlisted as a private in the Raleigh Light Infantry. Later Governor Ellis sent him to Fort Sumter and Morris Island to inspect the hospitals established at those points, and it was after his return that he was directed to take charge of the Fair Grounds Hospital and the camp of instruction near Raleigh.² His subsequent contribution to the medical service of his State and that of the Confederacy can hardly be exaggerated.

Dr. Haywood appears to have been highly thought of by those with whom he worked. Dr. Johnson wrote in praise of Haywood's professional abilities, commented on his gentlemanly demeanor, and wanted him as his chief assistant. Dr. Peter E. Hines, Confederate Medical Director of the North Carolina General Hospitals, formerly surgeon of the Bethel Regiment, and Dr. Samuel P. Moore, Surgeon General of the Confederacy, both went on record in describing Haywood as an intelligent and accomplished surgeon.³ And a fellow physician wrote that he would rather be an assistant to Dr. Haywood than surgeon of a regiment.⁴

Influential as well as skillful in his profession, he was not infrequently requested by friends to intercede in their interests. One, for example, desirous of being appointed quartermaster of the Twelfth Regiment, North Carolina Volunteers, solicited his aid and expressed the conviction that such assistance would give him the place.⁵

² Samuel A. Ashe (ed.), *Biographical History of North Carolina from Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), VI, 290, hereinafter cited as Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*.

³ Moore to Hines, December 16, 1864; Hines to Moore, December 27, 1864. Ernest Haywood Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁴ Dr. B. S. Cheek to Haywood, May 29, 1863, Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁵ J. I. Iredell to Haywood, July 13, 1861, Ernest Haywood Collection.

Like most outstanding men, Dr. Haywood had considerable confidence in his abilities, and he strove to advance himself whenever possible. One such effort occurred when, in 1863, he learned that Dr. Hines's predecessor as Medical Director of the North Carolina General Hospitals desired to be relieved. Haywood made immediate application to the Confederate Surgeon General for the post. In his letter he summarized his record in service, pointed out that he had never been absent from duty, expressed the belief that his professional performance had always been of a high quality, and advised that he could forward recommendations in his behalf from "our highest authorities."⁶ Dr. Haywood may also have been responsible for the letter urging his appointment sent by some "citizens of North Carolina" to the Secretary of War.⁷ He almost certainly was behind another such communication for which Dr. S. S. Satchwell, medical officer in charge of Wilson's General Hospital No. 2, was collecting signatures.⁸ Despite such efforts, however, the position went to Dr. Hines.

Notwithstanding the fact that on one occasion before the war Dr. Haywood was compelled by poor health to abandon his practice, he appears to have worked tirelessly from the time he was appointed to assume control of the Fair Grounds Hospital in May, 1861, until the end of the war. The management of such an institution was an undertaking of considerable magnitude, and he expressed the opinion in March, 1864, that there had been received in that hospital "more very sick men than in any other in this State, on account of its having been the receiving Hospital for a large Camp of Instruction, which at one time contained between five and six thousand soldiers."⁹

That Dr. Haywood was able to carry his heavy load without faltering is indicated by his application early in 1862 to

⁶ Haywood to Moore, September 12, 1863 (copy), Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁷ D. W. Barringer to James A. Seddon, September 18, 1863 (copy), Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁸ Dr. S. S. Satchwell to Haywood, September 21, 1863, Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁹ Letter transmitting General Summary of the Sick and Wounded Report, March, 1864. Order and Letter Book, Fair Grounds Hospital, Ernest Haywood Collection.

go to Petersburg for the purpose of examining the hospitals at that point and, in the event of a battle on the Peninsula, to proceed there. Shortly thereafter, as a result of the heavy fighting around Richmond, Governor Henry T. Clark ordered Dr. Haywood "to repair there immediately, and render any medical aid in your power, to the sick and wounded in any of the North Carolina Regiment."¹⁰ In view of Dr. Haywood's willingness to serve in Virginia, it is interesting to note the assertion in the *Weekly Standard* early in 1863 that although there were six hospitals in Richmond devoted especially to Tar Heel troops, only one of the six was administered by a North Carolina physician. According to the *Standard*: "The services of many of our eminent physicians could be obtained, but as in everything else, North Carolina is ignored, even in the selection of physicians to attend our own men."¹¹

On June 18, 1864, Dr. Haywood was relieved from further duty in the Fair Grounds Hospital and placed in charge of the newly-constructed Pettigrew Hospital (General Hospital No. 13). While not a large institution (the return of hospital property for August 15, 1864, showed a total of only 394 bedsteads and six cots) the Pettigrew Hospital was a smaller counterpart of Richmond's famous Chimborazo Hospital—the largest military hospital in the history of this continent, its 150 buildings having a capacity of over 8,000 patients—and it was constructed in accordance with the Confederate Surgeon General's preference for the one story pavilion hospital.¹² Unfortunately, however, according to Dr. Haywood's first progress report, the following facilities were not completed when the Pettigrew establishment was opened: ". . . the offices and chambers, the dispensary and adjoining store rooms, the stewards, quartermaster and commissary rooms, the laundry, the kitchen and mess rooms, the attendants and servants rooms, the stable, the bath house, the guard house, the wells, the furnaces and the bed racks." To add to the generally

¹⁰ Clark to Haywood, June 2, 1862, Ernest Haywood Collection.

¹¹ *Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), January 7, 1863, hereinafter cited as *Weekly Standard*.

¹² Hines, "The Medical Corps," in Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 627.

unfinished appearance of the hospital, nearly all of the buildings needed white-washing despite the fact that "For three months past the weather has been remarkably good for building and whitewashing."¹³ A subsequent report contained numerous excuses advanced by the contractor for the slowness of construction and little else save a request by Dr. Haywood that he be excused from making further reports.¹⁴ The lack of sufficient enterprise to complete such a project is indicative of the failing fortunes of the southern Confederacy at that stage of the conflict.¹⁵

An examination of sick and wounded reports for the hospitals under Dr. Haywood's control suggests that he was quite successful in returning men to active duty. Records show that from May 20, 1861, to August 1, 1862, at which time the Fair Grounds Hospital was transferred to the Confederacy, 4,731 patients were admitted for treatment. Of this number 4,228 were returned to duty, 241 were furloughed, 44 were sent to other general hospitals, 16 were discharged, 32 deserted, and there were 170 deaths. A general summary of the entire period from May 20, 1861, to January 1, 1864, reveals that of 6,916 patients admitted to the Fair Grounds Hospital, 5,894 were returned to duty, 614 were furloughed, 69 were transferred to other general hospitals, 28 were discharged, 82 deserted, and 229 died.¹⁶ Sick and wounded returns for the Pettigrew Hospital are less complete, but the mortality rate in that establishment apparently reached its height early in 1865 since 19 deaths were reported by Dr. Haywood for the

¹³ Haywood to Hines, July 18, 1864. Order and Letter Book, Pettigrew Hospital, Ernest Haywood Collection.

¹⁴ Haywood to Hines, August 16, 1864, Ernest Haywood Collection.

¹⁵ Raleigh's third general hospital, known officially as General Hospital No. 8, was located in facilities belonging to Peace Institute and opened in the summer of 1862 by Dr. Thomas Hill. See Hill's "Sketch of General Hospital No. 8, Peace Institute, Raleigh," in *Confederate States of America, Archives, 1861-1865*, Duke University Library, Durham. Other general hospitals in North Carolina by number were located as follows: 1—Kittrell Springs; 2—Wilson; 3—Goldsboro; 4—Wilmington; 5—Wilmington; 6—Fayetteville; 9—Salisbury; 10—Salisbury; 11—Charlotte; and 12—Greensboro.

¹⁶ General Summary of the Sick and Wounded of this Hospital [Fair Grounds] from May 20, 1861, to January 1, 1864. Order and Letter Book, Ernest Haywood Collection.

period from February 1 through March 2 of that year—15 of which were ascribed to pneumonia.¹⁷

Medical officers in charge of hospitals were so encumbered by executive duties—maintaining records, preparing reports, enforcing hospital regulations, serving on medical examining boards, and the like—that some found it almost impossible to administer to the sick and wounded in their charge or engage in other professional activities. The widespread acclaim accorded several of Dr. Haywood's surgical operations, however, would appear to indicate that he found time to exploit his skill in the realm of operative surgery. In the case of one patient suffering from a buck-shot wound in the left thigh, Dr. Haywood decided "after traumatic aneurism of the femoral artery supervened followed by considerable growth, to ligate the femoral artery." The aneurism did not return.¹⁸ Dr. Haywood also performed one of the 296 intermediary amputations in the upper third of the leg for shot injury recorded during the war; his patient recovered from the operation, but 102 such cases terminated fatally.¹⁹ And 173 Union and Confederate soldiers submitted to secondary amputations in the upper third of the arm. One of the successful operations—26.6 per cent had fatal terminations—was performed by Dr. Haywood on a Union soldier.²⁰

Records of several other less publicized operations attest Dr. Haywood's skill with the knife, and a patient in the Pettigrew Hospital informed the Raleigh press of the "close attention and medical skill" accorded a fellow inmate whose right leg had been amputated by Dr. Haywood.²¹ Haywood's ideas concerning the treatment of hospital gangrene, a repulsive post-operative infection, also attracted attention. Whereas most Confederate surgeons advised the use of disinfectants

¹⁷ Letters from Haywood to 2nd auditor, C. S. A., February 1 through March 2, 1865. Order and Letter Book, Pettigrew Hospital, Ernest Haywood Collection.

¹⁸ *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal* (Richmond, 1864-1865), I (March, 1864), 36.

¹⁹ Surgeon General of the United States Army, *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 6 volumes, 1870-1888), II, Pt. 3, 513, hereinafter cited as Surgeon General, *Medical and Surgical History*.

²⁰ Surgeon General, *Medical and Surgical History*, II, Pt. 2, 775.

²¹ The surgical subject was David Bethune. R. E. Moffitt to "editors of a Raleigh newspaper," September 20, 1864, Ernest Haywood Collection.

and deodorizers to combat the infection, Haywood protested that the removal of the foul odor was "like removing the beacon that warns the watchful mariner of the certain death that lurks beneath the surface."²² Apparently Dr. Haywood also found time away from his executive duties to investigate other hospitals inasmuch as in the fall of 1863 he received orders from the medical director of North Carolina's general hospitals to "proceed to Richmond, Va. and examine into all of the arrangements for heating, ventilating, bathing, cooking and washing in use at Camp Jackson Hospital and such other hospitals as he may deem necessary."²³

Practically all available evidence supports the conclusion that Dr. Haywood was a competent and conscientious executive officer. A charge made early in the war that his administration of the Fair Grounds Hospital was not all it should be, was met by a lengthy statement in the medical officer's defense by Chaplain W. N. Bragg of the hospital. Wrote Bragg:

It appears that there is much unjust prejudice against the general military hospital in Raleigh, based upon unfounded rumors; and as I am connected with that institution, I feel it to be my duty to state, that the hospital is well-conducted. It has been charged that proper attention is not given to sick soldiers, and that the dead are not properly and decently buried. Now, sir, I speak from observation when I say, that the Superintendent, Dr. E. Burke Haywood, is constant, kind, and indefatigable in the discharge of his duties; and that no neglect is allowed which he can prevent. These injurious rumors against the hospital have operated to prevent sick soldiers from agreeing to be taken to the hospital, and thereby suffering has been occasioned to these soldiers, and some of them have died. I trust, Sir, that those who talk against the good management of the hospital will visit it and judge for themselves. Let justice be

²² Reports of Surgical Cases, General Hospitals No. 7 and 13, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1863-1865. War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives, Washington, D. C., Chap. VI, Vol. 526, hereinafter cited as War Department Collection of Confederate Records.

²³ Special Orders No. 3, Office Medical Director, General Hospitals, North Carolina, October 19, 1863. John and Edmund Burke Haywood Papers, Duke University Library.

done, and let sick soldiers no longer be deterred from going to the hospital for treatment.²⁴

Dr. Haywood and his staff also received praise from inspecting officers of the medical department. After completing an inspection of Pettigrew Hospital in December, 1864, the surgeons who conducted the inspection informed Haywood that "The order, discipline and excellent sanitary condition of your hospital are such as to reflect great credit upon yourself and associate medical officers."²⁵ And following an official inspection of all the North Carolina hospitals in the spring of 1865, it was reported that "they were the best Hospitals and better conducted than in any other Hospital District in the Confederate States. . . ."²⁶

The highly favorable reports by inspecting officers were all the more remarkable in view of the fact that normal problems of administration confronting medical officers in charge of general hospitals had become much more serious late in the war. Of these problems, that of attendants, the shortage of certain drugs, and the matter of the hospital ration and diet proved to be particularly thorny ones in the Raleigh hospitals.

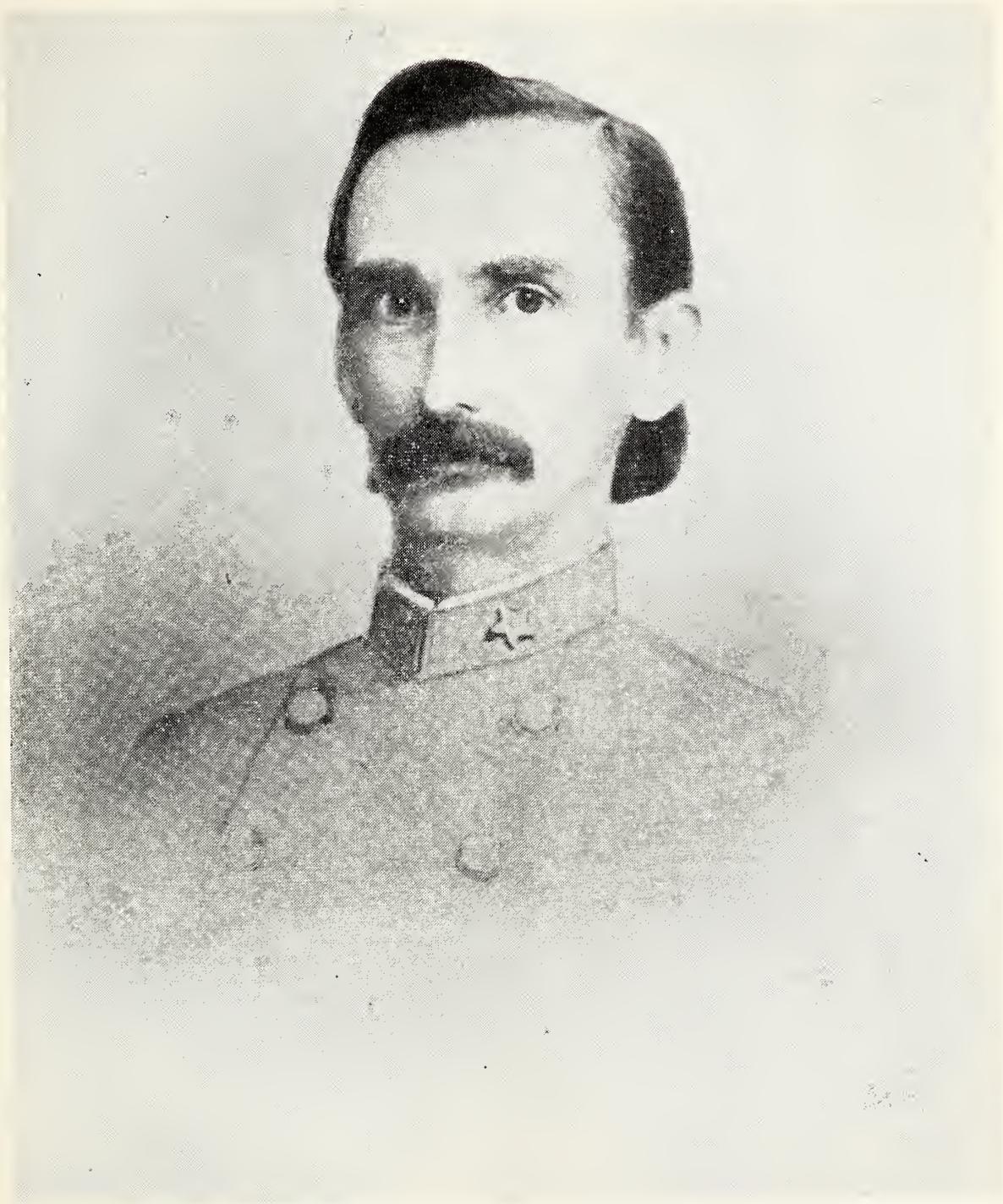
Each general hospital was allowed, in addition to the surgeon in charge, one medical officer or contract physician to every seventy or eighty patients. There was constant difficulty, however, in maintaining such a ratio. Early in August, 1864, Dr. Haywood began petitioning for additional medical officers—pointing out that he had only one assistant surgeon, two contract physicians having "annulled their contracts."²⁷ As late as February 23, 1865, Dr. Haywood was calling for two more assistant surgeons and stating that the situation

²⁴ *Weekly Standard*, May 28, 1862. Many soldiers had little confidence in their medical officers. One of these asserted that a surgeon had attempted to give one of his patients 300 grains of a quinine as a single dose, and he professed to believe that "more of our soldiers have died from unskilled but well-paid physicians, than from battles with the enemy." "CHAT-HAM" to the editor, *Weekly Standard*, September 17, 1862.

²⁵ R. T. Coleman and others to Haywood, December 3, 1864, Ernest Haywood Collection.

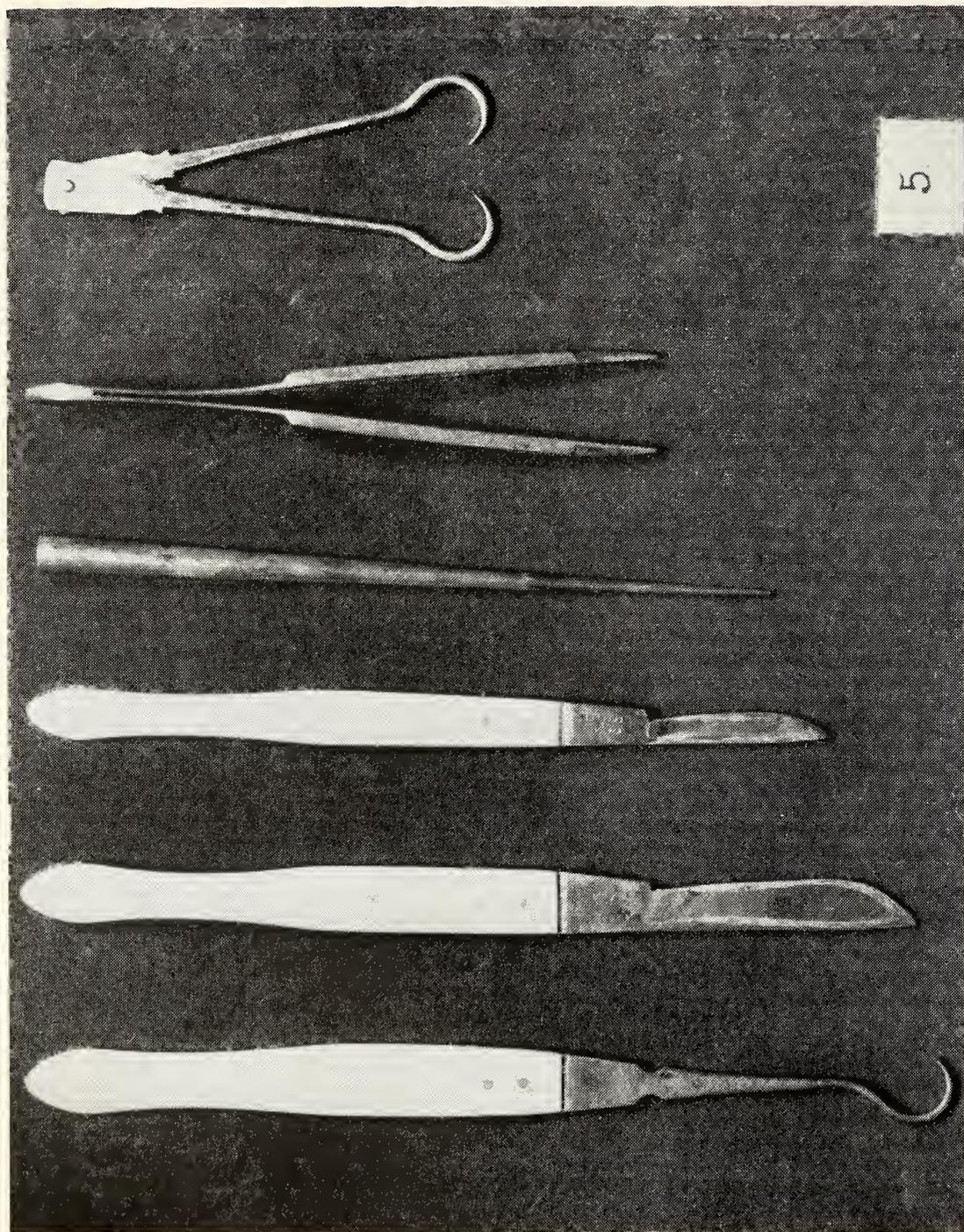
²⁶ Hines, "The Medical Corps," in Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 626-627. Further evidence of Dr. Haywood's executive ability may be seen in the fact that he served as Acting Medical Director of the North Carolina General Hospitals when Dr. Hines was away. See, for example, Haywood to S. P. Moore, January 9, 1865 (copy), Ernest Haywood Collection.

²⁷ Haywood to Moore, August 10, 1864. Ernest Haywood Collection.



Hall of History

E. Burke Haywood, M.D., Surgeon in charge of Pettigrew Hospital



Hall of History
Surgical instruments of Dr. E. Burke Haywood. Left to right: nerve hook, dissecting knife, dissecting knife, silver probe, tweezers, and retractor.

“absolutely requires additional Medical officers.”²⁸ And on the next day, February 24, he advised the medical director that there were in the hospital thirty-two more patients than could be accommodated and requested permission to transfer them elsewhere.²⁹ Such transfers relieved crowded conditions temporarily, but the problem became increasingly acute.

A serious problem also existed with respect to the shortage of ward masters, matrons, nurses, cooks, and laundresses—all of which were authorized by “An act to better provide for the sick and wounded of the army in hospitals” passed by the Confederate Congress in September, 1862. Dr. Haywood’s greatest difficulty concerned ward masters—the accountable property officers for hospitals—and nurses. Provision was made in the act of September, 1862, for the permanent detail of soldiers as ward masters and nurses in case sufficient numbers of such attendants could not be procured outside the military service. Since it proved difficult to obtain ward masters and nurses, large numbers of soldiers were serving more or less continuously in the capacity of hospital attendants. It was widely believed, however, that such men should be in the field if they were able to bear arms, and a general order issued by the Adjutant and Inspector General’s Office, dated July 8, 1863, recommended that “as far as practicable,” able-bodied soldiers fit for field service be relieved by men unfit for such duty.³⁰ This order was implemented by directives from the Surgeon General’s Office, one of which required monthly examinations of all enlisted men detailed for hospital service and the return to their commands of all “not positively disqualified” for duty in the field.³¹ Another stipulated that, except for hospital stewards, “no able-bodied white man be-

²⁸ Haywood to Hines, February 23, 1865. Order and Letter Book, Pettigrew Hospital, Ernest Haywood Collection.

²⁹ Haywood to Hines, February 24, 1865. Shortly thereafter Dr. F. J. Haywood, brother of Dr. Edmund Burke Haywood, tendered his home on Fayetteville Street “as a hospital for very sick or badly wounded soldiers.” Order and Letter Book, Pettigrew Hospital. March 17, 1865, Ernest Haywood Collection.

³⁰ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books and index], 1880-1901), Ser. IV, II, 619.

³¹ Moore to Surgeon W. A. Carrington, August 11, 1863. Order Book, General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Virginia, Confederate Museum, Richmond.

tween the ages of 17 and 45 or detailed soldiers fit for field duty, will be retained in any capacity in or about hospitals, but will be returned to their commands if soldiers, or turned over to Conscript Officers if liable to conscription.”³²

Examining boards found quite a few potential ward masters and nurses among the disabled applicants for furloughs and discharges, but hospital surgeons were understandably loathe to give up men who had become adept in the art of nursing. Dr. Haywood stated the case in a succinct protest to Surgeon General Moore as follows:

. . . It will be impossible to keep a hospital in fine order and the patients well cared for with broken down disabled men. Nurses who are detailed on account of permanent disability know that they are not likely to be returned to the field, and therefore do not exert themselves to please. They are generally . . . discontented at being detailed . . . instead of being furloughed or discharged. . . . A nurse who is liable to be removed to duty in the field, for disobedience or neglect of duty, is much more easily managed and ten times as efficient. A disabled man cannot lift the sick, carry out the beds, scour the floor or sit up at night, or do many other things which are necessary in a well conducted hospital. I think it hard that the Medical Department should have to give up their skilled and faithful ward-masters and nurses. No other Department has given its employees. . . .³³

Numerous other surgeons from all over the Confederacy referred to the seriousness of this problem.

Medical officers in charge of hospitals gave up their personnel so reluctantly that the Secretary of War, pursuant to a request from General Lee, sent an examining commission of surgeons to the Virginia and North Carolina hospitals “with authority to return to the field all detailed men and patients fit for duty.”³⁴ An inspection of the Pettigrew Hospital late in 1864 revealed that Dr. Haywood had retained as attendants

³² SGO Circular No. 11, July 8, 1864, quoted in *Medical Director's Office Circular No. 21*, July 14, 1864, Raleigh, North Carolina. *Circulars, North Carolina Medical Director's Office, 1864-1865*.

³³ Haywood to Moore, October 8, 1863. Order and Letter Book, Fair Grounds Hospital, Ernest Haywood Collection.

³⁴ Special Orders No. 218, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, September 14, 1864. War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Chap. VI, Vol. 642.

soldiers who should have been returned to field duty;³⁵ and as late as January 31, 1865, he was still protesting that hospitals could not be conducted properly without competent attendants.³⁶ It was hardly to be expected, however, that those who might be useful at the front would be allowed to remain in the hospitals.

The extent to which the Raleigh hospitals were handicapped by the scarcity of medical and hospital supplies is not altogether clear. Dr. Haywood reported on March 3, 1865, that "we are in great need of some of the most important medicines," but this situation appears to have developed more from a change in purveyors responsible for supplying medicines than from any other cause.³⁷ In view of the numerous experiments conducted at Pettigrew Hospital to find a satisfactory quinine substitute, however, it is perhaps reasonable to conclude that some difficulty existed in the procurement of this important drug, a favorite remedy of southern physicians in the treatment of malaria since its isolation from cinchona by French chemists in the 1820's. One experiment, which may have been based on earlier practice by Dr. Josiah Clark Nott of Alabama, called for the external application of turpentine a certain number of minutes before an expected paroxysm. A bandage wet with turpentine was applied to the body of the patient at the lower part of the chest; then, if convenient, the patient was wrapped in blankets.³⁸ The use of turpentine as an adjuvant to quinine was also found to have some efficacy and the amount of quinine to be administered was reduced thereby.³⁹ Still another substitute employed in the Pettigrew Hospital was a "mixture of tincture of opium and solution of ammonia" given in doses of thirty drops of each a short time before the expected attack.⁴⁰

³⁵ Haywood to Moore, January 9, 1865. Order and Letter Book, Pettigrew Hospital, Ernest Haywood Collection.

³⁶ Haywood to Hines, January 31, 1865, Order and Letter Book, Ernest Haywood Collection.

³⁷ See Haywood to Hines, March 3, 1865, and endorsement from Hines to Haywood, same date, Ernest Haywood Collection.

³⁸ *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal*, I (January, 1864), 7-8.

³⁹ Surgeon General, *Medical and Surgical History*, I, Pt. 3, 189.

⁴⁰ Surgeon General, *Medical and Surgical History*, I, Pt. 3, 186. A prophylactic reportedly used with success in swampy areas of the Confederacy was whiskey saturated with dogwood and other indigenous barks. The troops manifested their approval of this preventive. Surgeon General, *Medical and Surgical History*, I, Pt. 3, 176.

One of the most essential functions of hospital administrators was that of providing the sick and wounded troops with a sufficient amount of nourishing and palatable food. Yet, despite a steady increase in the commutation allowance of rations, large hospital gardens tended by the convalescents, a reasonable degree of diligence on the part of hospital purchasing agents, and the contributions of various patriotic individuals and relief associations, medical officers in charge of hospitals were not infrequently hard-pressed in attempting to meet the needs of their patients in this respect. No serious problem was unrelated to currency depreciation, and Dr. Haywood found that spiraling prices more than kept pace with allowance increases. In February, 1862, he bought chickens for 20c, eggs for 15c a dozen, and beef for 12½c a pound, but three years later the same items sometimes cost as much as \$4.50, \$4.05, and \$3.33 respectively.⁴¹ Occasionally he was unable to make purchases at all because the commissary was without money.⁴² On February 10, 1865, Dr. Haywood complained that at no time since he had been in charge of a hospital had the patients suffered so much from the lack of subsistence stores—bacon, mutton, pork, wheat, beans, rice and the like—as they had “during the last and present months.”⁴³ Hospital purchasing agents were forbidden to buy such stores, but on February 13 Dr. Haywood advised the medical director that none of these items had been issued to the hospital during the months of January and February and requested permission to purchase them through his own agents.⁴⁴ Closely related to the food supply was the matter of proper diet, and it seems conclusive that one of the chief failures of the hospital staff generally was its inability to meet the dietary requirements of the sick and wounded.

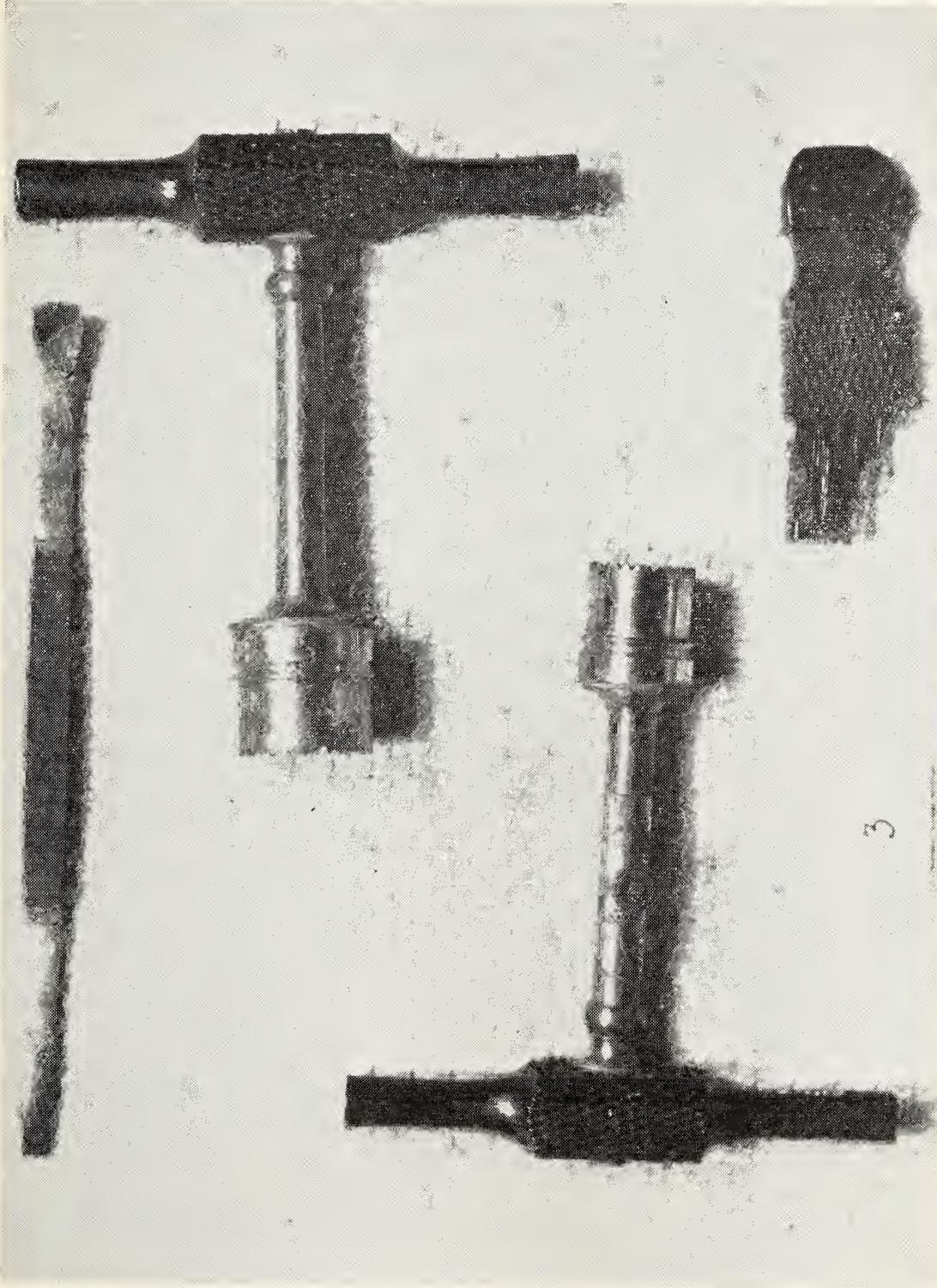
At the same time that Dr. Haywood was wrestling with the personnel, drug, and food shortages he learned that the quar-

⁴¹ Account Book, Fair Grounds Hospital, and Vouchers of Pettigrew Hospital. Ernest Haywood Collection.

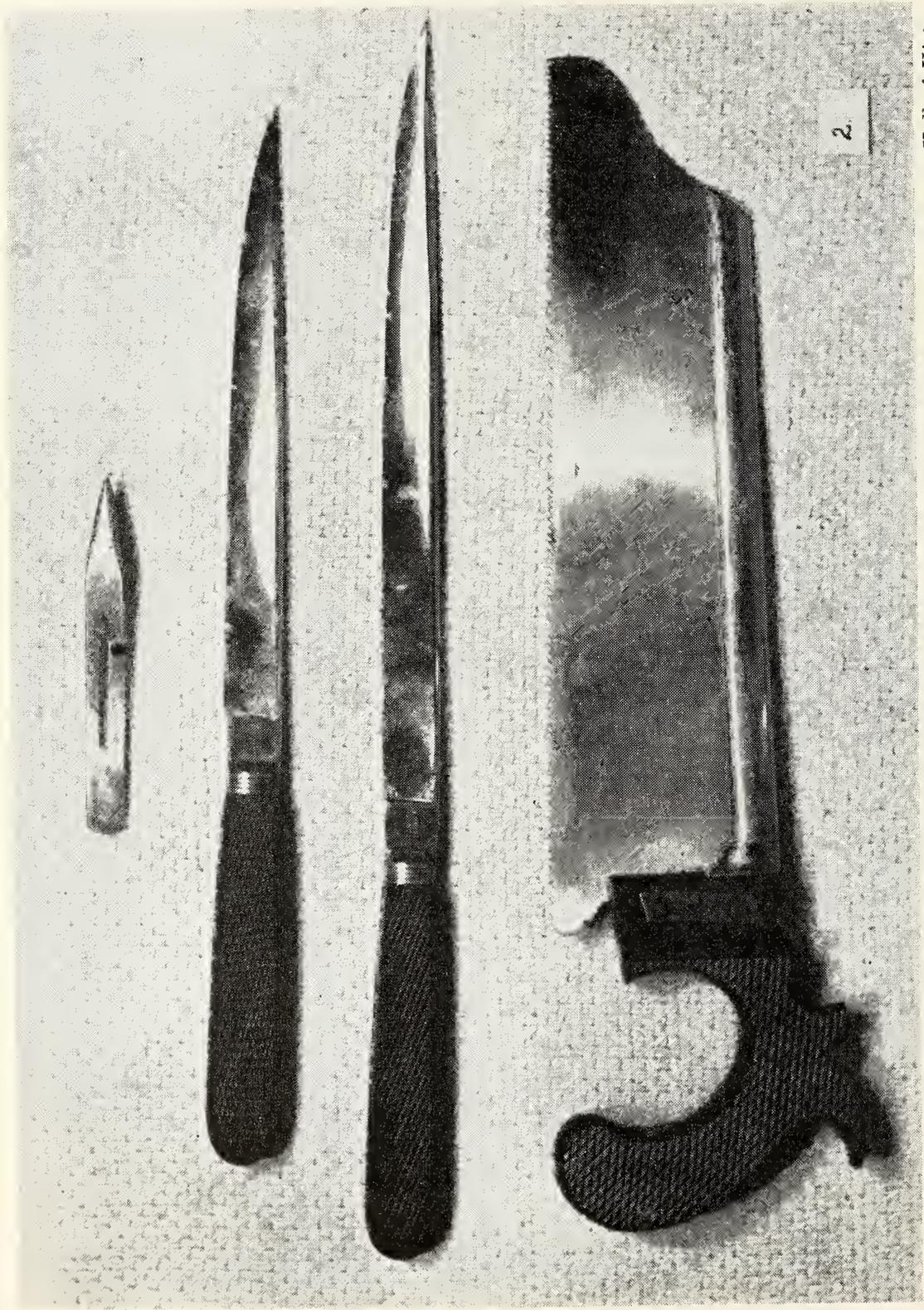
⁴² Statement on face of requisition on commissary, January 30, 1865, Vouchers of Pettigrew Hospital, Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁴³ Haywood to Hines, February 10, 1865, Order and Letter Book, Pettigrew Hospital, Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁴⁴ Haywood to Hines, February 13, 1865, Order and Letter Book, Pettigrew Hospital, Ernest Haywood Collection.



Hall of History
Surgical instruments of Dr. E. Burke Haywood. The items, from bottom to top: Brush, Trephine, Rasp, and Trephine.



Hall of History

Surgical instruments of Dr. E. Burke Haywood. The above items are, from bottom to top: amputating saw, amputating knife, amputating knife, hemostatic forceps.

termaster could not meet his requisitions for wood and was also advised by that officer that clothing was very scarce.⁴⁵ Such was the situation at Pettigrew Hospital during the war's last winter.

The closing military operations of the war led to considerable confusion in the hospital service throughout the Confederacy. Transportation break-downs and the over-all turmoil naturally associated with an army's retreat were mainly responsible for the seriousness of the medical problem in the West, and Sherman's drive across the Carolinas had a similar effect in that area. In Raleigh, hospital surgeons were ordered to examine all patients daily and transfer to the west those who could stand the trip;⁴⁶ despite such movement, however, Medical Director Hines found it impossible to care properly for the disabled of General Joseph E. Johnston's army. Facilities became so crowded in Raleigh that it was necessary to use the churches as receiving and distributing hospitals, and rations drawn for incoming patients were prepared by Raleigh women.⁴⁷

Meantime, on March 24, Dr. Haywood was ordered by the medical director to get as many supplies as possible in a portable condition and to advise how many cars would be required to move them and how many patients would have to be left behind. He was further instructed to "leave a full supply of medicines, hospital stores, bedding and subsistence for two weeks" in charge of appropriate personnel.⁴⁸ That same day Haywood informed Hines that he had "one car load and one flat load of hospital furniture and supplies" ready to move,

⁴⁵ Entry on Voucher No. 452, Pettigrew Hospital, February 9, 1865; Major H. R. Hooper to Haywood, February 11, 1865, Ernest Haywood Collection. Similar circumstances prevailed elsewhere. Late in 1864, for example, it was asserted that the supply of wood furnished Richmond's large Jackson Hospital did not even "warm the stoves." Report of the Officer of the Day, Jackson Hospital, November 30, 1864, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Chap. VI, Vol. 373.

⁴⁶ Special Orders No. 48, Office Medical Director, General Hospitals, North Carolina, March 20, 1865. Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁴⁷ S. Singleton to Hines, March 22, 1865. Confederate States of America, Archives, 1861-1865. See also Hines to W. A. Holt, March 5, 1865, in W. A. Holt Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

⁴⁸ Hines to Haywood, March 24, 1865. Ernest Haywood Collection.

and he stated that about twenty-five patients would have to be left.⁴⁹

Some shipments preparatory to complete evacuation were no doubt made. On March 26, Medical Director Hines requested that Dr. Haywood advise him how many supplies could be shipped on that day, at what hour they would be ready, the number of wagons it would take to move them to the depot, and how many cars they would fill.⁵⁰ Just what happened between March 26 and April 8 is not clear, but on the latter date Dr. Haywood sought advice from the medical director as to what disposition he should make of the hospital records.⁵¹ On April 10, Hines recommended that the records be carefully marked and boxed and shipped to the surgeon in charge of either the High Point or Charlotte hospitals.⁵²

Dr. Haywood's final orders as a Confederate medical officer were apparently received on April 12. On that day he was directed to remain in charge of Pettigrew Hospital and to retain such attendants and hospital property as he might require; when relieved he was to report to either Medical Director Hines or the Confederate Surgeon General.⁵³ At the time these orders were issued most of the patients must have been removed, and the hospital was undoubtedly only a shell of its former self. A report dated April 20 referred to the institution as "Haywood Hospital" and listed only sixteen patients and four attendants remaining.⁵⁴ It was not until July 4, however, that the last of the sick and wounded were able to leave the Pettigrew establishment.⁵⁵ And Dr. Edmund Burke Haywood, with this chapter of his career thus completed, returned to private practice.

⁴⁹ Haywood to Hines, March 24, 1865. Order and Letter Book, Pettigrew Hospital, Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁵⁰ Hines to Haywood, March 26, 1865. Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁵¹ Haywood to Hines, April 8, 1865. Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁵² Hines to Haywood, April 10, 1865, Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁵³ Special Orders No. 69, Office Medical Director, General Hospitals, North Carolina, April 12, 1865. Ernest Haywood Collection.

⁵⁴ List of Patients and Attendants in Haywood Hospital, Raleigh, April 20, 1865 (a loose sheet in Dr. Leach's Register). Ernest Haywood Collection. The possibility exists, however, that "Haywood Hospital" was not Pettigrew Hospital.

⁵⁵ Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VI, 291.

THE MOVEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA TO
ESTABLISH A STATE SUPPORTED
COLLEGE FOR NEGROES

BY FRENISE A. LOGAN*

“To the colored youth [of North Carolina]” thundered James E. O’Hara in 1879, “must be accorded an institution of learning, fostered and controlled by the State, of equal dignity of the State University at Chapel Hill.”¹ O’Hara, in the years immediately following Reconstruction, was not the only Negro to demand that North Carolina establish a state supported college for the Negroes of the State. In the same year, John A. White, a Negro member of the North Carolina Legislature from Halifax County, attempted to push through the lower house a bill leading to the establishment of a university for colored youth in the Second Congressional District. It was rejected.² Perhaps the strongest plea on the part of Negroes between 1879 and 1891 for a public supported institution for their group was made in 1885 by a Raleigh Negro public school teacher and principal.

Debarred the advantages of attending the Chapel Hill University, the State is bound by the Constitution to establish and equip a school which will be to the colored people what Chapel Hill is to the whites. The necessity for such a school need not be argued. Over five hundred students leave North Carolina every year to seek in other States facilities of higher education which they cannot find at home. Howard, Lincoln, Oberlin, Wilberforce, Atlanta and Amherst Universities carry upon their rolls the

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¹ Quoted in the *Journal of Industry*, November 19, 1879. Charles N. Hunter Scrapbook, 1879-1888. Charles N. Hunter Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited as Hunter Scrapbook and Hunter Papers. O’Hara, a few years later, was elected by the voters of the Second Congressional District of North Carolina to two terms in the United States House of Representatives.

² *Journal of the House of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina*, 1879, 379, hereinafter cited as *House Journal*. The Second Congressional District in 1879 was comprised of Craven, Edgecombe, Greene, Halifax, Jones, Lenoir, Northampton, Wayne, and Wilson counties. *Public Laws of the State of North Carolina*, 1876-1877, Ch. 275, Sec. 12. Act of March 12, 1877.

names of these students. It is generous enough in other States to open their doors and invite to their halls of learning the boys and girls from our State, but it is a sad commentary upon North Carolina.³

The continued failure of North Carolina to establish an institution of higher learning for the Negroes of the state led a Negro state teachers' association in 1886 to demand that members of their race be admitted to the University at Chapel Hill. In an effort to counter the anticipated well of anti-Negro feeling resulting from such a demand, Henry Eppes, a Negro state senator representing the Fourth District in the 1887 North Carolina Legislature, attempted to "explain away" the statement of the teachers' association. In a speech before the Senate of North Carolina on February 21, 1887, Eppes said the Negroes of the state asked only that the legislature create a "just educational system." He confidently declared to a listening Senate that "the Negro of intelligence and character spurns knocking at the door of any college or university where he is not wanted."⁴

In line with this thinking, Eppes urged the Senate to support his bill to establish an industrial college for the Negroes of North Carolina. To this end, he sought an appropriation of \$10,000 the first year, and \$1,000 every year afterward.⁵ His measure was soundly rejected thirty-seven to one, the vote of Eppes being the only affirmative one.⁶ Not only was there solid opposition to Eppes's bill in the Senate, but the editor of the *Chatham Record* described it as "one of the cheekiest propositions yet introduced on the Senate floor."⁷ Apparently a majority of the whites of North Carolina were not ready to grant the admission of Negroes to white institutions or to make such "expensive appropriations" on behalf of Negro higher

³ C. N. Hunter to *Afro-American Presbyterian*, July 1, 1885, Hunter Scrapbook, 1887-1928, Hunter Papers.

⁴ Quoted in the *Outlook* (Raleigh), February 25, 1887, Hunter Scrapbook, 1889-1925, Hunter Papers.

⁵ *Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1887*, 38, hereinafter cited as *Senate Journal*.

⁶ *Senate Journal, 1887*, 364-365. Eppes, in the session of 1887, also presented a petition from the Negro voters of Halifax County requesting the establishment of an agricultural and mechanical college for their race, *Senate Journal, 1887*, 319.

⁷ *Chatham Record* (Pittsboro), February 24, 1887.

education. Undaunted by the failure of Eppes, two Negro representatives in the 1889 session of the North Carolina Legislature proposed the establishment of an agricultural and mechanical college. Both were unsuccessful.⁸

However, the apathy, if not outright hostility, with which the whites of North Carolina viewed attempts by Negroes to gain state aid for the establishment of a college for their race was suddenly to change to one of support. In order to understand fully this transformation, it is necessary to refer briefly to two federal laws, the Morrill acts of 1862 and 1890. On July 2 of the former year, the United States Congress approved an act appropriating a portion of the public lands for the support of colleges established by the states for the benefit of agriculture and mechanic arts. During the fifty-first Congress, on August 30, 1890, an amendment to the 1862 act was passed by the national legislature. Its object was similar to the 1862 law: to give encouragement and instruction in the science of practical agriculture and mechanics. For this purpose an appropriation of \$15,000 for each state was made. The initial appropriation was to be increased yearly by \$1,000 until at the expiration of ten years the appropriation reached the limit of \$25,000, at which point it was to remain. The act of August 30, 1890, further stipulated that these annual appropriations were to be equitably divided between the two races in states where separate schools were maintained.⁹

In carrying out the provisions of the act of 1890, John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, on September 22, 1890, sent the Governor of North Carolina, Daniel G. Fowle, a circular letter requesting answers to three questions. First, was there an agricultural college established and maintained by North Carolina? Second, was there any distinction of race or color in admission? Third, if so, was there a college for whites and one for Negroes aided by the state from its own revenues?¹⁰

In answer to Noble's letter, Fowle stated that North Carolina operated a college of agriculture and received benefits

⁸ *House Journal*, 1889, 113, 245.

⁹ *Public Documents of the State of North Carolina, 1891*. Document No. 1, "Biennial Message of Daniel G. Fowle, Governor of North Carolina, to the Legislature of North Carolina, January 9, 1891," 14, hereinafter cited as *Public Documents*.

¹⁰ *Public Documents*, 15. See also *Senate Journal*, 1891, 32.

from the Act of 1862. Further, that the only students attending the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts were whites, and, Fowle added, were a colored student to seek admission, he would be refused. While admitting that there was no agricultural and mechanical college established by the State or aided by its revenue for Negroes, the Governor promised Noble that he would recommend in his message to the North Carolina legislature on January 8, 1891, "that an agricultural college for the colored race be established at once." Fowle, in his concluding sentence, requested the \$15,000 he said was due the State under the Act of 1890.¹¹

Noble, in a reply to Fowle, tersely notified the North Carolina executive that since the State had but one college devoted to instruction in agriculture and mechanic arts, with only whites in attendance, and since Negroes would be refused admittance if they presented themselves for admission, North Carolina could not share in the appropriations of the Act of 1890. Noble concluded that federal funds would continue to be withheld until the state legislature provided "a similar institution for the education of colored students to equitably participate with the existing white institution in the benefits of the provision."¹² The effort of North Carolina to qualify for the funds by establishing a department of agriculture and mechanic arts for Negroes at Shaw University in Raleigh, was such an obvious attempt at circumvention that Noble disdained a reply.

Having no alternative, then, Governor Fowle, in his message to the North Carolina Legislature on January 9, 1891, recommended the establishment of an agricultural and mechanical college for Negroes. "For only this," he informed the members of the legislature, "will entitle our State to her portion of the appropriation."¹³ Thus the Governor's recommendation that North Carolina create and maintain an agricultural and mechanical college for Negroes was conspicuous for its lack of altruism. Without the proviso to the Morrill

¹¹ Fowle to Noble, September 27, 1890. Daniel G. Fowle Letter Book, 1889-1891, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Fowle Letter Book.

¹² Noble to Fowle, October 25, 1890. Fowle Letter Book.

¹³ *Public Documents, 1891*. No. 1, 15-16.

Act of 1890 which declared that those states where education for the two races were separate (in order to qualify for federal appropriations a separate college must be established for Negroes) it is difficult to prophesy just how long North Carolina would have denied to its Negro citizens the right to a state supported college education.

On January 19, 1891, ten days after Governor Fowle's recommendation, Isaac Alston, a Negro representing the Nineteenth Senatorial District of Warren County, introduced the first Senate bill of the 1891 session providing for the establishment of an industrial college for Negroes of North Carolina. It was rejected.¹⁴ It was seven weeks later before another attempt was made in the Senate to achieve this end. On the morning of March 5, 1891, a bill of J. D. Bellamy of Wilmington to establish an agricultural and mechanical college for Negroes passed its first reading. When the Senate met again that evening, Bellamy's bill passed its second and third readings and was ordered to be sent to the House of Representatives without engrossment.¹⁵ The next morning, March 6, it passed its first reading in the House, and on March 7, passed its second and third readings, and ordered to be engrossed.¹⁶

The final act, entitled "An act to establish an agricultural and mechanical college for the colored race," was ratified by the General Assembly of North Carolina on March 9, 1891.¹⁷ Sections 3, 10, and 11 are among the more important ones contained in the act. Section 3 states as the "leading object" of the institution to be known as the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race, was to teach practical agriculture and mechanic arts "and such branches of learning as relate thereto, not excluding academical and classical instruction." Section 10 provides that a sum of \$2,500 be annually appropriated to sustain the college. Section 11 stipu-

¹⁴ *Senate Journal, 1891, 126.*

¹⁵ *Senate Journal, 1891, 800, 856-857.*

¹⁶ *House Journal, 1891, 971, 1001.* Several bills to establish the Negro institution were introduced in the lower house of the General Assembly, but were all rejected. *House Journal, 1891, 68, 176, 230.*

¹⁷ *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1891.* Ch. 594. Act of March 9, 1891, hereinafter cited as *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina.*

lates that until the site and buildings were furnished for the location of the college, the trustee board of nine members were empowered to make temporary provisions for the school "at some established [Negro] institution within the State."¹⁸

Since the location of the college was left undetermined by the General Assembly, it is not surprising that effort on the part of certain interested Negro groups in the cities and towns of the State would be made to secure its establishment in their communities. As a matter of fact on February 6, 1891, approximately a month before the act creating the A. & M. College was passed by the General Assembly, the *Daily State Chronicle* (Raleigh) observed that three North Carolina cities had already offered inducements to the legislature to establish the proposed school in their midst. Wilmington offered cash and land to the amount of \$8,000; Raleigh offered dormitories and recitation rooms at Shaw University, a private Negro institution in that city; and Winston-Salem offered \$15,000.¹⁹

As early as October, 1890, James A. Whitted, principal of a Negro public school in Durham, wrote another Negro, Charles N. Hunter, that he would be gratified "if there could be some steps taken to secure to Durham the Agricultural School." However, since he was not "well posted as to the proper manner to proceed to get public sentiment aroused to the importance of such a thing," Whitted was not overly enthusiastic at the prospects. As a matter of fact, he expressed the very questionable opinion that no other Negro in Durham cared "two straws" about securing the college for that city.²⁰

Two months later, Whitted was still pessimistic of the progress Durham was making to gain the school. Although the Negroes of that city had by December, 1890, "suscribed over \$200, and that it would "be easy to get a promise of \$1,000 from them," Whitted was "afraid that petty jealousies among our big men will cause them to fall out by the way."²¹ Despite these misgivings, Whitted and other like-minded Negroes continued their efforts. And so by February 21, 1891,

¹⁸ *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina*, Ch. 594.

¹⁹ Quoted in the *Daily Record* (Greensboro), February 6, 1891, hereinafter cited as *Daily Record*.

²⁰ James A. Whitted to Charles N. Hunter, October 30, 1890, Hunter Papers.

²¹ Whitted to Hunter, December 26, 1890, Hunter Papers.

they could claim that the aggregate of cash subscriptions amounted to some \$8,000, and the proposed land for the college site was valued at \$5,000. However, when a delegation of white and colored citizens of Durham returned from Raleigh where they presented their inducements to the Education Committees of the General Assembly, Whitted noted that they "seemed to be dismayed." It appeared that Greensboro had offered a proposition "which could hardly be ignored."²² Apparently this ended any serious effort on the part of the Negroes of Durham to secure the A. & M. College, for Whitted was convinced that the whites would do no more. Without increased subscriptions from them, further effort was futile.²³ Wilmington, though not fully organized until the fall of 1891, was actively working towards bringing the college there. In mid-August, 1891, the *Afro-Presbyterian* observed that subscriptions were being made rapidly, and it was expected that the port city would "show up all right."²⁴

Perhaps the two most active cities seeking the college between February and August of 1891 were Raleigh and Greensboro. Although there had been discussions and plans formulated by the Negroes of Raleigh, it was not until June 30, 1891, that the first public meeting of white and Negro citizens was held. Meeting at the mayor's office, the group organized two committees; the committee to solicit subscriptions and the committee to present the claims of Raleigh before the Board of Trustees of the new school.²⁵ Significantly, all members of the subscription committee were Negroes; while on the latter one, Negroes were in the minority.²⁶

Editors of the white newspapers in the capital city strongly supported the movement. For example, the *Daily Evening Visitor*, while admitting that the city was "well supplied with colleges serving its colored population," declared that "the one missing link was a school of practical, technical training." Besides, the editor declared,

²² Whitted to Hunter, February 21, 1891, Hunter Papers.

²³ Whitted to Hunter, February 21, 1891, Hunter Papers.

²⁴ Quoted in the *Daily Record*, August 20, 1891.

²⁵ *Daily Evening Visitor* (Raleigh), July 1, 1891, hereinafter cited as the *Daily Evening Visitor*.

²⁶ *Daily Evening Visitor*, July 1, 1891.

Raleigh owes it to its colored citizens and to itself to secure this college if possible. It means more for our city than it could for any other in the State. We believe it is of the highest importance to the colored people of the State that it be located here. But the Trustees will consider our advantages provided we make a liberal offer to secure it, and not otherwise.²⁷

In line with the declarations of the editor of the *Daily Evening Visitor*, the committee appointed to solicit contributions for the establishment of the college in Raleigh conducted a vigorous canvass. One Raleigh newspaper, *The News and Observer*, noted that the subscriptions were succeeding "to a gratifying degree."²⁸

If judged by the February 6, 1891, reaction of a Greensboro paper to the various inducements offered by other North Carolina cities to gain the institution, it appeared that that piedmont city was not interested in acquiring the college. "Greensboro don't need it," the editor asserted, "as she has one of the best colored schools in the State [Bennett College]."²⁹ This view was not shared by the Negroes of Greensboro. On February 27, 1891, a group of them met to perfect an organization whose object was "to advise and to consider the moral, material and intellectual interests of the colored people of Greensboro."³⁰ Although the organization did not specifically state it, it is reasonable to assume that one of its chief objects was to secure to Greensboro the A. & M. College.

By far the most active Negro in the movement to bring the college to Greensboro was Charles H. Moore.³¹ Determined to succeed in this effort, Moore sought and successfully gained the support of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce and such prominent and influential white citizens as D. W. C. Benbow. Impressed with his plans, the Chamber appointed

²⁷ *Daily Evening Visitor*, July 13, 1891.

²⁸ Quoted in the *Daily Record*, August 30, 1891.

²⁹ *Daily Record*, February 6, 1891.

³⁰ *Daily Record*, March 2, 1891.

³¹ With degrees from Howard University and Amherst College, in addition to some ten years of teaching and school administrative experience, Moore in June, 1891, considered himself sufficiently qualified to seek the presidency of the proposed A. & M. College. Moore to Governor Thomas Holt, June 20, 1891. Governors' Papers, Thomas M. Holt, 1891, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Governors' Papers.

Moore chairman of the committee seeking to locate the A. & M. College in the city.³² Through the pages of the Greensboro *Daily Record*, Moore and his supporters during the month of August, 1891, attempted to convince the people of Greensboro of the financial benefits that would come to city in the wake of the college's establishment. He estimated that "not less" than \$8,000 or \$10,000 would come into Greensboro the first few years of the college's growth. This amount, Moore was confident, would increase as the school grew in popularity and student population.³³ On another occasion Moore made an undisguised attempt to show the white businessmen of Greensboro that if for no other reason than self interest, they should support his move to secure the college. Significantly, he admitted at the same time that without such aid, Greensboro's chances to land the A. & M. College were not good.³⁴

The exertions on the part of Moore and other Negroes of Greensboro to secure the college came none too late. Long before Greensboro evinced an interest, as has been noted above, Wilmington, Durham, and Raleigh, along with Winston-Salem had held public meetings and appointed committees to solicit funds for land for the college. Moore, on August 20, 1891, noting the efforts of Negroes in these cities, ruefully observed that "Greensboro as yet has not evinced much enthusiasm over the subject." He, nonetheless, held out the hope that the city would "eventually show herself a stubborn competitor with other cities for the school."³⁵

The hope of Moore was partially answered on the evening following the above plea. At the initial meeting of white and Negro citizens, resolutions were passed and committees appointed to solicit guarantees to compete with other North Carolina cities for the college.³⁶ Commenting on the meeting, the *Daily Record* said that "liberal subscriptions were at once made by some of our leading men, and the outlook is good."³⁷

³² Ethel S. Arnett, *Greensboro, North Carolina, County Seat of Guilford* (Chapel Hill, 1955), 111-112, hereinafter cited Arnett, *Greensboro, North Carolina*.

³³ Moore in the *Daily Record*, August 6, 1891.

³⁴ Moore in the *Daily Record*, August 20, 1891.

³⁵ Moore in the *Daily Record*, August 20, 1891.

³⁶ *Daily Record*, August 21, 1891.

³⁷ *Daily Record*, August 21, 1891.

Another meeting of white and Negro citizens of Greensboro was held four days later, on August 24, 1891, to take final steps towards getting the institution located in the city. Writing in the *Daily Record* on the day of the night the meeting was scheduled, a person who identified himself as "Justice" (obviously Charles H. Moore) argued that there was no valid reason why Greensboro should not bear the responsibility and burden of securing the A. & M. College. Reminding the white people of Greensboro that the city's Negro voters in July, 1891, "without scarcely a murmur of dissent, rallied to the polls" to approve a subscription of \$30,000 to secure the Normal and Industrial School for White Girls (now Womans' College), "Justice" asked would the whites be less generous and more selfish than their "brothers in black."³⁸ The editor of the *Daily Record*, possibly impressed with the above appeal, was moved to declare that "all who feel an interest in securing the location of the Colored Agricultural and Mechanical College in Greensboro must give our colored friends that aid which justice demands at our hands."³⁹

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to trace the exertions of Negroes, chiefly in Durham, Raleigh, and Greensboro, to induce the Board of Trustees of the A. & M. College to locate the college in their midst. Some attention, therefore, must now be given to the activities of the Board. Appointed by the North Carolina Legislature of 1891, the following men, one from each state senatorial district, composed the first Board of Trustees of the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race. They were Hugh Cale, J. M. Early, John S. Leary, W. H. Pace, Charles H. Moore, W. R. McKoy, W. A. Graham, S. McD. Tate, and W. H. McClure.⁴⁰ Cale, Leary, and Moore were Negroes.⁴¹

Oddly enough, J. M. Early, who had been named as temporary chairman by the legislature on March 9, 1891,⁴² was not informed officially of his appointment until a month

³⁸ "Justice" in the *Daily Record*, August 24, 1891.

³⁹ *Daily Record*, August 24, 1891.

⁴⁰ *Senate Journal*, 1891, 919-920; *House Journal*, 1891, 1013-1016. See also the *Daily State Chronicle* (Raleigh), March 13, 1891, hereinafter cited as *Daily State Chronicle*.

⁴¹ *Daily State Chronicle*, March 13, 1891.

⁴² *Laws of North Carolina*. Ch, 579, Act of March 9, 1891.

later.⁴³ Then, "owing to previous arrangements" claiming his attention, Early set June 23, 1891 as "the earliest possible date" of the Board's first meeting.⁴⁴ Convening at Raleigh in the office of W. H. Pace, one of the trustee members, the group organized into a permanent body, electing Pace as president and John S. Leary, one of the three Negro members, as secretary. The trustees, in another important action taken at this first meeting, moved to advertise in the more prominent papers of the state for bids for location of the proposed Agricultural and Mechanical College for Colored.⁴⁵ The Board stipulated that both bids and "other proposals" were to be sent to the president of the Board on or before August 26, 1891. On that date the full Board was to meet in Raleigh to consider the different bids and locate the school "at the most advantageous point."⁴⁶

In consequence of the June 23, 1891, action of the Board of Trustees of the A. & M. College, reference has been made to the public meetings and other efforts on the part of individual cities to present on August 26 as substantial an offer as was possible. On August 26, at the meeting of the Board of Trustees in Raleigh, propositions to secure the location of the college were laid before that body by the cities of Raleigh, Wilmington, Durham, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem. Three Negroes, W. J. Scruggs, A. G. Davis, and C. Johnson, representing Raleigh, addressed the trustees and promised to increase largely the subscription of \$6,000. Wilmington, through W. B. McKoy, a member of the Board, offered \$7,500 including a site. Durham, by letter, offered \$14,000 and a site. Greensboro, through its Negro spokesman, Charles H. Moore, offered to take a vote on the question of a \$15,000 subscription to the college. Winston-Salem, through S. G. Adkins, also a Negro, offered \$6,000 in cash and ten acres of land.⁴⁷ After holding two sessions and carefully considering the bids,

⁴³ Early to Governor Thomas M. Holt, April 29, 1891. Governors' Papers. Thomas M. Holt, 1891.

⁴⁴ Early to Holt, May 14, 1891. Governors' Papers. Thomas M. Holt, 1891.

⁴⁵ *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), June 25, 1891, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*.

⁴⁶ Charles H. Moore in the *Daily Record*, August 6, 1891.

⁴⁷ *Daily State Chronicle*, August 27, 1891.

the trustees decided that none of them was altogether satisfactory. Before adjourning, however, they moved to allow the bidders until October 15, 1891, to perfect their propositions. The trustees themselves decided to go on a tour of inspection to all the competing cities, and examine in person the sites they offered.⁴⁸

On August 27, 1891, the trustees, accompanied by Charles H. Moore, arrived in Greensboro. According to the *Daily Record*, "quite a number of our leading citizens met the trustees at the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce, had a talk over matters and appointed the following individuals to submit a definite proposition to the locating committee: D. W. C. Benbow, S. S. Brown, J. A. Odell, George S. Sergeant, and J. R. Mendenhall." After a brief session with the above named men, the visiting trustees went on to Winston-Salem, and then back to Raleigh.⁴⁹

On August 28, 1891, the trustees returned to Raleigh. In commenting on the groups return, the *Daily State Chronicle* of that city spared no words of praise of the inducements offered by the capital city. "On arrival," said the *Daily State Chronicle*, "they were shown over the elegant and eligible site" which was offered by the people of Raleigh. The Raleigh paper concluded the editorial with words of commendation to the Negroes of the city for "having taken a great interest in the matter and securing from the business men of Raleigh liberal subscriptions for the college."⁵⁰

Throughout the month of September and up to October 15, the date the trustees had set to make their final choice of a site for the A. & M. College, feverish activity characterized the groups in the individual cities endeavoring to secure the school. As early as the second week of September, however, it was generally agreed that Raleigh, Winston-Salem, and Greensboro were the only serious contenders left. The latter city, at that date, was not too optimistic. The editors of the

⁴⁸ *The News and Observer*, August 27, 1891.

⁴⁹ *Daily Record*, August 24, 1891.

⁵⁰ *Daily State Chronicle*, August 29, 1891. See also the *Daily Evening Visitor*, September 1, 1891.

Daily Record were quick to admit that they would not hazard a guess as to Greensboro's chances of securing the college.⁵¹

That the final choice was not an easy one for the trustees was graphically illustrated at their meeting on October 15, 1891. It was not until the ninth ballot that a decision was reached. On that ballot, five votes out of the eight were cast for Greensboro. Charles H. Moore, with undisguised joy, notified the Greensboro *Daily Record* of the victory.⁵² Probably the one single act which led to the choice of Greensboro by the trustees board was taken by a Greensboro citizen's meeting during the heat of the drive to bring the college to that city. The resolution adopted at that meeting read:

Resolved: That we will furnish twenty-five acres of land, within two miles of the courthouse, and not less than eight thousand dollars to be paid by January 1, 1892, and with the guarantee now made to vote an appropriation by the city to pay seven thousand dollars additional by June 1, 1893.⁵³

Reaction of the *Daily Record* to the news that Greensboro had been awarded the A. & M. College was marked by mild approval. For example, on October 17, 1891, just two days after the decision was announced, it simply stated that "the location of this school in Greensboro gives us the best school facilities of any town in the State, and makes Greensboro's educational advantages complete in every particular."⁵⁴ Commenting on Moore's contribution to the victory, the editors declared that "but for his hard and persistent work, this school would have been located elsewhere."⁵⁵

Approximately six months following the October 15, 1891, decision, the trustees selected a permanent site in Greensboro for the college. The location, according to the *Daily Record* of April 28, 1891, was "on the northeastern suburbs, almost directly north of James Dean's residence, and west of the Greensboro Driving Park, no further from the post office than the White Girls Normal and Industrial School, but places the

⁵¹ *Daily Record*, September 8, 1891.

⁵² *Daily Record*, October 17, 1891.

⁵³ Quoted in Arnett, *Greensboro, North Carolina*, 112. See also J. W. Albright, *Greensboro, 1818-1904* (Greensboro, 1904), 31.

⁵⁴ *Daily Record*, October 17, 1891.

⁵⁵ *Daily Record*, October 17, 1891.

entire breadth of the city between the two.”⁵⁶ The specific spot for the first building was “in a beautiful and elevated part of the city.”⁵⁷

Perhaps the best way to conclude this paper is to quote the prophetic words of J. O. Crosby, a Negro and the first President of the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race. Writing to Governor Thomas M. Holt on December 19, 1892, Crosby predicted a great future for the institution.

Greensboro will make a most excellent educational centre. We have here . . . an equable climate, fine railroad facilities, connecting the town with every section of the State, and a social influence not surpassed elsewhere in the State. For the colored people no other place in the State could have offered greater inducements than Greensboro. Here the pleasant relations between the two races are proverbial. . . .⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Daily Record*, April 28, 1892.

⁵⁷ *Daily Record*, April 28, 1892.

⁵⁸ *Public Documents, 1893*. Document No. 27, 3.

PAPERS FROM THE FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL
SESSION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, INC., RALEIGH,
DECEMBER 6, 1957

INTRODUCTION

The fifty-seventh annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association was considered by those present as among the most interesting and most stimulating ever held, and all the papers and addresses were well received. We have the pleasure of including on the pages that follow all of these that are available.

From the morning session there are "History Is An Important Product," by Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern; "Some Aspects of North Carolina's Participation in the Gettysburg Campaign," by Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock; and a review of North Carolina fiction of the year (the volumes entered in the Sir Walter Raleigh competition), by Phillips Russell of Chapel Hill. From the luncheon session we have a review of North Carolina non-fiction of the year (works entered in the Mayflower competition), by Winston Broadfoot of Hillsboro. From the dinner session comes "Literature and History," the presidential address of Gilbert T. Stephenson of Pendleton. T. V. Smith of Syracuse University, who spoke in the evening on "Poetry, Politics, and Philosophy," used only notes and made no copy, so that to our regret we cannot publish his address.

HISTORY IS AN IMPORTANT PRODUCT

BY GERTRUDE S. CARRAWAY*

To such a distinguished group of historians and writers as this, it is not necessary to argue the point that HISTORY IS AN IMPORTANT PRODUCT. All of us know its value.

More and more the idea is spreading. There is greater interest in history in this country now than ever before. But, in many areas and among many people, there is still need for missionary work along the line.

Our Nation is getting old enough to glance backward in gratitude for the pioneers who brought us where we are today, to accept the challenge of the past for better citizenship in the present, and preservation of our rich heritage for posterity.

These uncertain times and its international threats make us want to understand the firm foundations laid by our predecessors. This gives us an assurance of permanence and continuity. We learn that older generations survived perplexing problems and pressing dangers. Hence, our future appears more certain and secure, especially if we retain the ideals on which America was founded and built—with courage, endurance, and faith.

History repeats itself. Lessons galore are found in bygone records. Not just dates and facts, as they used to be taught; but interpretations of their meanings, the motives of the men and women behind them—followers as well as leaders. Not just one-sided views of happenings, but the examination of both sides of intricate questions, putting ourselves in the places of those who had to reach difficult decisions and take perhaps unpopular stands.

With more Americans having more spare time these days and more money to spend on travel, the tourist trade is growing by leaps and bounds. One of its main features consists of visits to historic sites.

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Ranking with agriculture and industry as one of the three top revenue producers in the country, tourism is first, second, or third in money value in 28 of our states. In North Carolina it is fourth.

New York is an industrial State, but the tourist trade is its second largest industry. Its current advertising is based chiefly on its tourist attractions. One of its booklets most in demand is its "Houses of History." The State is planning a mammoth 350th Hudson-Champlain anniversary in 1959, which it hopes will eclipse the Jamestown Festival.

In every State more attention is being given to the preserving of historic spots, the erecting of historical markers, and the restoring of historic old buildings.

Pennsylvania owns and operates 17 historic structures. Illinois has its New Salem restored to its appearance when Abraham Lincoln lived there. Arkansas has its Territorial Capitol and first State Capitol. California is preserving its old Missions. The Mid-West is restoring survivals of the pony-express and gold-rush days. On the Mississippi an old steam-boat house is being kept open, and at Gettysburg there is a horse 'n' buggy museum.

Not until 1850 was the first historic house museum opened to visitors. This was Washington's Revolutionary War Headquarters at Newburgh, now maintained as a national shrine by the State of New York.

Three years later Ann Pamela Cunningham, of South Carolina, formed a group of women to save Washington's home at Mount Vernon. Incorporated to hold the estate "in trust for the people of the United States," the Mount Vernon Ladies Memorial Association is the oldest women's patriotic society in America.

Since then the number of historic houses and museums open to the public is expanding so briskly that it is almost impossible to keep up with them. Five years ago there were 1,100. Now there are more than 5,000, with the figure perhaps as high as 7,000. Many have federal, state, or municipal support, as well as that of organizations and individuals, men as well as women.

Each year these places are visited by 60,000,000 persons. With modern transportation, good roads, mass travel, and leisure time, people will go hundreds of miles to see an architectural showplace, historic site, educational museum, or patriotic shrine.

That restorations are increasing is proved by the fact that the University of Pennsylvania has started courses to teach architects how to restore old structures.

Even if a restoration or historical celebration is not entirely self-supporting, and many are not, the extra dollars brought into the community from the outside are economic assets to the area.

Another evidence of the boom in history is seen in the numbers of historical books, plays, movies, and television programs. Last year \$15,000,000 was spent for historical books.

At long last North Carolina is making much progress along historical, restoration, and tourist lines. The last General Assembly appropriated an unprecedented total of more than \$350,000 for historic sites.

But, it is not national or state history that should be stressed here. Emphasis must be on community history. We have a task confronting us to sell many persons in many towns of our State on the wisdom and value of studying their past, preserving its best phases and using it in the present for a better future.

Too many people, especially in small towns, have a mistaken notion that interest in local history is not "citified." To answer this, I have only to mention such cities as Boston, Philadelphia, Providence, New Orleans, St. Augustine, Natchez, and Charleston.

Historical development is a modern, progressive trend in such industrial centers as Pittsburgh and Bethlehem in Pennsylvania; and Winston-Salem in North Carolina. That it works for progress and prosperity is proved by Williamsburg, Virginia.

It is not old-fashioned or backward-moving, as some may erroneously think. When we drive our cars, we often glance in the rear mirrors to see what is behind us. This does not mean

we are moving backward. But, if we know what is behind us, we are enabled to go forward much more safely and much more quickly.

Every section has HISTORY. It is an important product in every region. Over and over it can be sold, to townspeople as well as to visitors. Under modern diversification of crops and industries, history can be converted into a successful industry, affording an additional source of income to supplement cash from farm produce or manufactured articles.

Moreover, effective historical, cultural, recreational, and educational programs often help land big factories. They are of deep concern to large corporations now decentralizing their units and wanting their laborers to enjoy the best of life and living as well as merely earning a livelihood.

Thus, there is no conflict or competition with other businesses. History can add substantially to agricultural and smokestack revenues.

Money is not the main purpose of historical activities, but it is a desirable goal. Perhaps it is regarded as too important by some persons.

A man went to the police station and reported that his wife had run away with another man. "When did they leave?" asked the policeman. "Two weeks ago," replied the husband. "Why didn't you report it sooner?" the sergeant inquired. The husband explained, "I just found out that they took with them \$40 I had hidden under a rug."

The chief value of history comes in better citizenship. From reviewing how earlier generations toiled for us, we are encouraged to work similarly for later generations, in the same spirit of self-sacrifice and public service.

If each community in North Carolina would endeavor to learn more about its past and use it for a better present, we would have a greater state. And, with greater states, would come a greater Nation.

History is an important product that should be cultivated and harvested in the present as well as planted and nurtured for the future.

The twin enemies of American freedoms are crime and communism. An effective defense against both lies in con-

structive programs of wholesome Americanism, such as afforded by historic restorations, with their concrete and three-dimensional presentations of LIVING HISTORY.

From restorations young people as well as older ones can realize that all citizens have duties and obligations as well as rights and privileges under our American Way of Life. If such a sense of moral and civic responsibility is thus ingrafted in boys and girls, with personal desires to emulate the most worthy examples of the past in being good citizens of our Constitutional Republic, there would not be so much so-called juvenile delinquency or so much leaning toward communism.

With tremendous advances along technical, mechanical, and scientific lines, we must try to retain the human elements of our civilization, or we may lose our best traditions.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover writes: "Our young people are deserving of a vivid and accurate picture of just what was required to make our Nation what it is . . . with a realization that our heroes of achievement were vigorous, dedicated individuals, that they were flesh-and-blood human beings. . . . We have heard about America with our ears but not with our hearts. We must pass on to our young people the greatness that is America's. . . . By reflecting upon the glories of our past, we can advance together to even greater heights."

Every community can thus reap bountiful harvests, moral and spiritual, as well as financial and economic, from the development of its history, especially if presented in appealing form to the pupil in the school, the man on the street.

To understand better the record of our nation, it is well to know first the record of our locality and state.

My own town of New Bern in Craven County has by no means done all it could or should do with its historical possibilities; but I was requested to tell you some of the things it has done, not in any boastful manner, for we realize our failings and shortcomings, but as suggestions or incentives for other parts of North Carolina.

Please pardon a personal reference. When I was in High School, a teacher asked me to write an article for the school

magazine on "New Bern's Historic Spots." I had studied Ancient History, Modern History, and American History; but never had I been taught anything about local history. In those days the stories of the past were not localized or personalized. I told the teacher I knew nothing about New Bern's historical sites. With her help, I finally did write an article about them. From then on, my interest grew in the town's history. The more familiar we are with anything, the more interested we become; and the more interested we are, the more we study and the more active we are in that field.

By contrast and improvement, local history is taught expertly today in our New Bern schools. The eighth grade annually has outstanding local historical studies, projects, models, essays, playlets, and pilgrimages.

About 24 years ago more than 50 places of historical interest were marked by numbers in our town. Mr. J. L. Horne, Jr., of Rocky Mount, then on the State Board of Conservation and Development, will tell you that when he saw these markers being installed during one of our country's worst industrial depressions he was inspired by them to seek, and to obtain, our first State appropriations for State Highway Historical Markers, of which there are now more than 800.

To explain the numbered spots in New Bern, we have had eleven editions of an historical booklet, the cost paid for by advertisements. Through the years 110,000 have been given away free. Not only have they helped awaken civic pride but also have drawn numerous visitors, many of them remaining longer than they would have otherwise.

Our New Bern Historical Society has been re-organized. It does not have as many members as it deserves, but an encouraging sign was noted in October when almost 400 persons attended a two-dollar dinner meeting to hear an address on the economic value of history and restorations.

The Historical Society purchased the attractive Attmore-Oliver house, built about 1790, and has restored it beautifully, with appropriate furnishings. Plans are under way for the restoration of its old brick smoke house, beautification of its large yard, and establishment of a local museum, all to be open to visitors.

Many organizations are having more and more historical programs and giving more attention to historical study—men's clubs as well as women's. Some of these have done excellent work. The New Bern Library Association has preserved and restored the historic John Wright Stanly house as a public library. Its visitors are always interested to hear that George Washington slept there TWO nights. He called it "exceeding good lodgings."

The New Bern Garden Club has reconstructed the old office of William Gaston, eminent jurist and orator, father of religious liberty in North Carolina, and author of the State song.

We hope that it will be possible to restore the old print shop of James Davis, first printer in North Carolina, who printed the first newspaper, pamphlet, and book in the province.

Too numerous to mention in detail, the churches of New Bern are rendering wonderful service in preserving and publicizing their histories.

Many individuals have bought lovely old homes in diverse types of Georgian, Dutch Colonial, New England, Cape Cod, and Deep South architecture and are preserving them with appropriate details. These are usually opened to the public during April every other year.

Business firms are more and more adapting the Colonial type of architecture for new quarters. Names of historic personages are being used in naming streets, hotels, and motels. In 1960 it is planned to observe the 250th anniversary of the founding of New Bern by Baron Christopher deGraf-fenried, of Bern, Switzerland.

One of the most recent manifestations of spreading historical interest is the New Bern Firemen's Museum, dedicated last June by the two local volunteer fire companies, two of the oldest in the country still functioning under original charters. In years past they broke world records. The present firemen are proudly endeavoring to preserve their illustrious history and present it attractively to the public.

City and County officials have been co-operative in the growth of historical activities in our city and county.

Perhaps the main reason for the zeal along historical lines is due to the magnificent restoration of Tryon Palace, first fixed Colonial Capitol of North Carolina and our first State Capitol, made possible by the munificent gifts and bequests of a public-spirited patriot, Mrs. James Edwin Latham, of Greensboro.

You are already familiar with the story of this reconstructed Palace, its superb pre-1770 antique furnishings, and its extensive grounds being landscaped in the manner of 18th century gardens. We hope it will be ready for visitors sometime next year.

One result might be cited as evidence of how Mrs. Latham has helped educate a community through this restoration, which we believe will in time contribute vitally also to the education and welfare of the entire State.

In order to train local women as guides or hostesses for the Palace, a free course in New Bern history was conducted last winter by the Tryon Palace Commission. It was thought that maybe twelve women would attend. Chairs were optimistically arranged for twenty. On the morning of the first class in January there appeared 84 women. They sat on the stairsteps, on the floors, as well as themselves FLOORING the teacher. For the second hour's class the next week, 105 women came. When the number grew to 125, the enrollment had to be closed, for lack of space.

After sixteen weekly lessons, a written examination on local history was given the students. The following week there were public graduation exercises, with short talks. Diplomas were presented to the 44 graduates.

These women are now in many instances speaking on New Bern's history and the Tryon Palace Restoration in many parts of North Carolina. Additional classes are being planned for this winter. The Merchants' Association has suggested that classes be held for retail sales clerks, so that they, too, may be familiar with and proud of local history.

Such studies could be undertaken in every community of North Carolina. From them as from other historical interests and endeavors will come a deeper pride in the past, a more

sincere appreciation of significant chapters in the stories that may be found in every locality.

This is the highest purpose of historical studies, preservations, and restorations—to keep alive the memory and SPIRIT of those whose labors, sacrifices, and achievements merit our gratitude and our earnest efforts to work together similarly today for community, state and nation.

SOME ASPECTS OF NORTH CAROLINA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN

By GLENN TUCKER*

Undoubtedly the main reason for confusion about some of the incidents of the War between the States—such as the assault on July 3 at Gettysburg—was the arbitrary manner in which the Federal War Department denied southern writers access to official documents, even those of their own preparation.¹

This blackout continued for thirteen years after the end of hostilities, a period during which most of the abiding impressions about the war were being formed. It is an amazing fact that when General Robert E. Lee endeavored to inspect his own reports of battles and his own field returns, he was denied that right.² He never did have the opportunity to make use of them.³

Similarly William Allan, E. P. Alexander, Charles Marshall, and other southern officers and writers were rebuffed in their efforts to examine papers which they desired to see solely for historical purposes.⁴ Officialdom is usually more illiberal than the people it represents. Never was there a more obvious

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¹ This article consists in part of material from a book, "High Tide at Gettysburg," which Mr. Tucker is now completing and which is scheduled for publication later this year. The article is a composite of two papers; one read at the joint meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., and the Western North Carolina Historical Association at Cullowhee on August 16, 1957; and the other read at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., at Raleigh on December 6, 1957.

² *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, Virginia), V, 255, hereinafter cited as *Southern Historical Society Papers*.

³ General Lee had no copy of his Gettysburg report and presumed it had been destroyed. It appeared first in the *Historical Magazine of New York*, published at Morrisania, N. Y., by Harry B. Dawson, who obtained it from William Swinton, historian. He in turn had obtained it from Colonel Charles Marshall, who had made a copy. Subsequently Adjutant General Samuel Cooper's official copy was found in private hands in Richmond, Virginia. *Southern Historical Society Papers*, II, 33ff.

⁴ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, V, 255.

effort to channel the course of history—to make certain that history was written from only one side—than that of arbitrary Federal War Department officials in the late 1860's and the 1870's.

When Governor Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina sought to review his own letterbooks in order that he might refute accusations made against him that had been based on garbled use of these same letters, the privilege was denied.⁵ It should be recalled that after the war the South was virtually destitute of papers and reports bearing on the conflict. All documents either had been destroyed or had been seized by the invading armies and bundled and sent to Washington.⁶ There many of them remain. In the course of recent research this writer inspected in Columbia the muster rolls of South Carolina regiments which had participated in the Gettysburg campaign. But they were only the photostatic copies of these muster rolls. The originals are still in the Washington files. The battle flags were returned long ago, but not the archives.

The Reverend J. William Jones, long the secretary of the Southern Historical Society and editor of its papers, engaged in a spirited campaign with the War Department to gain for southern writers the privilege of reading the reports of southern generals that were available freely to northern writers. In the 1870's the War Department began the assembly of reports of both northern and southern armies for publication. This project of tremendous scope ultimately was completed and the result is the long shelf of heavy books known as the *Official Records* Secretary of War William W. Belknap, in President Grant's administration, wrote to the Reverend Mr. Jones to obtain any Confederate reports or documents that were not already possessed by the Washington government. Jones answered promptly saying he would give copies of everything in the hands of the Southern Historical Society provided "we should receive in exchange copies of such documents as we needed."⁷ Belknap declined. He said the

⁵ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, V, 255.

⁶ John William Jones (comp.), *Army of Northern Virginia Memorial Volume* (Richmond, Virginia: J. W. Randolph and English, 1880), 45.

⁷ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, V, 256.

department never had allowed any one to make copies of these records and would not do so then.⁸

The correspondence was renewed with Secretary of War James D. Cameron after Belknap's resignation but Cameron had a no more enlightened viewpoint about the records. His only liberal gesture was to promise that advance sheets would be sent to the Southern Historical Society as soon as Congress authorized the printing of the war archives. Jones charged that the records had been "for years closely guarded to all save a favored few," and added: "Indeed, the outrage of keeping those documents locked up to Confederates, and open to every writer on the other side who might desire to defame our leaders or falsify our history, has become so patent to all right-thinking people that there have been denials that access has been denied to any seeker of historical truth."⁹ This was in apparent reference to a statement by Adjutant General E. D. Townsend published in the *Washington Post*. Townsend said that access to the records was refused only to those who "might use them to prosecute false claims against the United States government."¹⁰ That, of course, was not the story. Manifestly Robert E. Lee, Allan, Marshall, and Alexander, all former Confederate officers, could not have designed to prosecute claims of any nature.

The situation changed after George W. McCrary, an Iowa Congressman, became Secretary of War under President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877. Partly responsible, no doubt, for the altered attitude was an article by a northern writer, Henry W. Holland,¹¹ who expressed surprise and asserted that the archives should be opened to the historian in the freest manner. In any event, Secretary Jones was able to announce on September 26, 1878, more than fifteen years after the battle of Gettysburg, and nearly eight years after the death of General Lee, that the southern records were available to southern writers.¹²

⁸ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, V, 256.

⁹ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, V, 255.

¹⁰ *Washington Post* (District of Columbia), March 14, 1878.

¹¹ A Boston writer not to be confused with Josiah Gilbert Holland, editor of *Scribner's* and later the *Century*, in the post Civil War era.

¹² *Southern Historical Society Papers*, VI, 236.

Meanwhile much southern history had been written. Since the official records were not available more than normal importance appears to have been attached to the newspaper stories and recollections of articulate participants. The chief newspaper contacts with Lee in Pennsylvania had been maintained by the Richmond, Virginia, press. The accounts quite naturally told the story of the Virginia troops and thus the celebrated assault against the Federal works on Cemetery Ridge became "Pickett's Charge." There was never a thought that it might be Pettigrew's, or even what North Carolina writers have termed it—the Pickett-Pettigrew assault.

That, however, has not been the principal confusion. The grievance in North Carolina after the war was not that the commands of Pettigrew and Trimble which participated in the assault were ignored, for such was not the case. In much early southern history and press accounts the facts were subverted and Pettigrew was blamed for the repulse of Pickett. In one of the picture stories of the attack, sent to the *Richmond Enquirer* from Hagerstown, Maryland on July 8, five days after the battle, the North Carolinians were referred to as "the wavering line of raw troops."¹³ Such a description worked its way into the early southern histories of Edward A. Pollard. Said the flamboyant Pollard: "But where is Pettigrew's division? where are the supports? The raw troops had faltered and the gallant Pettigrew himself had been wounded in vain attempts to rally them. . . . Pickett is left alone to contend with the masses of the enemy now pouring in upon him on every side."¹⁴

Nothing could have been more absurd than calling Pettigrew's command "raw troops." Raw troops, indeed! It contained some of the best drilled regiments in the Confederate service. And it could not have fallen back and exposed Pickett

¹³ *Richmond Enquirer* (Virginia), July 23, 1863. The correspondent, "A," was prepared for the defection he attributed to Pettigrew: "I saw by the wavering of this line as they entered the conflict that they wanted the firmness of nerve and steadiness of tread which so characterized Pickett's men, and I felt that these men would not, could not, stand the tremendous ordeal to which they would soon be subjected." Numerous other witnesses testified to the splendid manner in which Pettigrew's and Trimble's troops marched across the open field.

¹⁴ E. A. Pollard, *Southern History of the War*. (New York: Charles B. Richardson, 1866), II, 40.

because it delivered the main bolt of its attack—as numerous eye witnesses attested—after Pickett's gallant brigades were spent.

One of the early books of influence was *Southern Generals* by William Parker Snow, published in 1866. Snow, an English explorer and author, attracted by the cause of southern independence, offers an example of the adherence to first impressions. He refers to the support given Pickett on the left by Heth's Division under Pettigrew. "These latter, however," runs the account, "being mostly raw soldiers, wavered; but Pickett's Virginians pressed forward under a terrible fire of grape, shell and canister. . . . They are now unsupported. Pettigrew's line has been broken, and his men fly panic-stricken to the rear. The brave general, himself, is wounded, but still retained command, and strives to rally his men. But they heed him not, and he is left alone, while Pickett and his brave Virginians contend as best they can against the fearful odds opposed to them."¹⁵

The calumny was voiced unthinkingly, no doubt, but it did not pass unnoticed. The *Weekly Raleigh Register* protested at the time.¹⁶ In November, 1874, T. B. Kingsbury, in *Our Living and Our Dead*, inveighed against the injustice to North Carolina by what is termed "sensational and evanescent histories."¹⁷ In a later issue he went on to say. "We watch with careful eyes everything that concerns North Carolina. . . .

¹⁵ William Parker Snow, *Southern Generals, Their Lives and Campaigns* (New York: Charles B. Richardson, 1866).

¹⁶The *Weekly Raleigh Register* immediately challenged the story of Special Correspondent "A" but the *Richmond Enquirer* (Virginia), July 28, 1863, though insisting that it referred to Heth's whole division, not merely Pettigrew's brigade, as "raw troops recently brought from the South," stood by its previous story. It said "A" was there to write the facts and would be unfaithful if he did not chronicle the failure of the division Pettigrew commanded to support the assaulting column. Heth's Division was composed of seasoned troops: Archer's Brigade, long with the army, distinguished itself at Chancellorsville; Davis's Brigade had veteran regiments like the 55th North Carolina; Brockenborough's Brigade, formerly C. W. Field's, had served in A. P. Hill's Division; and Pettigrew's is fully discussed in this article.

¹⁷*Our Living and Our Dead* (New Bern), I, 193. This weekly was the official publication of the North Carolina Branch of the Southern Historical Society, and Volume I, Number 1, dated July 2, 1873, was edited by Stephen B. Pool under the title *Our Living and Our Dead; or Testimony from the Battlefields*. This reference will hereinafter be cited as *Our Living and Our Dead*.

Our nearest neighbors have uniformly either slighted or abused us. We have never known but one Virginia writer to do us justice. We refer to the poet-editor of the *Norfolk Landmark*, James Barron Hope."¹⁸

Kingsbury was wrong in one particular. The histories were not ephemeral. Historians have a gregarious quality. Many of them find security in companionship. Misconceptions at times are reared to the heights of historical landmarks. The path to them becomes well-worn. Certainly none would desire to detract from the glory to which Pickett's troops are entitled. But their heroism was not brought into any bolder relief by those who disparaged Pettigrew's. When the literature of the battle of Gettysburg was finally accumulated and the reports and eye witness accounts were in, the testimony was overwhelming that Pettigrew, Trimble, and Lane,¹⁹ who marched to the left of Pickett, attacked with courage and vigor equal to that of the Virginians. Actually some of the 55th North Carolina of Davis's brigade and the 47th North Carolina of Pettigrew's brigade, all being under Pettigrew, who commanded the division, made a farther penetration of the Federal lines than did any of Pickett's men. None could have struck harder than the small Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi units.²⁰ Students and writers have dealt with this question. At the request of officers and men of Pettigrew's Brigade, Louis G. Young, Pettigrew's aide-de-camp, wrote in 1874 a full account intended to correct errors made in Richmond newspapers. Trimble and Lane added their versions. History finally has been righted for the careful investigator but the true story has lagged hopelessly for the casual writer and reader. First impressions have been lasting.

Probably the attack will always be known as "Pickett's Charge." Best sellers of the war are likely to refer to Pickett's

¹⁸ *Our Living and Our Dead*, III, 749. Hope, a grandson of Commodore James Barron, was known as the Poet Laureate of Virginia.

¹⁹ Major General Isaac R. Trimble and Brigadier General James H. Lane. Trimble commanded the brigades of Pender's Division which participated, including Lane's Brigade.

²⁰ The participation of Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi troops is discussed by J. B. Smith in the *Bivouac*, March, 1887, published with revisions in Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: The Century Company, 4 volumes, 1914 [1887-1888]), III, 354.

Virginians but not Pettigrew's North Carolinians, other than possibly to mention unidentified troops from other than Pickett's command.

Kingsbury asserted that North Carolina had more soldiers in Lee's army than had Virginia and "furnished considerably over one-sixth of all the troops that were ever enrolled in defense of the 'Lost Cause.' In the battles around Richmond, at Chancellorsville, in the Wilderness, in the Maryland and Pennsylvania campaigns, North Carolina had more soldiers and lost more men, killed and wounded, than any other state."²¹

North Carolina did participate wholeheartedly both in the war and in the Gettysburg campaign. Her troops played a leading role in this battle of disastrous consequences to the cause of southern independence. North Carolina soldiers fought at Gettysburg in numerous brigades, notably those of Davis, Daniel, Hoke, Iverson, Lane, Pettigrew, Ramseur, Scales, Steuart, Hampton, and Chambliss. This paper can deal only in a partial manner with no more than Pettigrew's single brigade.

Some general remarks, supplementing those of T. B. Kingsbury, are in order about North Carolina's contributions. The State sent 130,000 soldiers into the armies of the South, yet prior to the war the largest vote ever polled was 112,000. At Gettysburg 770 North Carolina soldiers were killed in action, a loss greater than that of any other state. The second heaviest death toll was Georgia's, with 435; then Virginia, 399; Mississippi, 258; South Carolina, 217; Alabama, 204, and other Southern states in lesser numbers.²² Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina supplied many of the soldiers in the ranks. The three brigades losing the greatest number killed in action were not the three brigades of Pickett's Virginia division. Contrary to the general impression, they were the brigades of Pettigrew, Davis, and Daniel.²³ Pettigrew's and Daniel's were composed entirely of North Carolinians while Davis's was of

²¹ *Our Living and Our Dead*, III, 750.

²² Walter Clark (ed.), *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-65* (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell, Printer and Binder, Published by the State, 5 volumes, 1901), hereinafter cited as Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*.

²³ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, V, xii.

Mississippi and North Carolina troops. The 26th North Carolina regiment suffered a heavier loss at Gettysburg than did any entire brigade of Pickett's division.²⁴

One of the greatest offerings of North Carolina to the southern cause was the driving enterprise of Governor Vance, which was beginning to assert itself by the time Lee marched to Pennsylvania. More carefully uniformed than the other troops were the North Carolinians in Lee's army. There was no warrant for the term "Lee's ragged veterans" where North Carolina soldiers were concerned.²⁵ Governor Vance was too good a provider. As the war moved on the quality of the uniforms improved. Vance relieved the Richmond government from the necessity of clothing North Carolina soldiers. He did the job himself. At the beginning the State had few manufactures, being dependent on the North and Great Britain even for such homely objects as broom handles and water buckets.²⁶ North Carolina manufactured less than half of its consumption in cotton goods, less than a tenth of woollens or shoes, and not a twentieth of its iron requirements.²⁷ As far as was possible Vance corrected all this. He stimulated textile manufacturing and soon was buying virtually the full output of thirty-nine cotton mills and eight woolen mills in the State. In Raleigh he established a factory that made soldiers' uniforms and overcoats.²⁸ His agents combed the South for wool and leather. He marshaled public sentiment and restricted the acreage of cotton and tobacco, giving preference to food. He stopped all legal and even most illegal distilling, much to the anguish of some old-time farmers who wrote

²⁴ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, V, xii.

²⁵ Vance's address at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., August 18, 1875. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, V, 468ff. Vance said: "Not only was the supply of shoes, blankets, and clothing more than sufficient for the supply of North Carolina troops, but large quantities were turned over to the Confederate Government for the troops of other states."

²⁶ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, V, 469.

²⁷ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, V, 470.

²⁸ Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 434. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*.

plaintively about the heavy infestation of snakes.²⁹ Lee's army was fed mainly from the alluvial lowlands of the eastern counties. Said Vance: "The fields every where were green and golden with corn and wheat. . . . Old men and women . . . guided the plow and children followed with the hoe in the gaping furrows."³⁰

The governor sent agents to the Clyde River in Scotland where they bought a ship, the "Lord Clyde." They rechristened her the "Ad-Vance" and disproved the old superstition that it is unlucky to change a ship's name. She made eleven trips from Wilmington to Nassau, Bermuda, or Halifax. She brought in enough gray woolen cloth for 250,000 uniforms and 12,000 overcoats, plus 250,000 pairs of shoes and 50,000 blankets, along with bacon, medicines and coffee.³¹ Vance encouraged or established munitions factories for powder, cartridges, and firearms. The State was raked clean of metal. The churches offered their bells³² for the cannon that sounded across the Pennsylvania hills.

Vance not only fitted out North Carolina soldiers but turned over large quantities of clothing, blankets, and shoes for troops from other states. Not all of this devoted work had been done by the time of the Gettysburg campaign, to be sure, but the pattern had been set and the indefatigable activities of this civilian leader were producing results. Vance was able at a critical moment in the spring of 1863 to send up a large quantity of bacon which the commissary immediately passed on to Lee's army.

²⁹ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, V, 473. One man told Vance he only wanted ten gallons and if permitted to make it he would send the Governor a quart. "I replied in all seriousness," said Vance, "that I could not think of violating my official oath for less than a gallon. That broke the trade."

³⁰ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, V, 472. The press supported Vance staunchly. Said the *Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), April 15, 1863: "The man who plants cotton and tobacco now, while the demand for breadstuffs is so urgent, is doing his country more harm than the open and avowed Lincolnists can do. Give the Confederacy plenty of bread and meat, and the Yankee nation, with all its foreign backers, can never conquer us." The *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), spoke similarly: "We do hope . . . that no man in Rowan County, will plant any more cotton or tobacco than will be necessary for his own use." Reprinted in the *Weekly Standard*, April 15, 1863. Similar support came from the *Wilmington Journal* and *Iredell Express* (Statesville).

³¹ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, V, 471.

³² Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 433.

While the pedantic Jefferson Davis dealt with imponderables, Vance was a dynamo surcharging the Confederacy with energy. Davis was concerned with abstractions, Vance with corn. Once when the North Carolina executive was trying to get into Richmond, a Colonel Thorburn refused to let him pass, declaring that it did not matter "if he was Governor Vance or Governor Jesus Christ."³³ Vance retaliated by decreeing that North Carolina troops should take no further orders from Colonel Thorburn. But Vance's sedulous efforts could not satisfy the Confederacy's vast wants. By the time Lee launched his Gettysburg campaign the Federal blockade was causing severe misery. The frightful battle casualties continued to mount. The rough, reverse side of the picture was becoming apparent. Georgia, in early 1863, appears to have made the heaviest sacrifices to the southern cause. The Georgia dead aggregated 9,504 of her young soldiers, the most for any state. Alabama followed with 8,987; North Carolina 8,261; Texas, 6,377; Virginia, 5,943 and on to 1,119 for sparsely settled Florida.³⁴ In Georgia alone the number of war indigents in March, 1863, was 84,119, of whom 45,718 were children. The indigents were one in twelve. There were 8,492 orphans, mostly children of war dead, and 4,003 widows of deceased Georgia soldiers³⁵—figures nothing short of awful for a single state in less than two years of war that had scarcely touched her borders.

Returning to Lee's army, it must be noted that North Carolina was not represented among the top officers at Gettysburg. The highest ranking North Carolinian was the youthful but able Major General William Dorsey Pender who commanded a division of A. P. Hill's Corps. The most arresting North Carolinian was Pettigrew. In the brief period of life that remained for him before a Federal bullet found his vitals, Pettigrew began the battle of Gettysburg and ended the campaign, and commanded a substantial part of the assaulting parties in two of the spectacular episodes of that combat.

³³ J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate Capital* (Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 2 volumes, 1866), I, 377.

³⁴ Isaac Wheeler Avery, *History of the State of Georgia from 1850 to 1881 . . . with Portraits of the Leading Public Men of this Era* (New York: Brown, [1881]), 267, hereinafter cited as Avery, *History of Georgia*.

³⁵ Avery, *History of Georgia*, 252.

Brigadier General James Johnston Pettigrew was regarded in North Carolina as versatile almost to the point of genius. A superior officer familiar with his talents judged him capable of assuming the responsibilities even of Lee himself,³⁶ should events make it necessary, although he had never attended a class in professional military tactics. His early education was gained from private tutors. He was born at the spacious family estate of Bonarva, in coastal Tyrrell County, North Carolina.³⁷ His training was aimed at a professional, not a military career. But his comprehension was keen and his capacity for acquiring new information apparently inexhaustible. The peaceful homestead where he spent a part of his early years overlooked the blue waters of Lake Scuppernong and the plantation extended along the Scuppernong river, from which the luscious southern grapes, with their rare bouquet, take their name.

Pettigrew was a slender, handsome man of quick gestures and prompt decisions, with shining black hair and mustache, and a dark complexion that denoted the Latin strain of his French ancestry. An unusually high, rounded forehead spoke of his capacity and intelligence.³⁸ His black eyes were sharp and penetrating. Now a soldier at the age of thirty-five, he had already achieved recognition as author, diplomat, lawyer, linguist, and legislator.

His marks were the highest ever made at the University of North Carolina,³⁹ which had graduated many eminent scholars and men distinguished in national and state affairs.

³⁶ Major General Matthew F. Maury, quoted by Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, [Printed for the Author], 2 volumes, 1907-1912), I, 507. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Battle, *History of the University*.

³⁷ W. R. Bond, *Pickett or Pettigrew? An Historical Essay* (Weldon: Hall and Sledge Publishers, 1888), 3. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Bond, *Pickett or Pettigrew?*

³⁸ The description follows that given by Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina, who served under Pettigrew, in his Bunker Hill, Va. [now W. Va.] address. Pettigrew died at Bunker Hill after being mortally wounded at Falling Waters, in the last flicker of the Gettysburg campaign. Walter Clark, *Memorial Address, (Bunker Hill, Va.), General James Johnston Pettigrew, C.S.A., Address at the Unveiling of the Memorial Marble Pillar and Tablet to General Pettigrew Near Bunker Hill, Sept. 17, 1920*, 4-5. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Clark, *Pettigrew Memorial Address*.

³⁹ Battle, *History of the University*, I, 504, 729.

A graceful, athletic youth, he had led his class at Chapel Hill in fencing, boxing, and the single stick,⁴⁰ as well as in mathematics, the classical languages, and all the other liberal arts courses, being spurred by the pressing competition offered by his friend, the college orator, Matt Whitaker Ransom, who had now advanced beyond him and was presently a major general of Confederate troops. Another classmate of ability, Alfred Moore Scales, commanded a brigade in Pender's division of Lee's army.

Pettigrew had received distinction from the start. It chanced that when he delivered the valedictory address at the graduation exercises in 1847, the silver-haired President of the United States, James Knox Polk, had returned to visit his alma mater, where he, too, had won high scholastic honors. Polk was accompanied by a fellow North Carolina alumnus, Secretary of the Navy John Young Mason, and by Captain Matthew F. Maury, the distinguished naval hydrographer and meteorologist. Before the commencement events, these three looked in on the final examinations in mathematics and astronomy.⁴¹ Captain Maury was then engaged in establishing the National Observatory and Hydrographic Office in Washington and was launching into his career in oceanography and into the preparation of his great work, *The Physical Geography of the Sea*. He, Polk, and Mason were so impressed with young Pettigrew's proficiency that they invited him to return with them and become an instructor at the National Observatory.⁴²

The ardor of his devotion to the southern cause was partly a reaction, no doubt, from association with his cantankerous uncle, James Louis Petigru, dean of the Charleston, South Carolina bar. When Johnston Pettigrew decided to take up law, after a period in Washington, he studied for a time in Baltimore and then entered his uncle's office,⁴³ where the shingle was a bit confusing because the contentious senior member preferred the simplified spelling of the family's Huguenot surname.

⁴⁰ Battle, *History of the University*, I, 590.

⁴¹ Clark, *Pettigrew Memorial Address*, 5.

⁴² Bond, *Pickett or Pettigrew?*, 3.

⁴³ Bond, *Pickett or Pettigrew?*, 3.

Petigru the elder had been combatting public opinion in South Carolina ever since the nullification days of John C. Calhoun, standing always for an indissoluble Union. By 1863, when he was seventy-one years old, he was looked on as the only man in the state who had not seceded. This distinction he prankishly sought to emphasize in church and each Sunday morning by rising from his knees when the rector reached in his prayer the regular request for divine assistance for the President of the Confederate States.⁴⁴ Senior Petigru, a rebel against a state in revolt, appeared to delight in the consternation his intransigence provoked. The eminent old man bequeathed the monumental work of the codification of the South Carolina laws, for which he is still respected. But long after he is forgotten the phrase he authored will be remembered—a wartime witticism often repeated in periods of inflation—that “you take your money to the market in your market basket and bring home your groceries in your pocket-book.”⁴⁵

Upon obtaining his license in South Carolina young Pettigrew departed to study civil law in Germany. He traveled extensively, became proficient in French, German, Italian, and gained a reading knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic. At the request of the State Department he became secretary of the legation in Madrid, the result being his volume, written with simple elegance, entitled *Spain and the Spaniards*,⁴⁶ which gave readers a sojourn in the land of flaming passions and high romance. Other books followed between diplomatic duties and studies of Roman law.⁴⁷

After seven years abroad, Pettigrew returned to Charleston to resume, in 1857, his law partnership with his uncle. In a single year he inspired such community confidence that although he was an outlander in a closely knit society, he was

⁴⁴ Isabella D. Martin and Myrta Lockett Avary (eds.), *A Diary from Dixie, as Written by Mary Boykin Chesnut, wife of James Chesnut, Jr., United States Senator from South Carolina, 1859-1861, and afterwards an Aide to Jefferson Davis and a Brigadier General in the Confederate Army* (London: William Heinemann, 1905). This reference will hereinafter be cited as, Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*.

⁴⁵ Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, 24 n, and 284.

⁴⁶ This was a volume of 430 pages, privately printed in Charleston, South Carolina.

⁴⁷ These were *The Character of the British* and *An Evening in Seville*.

elected to represent Charleston in the state legislature. There he attracted national attention by heading a fight against a proposal to reopen the African slave trade. He was invariably agitated by campaigns for freedom. Stirred by the efforts of Italy to shake off the Austrian yoke, he solicited a Piedmontese commission from Cavour, who offered him a place in La Mamora's army. But before his arrival the victory over the Austrians at Solferino, on June 24, 1859, and the resultant armistice had ended the campaign.⁴⁸

This near approach to military preferment controlled his future actions. Returning to Charleston, Pettigrew sensed the coming of hostilities between the states. Late in 1859 he entered a rifle company and through his aptitude and natural leadership soon became its colonel. He drilled the regiment diligently, took possession of Castle Pinkney, fortified Morris Island, and when Fort Sumter was finally bombarded, held his men in battle order prepared to storm the fort if the cannonading did not force a surrender.⁴⁹

Pettigrew's command of a North Carolina brigade resulted from the fortuitous circumstance that he was recognized on the Raleigh railroad station platform as he traveled to Richmond with South Carolina troops. Delay in mustering his Charleston regiment into the Confederate service caused it to disband by general agreement so that the men might enlist with other units. Pettigrew was impatient, fearing he would miss another war as he had missed the battle of Solferino. He enlisted as a private in Hampton's Legion, which challenged Lincoln's call for volunteers by boarding the cars for Virginia. Word passed among his friends in the North Carolina capital that he was going to battle with not even a corporal's stripes. In less than a twinkling, but without his knowledge, he was elected colonel of the 22nd North Carolina Regiment, then stationed at Camp Ellis, near Raleigh.⁵⁰ The astonished Pettigrew hurried back to Raleigh and began to drill the regiment as intensively as he had his South Carolina

⁴⁸ Bond, *Pickett or Pettigrew?*, 4.

⁴⁹ Bond, *Pickett or Pettigrew?*, 4.

⁵⁰ Clark, *Pettigrew Memorial Address*, 4; and Bond, *Pickett or Pettigrew?*, 4.

troops before Fort Sumter. An officer who tented near him for several months and saw him daily described him: "He was quick in his movements and quick in his perception and in his decision. . . . His habit was to pace restlessly up and down in front of his tent with a cigar in his mouth which he never lighted. . . . As gentle and modest as a woman, there was [about him] an undoubted capacity to command, which obtained for Pettigrew instant obedience."⁵¹ He was "courteous, kindly and chivalric," and "unfailingly a gentleman."⁵²

When he was offered a brigadier generalship he declined it. "Not yet," he said. "Too many men are ahead of me who have earned their promotion on the field. I will come after them, not before."⁵³ The statement caused the observant Mary Boykin Chesnut, who fancied that fortune had to be met at least half way, to record in Richmond that "he will have to cool his heels waiting for it now."⁵⁴ But both President Davis and General Joseph E. Johnston had noticed Pettigrew and the offer was renewed with more emphasis in the spring of 1862, when McClellan started up the Peninsula toward Richmond. Pettigrew commanded a brigade in the early part of the campaign at Yorktown. He was left for dead on the Fair Oaks battlefield, his loss was mourned in Richmond and Raleigh, and obituaries were printed throughout the South.⁵⁵ But he recovered consciousness as a Federal prisoner and after two months was exchanged, to learn that his brigade had been assigned to his fellow Carolinian, Brigadier General Dorsey Pender.⁵⁶

The new brigade formed for Pettigrew, which will be forever renowned in North Carolina annals, consisted of the 11th, 26th, 44th, 47th, and 52nd North Carolina regiments. The 11th was the successor to the 1st North Carolina volunteers, the Bethel Regiment, which under Colonel Daniel

⁵¹ Clark, *Pettigrew Memorial Address*, 5.

⁵² Clark, *Pettigrew Memorial Address*, 5.

⁵³ Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, 145.

⁵⁴ Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, 145.

⁵⁵ An obituary of Pettigrew, premature by about a year, appeared in the *Semi-Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), July 21, 1862. "No man of his age on the continent was his superior in varied and useful learning," it said. "He has fallen in the prime of his manhood, but in the cause which is dear to him, and the recollection of his services and numerous virtues will long be cherished by his countrymen."

⁵⁶ Bond, *Pickett or Pettigrew?*, 6.

Harvey Hill had fought at Bethel the first engagement of the war.⁵⁷ Company B, the "Hornet's Nest Rifles" of Charlotte—called the "Hornet's Nest" in Revolutionary War times—had suffered the first war casualty in the death of private James Hudson.⁵⁸ Private Henry L. Wyatt of Company A had been the first Confederate soldier killed in battle. The mountains were represented by the Buncombe Riflemen. One company, the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry, claimed to antedate any military organization in the United States except the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston.⁵⁹

Probably no regiment in the southern service possessed a commander better qualified to lead it. Colonel Collett Leventhorpe, scion of a wealthy and knightly family of Devonshire, England, had been educated at Winchester College and commissioned an ensign in the 44th Regiment of British foot. He had traveled, served in the British army in the West Indies, Canada, and Ireland, and had risen to the rank of captain, but had decided to emigrate to the United States and study medicine.⁶⁰ He received the silver trophy for heading his class at Charleston Medical College; then established a practice in Rutherfordton, the western North Carolina town which had flourished after gold had been discovered in the vicinity and a mint set up in 1831. There he became a leader in the community, a curer, not a killer. Through the succeeding eighteen years memories of crimson uniforms and the dull exactions of garrison drill had dimmed amid life and service in the glorious surroundings of the Blue Ridge foothills.

When North Carolina seceded and the young men of Rutherford County hurried forward and formed companies, the fervor of his adopted people in their battle for independence stirred again the martial spirit of this old British soldier. Although he was then forty-six, he stepped out with the North State youths. When a new 11th Regiment was organized, made up of recruits and the veterans of the early 1st Volun-

⁵⁷ June 10, 1861.

⁵⁸ James Hudson died of pneumonia at a Raleigh hospital, May 11, 1861, two days before his regiment was mustered into service. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, V, 577-578.

⁵⁹ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, I, 131. The Fayetteville Company was formed in 1793.

⁶⁰ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, I, 583, 586-587.

teers, he quite understandably was elected colonel. The lieutenant colonel was the warmly admired professor of mineralogy at the University of North Carolina, William J. Martin.⁶¹

The half forgotten days in the British army now crowded back on Colonel Leventhorpe and he was soon looked upon as "probably the best finished and equipped field officer in the Confederate service."⁶² He possessed not only helpful portions of experience and perspicacity, but also another top asset, in that nature had given him "the most powerful voice . . . ever heard from human lips."⁶³

The 11th was representative of a strip running across the State, from the heart of the hills, through the Piedmont to Bertie County, washed by the waters of Albemarle Sound. It trained chiefly at Wilmington, where the schedule spoke more pointedly than words of the colonel's earnestness. Reveille was at daybreak, company drill at 6 A.M., guard mounting at 8, squad drill at 9, and battalion drill at 11. The afternoon routine was company drill at 1, battalion drill at 3, and dress parade at 5 P.M., completing a day with no minutes wasted.

The regiment finally developed such precision that the colonel could offer no other criticism than, "not quite as proficient as British regulars." Yet such was grudging praise indeed, compared with the fulsome words of the Inspector General of the Confederate Army, R. H. Chilton. He reported to General Lee, when the organization was incorporated in Lee's army, that "the Eleventh Regiment of North Carolina troops is the best drilled, the best equipped and the best armed regiment in the Army of Northern Virginia."⁶⁴

Pettigrew's second regiment, the 26th North Carolina Infantry, a name synonymous with blood, death and glory, had been Governor Zebulon Vance's regiment. Its company names showed it was raised largely from the Piedmont: the Chatham Boys, Moore Independents, Caldwell Guards, Pee Dee Wild-

⁶¹ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, I, 583.

⁶² Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, I, 583. Leventhorpe rose to the rank of major general in the Confederate Army.

⁶³ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, I, 583.

⁶⁴ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, I, 583.

cats—but two companies of hill men were among them—the Wilkes Volunteers from the region of Deep Gap and the slopes of Rendezvous Mountain, and the Jeff Davis Mountaineers, from Ashe County in the far northwest corner of the State.⁶⁵ Zeb Vance himself was a mountaineer, a native of Buncombe County, who had begun his career as a hotel clerk at Hot Springs. He had studied at Washington College in Tennessee and at the University of North Carolina, and had become an Asheville lawyer. His great natural force was rated among the mountain dwellers as powerful as that of his own French Broad River, which wrested and twisted its way through the lofty barrier of the Great Smoky Mountains. He had stamped himself in Congress as an orator of consummate power.

Then the war had taken him into the army as captain of Buncombe County's hard hitting "Rough and Ready Guards." His physical handicap resulted from a fall from an apple tree that broke his hip and left him a shortened leg and an ambling gait from early boyhood.⁶⁶ This was more than compensated for by his intense ardor, superb command of language, salty wit, and extraordinary capacity for making solid friendships. Soldier, governor, and United States Senator, Vance enjoyed as have few other men in the country's history the abiding affection of the people of his own State. A little later in the war he would make an inspirational speaking tour of the different commands of the Army of Northern Virginia. J. E. B. Stuart accompanied him and declared that, measured by results, "Vance is the greatest orator that ever lived," and General Lee was quoted as saying his visit to the army was "worth 50,000 recruits."⁶⁷

Such was the inspiring man who had met the impressionable youths of the 26th Regiment when it was mustered in at Camp Crab Tree near Raleigh. After electing Vance colonel the regiment had gone on to choose Major Harry King

⁶⁵ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 303.

⁶⁶ William H. S. Burgwyn, "Zebulon Baird Vance," in Edwin Anderson Alderman (editor-in-chief) and F. P. Gamble (executive editor), *Library of Southern Literature* (Atlanta, Ga.: The Martin and Hoyt Co., 1907, 1909, 16 volumes), XII, 5555, hereinafter cited as *Library of Southern Literature*.

⁶⁷ *Library of Southern Literature*, XII, 5557.

Burgwyn, the camp instructor, its lieutenant colonel.⁶⁸ Almost immediately a good many judged that in this instance the regiment had made an appalling mistake. The young man was all intensity and action. The regiment was literally snatched out of bed and shaken to attention. "At first sight," said Corporal John R. Lane, who would soon rise to become lieutenant colonel of the regiment, "I both admired and feared him."⁶⁹

Burgwyn, the son of a wealthy Northampton County planter, had been educated by tutors and prepared for West Point, but had been diverted to the University of North Carolina, where, like Pettigrew, he had led his class, though he was graduated at the early age of eighteen. His father, hearing the rumblings of the oncoming war, had influenced him to continue his studies at Virginia Military Institute, where he caught the attention of the austere T. I. Jackson, Professor of Artillery and Natural Philosophy. Jackson gave him the top recommendation one might expect from such a stern recluse, saving he would "make an ornament not only to the artillery, but any branch of the military service."⁷⁰

Vance was attentive to the company's welfare and was as popular with the men as he had been with his admiring Buncombe County constituents. He imbued them with his own tough, unyielding spirit, as their brief future tenure of life disclosed. But he left the drill and military formalities to Burgwyn. The lieutenant colonel, twenty years old, conducted it with all the zeal of a V.M.I. cadet who had gratified "Old Jack." However cherished may have been the rugged independence of these Carolinians who had never recognized the frailest filaments of repression or restraint, war was something real to the diligent lieutenant colonel who meant to have a regiment that would obey him in battle. Something had been imparted to him from the intense light that burned in T. I. Jackson's pale blue eyes. Some of the men, looking on the war as a short term lark that nobody needed to get too excited

⁶⁸ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 306.

⁶⁹ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 305.

⁷⁰ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 406, taken from news story in Raleigh papers.

about, grumbled at the martinet colonel and swore that he would get the proper attention when they fought their first battle.

The opportunity to deal with him came when Federal General Burnside made his descent on New Bern in March, 1862. The 26th served in General L. O'B. Branch's command. The men found to their surprise that Burgwyn was the very prop they needed in combat. He was in front when they advanced and in their rear when they retreated. The army lost New Bern but the 26th performed notably well because of the very discipline and drill to which some of the more vocal members had objected. Thoroughly disliked before the battle, Burgwyn came out of it as "the regiment's pride and joy."⁷¹ The 26th went on to Virginia and took the terrible punishment in the assault on Malvern Hill. As the men moved in to the attack they flushed a rabbit which scampered ahead of them. The soldiers hooted and urged it on and Colonel Vance, always ready with a joke, shouted at the frightened little animal. "Go it, cotton tail! If I had no more reputation to lose than you have, I'd run, too."⁷² Tension eased. So it was the regiment learned how to be buoyant in an even tougher assault the men would have to make on a later day.

The test for Burgwyn came when Vance was elected governor of North Carolina. He left the regiment in August, 1862. The lieutenant colonel was still not twenty-one. The 26th was then in the brigade of Brigadier General Matt W. Ransom, who affirmed that he "wanted no boy colonel in his brigade."⁷³ When the regiment heard of the remark it decided to show its dander. The men made it known that they would have no other colonel than young Burgwyn. They promptly petitioned to be taken out of Ransom's brigade. Hard fighting General D. H. Hill, who was moving to the front as the principal military figure of North Carolina, interceded and declared that Burgwyn should be promoted. Vance employed his in-

⁷¹ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 329.

⁷² *Library of Southern Literature*, XII, 5556; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 334.

⁷³ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 334.

fluence, by no means feeble. He knew the 26th needed Burgwyn. He would not fail it in a battle to the finish. On his departure Vance had delivered a stirring speech: "It is fight to the end. All you can expect is War! War!! War!!!." ⁷⁴

So youthful Harry King Burgwyn was appointed colonel of the 26th by the Confederate War Department, field officers no longer being elected, and the regiment was assigned to Brigadier General S. G. French at Petersburg, and a little later to Pettigrew. John R. Lane, captain, but lately corporal, was appointed lieutenant colonel. The regiment knew well what he would do for the soldiers. When they had charged up Malvern Hill he had carried inside his blouse the company's pay, wrapped in a newspaper. A bullet ripped open his coat and in the blood and excitement of the assault the package disappeared. Such were the demands of the wounded that night that he did not notice how the ball had taken off his button, or that the money was gone. In the morning the loss was discovered. Lee's army had been repulsed, but Lane, unaware that McClellan had retired also during the night, set out alone to search over the ground that had been saturated with southern blood. Diligently he looked, and there, half covered by the dead, he found the beautiful packet of money, still wrapped and tied. ⁷⁵ He hurried back and the company rejoiced with him.

One of the soldiers observed that Pettigrew and Burgwyn were "made for each other," being alike in their intensity, courage, zest for battle, martial bearing, and skillful horsemanship. Lieutenant Colonel Lane developed into an excellent drillmaster and disciplinarian and the 26th came to vie with the 11th as "the best drilled regiment in the Confederate service." The regiment's "pride," next to its boy colonel, was Captain Mickey's ornate regimental band, which another unnamed member of the regiment declared, was "considered the finest in the Army of Northern Virginia." One thing

⁷⁴ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 334.

⁷⁵ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 333.

obviously was not lacking. The regiment had admirable assurance and *esprit de corps*.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ At Gettysburg the Twenty-Sixth North Carolina engaged in the most deadly regimental duel of the battle. It encountered the Twenty-Fourth Michigan. They fought until about one man in five remained on either side. Colonel Burgwyn was killed. His men buried him with a gun case for a coffin beneath a large walnut tree where he fell. Pettigrew's quest for shoes in Gettysburg, at Heth's and A. P. Hill's orders, brought on the battle, in which the brigade and later the division he commanded, played such an important role.

REVIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA FICTION, 1956-1957

BY PHILLIPS RUSSELL*

It should be said at the outset that what follows are the views of just one of the judges and are not intended to be final, since literary history has so often shown that the ultimate decision on all books is made by the reading public and not by committees or boards of award, no matter how well qualified or well intentioned.

Thirteen books were entered this year in the Sir Walter Raleigh Award Competition which is limited to fiction, including the novel, the drama, the short story, and poetry; and it was suggested that each member of the Board of Award allow for points as follows: Creative and imaginative quality, 30 points; excellence of style, 30 points; universality of appeal, 30 points; relevance to North Carolina and her people, 10 points.

Since only a short time can be allowed for these comments, it will not be possible to review all the competing books or even to enumerate them; but this will not be necessary in view of the fact that each April a North Carolina Bibliography prepared for many years by Miss Mary Thornton and presently by Mr. William S. Powell, is published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

It must come immediately to one's attention that of the 13 books in question, the leaders in substance and treatment all dealt with various aspects of one of the central problems of North Carolina life in our time—the race question. And another fact scarcely less striking was the youth of the authors. Two of them were under 25 and two were not far from 30, while it must also be mentioned that two out of four authors who dealt with the race question in a sincere but dramatic way were young women.

In two of the books, one by a young man, the other by a young woman, Negroes were the central characters. It has

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sometimes been brought as a charge against Southerners that they see Negroes only as stereotypes; that is, as servants or laborers subordinate to white employers and as respectful, humble, sometimes quaint, and rather ignorant. But in these books the characters were not stereotypes. Far from it. They were individuals, not types, and their traits, actions, and words were set forth as evidence of a human individuality conditioned of course by a social environment and a special status.

The sympathy with which these authors outlined their Negro characters was marked. In this fact may lie great significance. It seems to say that our younger generations are not to be bound down by old concepts and mottoes; they want to see both sides, they mean to judge for themselves, and they do not ignore the changes that have been wrought in North Carolina life by new conditions and changed emphases. These young authors signify that they believe in the innate worth of every human being, regardless of complexion, and that every man and woman ought to be able to realize in full whatever is best in his nature.

Another evident endeavor of these young writers is to understand the foundations of small-town life. North Carolina, having no large cities, no great ports, and no metropolises, is peculiarly a state of small towns. Its people have no salient wealth, no afflicting poverty. This condition might foster mediocrity, and in fact the late Judge R. W. Winston, who himself became a writer late in life, once called North Carolina a "militant mediocracy," and at one time, particularly in the thirty years that followed the Civil War, the State seemed satisfied to poke along with its gaze directed downward rather than upward.

But our authors do not see these small towns as mere sloughs of routine, but rather as centers of drama. Beneath the outward face of humdrum there is a stir and a drive that indicates the younger generation of North Carolinians are not content with ruts, however soft and inoffensive, but intend to meet current challenges and discard outworn shibboleths.

The old sentimentalities, the once treasured romantic assumptions, are gone and in their place is an over-all realism,

often grim, sometimes hard, but always truth-seeking. If this means the backyard rather than the front porch is dwelt upon, we must endure it.

Especially is this truth-seeking visible in the treatment of character. All the great story-tellers, from Shakespeare to Uncle Remus, have based their writings on the solid foundation of character, and he shows the greatest promise as novelist, dramatist, or story writer who can give us a galaxy of convincing characters, meaning people we can touch, taste, watch, overhear, and realize. All of us as readers and samplers want our heroes and heroines to be people we can get hold of, upon whom we can project ourselves, and with whom we can identify ourselves.

Our writers realize that North Carolina is only partly a southern state. It belongs to the South Atlantic area rather than the Deep South. It has plenty of magnolias, azaleas, and moonlight, but its life is not lived among these so much as on ploughed land, among the piney woods of the sandy flatlands, in mountain coves, in the back alleys of homely small towns, and among the great factories and warehouses that are gradually supplanting the lonely farms of other years.

This new writing, if we can call it so, is sometimes rather gritty but it is completely honest. North Carolina will some day pay more attention to these writers who are also interpreters. In due course it may even buy their books and read them.

REVIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA NON-FICTION,
1956-1957

BY WINSTON BROADFOOT*

Previous reviewers on this occasion have complained of their allotted time: so few minutes for so many titles. Twenty minutes is hardly time enough to cover 28 books but I must add, in all candor that, while I might wish for fewer books, I do not wish for more time. We'll stay together on that one.

There is another confession I would like to make. Few people, certainly not I among them, could possibly be expert in every field before us. Professional reviewers often have about them a certain glibness, an expertness in how to review rather than any great knowledge of the subject matter of the particular book. After reading a long review you are likely to breathe deeply and say: "Thank heaven, that is one book I need not read." The reviewer has laid it out for you from A to Z. Today my hope is different. Whatever else is in this brief talk, I mean it to be a challenge for you to read. Many of the books are well worth it.

The 28 titles under consideration were published between September 1, 1956, and June 30, 1957, and were written by persons who maintained their residence in North Carolina for the three years immediately preceding June 30, 1957. The books are original works of non-fiction and represent the total output within the limits defined, except that technical and scientific works are excluded.

Before getting to the titles, we might pause and consider the concept of non-fiction. Description in the negative can be quite derogatory. A person who is called a nonentity should recognize the epithet. Use of such a word, even when justified, should be avoided because it is colorless.

So I begin my remarks by picking a quarrel with the word "non-fiction," a singularly colorless word that must be used to describe an infinite variety of books. Whatever is not fiction

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is non-fiction, the left-overs in a category of lesser importance. To this implication of the word "non-fiction" we must object.

Perhaps by this time next year some benevolent group will have sponsored a contest to pick a better word for us, much like we have contests to name a new soap. As one who is almost equally interested in bathing and books, I have the temerity to suggest that a new book-word is more needed than a new soap-word. Think for a moment how it would be if you could indicate soap only by saying "non-toothpaste." That's the fix we're in on "non-fiction."

Certain definite categories, homemade and unknown to the Dewey decimal system, will serve to group the books.

Under what might be called the "home scene" there are several titles. *Threads of Gold* by Myrtie Lee Powers is a series of religious recollections of rural life that first appeared in the *Smithfield Herald*. Friends of the author urged the present compilation.

Ocracoke by Carl Goerch is addressed to the prospective tourist. With deliberate folksiness Mr. Goerch describes the island and the town, dropping several suggestions about how to get along, such as bring your shovel if you bring your car. In his stated desire to encourage the tourist trade, Mr. Goerch has probably scored a success. For those of you who must stay behind, the book makes pleasant reading.

Stories Old and New of the Cape Fear Region by Louis T. Moore is a collection of historical anecdotes, many of which first appeared in newspapers. All of the stories have at least one unusual or dramatic event, and a number of them are original contributions to local history. From long familiarity with the region, Mr. Moore handles his material easily.

The Ahoskie Era of Hertford County has an interesting history as a book. Almost 500 of its approximately 800 pages appeared in a single issue of the weekly *Hertford County Herald*. That was in 1937. Since that time the printers sent down portions of copy for the book as they sandwiched limited time into a busy commercial schedule. In the final stages a special warehouse had to be bought to store the unfinished copies. The period covered is the same for all sections: 1889-1939; the area covered is Hertford County; and the subjects

covered include everything imaginable, from U.D.C. chapters to beauty queens. You'll like this book for its sheer spunk.

Home on the Yadkin is a running commentary on whatever happened to cross Thomas Ferguson's mind. A prominent farmer of Wilkes County, he is quite blunt about his likes and his dislikes. From the book you get something of Yadkin Valley history, but much more of Mr. Ferguson. He's not always right, but he's never dull.

Only three books are in the religious field. *A Survey of the Old Testament* by W. W. Sloan is a textbook written in simple, readable style. It is designed for beginners at the college level. Mr. Jesse Baldwin's book answers affirmatively the question that is in the title: *Can We Believe the Bible?* In *Slavery and Catholicism* Richard Miller raises the issue of whether the Roman Catholic Church is a friend of the Negro. Showing that the Church supported slavery somehow becomes proof of present attitudes. Many of the supporting facts are nothing more than direct quotes from the Popish plot period of American hysteria. The book ends in diatribe and disappointment for the reader. Church attitudes toward the American Negro, especially during the days of slavery, remain an intriguing subject for a good book.

Manly Wade Wellman is a fast-writing author who turns out fast-moving books, some for boys, some for adults. *Rebel Boast* is a book primarily for adults. The title refers to the abbreviated slogan, so familiar to North Carolinians: "First at Bethel . . . Last at Appomattox." The dust jacket of the book, with bubbly enthusiasm and unconscious humor, calls the slogan a "Southern battlecry." Five kinsmen from Halifax County go to war in the spring of 1861 and two come home after Appomattox. Mr. Wellman has done a remarkable job of keeping the reader with these men in victory, defeat, and death. The feeling of war pervades every page and time and again the reader marvels that these men maintained their fighting heart. Unpublished family papers furnish the framework for the story, but the author has successfully spliced in well-known published material to give valid background and, occasionally, to beef up thin spots in the manuscript sources.

Rebel Boast is our only book this year about the Civil War, but for pace and pathos you couldn't ask for more.

Two near-technical studies are Stuart Chapin's *Urban Land Use Planning* and John O'Neal's *Policy Formation in Railroad Finance*. Mr. Chapin's book is concerned with the use of land, theoretical and actual, in cities of from 100,000 to 500,000 population. This land problem is part of the larger problem of city planning, he explains, which in turn is part of the headache of city life, I would add. Mr. O'Neal's book is an intensive study of how the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad refinanced its bonded debt during the years 1936-1945, a limited inquiry not accurately suggested by the generous main title. Both books are strictly professional, if not technical.

Several biographies are on our list today.

When Archibald Henderson chooses to write about George Bernard Shaw we come as close as ever we shall to having two great minds displayed under single authorship. Though Shaw is dead, this is not one of those posthumous studies in which one takes an interest in a person who lived before or beyond him. Henderson and Shaw knew one another intimately for almost 50 years. Because of this, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century* has an almost unique validity. Many times the author can vouch for a particular point from personal correspondence or conversation. Unfortunately for the present volume, Mr. Henderson did another study of Shaw in 1932. The publisher tells us that "much material included in that previous volume is used in the present work." But one wonders if even that statement prepares us for the fact that half or more of the present volume is a direct reprint of the earlier work, sometimes with rearranged paragraph sequence, sometimes with whole unaltered chapters thrown in. Therefore, the ultimate value of the present work must lie largely in its coverage of the years 1932 to Shaw's death in 1950.

O'Henry in North Carolina by Cathleen Pike is a thin volume of 29 pages that puts in compact form much fugitive information about William Sidney Porter. Personal interviews as well as customary source material were used in digging

out the facts about his boyhood in Greensboro and his later visits to North Carolina. A helpful chapter analyzes his stories for local setting.

LeGette Blythe tells the life story of a highly individualistic surgeon in *James W. Davis*. In a foreword Judge Johnson Hayes says that Davis is one of only two doctors he has known in his 50 years of court experience who would not accept either a court fee or expenses for testimony at a trial. Founder of a 200-bed hospital at Statesville, Davis was as generous as he was silent about his charity work. He helped in civic affairs and, as a Republican, was active not only on the political issues that affected his profession but on the more prosaic problems of government. James Davis was undoubtedly a man of energy, ability, and purpose, but a more critical biography might well have given us a fairer view of the man than the eulogy that Mr. Blythe has written.

"A Social Biography of a Family" is the subtitle of George Lee Simpson, Jr.'s, book, *The Cokers of Carolina*. Five generations of this Hartsville, South Carolina, family are covered. All of us are familiar with small southern towns where one family is eminent, but few are the places where this is true, without question, for so many generations. While giving industry and new ideas to Hartsville, the Cokers furnished scholars to the world. They obviously have a sense of roots, of family, and a will to be useful that is rare in this selfish and migratory world of ours. Mr. Simpson's book is no panegyric; it is a study of compelling fascination about a family that quietly sets an example of dignity and brotherhood.

Down-easter James Pike thoughtfully made a modest fortune before he turned newspaperman. Working for Horace Greeley in the 1850's, he was a pungent anti-slavery polemicist in Washington who attracted favorable notice of the extreme abolition and disunion groups in the North. Following the Civil War he toured South Carolina and wrote a book, *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government*. South Carolinians liked it. Robert Durden investigated this anomaly and *James Shepard Pike*, a revealing biography, is the result. Mr. Durden shows that Pike's book and the motives behind it have been misunderstood, but,

more important, he shows that Pike hated the Negro no less than slavery. In how many radical minds this curious twist was evident can only be guessed.

For want of a better designation, several books are lumped together under the heading "Miscellaneous." Mrs. Alice Mathewson took another trip abroad last year. Her earlier book was entitled *Ali-Mat Takes Off* and this one, appropriately and consistently, is entitled *Ali-Mat Takes Off Again*. *Toward A More Democratic Social Order* is Wendell Thomas's solution of the problems of the day. He declares that true democracy is a projection of human nature, that it is to be achieved through more liberal religion and a decentralized society of small self-governing communities. For the sports minded there is *The Red Strings Baseball Team of Yadkin County* by M. R. Dunnagan, who says the team was "undoubtedly the greatest, the best, and the most successful amateur baseball team ever to organize and play in North Carolina."

Tarheel Talk by Norman Eliason is a fascinating study, largely from manuscript sources, of inelegant writing by North Carolinians prior to 1860. Throughout the book, in easy doses, appear useful discussions of the English language. The author has happily avoided any tendency to be glib or to overstate the case for localisms. As a title *Tarheel Talk* is a misnomer (one suspects the publisher could not resist the alliteration) for little in the book pertains to the spoken word, and our most indigenous localisms, the speech of slaves, are altogether missing for the obvious reason that, with few exceptions, slaves could not write. In days to come, when there is no North, South, East, or West, and our schools, as the fountainhead of knowledge, are watered down equally for all, Mr. Eliason's topic will be no more. Whatever other gains we thereby achieve, this loss of flavor, this Tarheel difference, must be counted a great loss.

In *Thomas Hardy and the Cosmic Mind* J. O. Bailey upsets old assumptions about the philosophy of the English novelist. The book is tough going and only the hardy minded should tackle it. Equally scholarly and specializing is Grover C.

Smith, Jr.'s, *T. S. Eliot's Poetry and Plays*, an analysis of Eliot's works and a study of his sources.

Hugh Lefler's two-volume *History of North Carolina* is a monumental work. Heavy use is made of the material in the much smaller volume, *North Carolina: History of a Southern State* by Newsome and Lefler written in 1954, but the material has been greatly reworked and expanded for the present volumes. The same historian cannot be expected to be forever saying something new on an old subject, but he can work toward greater clarity and completeness. Mr. Lefler has done a good job in these respects and, with these volumes, incomparably takes his place as the foremost authority on the history of North Carolina. The publisher sells two volumes of biography that go with the set. They are of the pay-and-go-in variety and Mr. Lefler, mercifully, cannot be charged with their authorship.

The largest and most significant grouping of books I have reserved for last. Five volumes are histories of universities or colleges—four of them within North Carolina. In no previous year has there been such an offering about higher education.

John Tate Lanning gives us another excellent study of the university in Guatemala entitled *Eighteenth Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos De Guatemala*. One may imagine the handicap under which he has been working—to take old Spanish manuscripts, translate them, then synthesize his findings into a scholarly study for readers of English. San Carlos was no exception in the opposition of the established church to the Enlightenment and that struggle produces some interesting chapters in the book.

The four remaining books about colleges were written by persons long and closely associated with the particular institution. Francis B. Dedmond gives us the stirring story of the ups and downs of the Baptist institution at Boiling Springs that became Gardner-Webb College in 1942. *Lengthened Shadows: A History of Gardner-Webb College, 1907-1956*, begins with the high school that opened in 1907. By 1928 the competition of public education had all but ended its career, so the school became a junior college that year, but

its importance and its permanence remained in question until 1942 when Max Gardner showed a genuine interest in the school. *A History of Atlantic Christian College* by C. C. Ware begins its chronology more than a 100 years before the college opened at Wilson in 1902. We get much background on the Disciples of Christ in North Carolina and their early interest in education. The story is one of hard struggle and success. *A History of Meredith College* by Mary Lynch Johnson ably tells of the difficulties in the way of launching the school, the rivalries and the delays, and the slow but substantial progress of this modern Baptist school. The appendix has a biography of Thomas Meredith that is good reading and historically worth-while.

Louis Round Wilson's *The University of North Carolina, 1900-1930*, is the seventh history of that institution, yet it has its place, and it is more than a niche. Few schools in a period as brief have come as far. This is a big story and Mr. Wilson makes a big book of it, some 600 pages. His own large part in the transition is modestly mentioned but his full knowledge as an active participant is everywhere evident. With superb style he tells of the small beginnings (only 51 more students in 1900 than in 1858) and the growing greatness. Only he doesn't call it greatness; he speaks of the University becoming what a modern university should be. The increase in enrollment, appropriations, faculty, the fight for freedom — these things were neither smoothly nor steadily accomplished. There were setbacks, deaths, and resignations — but the gains outweighed the losses and there was progress, and vision always. The book is a major contribution to our understanding of university problems everywhere, and especially it should be read and remembered with profit and pride by North Carolinians.

LITERATURE AND HISTORY

BY GILBERT T. STEPHENSON*

A year ago to the hour on the corresponding occasion I spoke on "Literature and Life" and tried to relate them to each other. This evening in similar vein I shall speak on "Literature and History."¹

The primary purpose of The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, as declared in its Constitution,² is to foster the interest of our people in the literature and history of our state. It is fitting, therefore, for us, time and again, to pause, take stock, and consider what literature and history mean to each other and what they mean for the common good. To do so may be helpful to us in relating our literature and our history to each other and to our common good.

What is literature? A common definition is that it is the total of preserved writings of a given age, language, or people; another that it is the body of creative and interpretive, as distinct from professional and technical, writings. Both of these are quantitative only, however, including the bad with the good.

I prefer and for this occasion shall adopt a more selective definition — namely, that literature is the best expression of the best thought reduced to writing. Jean Jaurès bids us take from the altars of the past the fire, not the ashes.³ It is of the fire, not the ashes, of the past that I shall speak.

What is history? One definition is that it is the systematic record of past events. This too is only quantitative and, more than that, it is incomplete in that most of the record of the past is not in writing — man learned how to write only four

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¹ Gilbert T. Stephenson, "Life and Literature," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIV, No. 2 (April, 1957), 247-254.

² Constitution of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., 1948, Art. I, Sec. 2.

³ Quoted by Harry Emerson Fosdick in *The Living of These Days: An Autobiography* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), 311.

or five thousand years ago—and much of the record that is in writing is not in histories.

Consider for a moment unwritten history. The dendrologist in the Yosemite National Park in California reads in rings of redwoods that were 1,000 years old at the birth of Jesus — at least 3,000 years of history of tree-life on this planet. The geologist, standing on the rim of the Grand Canyon in Arizona and gazing out over the great valley of the Colorado River upon the slopes on the other side 6,000 feet high, reads in the stratification of those slopes history of, perhaps, a million years of formation of the earth. Nor is such reading of history confined to the professional geologist. Last summer on our farm in Northampton County, digging through mud and muck for a solid foundation for a dam, we unearthed seashells. The farmer who was superintending the excavation casually remarked, as though it were common knowledge, that the shells revealed that our farm now 75 miles inland from the ocean once was at the bottom of the sea. The archaeologist digging into mounds and caves reads in layer upon layer of what is only debris to the untrained eye and mind, history of successive ages and civilizations. Witness the Dead Sea Scrolls. In Old Brunswick Town and on the Tryon Palace Grounds artifacts of invaluable historical interest and significance await the archaeologist's discovery and interpretation. The astronomer, with his telescope, reads in the sky history of past aeons. To him, perhaps more than to anyone else, "the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth His handiwork."⁴ In skeletons of prehistoric man the anthropologist reads history of the evolution of mankind. Every art, every science, every business, every profession, and, in fact, every human enterprise each has its wealth of unwritten history read and understood only by its own devotees.

What shall we say of the record of the past in writings other than history? All writings are, in a sense, historical. The history of ancient Greece is recorded in the extant writings of its dramatists, its philosophers, and its poets as well as in those of its historians.

⁴ Psalms 19:1.

A recently published volume, *The Bible as History*,⁵ reveals early history of the Hebrews in the poetry of the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, the morals of the Proverbs, and the romance of Ruth as well as in the historical books — such as, Kings, Chronicles, Judges, Isaiah, and the other prophets, and the Acts of the Apostles.

Although in our present appraisal of literature and history we should be cognizant of these broad horizons reaching, as they do, out to the limitless realms of the unknown and the unrecorded, on this occasion we must confine ourselves to the conventional definition of literature as the best expression of the best thought reduced to writing and of history as the written record of the past.

Within these self-imposed limits, let us raise these three questions: What does literature mean to history, what does history mean to literature, and what do the two together mean for the common good?

To history literature means at least three things: It makes history readable, it supplies source material to the historian, and it inspires the writing of history.

Unless history has literary charm as well as accuracy, it will not be read except by historians themselves. Yet in some academic circles, it is said, a historical work that delights and entertains by its vital prose and its dramatic skill of presentation is suspect. While this may be true in those circles, it is not true in circles to which general readers belong. To them history without literary attractiveness has no more appeal than a flower without vivid coloring or fragrance.

A few months ago I re-read Morley's *Gladstone* nearly 50 years after its publication and found it more interesting in the second reading than it had been in the first. Why? Because of the charm of Morley's literary style. Who but a historian would read, much less re-read, Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, or Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, or, coming to our own time, Toynbee's *Study of History*, or Churchill's *Second World War* or, his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, or, coming to our own coun-

⁵ Werner Keller, *The Bible as History* (William Morrow and Company, 1956).

try, Freeman's *Lee* or his *Lee's Lieutenants* or his *Washington*, or Bruce Catton's *Hallowed Ground*, or, coming to this moment, Robert Meade's *Patrick Henry*,⁶ but for its vital prose and dramatic skill of presentation? For the historian's work to survive his accuracy of statement must be matched by his felicity of expression. He himself must be the embodiment of a mind that is factual and a spirit that is aglow. As Donald Adams, writing about Thomas Carlyle, recently said, the historian must give the past the immediacy of the present. His story must be the part that breaks out of his heart.

Literature supplies source material to the historian. In my library I have Albert Bushnell Hart's *American History Told by Contemporaries*.⁷ Reviewing this collection 50 years after I had been his student, I was impressed anew and all the more by the fact that so much of the historian's source material is not historical records as such but diaries, travelogues, autobiographies, letters, and speeches, because, as Professor Hart said, they are more real and more human. The same may be said of Hugh Lefler's *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries*.⁸ His collection, in addition to conventional historical documents, includes travel accounts, newspaper articles, magazine articles, and diaries.

Let me give an illustration of a diary becoming history. In 1850-1851 my grandfather rode horseback from Margarettsville, Northampton County, across our state and then through Tennessee to Memphis to visit an uncle of his, a native of Perquimans County, who had gone west years before. He kept a diary of his trip which, after over a century, still is in a good state of preservation and legibility. It took him 29 days to make the trip out on horseback which I recently made back by plane and automobile in less than six hours. One of the entries in his diary is an account of his exchange of Tennessee currency for North Carolina currency on his way back and having to pay exchange of two and a half per cent. Another entry is that on his way out he rode

⁶ Robert Douthat Meade, *Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making* (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company [Virginia edition], 1957).

⁷ Albert Bushnell Hart (ed.), *American History Told by Contemporaries* (New York, London: The MacMillan Company, 5 volumes, 1897-1929).

⁸ Hugh T. Lefler (ed.), *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934).

through Smithville, North Carolina — a place no longer on the map — and, he wrote, “saw the prettiest young ladies coming from a camp meeting I ever saw. I went to a camp meeting tonight and feel a renewed desire to serve my Creator.” One wonders now, which was cause and which, effect. Be that as it may, what in 1850 was only a young man’s diary in 1956 became one of the published papers of the West Tennessee Historical Society.⁹

Literature inspires the writing of history. Reading the dramas, the poetry, and the romances of an age or a people, the historian is inspired to go further and ferret out the facts that brought forth such writings. Why did the people of that age or of that country say what they said the way they did? Toynbee’s *Study of History* is largely the outgrowth of his study of literature; and his study of both literature and history has made him the man of profound faith that he is when he courageously predicts, as recently he did, that our century will be remembered 300 years hence, not as the age of the atom, but as the age of the welfare of all.

Let us turn now to inquire what history means to literature. We find that the relationship of the two is reciprocal in that each supplies the other with both source material and inspiration.

Regarding source material, we think at once of the historical novel, the historical drama, and the historical poem. History has supplied the source material of Inglis Fletcher’s romances of the Albemarle and Cape Fear sections, of Paul Green’s symphonic dramas, and of Carl Sandburg’s poems. In a recent review of Mr. Sandburg’s collected works, Sam Ragan spoke of him as the “man who has told the story of America in poetry.”¹⁰ Of Shakespeare’s 37 plays over one-third are historical by title and many of the others, historical in fact.

History inspires creative writers. In the bare facts of history they find play for their imagination and interpretation. Facts are stranger than fiction and, it is said, harder to handle

⁹ The West Tennessee Historical Society (Memphis, Tenn.: No. 10, 1956), 5.

¹⁰ *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 10, 1957, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*.

than creations of the imagination. Our creative writers themselves would be the first to say that history supplies the frame and that they, at best, only the flower of literature.

What do literature and history mean for the common good? From here on let us include all historical writing that qualifies under our definition of literature. In this broad sense literature does five things for the common good: it pleases, it informs, it influences, it enriches, and it stabilizes.

Whatever gives us pure, unadulterated pleasure is for our common good. Reading for pleasure now is in competition for people's attention with other forms of relaxation and recreation — principally with the automobile, the television, and organized sports. Whereas we used to read books during our spare time, now we take to the highways in our automobiles, view television programs, and witness athletic events.

In this competition, which is wholesome, those who take the side of literature are trying in various ways to recapture people's interest in reading for pleasure. They are publishing paperbound classics and offering them at a low price; they are condensing worthwhile books; they are publishing anthologies and collections of classic and current literature; they even are trying to teach people to read more rapidly.

Although at times literature will trail — as it is doing at this moment — in the end it will get its share of people's attention. Recent surveys indicate that only about 40 per cent of Americans read books as compared with 59 per cent of the British and an even higher percentage of the population of the Scandinavian countries.¹¹ But there always will be many people who enjoy good literature and who will find time for reading without unduly depriving themselves of other forms of pleasure. As far back as 1880 Matthew Arnold said that the instinct of self-preservation in humanity assures the currency and supremacy of good literature.¹²

What pleasure reading must give to people physically deprived of other forms of pleasure — brilliant minds and in-

¹¹ *The News and Observer*, December 1, 1957 [editorial]; Frederick A. Wagman, "The Paperbound Book Business," *Michigan Business Review*, IX (November, 1957), 9-10.

¹² Matthew Arnold, "The Study of Poetry," in Charles W. Eliot (ed.), *The Harvard Classics* (New York: P. F. Collier and Son Company, 50 volumes, 1910), XXVIII, 63-91.

spired souls in torn or tortured bodies. In her autobiography Helen Keller says, "Literature is my Utopia. Here I am not disfranchised, no barrier of the senses shuts me out from the sweet, gracious discourse of my book friends. They talk to me without embarrassment or awkwardness."

Literature informs and helps us prepare for our lifework. In 1956 Clarence B. Randall delivered at Harvard University three lectures under the general title, "A Businessman Looks at the Liberal Arts," in which he made an impassioned and impressive plea for a place for literature in one's preparation for a business career. Near the end of his third lecture he said:

We turn to history to learn the accomplishments and failures of others. We turn to literature and poetry because in them man has expressed his highest ideals and deepest tragedies. We turn to the formal study of philosophy to learn with humility how the great minds of the ages have endeavored to analyze for all men the very problems with which each of us struggles. We turn to religion for the inspiration and guidance that come from glimpsing the relationship of the individual to the infinite and the unchanging.¹³

In every field of human endeavor literature influences mankind for weal or woe. For just one illustration of its influence, note, on the one hand, how zealously the democracies of the world guard and protect the freedoms of speech and press and, on the other, how jealously the totalitarian countries control their literature. In recent addresses, condensed and arranged by *The New York Times*,¹⁴ Mr. Khrushchev has said that the press is the Russians' chief ideological weapon, that they cannot put the press into unreliable hands, and that it must be in the hands of the most faithful, most trustworthy, most politically steadfast people devoted to the cause of communism. In Russia literary works are judged by their political flavor as much as by their literary merit.

¹³ The Randall Lectures (White Plains, New York: The Fund for Adult Education, 1957), 37.

¹⁴ *The New York Times Magazine*, September 29, 1957.

Literature enriches our life. Materially, ours is a notably prosperous and progressive State. Consequently, there is and always will be, so long as we remain prosperous and progressive, danger of overemphasizing and, therefore, overvaluing outward, visible, material accomplishments at the expense of inward, cultural, and spiritual values. In such an atmosphere we are tempted to judge one another by what one has and not by what one is.

Should our life ever tend thus to get off balance, literature should come to our rescue by reminding us that ages, nations, and peoples, as well as individuals, are judged and appraised in the end, not by what things they accumulate for themselves, but by what intangible values they contribute to others. Literature reveals to us that the best that any age or nation or people can give posterity is the works of its artists, writers, and musicians who, in pride and humility, reveal truth and dream, beauty and hope, and the upward look and striving as they mature in the hearts of men. Our artists, our authors, and our musicians conceive the ideas on which their descendants build and raise the ideals towards which their descendants strive.

In our State we are making history so rapidly, especially educational and industrial history, that it is all the more important that we not only record the history that we have made and are making but also that we do so in a literary style that will command wide, popular reading. How else can we keep our past, our present, and our future in alignment with one another? How else can we keep our hands, our heads, and our hearts in balance?

Literature is a mighty arm in the struggle for the common good. And you who are engaged in creative and interpretive writing, in whatever field of expression, are productive citizens as truly as are those of us who are engaged in growing or making things. You are giving our young people visions that will make the dreams of us older ones come true.

Furthermore, you who are engaged in such writing are helping to stabilize our culture. You are helping to keep us on an even keel. With your help, no gale nor storm, however severe, will ever drive our ship of state onto shoals of extrem-

ism of any kind — economic, industrial, interracial, political, religious, or social. To the rest of us you supply both ballast and motive power, for the fire of your writings generates power in your readers.

In this competitive space age of bombs, jets, missiles, and anti-missile missiles, rockets, and manmade satellites, we shall need engineers and scientists—of course we shall—but we shall need no less—indeed all the more—you creative and interpretive writers to help us win victory for peace and good will the world over — victory that ever can be won only with weapons of the spirit.

This is my appraisal of the meaning of our literature and our history to each other and for our common good. Our Association is dedicated to the continuous appreciation of these values.

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¹ Heretofore the period of eligibility for the various North Carolina literary awards has been from September 1 to the following August 31. To give the judges more time to evaluate the books before the awards are made in December, however, that period has been changed to the year from July 1 to the following June 30. This bibliography is being brought into line with that period, and this year it includes books dealing with North Carolina or by North Carolinians published between September 1, 1956, and June 30, 1957.

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- RABE, ANNE DAVIS. Chattering cherubs. New York, Exposition Press, 1957. 46 p. \$2.50.
- SCHOOLFIELD, GEORGE C. The figure of the musician in German literature. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1956. 204 p. \$4.50.
- SHELLEY, PHILIP ALLISON. Anglo-German and American-German cross-currents, edited by Philip Allison Shelley with Arthor O. Lewis, Jr., and William W. Betts, Jr. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1957. 303 p. \$7.00.
- SMITH, GROVER CLEVELAND. T. S. Eliot's poetry and plays, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956. 338 p. \$6.00.
- ZEYDEL, EDWIN HERMAN. ed. and tr. Poems of Goethe. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1957. 126 p. \$3.25.

² Winner of the Roanoke-Chowan Award for poetry, 1957.

*Fiction*³

- ANGELL, POLLY. Andy Jackson: long journey to the White House. New York, Aladdin Books, 1956. 192 p. \$1.75.
- BETTS, DORIS. Tall houses in winter.⁴ New York, Putnam, 1957. 383 p. \$4.50.
- BLOOMFIELD, HOWARD. Last cruise of the Nightwatch. Englewood, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1956. 213 p. \$2.95.
- BLYTHE, LE GETTE. The crown tree. Richmond, John Knox Press, 1957. 329 p. \$3.50.
- BURGWYN, MEBANE HOLOMAN. True love for Jenny. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1956. 189 p. \$2.75.
- CANADAY, JULIA. Big end of the horn. New York, Vantage Press, 1956. 171 p. \$2.75.
- CARROLL, RUTH. Tough Enough's Trip, by Ruth and Latrobe Carroll. New York, Oxford University Press, 1956. 64 p. \$2.75.
- CLARVOE, FRANK AULD. The wonderful way. New York, Holt, 1956. 416 p. \$4.50.
- COLVER, ALICE MARY. There is a season. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1957. 306 p. \$3.50.
- CRABB, ALFRED LELAND. Journey to Nashville. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1957. 291 p. \$3.75.
- CREDLE, ELLIS. Big doin's on Razorback Ridge. New York, Nelson, 1956. 125 p. \$2.75.
- DANIELS, LUCY. Caleb, my son. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1956. 125 p. \$2.75.
- DAVIS, BURKE. Roberta E. Lee. Winston-Salem, J. F. Blair, 1956. unpagged. \$2.75.
- DEMAREST, PHILLIS GORDON. The wilderness brigade. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1957. 356 p. \$3.95.
- EHLE, JOHN MARSDEN. Move over, mountain. New York, W. Morrow, 1957. 314 p. \$3.95.
- HIGHT, WILLIAM B., JR. A collection of hearts. No place, no publisher, 1956. 156 p. \$2.50.
- KEY, ALEXANDER. Cherokee boy. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1957. 176 p. \$2.75.
- KROLL, HARRY HARRISON. My heart's in the hills. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1956. 188 p. \$2.75.
- LELAND, JOHN ADAMS. Othneil Jones. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1956. 253 p. \$3.75.
- METCALF, PAUL C. Will West. Asheville, Jonathan Williams, 1956. 68 p. \$2.75.
- MOORE, BERTHA BELLE. Black top. Grand Rapids, W. B. Eerdmans, 1956. 151 p. \$2.00.

³ By a North Carolinian or with the scene laid in North Carolina.

⁴ Winner of the Sir Walter Raleigh Award for fiction, 1957.

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- Autumn on Breezy Hill, by Betsy McCurry, *pseud.*
Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1956. 56 p. \$1.00.
- PHILLIPS, DOROTHY EVANS. Big-enough boat. Chicago, Follett
Publishing Company, 1956. 96 p. \$2.40.
- PRYOR, ELINOR. The double man. New York, Norton, 1957.
542 p. \$3.95.
- REHDER, JESSIE CLIFFORD. Remembrance way. New York, Put-
nam, 1956. 255 p. \$3.50.
- ROBERTS, JOSEPH B. Web of our life. Boston, Bruce Humphries,
Inc., 1957.
- ROGERS, LETTIE HAMLETT. Birthright. New York, Simon and
Schuster, 1957. 308 p. \$3.50.
- SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. Sword and scalpel. Garden City, N. Y.,
Doubleday, 1957. 285 p. \$3.75.
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- The warrior. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday,
1956. 225 p. \$3.50.
- SMITH, EDITH HUTCHINS. El Tigre! Winston-Salem, J. F. Blair,
1956. 178 p. \$3.00.
- STREET, JAMES HOWELL. Captain Little Ax. Philadelphia, Lip-
pincott, 1956. 377 p. \$3.50.
- STRICKLAND, WILLIAM HERMAN. A twist of yarn, by Emmitt
Lookabee, *pseud.* New York, Pageant Press, 1956. 167 p. \$3.00.
- TRACY, DON. Cherokee. New York, Dial Press, 1957. 376 p. \$3.95.
- WALKER, NONA. Kappy Oliver. New York, Holt, 1956. 256 p.
\$3.00.
- WECHTER, NELL WISE. Taffy of Torpedo Junction.⁵ Winston-
Salem, J. F. Blair, 1957. 134 p. \$2.75.
- WICKER, TOM. The devil must. New York, Harper, 1957. 280 p.
\$3.50.

Genealogy

- BERRY, LLOYD E. Hudson Berry and his descendants. Pelzer,
S. C., The Berry-Gaines-Harrison Reunion, 1956. 106 p. \$3.50.
- DRAUGHON, WALLACE R. North Carolina genealogical reference.
Durham, no publisher, 1956. 231 p. \$5.00.
- FARMER, ELLERY. Descendants of Thomas Farmer. [Asheville?
no publisher, 1956]. 88 p. \$4.00.
- HANNA, JAMES ARTHUR MACCLELLAN. The house of Dunlap. Ann
Arbor, Michigan, Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1956. 412 p. \$12.50.
- HAYWOOD, HUBERT BENBURY, SR. A sketch of the Haywood fami-
ly in North Carolina. [Raleigh? no publisher, 1956]. 78 p.

⁵ Winner of the AAUW Award for juvenile literature, 1957.

- HINSHAW, WINFORD CALVIN, comp. 1815 tax list of Randolph County. Raleigh, William Perry Johnson, 1957. 43 p. \$3.00.
- PHILLIPS, MARY PALMER. The family record of David Lehman Booher and his wife Elizabeth Nutts. [Pinnacle, no publisher, 1956]. 98 p.
- SHIELDS, RUTH HERNDON. The descendants of William and Sarah (Poe) Herndon. [Chapel Hill? the author?], 1956. 232 p. \$10.00.
- SIMPSON, GEORGE LEE. The Cokers of Carolina. Chapel Hill, Published for the Institute for Research in Social Science by the University of North Carolina Press, 1956. 327 p. \$5.00.
- WILLIAMS, RUTH SMITH. Abstracts of the wills of Edgecombe County. Rocky Mount, Dixie Letter Service, 1956. 392 p. \$10.00.
- WRIGHT, ELIZABETH ANN. Manning and allied families. [Dallas, Texas, no publisher], 1956. 116 p. \$10.00.

History and Travel

- BARRETT, JOHN GILCHRIST. Sherman's march through the Carolinas. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1956. 325 p. \$6.00.
- CAMP, CARROL E. Snapshots, a season in Korea. New York, Pageant Press, 1957. 106 p. \$2.50.
- CURTISS, JOHN SHELTON. The Russian revolutions of 1917. Princeton, Van Nostrand, 1957, 191 p. \$1.25.
- DUNBAR, GARY S. Geographical history of the Carolina banks. Baton Rouge, Coastal Studies Institute, Louisiana State University, 1956. 249 p.
- FREEL, MARGARET WALKER. Our heritage: the people of Cherokee County, North Carolina, 1540-1955. Asheville, Miller Printing Co., 1956. 407 p. \$10.00.
- GOERCH, CARL. Ocracoke. Raleigh, [the author?], 1956. 223 p. \$3.00.
- HAAG, WILLIAM G. The archeology of coastal North Carolina. Baton Rouge, Coastal Studies Institute, Louisiana State University, 1956. 136 p.
- LINK, ARTHUR STANLEY. Wilson: the new freedom. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1956. 504 p. \$7.50.
- MALONE, HENRY THOMPSON. Cherokees of the Old South. Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1956. 238 p. \$4.50.
- MARRIOTT, ALICE LEE. Sequoyah: leader of the Cherokees. New York, Random House, 1956. 180 p. \$1.50.
- MATHEWSON, ALICE CLARKE. Ali-Mat takes off again. Raleigh, Forest Hills Distributors, 1957. 47 p. \$1.75.

- MOORE, LOUIS TOOMER. Stories old and new of the Cape Fear region. Wilmington, privately published, 1956. 261 p. \$5.00.
- PARKER, JOSEPH ROY. The Ahoskie era of Hertford County. Ahoskie, Parker Brothers, Inc. 1939 [published 1956]. 751 p. \$10.00.
- OVENS, DAVID. If this be treason. Charlotte, Heritage House. 1957. 219 p. \$3.50.
- SCHEER, GEORGE FABIAN. Rebels and redcoats, by George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin. Cleveland, World Publishing Company, 1957. 572 p. \$7.50
- SITTERSON, JOSEPH CARLYLE, ed. Studies in Southern history [in memory of Albert Ray Newsome]. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1957. 168 p. \$2.50.
- SPELL, ADEN IVES. Life in Louisiana Cajun country. Asheville, Biltmore Press, 1956. 67 p.
- STOWE, LELAND. Crusoe of Lonesome Lake. New York, Random House, 1957. 234 p. \$3.50.
- WELLMAN, MANLY WADE. Rebel boast. New York, H. Holt, 1956. 317 p. \$3.95.
- WHITE, WILLIAM CHAPMAN. Tin can on a shingle. New York, Dutton, 1957. 176 p. \$3.50.

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- BLYTH, LE GETTE. James W. Davis, North Carolina surgeon. Charlotte, William Loftin Publishers, 1956. 227 p. \$4.25.
- DURDEN, ROBERT FRANKLIN. James Shepherd Pike, Republicanism and the American Negro, 1850-1882. Durham, Duke University Press, 1957. 249 p. \$5.00.
- EATON, WILLIAM CLEMENT. Henry Clay and the art of American politics. Boston, Little, Brown, 1957. 209 p. \$3.50.
- HENDERSON, ARCHIBALD. George Bernard Shaw: man of the century.⁶ New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956. 969 p. \$12.00.
- JOHNSON, GERALD WHITE. The lunatic fringe. Philadelphia, Lip-pincott, 1957. 248 p. \$3.95.
- KEYES, CHARLES A. The parson of the hills. New York, Vantage Press, 1956. 103 p. \$2.50.
- KING, VICTOR C., comp. Lives and times of the 27 signers of the Mecklenburg declaration of independence. Charlotte, Anderson Press, 1956. 225 p. \$4.25.
- LANGFORD, GERALD. Alias O. Henry. New York, Macmillan, 1957. 294 p. \$5.00.

⁶ Winner of the Mayflower Award, 1957.

- MURRAY, PAULI. Proud shoes, the story of an American family. New York, Harper, 1956. 276 p. \$3.50.
- PIKE, CATHLEEN. O. Henry in North Carolina, edited by Roy C. Moose. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Library, 1957. 29 p. \$2.50 cl., \$1.00 pa.
- POWERS, MYRTIE LEE. Threads of Gold. New York, Vantage Press, 1957. 189 p. \$3.00.
- ROSKE, RALPH JOSEPH. Lincoln's commando, the biography of Commander W. B. Cushing, U. S. N., by Ralph J. Roske and Charles Van Doren. New York, Harper, 1957. 310 p. \$4.50.
- RUSSELL, ELBERT. Elbert Russell, Quaker: an autobiography. Jackson, Tenn., Friendly Press, 1956. 376 p. \$5.00.
- RUSSELL, PHILLIPS. Jefferson, champion of the free mind. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1956. 374 p. \$6.00.
- SELLERS, CHARLES GRIER. James K. Polk, Jacksonian, 1795-1843. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957. 526 p. \$7.50.
- WATKINS, FLOYD C. Thomas Wolfe's characters. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957. 194 p. \$3.75.

New Editions and Reprints

- BOYD, JAMES. Bitter Creek. New York, Bantam Books, 1957. 306 p. .50¢.
- CRAVEN, AVERY ODELLE. The coming of the Civil War. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957. 491 p. \$5.00.
- HARGROVE, MARION. The girl he left behind. New York, American Library, 1956. 192 p. .35¢.
- HENNESSEE, WILLIAM E. Your family coat of arms. [Salisbury], American College of Arms, [1957]. 43 p.
- LEFLER, HUGH TALMAGE. North Carolina history, told by contemporaries. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1956. 528 p. \$6.00.
- RIGHTS, DOUGLAS LETELL. The American Indian in North Carolina. Winston-Salem, J. F. Blair, 1957. 298 p. \$6.00.
- RUARK, ROBERT CHESTER. Something of value. New York, Pocket Books, Inc., 1957. 627 p. .75¢.
- SMITH, BETTY. A tree grows in Brooklyn. New York, Popular Library, 1956. 430 p. .50¢.
- SYPHERD, WILBUR OWEN. Manual of technical writing, by W. O. Sypherd, Alvin M. Fountain, and V. E. Gibbens. Chicago, Scott, Foresman, 1957. 560 p. \$4.00.
- TRACY, DON. Carolina corsair. New York, Pocket Books, Inc., 1957. 297 p. .35¢.

WILMINGTON, N. C., MINISTERING CIRCLE. Favorite recipes of the Lower Cape Fear. Wilmington, [Ministering circle], 1956. 184 p. \$2.25.

WOLF, FREDERICK A. Tobacco diseases and decays. Durham, Duke University Press, 1957. 396 p. \$7.50.

WOLFE, THOMAS. Aux sources du fleuve. Paris, Librairie Stock, 1956. 542 p.

Hinter jenen Bergen. Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1956. 279 p.

BOOK REVIEWS

William R. Davie. By Blackwell P. Robinson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 397. Illustrations and bibliography. \$6.00.)

In this volume Professor Blackwell P. Robinson of the Department of History of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina gives us a much needed biography of an important North Carolinian. Born in England and reared in South Carolina, William R. Davie served his adopted state both in war and peace. Davie originally came to the Tar Heel state to study law under Spruce Macay at Salisbury but took up arms when the British launched their invasion of the South in 1778. As a partisan Davie performed ably, and later became commissary general of purchases for North Carolina, a position in which he rendered valuable assistance to Nathanael Greene's American Southern Army.

The author makes his most important contribution when he turns to Davie's postwar career in public service. Here Professor Robinson traces his years in the State House of Commons; his activities at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, where he labored successfully to put North Carolina's vote behind the all-important Connecticut Compromise; his efforts to secure ratification of the Constitution in North Carolina; his brief but efficient service as governor; and his part in the Adams' peace mission to France in 1800.

Of particular interest to residents of this state is the chapter entitled "The Father of the University." The author is doubtless correct in saying that Davie's rather extensive education for that day (he was graduated from the College of New Jersey) enabled him to see the value of a state university. It was Davie who introduced a bill in the General Assembly in 1789 for the creation of such an institution; and he who performed noteworthy service on the building committee, who assisted in drawing up the plan of studies to be followed by the university, and who aided in the many details in regard to its establishment. Countless alumni of the school will probably be disturbed by Professor Robinson's statement

that the well-known Davie Poplar legend is "an apocryphal story which will not down."

William R. Davie is the result of painstaking research and judicious writing. It suffers, however, from an overabundance of detail. Fewer insignificant facts would have made for easier reading. It is well-documented and contains a full index. This is a valuable book and an attractive one.

Don Higginbotham.

Duke University,
Durham.

The University of North Carolina, 1900-1930, *The Making of a Modern University*. By Louis R. Wilson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. xxi, 633. Illustrations. \$7.50.)

Prior to the publication of this volume, six authors had written substantial histories of the University of North Carolina, in whole or in part. In a two-volume *Documentary History of the University of North Carolina, 1776-1799*, Professor R. D. W. Connor covered in detail the founding of the institution. President Kemp Plummer Battle's two-volume *History of the University of North Carolina* gave a general account of events down to about 1912. The growth of the physical plant was described by Professor Archibald Henderson in his *The Campus of the First State University*. During the period of Reconstruction, Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer wrote two series of articles depicting life at the University in its early days. In 1941 Mr. Arthur Stanley Link completed a manuscript, which has remained unpublished, entitled "A History of the Buildings at the University of North Carolina," and in 1950 Professor Henry McGilbert Wagstaff's *Impressions of Men and Movements at the University of North Carolina* appeared.

These works as a group dealt primarily with the development of the University to about 1900, at which time it was still essentially a liberal arts college with three professional schools loosely connected with it. In the latest history of the University, Dr. Louis Round Wilson describes the transition of this college into a full-fledged, mature University engaged

in research, publication, extension, and service, as well as in the teaching of undergraduates.

The book begins with a description of the institution at the turn of the century, then moves into the administration of President Francis Preston Venable, who in beginning the transition emphasized the importance of sound scholarship and the encouragement of science. President Edward Kidder Graham promoted the extension of the service of the University to the State and did much to stimulate the cultural aspirations of North Carolinians. Both Graham and his successor, Chairman of the Faculty Marvin H. Stacy, were struck down by the influenza epidemic of 1918-19. The record of the growth to maturity during the administration of President Harry Woodburn Chase occupies the last half of the volume. He and his staff enlarged the curriculum, placed professional study on a sound basis, built up the libraries, and promoted the publication of scholarly works.

At no time between 1900 and 1930, however, was the life of the University tranquil for long or the task of its administrative officials light. There were always problems: hazing, the honor system, the regulation of athletics, whether to inaugurate military training, the policy regarding the admission of women, the reluctance of economy-minded legislators to make the appropriations requested, and many others.

Dr. Wilson, the author of numerous works in the field of library science, served as Librarian to the University from 1901 to 1932. His well-documented volume reveals the care with which he collected the materials needed in writing the history of the University. Every page shows the sympathetic devotion of the author to his subject and the thoroughness of his knowledge of the events that had transpired. The general reader may feel that at times the narrative moves slowly because of the many names and the lengthy quotations from addresses, but the person interested in a detailed account of the emergence of an American university will find the reading of this work a rewarding experience.

Henry S. Stroupe

Wake Forest College,
Winston-Salem.

Lengthened Shadows: A History of Gardner-Webb College, 1907-1956. By Francis B. Dedmond. (Boiling Springs: Gardner-Webb College, 1957. Pp. xvi, 219. Introduction, appendices, and index. \$3.00.)

This is an interestingly written, apparently well-documented, history of an institution of Christian education. It is written by one who is well-qualified, for he has been connected with the institution for some years, and has known personally many of the people who are involved in the story he has written. The book is a fine addition to the history of the junior college.

The philosophy of the "founding fathers" in wanting "the education of all the people, as well as the ministers," seems to have been adhered to at this institution. The founders believed, too, that "a good high school in every Association in the state as feeders of our Baptist colleges" would be helpful, and that "girls should have, in the near future, the same advantages that boys have at Wake Forest." They decided, also, that there was "too great a step from our common schools to our colleges."

In reading of the institution's struggles through adversity of all kinds—fire, loss of personnel, illness, lack of funds, hampered tremendously by debt and depression—it seems almost a miracle that it lived at all. As the author pointed out, those who founded the institution were "unconsciously demonstrating Oscar Wilde's observation, 'The world is divided into two classes: those who believe the incredible, and those who do the improbable.'" And in later years, Governor O. Max Gardner of North Carolina was to say of it, "Frankly, I have been impressed with the fact that it refused to die."

The book traces the history of the institution through the successive steps of its existence. First it was Boiling Springs High School, beginning with an enrollment of 135—and the only building that was planned was not yet ready for occupancy! The students and the faculty were housed in various homes in the community. This period, extending from 1907 to 1928, began as "the teachers and students worked under very great disadvantages throughout the term." The course of study set up at the beginning remained substantially the

same, with some alterations and additions, as long as the institution was a high school. The author says that the school endeavored to give its students "a thorough preparation for college and for the practical duties of life." However, he continues, "the formation of character, the cultivation of sound principles and right ideas regarding what is worth attaining in life" were esteemed of first importance, and students were taught that every effort should "be put forth to cultivate a character broad in its interests and forceful in its activities."

One impressive aspect of the book is the influence that certain families have exerted upon the institution, even from the beginning. In almost every phase of its life, many names are recurring constantly. The "lengthened shadows" do indeed include many people, and the author has presented the part they played in the institution's growth in a very readable way.

The period as Boiling Springs Junior College extends from 1928 to 1942. Here, too, is the story of quandary followed by crisis; the destruction by fire of one of the main buildings; another period without a president; and World War II. But it was, likewise, the beginning of the brightest period the institution has ever known, for it was during the year 1942 that the former North Carolina Governor, O. Max Gardner, and family became more intensely interested in the affairs and the advancement of the college, and decided to back it financially.

The present-day Gardner-Webb College began in 1942, and the book covers the period up through 1956. Beginning with the change of name, to honor two families who meant much to the institution, Gardner-Webb marched militantly out into a new era of service. This was the period when the college could open its doors free of debt for the first time in fifteen years; when it was given another large tract of land by Governor Gardner; when new buildings and equipment were added; when "Miracle Farm Day" converted land into a modern, planted farm; when the papers of Thomas Dixon, Jr., were presented to the college; when it proposed a unique program "that counts in its teaching . . . every agency of our area: farm, factory, shop, home, and church." An era when the college was taken under the sponsorship of the North

Carolina Baptist State Convention, thus insuring more adequate support; when its biggest benefactor, O. Max Gardner, was taken suddenly by death, but when his family decided to make the college the site of their permanent memorials; when intensive and extensive campaigns guaranteed the college a building program and endowment and support money which would permit its receiving full accreditation by the regional agencies. During these years the prestige and influence of the college continued to expand. President Elliott summed it up this way: "I attribute the success of our program to these forces: the co-operation and assistance of our local businessmen and citizens, the loyalty of our trustees, and the unity and support of our faculty. . . . The physical growth is the least spectacular—it's the inner relations, the binding together of our entire community into a consolidated force for good that seems most gratifying."

While reading *Lengthened Shadows*, this reviewer agreed, as others have, with the late Senator Clyde R. Hoey, that "the history of this institution . . . reads like a romance."

Publication of *Lengthened Shadows* is quite fitting during the Golden Anniversary, which was celebrated by the college during 1957.

W. H. Plemmons.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone.

Our Heritage: The People of Cherokee County, North Carolina, 1540-1955. By Margaret Walker Freel. (Asheville: The Miller Printing Company, 1956. Pp. xiii, 407. Illustrations and appendices. \$10.00.)

The author of this book is to be commended for her zeal in tracking down and accumulating the pertinent materials for local history. Sixteen chapters and five appendices cover a range of subject matter that literally stretches from the geological formation of the present day counties of Cherokee, Clay, and Graham to a list of World War II veterans from Cherokee County. Inserted are more than 200 photographs of

people, places, and documents related to the county and its development.

The writer is thoroughly absorbed in her subject and justifiably proud of her own family's role in the history of the area. There is, therefore, in her work a depth of feeling and a sense of appreciation that makes it of unique interest. If by this same token that interest is somewhat limited to those families whose roots are deep in the hills and valleys of Appalachia, what mere "outsider" is bold enough to challenge the decision of an author to write deliberately for a small circle of readers?

Unfortunately, the qualities of mind and spirit requisite to the writing of history are not always added unto those who diligently seek and find historical materials. The tragedy is that Mrs. Freel and her publisher did not confer with a competent historian before putting the work into print. Chapter I, pages one to 15, contains by count 48 fairly common errors in punctuation, spelling, capitalization, and sentence structure. Why publishers continue to accept the raw work of amateur writers without informing them that even the best of professional authors have their work carefully checked is one of the minor mysteries of our age.

Also in Chapter I are five unqualified statements of highly doubtful historicity. The first of these asserts that the soils of Cherokee County are "far and away better than South Georgia or Florida" (p. 5). The last claims for Dare County "the oldest civilization in North Carolina" (p. 14). In all honesty it should be stated here that a solid hour of concentrated effort was required to ferret out these lapses from the normal standard of historical craftsmanship. The contention of this reviewer is simply that such an hour devoted to each of Mrs. Freel's chapters before publication would have probably put her on the road to writing a much better history of Cherokee County; it would have certainly produced a work more acceptable and more useful to students and teachers of North Carolina history.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

Three Hundred Years along the Pasquotank: A Biographical History of Camden County. By Jesse Forbes Pugh. (Old Trap: Privately Printed. 1957. Pp. xi, 249. \$4.00.)

In 1777 that portion of Pasquotank County lying northeast of the river with the same name was formed into a new county honoring the Earl of Camden. This youngest sister of the Albemarle, now in population ninety-ninth among North Carolina's one hundred counties, is the subject of an unusual history compiled by Jesse Forbes Pugh, retired superintendent of the Camden County public schools.

Employing the methods if not the mechanics of the professional historian, Mr. Pugh presents about eighty biographical sketches arranged in rough chronological order, most of which depict eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century leaders of the community. The author writes knowingly of his subjects, and generally distinguishes between hearsay and documentary evidence. While depending heavily upon published works, he has nevertheless gone to manuscript records for painstaking research which reveals itself throughout the book.

Few county histories exhibit the degree of objectivity found in Mr. Pugh's book. He has usually let the facts speak, be they favorable or unfavorable to the subject. Such frankness may not please the genealogist, but it is good history.

Time and again a native son comes to life in these brief biographies. Unfortunately, eighty separate sketches fail to add up to a running history of Camden County. Only a narrative history could do that. Nevertheless, Mr. Pugh has attempted an impossible task—and has almost succeeded.

Although the reader may find points about which to quibble (such as an occasional error in fact or interpretation, some careless proofreading, and some unorthodox listings in the references), this attractively printed little book is one of which the author and the people of Camden County—all 5,223 of them (1950 Census)—can be proud.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making. By Robert Douthat Meade. (Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1957. Pp. x, 431. \$7.50.)

This is the first volume of a biography of Patrick Henry. A second one is planned to complete the work. It gives his ancestral, cultural, and geographical background and the story of his life up to the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Careful attention is given to the character traits and thinking habits of Henry's ancestors, and an effort is made to determine what persons may have contributed to his remarkable oratorical skill.

Professor Meade obviously admires the eminent patriot; yet he remains quite objective throughout. He makes no extended effort to identify and destroy the false conceptions previously held, but he does point out that Henry's study of law was more thorough than earlier writers have thought, and he seems to prove that Henry's "first biographer," William Wirt, exaggerated Patrick's "laziness" when he twice failed as a merchant, and he thinks Wirt overly "romanticized" other aspects of the great Virginian's life.

This is a useful biography and it is based on extensive research in England, Scotland, and Virginia; but it lacks something in not illustrating more clearly Henry's influence upon other Americans of the period. For instance, he refers to the dramatic event in 1774 when Patrick Henry, Edmund Pendleton, and George Washington left Mount Vernon on their way to attend the Continental Congress, but he does not show the interrelationships of the thinking of those men. He states, from time to time, that Henry's influence was felt in New England, in the Congress, and elsewhere, but he does not use the letters or speeches of other patriots to illustrate the point.

Throughout the book there are numerous details that are so loosely connected with the main story that they obstruct the flow of events and reduce coherence. Such details at times hold off the main occurrences, such as the Parson's Cause and the Stamp Act Speech, until they almost obscure the high drama of those momentous occasions.

Gilbert L. Lycan.

Stetson University,
Deland, Florida.

The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee. By A. Elizabeth Taylor. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1957. Pp. 150. \$3.50.)

The roots of the woman suffrage movement in the United States reached far back into the nineteenth century. A part of the broader demand for women's rights, the movement was nurtured by the democratic philosophy that underlay the widespread extension of the franchise in nineteenth-century America. The South of the last century was not a congenial place for the woman's rights movement, but during the first two decades of the twentieth century strong woman suffrage campaigns were made in a few southern states, including Tennessee. Following the organization of a few equal suffrage societies and a short-lived state association in the 1890's, the Tennessee movement picked up momentum in the second decade of the new century. A vigorous network of local organizations and some dynamic leaders at the state level were instrumental in persuading the legislature of 1915 to initiate a woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution. In 1919 Tennessee conferred presidential and municipal suffrage on women, and in 1920 the Volunteer State became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment.

Professor Taylor, who teaches history and government at the Texas State College for Women, has been at work for several years on the woman suffrage movement in the South. This monograph is one result of her research. Well-conceived and carefully-written, it covers the various phases of the woman suffrage movement in Tennessee and examines the arguments for and against the proposal. The author's meticulous scholarship is evident on every page. Her work is based on an impressive list of sources, including contemporary newspapers, minutes of local societies, woman suffrage publications, and personal interviews. While a model of objectivity, Professor Taylor is particularly effective in her evocation of the intangibles—the courage, devotion, and hope in the face of ridicule, bitterness, and specious arguments—that attended the efforts of the pioneer southern women who labored to obtain the ballot.

Although this is a thorough treatment of the subject within the limits established by the author, the reviewer feels that the book would have represented a more significant contribution had its scope been somewhat enlarged. Specifically, a fuller analysis of the movement's political ramifications, as well as more attention to the support for and the opposition to woman suffrage, would have thrown much light on southern reform politics in this period. It would also have enabled Professor Taylor to determine just how closely the woman suffrage movement was related to the various social reform activities in the South during the Progressive Era.

Dewey W. Grantham, Jr.

Vanderbilt University,
Nashville, Tennessee.

Gunner With Stonewall: Reminiscences of William Thomas Poague. Edited by Monroe F. Cockrell. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1957. Pp. xxii, 181. \$5.95.)

William Thomas Poague, whose *Reminiscences* have remained unprinted until discovered and edited by Monroe F. Cockrell, served four years in the artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia. From April, 1862, to April, 1863, he commanded the Rockbridge Artillery and made it one of the best batteries in Lee's army. After Chancellorsville, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in command of a batallion. He participated in all the great battles of the east and his batallion was one of two chosen by Lee for the most critical artillery assignment in the last campaign around Petersburg.

All evidence compiled by the editor and by Bell Irvin Wiley, who wrote the Introduction, indicate that Poague was an honest, sincere, able, and articulate officer. He finished Washington College in 1857 and practiced law before the War. He knew and came in frequent contact during the war with Lee, Jackson, Longstreet, the two Hills, and many lesser commanders. Thus his *Memoir* of the great struggle, written thirty-eight years after Appomattox gives many interesting glimpses of these military leaders and the life of the common soldier.

Since Poague wrote for his children only, without any thought of publication, the author in no way censored his narrative. The part of heroes and cowards is frankly presented, often with a very keen sense of humor. Although Poague's mind was still alert and vigorous when he wrote in 1903, the account is by its very nature of less historical value than one written contemporaneous with the events. For instance, the war letters of Poague included in the appendix convey a sense of vividness and reality so often lacking in his *Memoir*.

Because of the neglect of artillery (as contrasted with infantry and cavalry narratives) in the literature of the Civil War, the publication of this account emphasizing the organization and employment of artillery is a notable contribution. Mr. Cockrell, a member of the Chicago Civil War Round Table and the recent editor of *The Lost Account of the Battle of Corinth*, also a McCowat-Mercer Press publication, adorns the book with illustrations, photographs, and a well-prepared map of Jackson's campaigns. The work is well-indexed and has few typographical errors.

Malcolm C. McMillan.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute,
Auburn.

Slavery in Tennessee. By Chase C. Mooney. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 250. \$4.50.)

In 1939 Professor Chase C. Mooney submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Vanderbilt University a Ph.D. dissertation entitled "Slavery in Tennessee." Indiana University Press has published this valuable study in substantially its original form. Patterned somewhat after Flanders' *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*, Sydnor's *Slavery in Mississippi*, and Sellers' *Slavery in Alabama*, the volume consists of seven chapters centering largely around the fruits of extensive research on land tenure, slaveholding, and agricultural production. Also discussed are such topics as the legal status of the slave (in which good use is made of Helen T. Catterall's *Judicial Cases Concerning the*

American Negro and Slavery), antislavery sentiment, living conditions, and treatment of the Negro. Tennessee's slave policies were inherited from North Carolina and some of that state's statutes regulating slavery were in effect throughout the slaveholding period.

Considerable statistical material gleaned from the Federal census records for 1850 and 1860 showing landholdings and slaveholdings for several thousand farmers in fifteen sample counties is presented, from which certain conclusions are drawn. Three-fourths of the farmers owned land, and more than one-third owned slaves. More than ninety per cent of the slaveowners were landowners. The number of nonslaveholding landowners and the number of acres operated increased during the decade of the 1850's, thus contradicting the earlier contention that slaveholders were driving non-slaveholders from the best lands. The Negro was used as successfully in fields of tobacco as in fields of cotton. Many of the conclusions, however, have already been reached by studies published previously. The fallacy of the stereotype picture of a white population divided into only two classes has been exposed by many studies, particularly Blanche Henry Clark's *Tennessee Yeoman, 1850-1860*, (1942), and Frank L. Owsley's *Plain Folk of the Old South* (1949). Others have shown the fallacy of a generalization "based on the assumption of a more or less uniform pattern [of slavery and agricultural interests] for the South as a whole" (p. 145). It is common knowledge that the majority of slaveholders in Tennessee (and in all of the border states) held small numbers of blacks.

Professor Mooney's study is good insofar as it goes. It is definitely superior to Caleb B. Patterson's *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865*, but not up to standards set by studies of slavery in other states mentioned earlier. Unlike Sellers' work, for example, slavery on the county level was not studied except through the census reports and through county histories of questionable value. The wills, deeds, and tax reports, used so profitably by others, apparently were not examined. The fruits of some newspaper research appear, but nothing comparable to other studies. The appendix lists Montgomery

Bell as the state's largest slaveholder and shows that he owned in 1850 over 300 Negroes and over 28,000 acres of land. Yet, despite Bell's prominence as a developer of both industry and agriculture, no reference is made to him in the text, although Chapter 7 is devoted to "Some Tennessee Planters." Apparently the author was unaware of the Boyd Collection of Montgomery Bell material in the State Library, Nashville. Qualified use of the "Moore Questionnaires," State Library, would have presented a picture of what the Confederate veteran observed of slavery in the several years before the war. More emphasis and study should be given to the differences in attitude toward Negroes taken by whites in the grand divisions of East, Middle, and West Tennessee. The slave insurrection scare of 1856 deserves more than the casual treatment given it, and some supporting material should be supplied to link it with the election of that year.

Professor Mooney has not written the definitive work on slavery in Tennessee. It probably was not his intention to do so. His study is useful and valuable as far as it goes.

Robert E. Corlew.

Middle Tennessee State College,
Murfreesboro.

Kentucky Cavaliers in Dixie. By George Dallas Mosgrove. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1957. Pp. xxvi, 281. Introduction, illustrations, appendices, and index. \$6.00.)

The volume is a history of the Fourth Kentucky Confederate Cavalry. It is more. Otherwise, this reprinting of Mosgrove's work, published in 1895, would probably not have occurred. The book includes the usual accounts found in such histories—military movements and battles, as well as things of human interest. However, it is bigger still. Perhaps it is not too much of an exaggeration to aver that the volume is the essence of the author's knowledge, talents, and experiences. The work follows no set pattern. A campaign may be halted to present graphic little biographical sketches, experiences of comrades, bits of humor, and humorous episodes.

Mosgrove is revealed as a facile writer, well-educated, a good storyteller, and not lacking in imagination. Though not formally educated, his post in the service as sort of assistant adjutant brought him in contact with many cultured officers, most of whom ignored his rank. Too, he had the good fortune to know somewhat intimately the rollicking literati, Major Henry T. Stanton and Captains Edward O. Guerrant, Barney Giltner, John J. McAfee, as well as Lieutenant Henry T. Anderson. Sparkling Adjutant Guerrant exerted a big influence. The author employed literary allusions, especially classical, without stint.

The volume displays unusual understanding of cavalry warfare, acute knowledge of Confederate cavalymen, especially the colorful breed from Kentucky. Moving with perfect ease, it brings out things humorous, things sad; reveals the experiences of men under the strain of war, constantly in the saddle. The book contains no annoying bias, although a bit partial to Kentuckians as fighting men. Mosgrove attributes faults to Confederates; applauds courage in Union troopers. He understood apparently the duty of the historian. Of the pause at Georgetown (Kentucky) in June of 1864, he wrote, "While we were partaking of the generous hospitality of the town, some of the soldiers were pillaging it." But he loved his "outfit"; he liked to dwell upon noble traits and gallant exploits. To him, those lads in grey were gay cavaliers, dashing knights, beau sabreurs all, even though they liked the girls, constantly thirsted for applejack and corn whiskey. His description of the Confederate cavalryman is truly classic, and he did the 1864 Kentucky and Tennessee campaigns very effectively.

The book is, for the most part, accurate where the author was an eyewitness. There are, however, some errors in dates and at times in details. Be it said, however, that Mosgrove had the good fortune of using many fine original sources. The volume is indeed very readable, in places fascinating. War between the States fanciers likely will not be satisfied without a copy of *Kentucky Cavaliers In Dixie*.

Hambleton Tapp.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington.

Baltimore . . . a Picture History, 1858-1958. Commentary by Francis F. Beirne. (New York: Hastings House. Compiled under the auspices of the Maryland Historical Society. 1957. Pp. vi, 153. \$5.00.)

Few people anywhere are more in love with their city than Baltimoreans. And no wonder! For though it is now sixth in population among American cities, it has retained the warmth and pleasant atmosphere of an old town, fussy in its ways but always agreeable. One thinks of it in the company of Boston, New Orleans, San Francisco, never in a list including New York, Washington, Detroit, or Chicago.

Ransacking the files for old prints and photographs to tell its story, the compilers of this book have come up with a host of pictures illuminating the friendly and soft quality of their city. Never southern, never northern, Baltimore emerges here as a comfortable old lady assured of herself but a little worried about her grandchildren. The buildings, the ships, the people—all are smiling, even George Peabody and Johns Hopkins. Enoch Pratt looks a bit dour.

But this no book of portraits. As one closes it, he remembers the old B. & O. locomotives, the tobacco-store Indians, the pagoda at the lake. The ravages of the great 1904 fire are almost forgotten.

It is hard to believe that the picture-choosers could have done a better job. Thus I am sad to report that Mr. Beirne's commentary does not match the jauntiness of the visual pages. He sounds somewhat staid, with not nearly enough humor to match his material. And why hide the famous white steps on the inside bottom corner of page 148? I would have displayed them on the frontispiece. Maybe they are commonplace to Baltimoreans, but to the outsider they have a quiet symmetrical beauty far surpassing the first (!) Washington Monument. They are the unique hallmark of a great city.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

The Negro in Indiana before 1900: A Study of a Minority. By Emma Lou Thornbrough. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1957. Pp. xiv, 412. \$4.50.)

There are yet very few adequate studies of the Negro in the several northern states. There is the well-known Pennsylvania study by Edward Turner and the still unpublished general study by Leslie Fishel. But the gaps are so numerous that no pattern is discernible. This extensive and competent treatment by Professor Emma L. Thornbrough of Butler is, therefore, a very welcome addition to a slowly growing body of literature. There were times when Indiana did not appear to be a northern state as regards its treatment of Negroes. It gave little heed to the restrictions on slavery incorporated in the Northwest Ordinance; and during its territorial period most of the Negroes in Indiana were held in slavery or under indentures that were tantamount to slavery.

The battle for freedom was not fought and won in Indiana until after statehood. Even then, the position of the Negro in Indiana was by no means secure. Under the Constitution of 1851 Negroes were prohibited from settling in the state, while state laws barred them from voting, serving in the militia, testifying in court in cases in which a white person was a party, and attending public schools. And yet, curiously enough, Negroes had warm friends among Indiana whites who protected and encouraged them in many ways. Members of the Society of Friends brought them into the state in violation of the constitution and, at times, worked with Quakers in other states, notably North Carolina, in assisting slaves and free Negroes in settling in the state.

Thus, the Negro population of Indiana grew in the antebellum years so that by 1860 there were 11,428 Negroes as compared with only 1,420 in 1820. By 1880 there were 39,228 Negroes in the state, and by 1900 there were 57,505. In the post Civil War years the struggle to attain full citizenship and suffrage accelerated, but perhaps because of the increasing numbers, opposition stiffened. Only a few leading radicals like George W. Julian consistently supported Negro

suffrage. Not until the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment did Indiana Negroes gain the ballot.

There were similar difficult struggles in other fields. Negroes were generally excluded from white schools under the permissive segregation legislation of 1877 and they rarely attended the universities and colleges that were open to them. In the economic realm "caste prejudice" based on color persisted, and Professor Thornbrough argues that it was stronger in 1900 than it had been in 1879. Negroes were systematically barred from the skilled trades and from industry in general. It was such exclusions in the economic and other fields that served to strengthen Negro religious, educational, and business institutions.

Professor Thornbrough has made a significant contribution to our knowledge of the history of the Negro in the North; and, because of the broad and undistorted context in which she has placed her study, she has contributed substantially to the general history of Indiana. The Indiana Historical Bureau has published the book in an attractive format that does credit to the Bureau and to this worthy study.

John Hope Franklin.

Brooklyn College,
Brooklyn, New York.

The Baptist Church in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1776-1845.
By Walter Brownlow Posey. (Lexington: The University of
Kentucky Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 166. \$5.00.)

The Lower Mississippi Valley early became the stronghold of the Baptist churches in America. In this book is the story of that regional development from 1776, when the first Baptist service west of the mountains was held at Harrodsburg, Ky., to 1845, when the denomination divided, mainly over the slavery issue.

There is much of human interest in the book, and a surprisingly large number of quotations from many original sources. Evidently the author did a good job in studying his sources and in putting down in print concepts and definite

statements from these sources concerning the work and progress of the Baptist churches in this region. In his Preface, he states that because of the early settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee, the research materials for these states are far superior to materials in the region along the Gulf of Mexico. Yet he has much material concerning Baptist growth and development in the states of Alabama, Mississippi, and other surrounding states.

He pictures correctly the popularity and success of the Baptist churches on the frontier in the early days. Because of the emphasis of this denomination on democracy and religious liberty, Baptist preachers, though lacking in education, were sincere and aggressive. In most cases, they waged a vigorous campaign in the communities where they travelled or settled.

There are 12 chapters in this book, under such interesting titles as "A New Church in a New Land," "The Frontier Baptist Preacher," "Missions Among the Indians," and "The Baptists and Slavery." In the Epilogue the author points out that at the beginning of the War of the Revolution there were in the American colonies only 10,000 Baptists, but by 1800 their number had increased to about 100,000. "The great appeal of the Baptist Church," he says, "came through its advocacy of republican ideals and opposition to state churches."

The author is Professor of History at both Agnes Scott College and Emory University and President of the Southern Historical Association.

L. L. Carpenter.

Raleigh.

Interpreting Our Heritage, Principles and Practices for Visitor Services In Parks, Museums and Historic Places. By Freeman Tilden. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. 110. \$3.50.)

If the fundamental aim of education, beyond the mere acquisition of factual knowledge, lies in expanding the horizons of interests and knowledge, certainly one of the broaden-

ing objectives in more recent years has been the effort to render understandable the great natural wonders of our country and the significance of important events in the nation's history. The constantly increasing visitation in our national parks and historic sites demands a well-planned and ably presented program of interpretation. This is essentially the purpose of Freeman Tilden's volume on interpreting our nation's heritage. A collaborator of the National Park Service and over many years closely identified with Park development and practices, Tilden is indeed qualified to discuss principles of interpretation.

A visitor's first interest in a great natural feature, Tilden points out, is the story it has to tell. A learned talk on geological formations, for instance, is likely to be lost. The best interpretation of a natural wonder, he believes, is accomplished by giving enough information to let the feature tell its own story. The best presentation of an important battle event is not so much the detail of the action as it is the great human story of plans, effort, and the outcome. For, after all, the visitor who really learns is seeing and hearing through his own eyes and ears, not those of the interpreter. He is constantly translating the interpreter's words into his own knowledge and experience.

Mr. Tilden has written for National Park Service use what is primarily an interpreter's handbook. It has broad application. He presses the desirability of special handling of the historical or scientific story to the mind of youth, with emphasis on provocation rather than instruction. For youth and adult alike, Tilden points up the need of wholeness of view and simplicity of statement, and in support of this approach he quotes liberally from great minds in the fields of education, science, and letters.

The book is well illustrated with National Park subjects, emphasizing natural scenery in which the beauty and grandeur thereof is wholly self-interpreting, and many other instances showing methods of interpretation by personal tour, by museum or trailside exhibit, or by stage presentation. Special attention is given to valuable contributions made by

Park Service personnel who, over many years of experience, have given the visitor a fulsome measure of understanding and appreciation of the nations natural grandeur and of its historical landmarks.

Frederick Tilberg.

Gettysburg National Military Park,
Gettysburg, Pa.

HISTORICAL NEWS

On January 10 Clarence W. Griffin, member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, died at his desk in the offices of the *Forest City Courier* of which he was a staff member. He was a native of Spindale in Rutherford County; a former president of the Western North Carolina Press Association and the historian of that organization since 1939; a former president of the Western North Carolina Historical Association and editor of the official organ of that organization, *The History Bulletin*; and a former member of the General Assembly.

Clarence Griffin was active in the civic, state, and political affairs but his greatest contribution was in the field of history. He was the author of several books and numerous pamphlets and had received the following awards: the Cannon Cup from the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, the Historian's Cup from the Western North Carolina Historical Association, and an award from the American Association for State and Local History. He had a deep appreciation for our heritage and was conscientious in his efforts to record and preserve it.

Mr. James W. Atkins, publisher and editor of the *Gastonia Gazette*, was appointed by Governor Luther H. Hodges on February 5, 1958, to fill the unexpired term of Clarence W. Griffin. Mr. Atkins has been an interested participant in preserving historical records and marking historic sites in the western part of the State. He organized the Gaston County Historical Society and is the editor of that society's bulletin. His term will expire on March 31, 1963.

On January 20 the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History met with Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, and the various division heads to consider the department's budgetary requests for the coming biennium. The "A" Budget was considered and passed on at the meeting. On March 14 the Executive Board met again to consider

the "B" Budget and the Capital Improvements Budget and passed on the proposed requests.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden spoke on December 7, 1957, at a luncheon in Raleigh sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution. The girls who were special guests were winners from all over the State of local DAR Good Citizen Awards which are presented annually to high school seniors. From the winners who attend the meeting a state winner of the title "Good Citizen" was chosen. On December 17 Dr. Crittenden participated in the celebration at Kill Devil Hills of the fifty-fourth anniversary of the First Flight. He attended the sessions of the American Historical Association in New York City on December 29-31, and returned there on January 11-12 for a meeting of the Council of the American Association of Museums. On January 15 he met with the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association for a discussion of the proposed budget, meetings, and awards for 1958. This meeting was followed by a joint session with representatives of other co-operating societies, and plans for the 1958 meetings were discussed. On January 25 Dr. Crittenden attended a conference at Duke University held for the teachers of social studies in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. The topic for the meeting was the use of museums and historic sites, and Dr. Crittenden presided at the last session of the conference. On February 26 he met in Fayetteville with the Cumberland County-Fayetteville Historical Commission to assist in making plans for the establishment of a local museum and a memorial to the late John A. Oates.

The Department sponsored the biennial internship course for juniors and seniors at Meredith College during the last quarter. This course is offered to history majors who desire training in archival, museum, or publication work and was instituted so that the students could train in these fields. Students who completed the course were Misses Martha McIntyre, Jean Humphreys, Janice Badger, Lucretia King,

and Peggy Joyner, who were studying under Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator; Misses Pat Maynard, Shirley Strother, Faye Locke, and Kaye Banner, who received archival training under Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist; and Misses Inez Kendrick and Louise White, who received training in publication work under Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, served as hostess to the Samuel Ashe Chapter, Children of the American Revolution, which met in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History on January 10. The program was on the history of North Carolina. Mrs. Jordan attended the conference at Duke University on January 24-25 which was held for teachers of social studies and presented a display of Junior Historian materials. The Junior Historian clubs are sponsored by the Hall of History. On February 19 the Johnston Pettigrew Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, met in the Assembly Room of the Department where Mr. Norman Larson of the Hall of History staff presented a film, "The Battle of Gettysburg." A refreshment hour in the Portrait Gallery followed the program. On January 31 the staff of the Hall of History participated in a fashion show which was presented at the Hotel Sir Walter to the wives of the members of the North Carolina Society of Engineers. Gowns from a by-gone era were modeled in contrast to the "new look" in styles. On March 5 the Hall of History presented a fashion show to members of the Daughters of the American Revolution at their annual state convention held in Raleigh.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, on December 13 visited Fort Fisher with a committee of the Southeastern North Carolina Beach Association and several members of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Association to survey the site in connection with plans for historical restoration. On January 20 Mr. Tarlton and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan represented the Department at a meeting of the Governor

Richard Caswell Memorial Commission held in Raleigh. The purpose of the meeting was to decide what general type of building to erect on the memorial property for museum use. On February 7 Mr. Tarlton attended in New York City a meeting of the officers and board of directors of the North American Association of Historic Sites Public Officials. He spoke at three o'clock on February 13 to the Mecklenburg Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, in Charlotte on the preservation of historic sites in North Carolina. On that evening he spoke in Monroe to the Union County Historical Association on the history of Union County. On February 19 he and Colonel Harry Brown, North Carolina Director of Hurricane Rehabilitation, spoke to the Lower Cape Fear Historical Association on the historical significance of Fort Fisher. This meeting, held in Wilmington, was the annual meeting of the group.

On January 1 Mr. Richard Sawyer, Jr., of Durham began work with the Division of Historic Sites as Historic Site Specialist at the Charles B. Aycock birthplace near Goldsboro. Mr. Sawyer, a native of Franklinton, graduated from Wake Forest College, did graduate work in history at the University of North Carolina, and was for several years a teacher and principal in the public school system of North Carolina. Some progress has been made in clearing the birthplace site and additional land is being acquired. Actual restoration of the house is expected to commence in the spring.

Mr. Carl F. Cannon, Jr., of Raleigh, Professor of American History and Government at St. Mary's School and Junior College, has begun work on a part-time basis as researcher for the historical highway marker program. He is a native of Newport News, Virginia, and received both his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Duke University.

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, and Major General Capus M. Waynick, State Adjutant General, represented North Carolina at the National Assembly of the Civil War Centennial Commission in Washington, D. C., January 14-15. The

Assembly, under the chairmanship of Major General U. S. Grant, III, met to consider and make recommendations for appropriate observances during the centennial period of the Civil War.

On January 25 Mr. Jones discussed records disposal policies with members of the North Carolina Association of Local Health Directors at their annual meeting in Chapel Hill. On January 31 he appeared before the Commission on the Reorganization of State Government and discussed the Department's Records Management Program. He has been appointed membership chairman of the Society of American Archivists for the southeastern district comprising Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Mr. Jones is also a member of the Newspaper Conservation Committee of the North Carolina Library Association and attended a meeting of the committee in Chapel Hill on March 15.

In recent months the State Archivist has visited the following counties in connection with public records: Buncombe, Chatham, Cumberland, Forsyth, Guilford, Harnett, Montgomery, Orange, Randolph, Richmond, Rutherford, Surry, and Union.

Miss Carolyn Green of Chapel Hill joined the staff of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts on March 1 as an Archivist I. Mrs. Pauline C. Beers and Miss Jean S. Denny have resigned effective February 21 and March 31 respectively.

The Department sponsored a Correspondence Management Workshop February 3-7. The workshop, held in the Senate Chamber of the State Capitol, was conducted by Mr. A. K. Johnson, Jr., Chief of the Records Management Division, National Archives and Records Service, Region 4, Atlanta, Ga. Certificates of completion were given 27 state officials representing 23 agencies.

The North Carolina Society of the Daughters of Colonial Wars provided funds for the lamination of the manuscript Council Journal, 1743-1750, and the completed volume was presented by Mrs. A. W. Hoffman of Raleigh, State President,

to the Department on February 18. Work is now in progress on the lamination of the Minutes of the General Court, 1695-1703, for which funds are being provided by the Virginia Dare Chapter of the Daughters of the American Colonists.

A project of particular interest to Civil War researchers has been completed by the Division of Archives and Manuscripts. A typed alphabetical index to North Carolina Confederate Pension Applications in the Archives has been bound and is now available for use in the Search Room. The index is in two series—Series I covering applications from 1885 (when the first general pension law was passed) to 1901, and Series II covering applications under the Act of 1901 and subsequent laws. Altogether the index covers five volumes with about 1,200 pages, and gives the veteran's name, the name of his widow (if it is a widow's application), and the county in which the application was filed. The applications themselves are available for research in the Archives and photocopies may be obtained for \$1.10 each. The project was conducted by Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Mrs. Jo Ann Kuhn, Mrs. Rebecca Clegg, and Mrs. Elizabeth C. Moss, and the introduction was prepared by Miss Jean Denny.

During the October-December quarter, 652 persons registered for research in the Search Room, and information was furnished 586 persons by mail and 34 by telephone, not including letters answered directly by the State Archivist. A total of 666 photocopies, 85 microfilm prints, 108 certified copies, and 13 feet of microfilm were furnished the public.

The following manuscript records, formerly unusable because of age and wear, have been laminated and are again available for use: Legislative Papers, 1729-1769; Currituck County Court Minutes, 1838-1851; Franklin County Court Minutes, 1819-1821; Pasquotank County Court Minutes, 1781-1785; and Wake County Court Minutes, 1853-1855.

Mr. Jones has announced that among the recent accessions in the Archives are the following items: official papers of Governor Luther H. Hodges for 1956, approximately 30 cubic feet; official and miscellaneous opinions of the Attorney

General for 1946-1948, 15 cubic feet; Surry County tax lists, estate papers, original wills, election returns, and miscellaneous records covering various dates, approximately 30 cubic feet; personal correspondence of James Y. Joyner, 1919, one-tenth cubic foot; Diary of Benjamin E. Atkins, 1876-1909; three volumes; and one copy each of the *North-Carolina Minerva and Raleigh Advertiser*, April 8, 1800, and the *North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), March 3, 1800.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Records Center Supervisor, spoke at the regular monthly meeting of the AAUW in Raleigh on January 9 on the subject, "Women in Government in North Carolina," and on January 23 she gave the same talk to the Government class of Dr. Alice B. Keith at Meredith College. She represented the Department at an IBM Data Processing Systems Seminar given under the auspices of the Department of Administration in the State Capitol, March 10-14.

Mrs. Ruth Page of the staff of Archives and Manuscripts gave a talk to the Raleigh AAUW on February 13 on "Woman in Business."

As part of the records management program, three archivists are helping state agencies solve their records problems. Records of state agencies are being inventoried, and a schedule to govern the ultimate disposition of each series of records is being determined. Under the program, an archivist of the staff of the Department of Archives and History works with a designated records officer of the agency needing help with its records problems. Semi-current records are filed in the Records Center; still other records are microfilmed; material which has no historical value is disposed of when it ceases to have administrative value; and some records that appear to have research value are transferred to and preserved in the Archives.

Inventories, with definite schedules, have been completed for 16 agencies. Among the agencies which have participated in this program are the State Highway Commission, the Department of Revenue, the Department of Motor Vehicles,

the State Board of Health, the Adjutant General's Department, the North Carolina Prisons Department, and the Employment Security Commission. Mrs. Elizabeth C. Moss, Mrs. Jo Ann Kuhn, and Mrs. Rebecca K. Clegg are the three archivists assigned to this program.

The Division of Publications has available for distribution copies of the *Public Addresses, Letters, and Papers of William Bradley Umstead, Governor of North Carolina, 1953-1954*, edited by Mr. David Leroy Corbitt (Raleigh: Council of State, 1957, Pp. xxxiii, 414, with illustrations). Copies may be obtained free by writing the Department, Box 1881, Raleigh. The Division has also published a facsimile of the first page of the Carolina Charter of 1663, with a printed copy on the back. Seven of the Lords Proprietors and Charles II (who granted the Charter to them) are pictured on the 20½ x 26 inch document which is available at fifty cents per copy from Box 1881, Raleigh.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Chairman of the Department of History at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed to the Edwards Memorial Committee of the Agricultural History Society to select the winner of the award for the best article published in *Agricultural History* for 1957. Dr. Harold A. Bierck read a paper, "Ten Years of Latin-American History in the Southeast," at the annual meeting of the Southeastern Conference of Latin-Americanists, March 6, at Tallahassee, Florida. Dr. Loren C. MacKinney gave an illustrated lecture on "Medieval Medical Practice as Shown in Manuscript Miniatures" at the Yale University Medical School on January 23; he lectured on "Byzantine Influences on Medical Iconography in the Middle Ages" at the Harvard University Research Library at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D. C., on February 7; and he participated in a symposium on "The Interpretation of the Recently Discovered Fourth-Century, Roman-Christian Catacomb Mural" at the New York Academy of Medicine on January 22. Dr. James L. Godfrey was the speaker at the Davidson College

Convocation on February 19. The subject of his paper was "International Communication in Our Day."

Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs, Head of the Department of History at Greensboro College, spoke to the Young Democratic Club of Guilford County on February 17 on "The History of the Democratic Party." On February 25 he spoke to the Daughters of the American Revolution in Chapel Hill on "Lafayette: Defender of Liberty," and on March 4 he spoke to the Rotary Club of Greensboro on "The Prospective Summit Conference."

Dr. John K. Huckaby, Assistant Professor of History at Wake Forest College, has received a grant-in-aid from the American Philosophical Society for research in France this summer.

Dr. Horace H. Cunningham, Chairman of the Department of History at Elon College, has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Atlantic region of Pi Gamma Mu, Inc., national social science honor society. Dr. Cunningham was in charge of the committee on local arrangements for the meeting of the society in Atlanta, Georgia, on December 21-22, 1957.

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, Head of the Department of History at Meredith College, has an article in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (January, 1958) on "Bismarck and Decazes: The War Scare of 1875." Dr. Alice B. Keith and Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon attended the meeting of the Social Sciences Division of the Baptist Related Colleges held at Wingate College on March 7-8, where Dr. Keith took part on the program. The Department of History participated in the Meredith College Alumnae Seminar held at the college on March 30. Dr. Alice B. Keith and Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon spoke on "History and Travels," and Dr. Wallace spoke on phases of international relations at present.

Dr. Paul A. Marrotte has been promoted from Assistant Professor of History to Associate Professor at Davidson College.

Dr. I. G. Greer was named President of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association at the fall meeting on October 26. Other officers re-elected were Mr. Jonas P. Marsh, Executive Vice-President; Mr. Hugh Hagaman, Second Vice-President; Mr. G. C. Greene, Jr., Treasurer; and Mrs. Lawrence H. Owsley, Secretary. A twenty-five member board of directors was named in addition to the five executive officers. Forty members were appointed to the advisory committee with Governor Luther H. Hodges, Dr. Samuel Selden of the University of North Carolina Dramatic Art Department, and Mr. Kermit Hunter, author of "Horn in the West," named as members ex officio. Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord was made an honorary member for life and was paid special tribute by the group. The chief project of the organization is the sponsorship of the annual drama, "Horn in the West," which is presented each summer at Boone. The past work of the group was discussed and plans were made for the coming year.

In the January issue of the *Rowan Museum News Letter* a picture showing the furnishings of the Federal period bedroom in the museum is featured. Other items of interest are the listing of new relics in the Rowanianna collection; a sketch of James Martin, Jr., first owner of the Rowan House Museum; and a report of the annual meeting at which Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, gave an illustrated talk on restorations.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association met on January 25 in the Pack Memorial Library in Asheville with Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, Vice-President, and chairman of the program committee, presiding. A paper was read by Mr. D. Hiden Ramsey of Asheville on Dr. Elisha Mitchell, and a short history of McDowell County was presented. Mr. George

W. McCoy of Asheville, President of the Association, presided at a business session which followed the program.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association's History Bulletin had the following articles in the January issue: reports of the two recent meetings of the group, an article relative to the movement of the Daughters of the American Revolution to have February proclaimed American History Month, announcement of the winner of the Wolfe Memorial Award, a report on the meeting of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association, a news and idea column by Mr. George W. McCoy, reports on the meetings of the Edward Buncombe Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century, two meetings of the Blue Ridge Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, and a news story and editorial on the death of Clarence W. Griffin, former Editor of the *History Bulletin*.

Dr. Floyd C. Watkins, Professor of English at Emory University (Georgia), was awarded the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Trophy (which is presented annually by the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Association) at the October 26 meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association. Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville, chairman of the award committee, made the presentation. The trophy is given each October to the author of a book on a western North Carolina subject or to a native of western North Carolina who has a book published on any subject. Dr. Watkins' book, *Thomas Wolfe's Characters*, is essentially a study of Wolfe's fictional portraits. The judges who served with Mrs. Patton were Professor J. M. Justice of Appalachian State Teachers College and Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock. Dr. Elmer T. Cook spoke to the Association on the material assembled at Lake Junaluska by the Association of Methodist Historical Societies. Dr. William S. Hoffmann of Appalachian State Teachers College read a paper, "Western North Carolina Adopts Whiggery." Mr. George W. McCoy presided at a short business session.

The Wake County Historical Society held its annual meeting in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History in the Education Building in Raleigh on March 11. The following officers were re-elected for the coming year: Mr. William A. Parker, President; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Vice-President; Mrs. Bruce R. Carter, Secretary; and Mr. Richard Seawell, Treasurer. The original nine members of the executive committee were retained and the society voted to add six additional members. Chairmen of the various committees were appointed with Mr. Armistead J. Maupin appointed to head the committee on the preservation of historic landmarks. Mr. John Y. Jordan, Jr., is chairman of the program committee; Mrs. R. N. Simms, projects chairman; and Mrs. Earl T. Wilborn, membership chairman. Highlight of the meeting was a talk by Mr. Richard Walser, author, critic, and Professor of English at North Carolina State College, who spoke on "The Poets and Writers of Wake County." Charter membership certificates were awarded to 174 charter members. There were approximately 100 members and guests present with four new members joining at the meeting.

The Carteret County Historical Society held its winter meeting on February 22 at the Civic Center in Morehead City. Mrs. E. G. Phillips read a paper on the early history of the Phillips family, one of the first to settle in Morehead City. Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Salisbury gave a slide-illustrated program, "A Ramble through Carteret County," which was followed by a short business session over which Mr. Salisbury, who has been re-elected President of the society, presided.

On February 23 the Joseph McDowell Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution held a commemorative service at the Henderson County Courthouse dedicating a monument which they are placing on the grounds of the courthouse. The monument has a plaque bearing the names of all the Revolutionary War veterans who are buried in the

county. Descendants of the soldiers' families were invited to be present at the ceremony.

The February issue of the *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin* has a message from the mayor of Wilmington, Mr. James E. L. Wade, urging all citizens of the area to support the efforts of the society and of the Southeastern North Carolina Beach Association to save what remains of Fort Fisher. These two groups are assisting the Fort Fisher Preservation Society which was formed in March, 1931, in a revival of restoration plans for the fort. The *Bulletin* also contained an article on Rose O'Neal Greenhow, Confederate spy, who is buried in Oakdale Cemetery in Wilmington; a list of gifts to the society; and several items relative to the meetings of the group.

The Memoirs of Daniel Branson Coltrane, Co. I, 63rd Regiment, North Carolina Cavalry, C.S.A. have been published and a copy of the book has been presented to the Department of Archives and History. The 64-page book is prefaced with comments by Stuart Chevalier and a foreword by Mrs. Inglis Fletcher. These memoirs, written by Coltrane in his ninety-second year, are a personal account of the War between the States as recalled by an enlisted man who makes no effort in his story to present his service and experiences as heroic, but contents himself with reminiscing in a rambling narrative style. His service with J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry troops as a commissary sergeant during the "Beef Raid" and his adjustment to civilian life after peace as a banker in Missouri are described in his brief story. An editorial tribute which was paid him at the time of his death, and the copy of an article on the Salisbury Prison (during the Civil War), both of which were originally published in the *Charlotte Observer*, complete the book.

Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Professor of History at Harvard University, was awarded the Francis Parkman Prize for 1957 by the Society of American Historians for his book,

The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919-1933, which was published by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Mass. Dr. Nicholas B. Wainwright, Editor of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, was awarded a special citation by the society for the "high standard of scholarship and readability which the magazine has sustained under his editorship." Both of these prizes will be awarded at a dinner of the society in April.

Radcliffe College and the Department of History of Harvard University announce the Fifth Annual Summer Institute on Historical and Archival Management beginning on June 23 and ending on August 1, 1958. Designed for college graduates who are interested in a career in archival, museum, or historical society work, the course is also open to employees of institutions in these related fields. The staff will consist of eighteen or more experts in these fields and Dr. Lester J. Cappon, Director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, and Archival Consultant at Colonial Williamsburg, will again direct the institute. Two full-tuition scholarships of \$200 each are available. Inquiries should be addressed to the Institute, 10 Garden Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

The committee of the Albert J. Beveridge Award in American History which is awarded annually by the American Historical Association announces that manuscripts which are to be considered as eligible for the 1958 competition should be submitted before May 1. The subject range covers the history of the United States, Latin America, and Canada from 1492 to the present. One half of the award, \$500, will be payable upon announcement of the award and the remainder will be payable upon acceptance of the manuscript in its final form. Complete rules for the competition may be obtained from Dr. Frederick B. Tolles, Chairman, Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Penna. The winner of the award will be announced at the annual meeting of the association in December.

Books received during the quarter include: Vergilius Ferm, *Pictorial History of Protestantism. A Panoramic View of Western Europe and the United States* (New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957); William D. Miller, *Memphis during the Progressive Era, 1900-1917* (Madison, Wisconsin: The American History Research Center, 1957); Howard W. Floan, *The South in Northern Eyes, 1831 to 1861* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958); Charles Crossfield Ware, *Kentucky's Fox Creek: Vignettes of the Village Church and of the R. H. Crossfield Heritage* (Wilson, N. C.: Privately published, 1957 [apply to the author]); Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs, Esquire, 1689-1765, Surveyor-General of Ireland, Prospector and Governor of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958); Mitchell B. Garrett, *Horse and Buggy Days on Hatchet Creek* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1957); *The Memoirs of Daniel Branson Coltrane, Co. I, 63rd. Regiment, North Carolina Cavalry, C.S.A.* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1956); Louis B. Wright and Marion Tingling, *William Byrd of Virginia. The London Diary (1717-1721), and Other Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958); Weymouth T. Jordan, *Ante-Bellum Alabama: Town and Country* (Tallahassee: The Florida State University, 1957, Florida University Studies, No. 27); Horace Montgomery, *Georgians in Profile. Historical Essays in Honor of Ellis Merton Coulter* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958); Bill Sharpe, *A New Geography of North Carolina, Volume II, Twenty-five Counties* (Raleigh: The Sharpe Publishing Company, 1958); Jay Luvaas, *The Civil War: A Soldier's View. A Collection of Civil War Writings*, by Col. G. F. R. Henderson (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1958); Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789-1801* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, 1957); William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps, with an Annotated Check List of*

Printed and Manuscript Regional and Local Maps of South-eastern North America during the Colonial Period (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958); William S. Powell, *North Carolina Fiction, 1734-1957. An Annotated Bibliography* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Library [Library Study, Number 2], 1958); Bell Irvin Wiley, *Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer*, By General G. Moxley Sorrel (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1958); H. H. Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray. The Confederate Medical Service* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: State University Press, 1958); Robert Moats Miller, *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958); and Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958).





