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COVER—Biltmore House, near Asheville, was designed by Richard Morris Hunt and landscaped by Frederic Law Olmsted, Sr. and was completed in 1895 for George W. Vanderbilt. In 1892 Vanderbilt appointed Gifford Pinchot superintendent of the Biltmore Forest where Pinchot instituted the first large-scale reforestation project in the United States. See pages 346-357.

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JOHN LAWSON'S ALTER-EGO—DR. JOHN BRICKELL

By PERCY G. ADAMS

Eighteenth-century commentators on America were, of course, notorious for plagiarizing each other, but one of the strangest and most successful literary thefts committed by any of them was that perpetrated by Dr. John Brickell in 1737 when he published *The Natural History of North Carolina*. The case has been a strange one because it was so flagrant and the victim so well known. It has been successful because for over two hundred years Dr. Brickell's book has been an important source of information about early America, and that in spite of a warning published early in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the warning should be restated.

Little is known of Dr. Brickell except that in the 1730's he resided for several years on the coast of North Carolina before returning to live in England and publish his *Natural History*.¹ Of the book, more is known. Although the *Journal des Sciences* in Paris carried a notice of it in April, 1739, announcing that it was written "Par M. Jean Bricknell [sic], Docteur en Médecine," the London periodicals seemed to ignore it, even though its list of subscribers included the name of one who at the time was reviewing such books for *The Gentleman's Magazine* — Samuel Johnson. However, by the end of the century, *The Natural History of North Carolina* had gradually attained popularity. For example, ten years after its publication it was not used by Emanuel Bowen in his *A Complete System of Geography*, which depended on

¹ Some biographical information is to be found in the preface to the 1911 Raleigh edition, edited by J. Bryan Grimes, hereinafter cited as Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*. All references in this paper will be to this 1911 edition.

Harriss, Purry, and Archdale for information on Carolina; but in 1771 it was an important source for *A New System of Geography*, compiled by D. Fenning and J. Collyer.²

The early nineteenth century provides three interesting references to Dr. Brickell's book. André Michaux, the younger, in his description of the trees of the United States, used it twice, but both times with some reluctance.³ Jacob Bigelow in the *North American Review*, in an article entitled "Botany of the United States," said of it, "the most complete work of this kind is Brickell's *Natural History of North Carolina*."⁴ But shortly after these two writers had enhanced the reputation of the book, Jared Sparks attempted to annihilate it. In 1826, in an article on "Materials for American History," Sparks, after a two-page discussion of John Lawson's *History of Carolina*, had this to say in a footnote:

A book was published in Dublin in the year 1737, entitled *Natural History of North Carolina*, by John Brickell, M.D., which is remarkable for being an almost exact verbal transcript of Lawson's History, without any acknowledgment on the part of the author or even a hint that it is not original. Periods and paragraphs are transposed; parts are occasionally omitted, and words and sentences here and there interpolated; but, as a whole, a more daring piece of plagiarism was never executed. The fact that the volume was published by subscription only 19 years after Lawson's History is presumptive evidence, perhaps, that this latter work, for reasons now unknown, had become so rare, as to render a detection of the plagiarism improbable.⁵

Such an accusation, made by such a noted scholar, would ordinarily be enough to cause students and historians to be

² Published in London in two volumes. In the treatment of Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, references to and quotations from Brickell are often used.

³ Michaux's work was translated into English as *The North American Sylva* (Philadelphia, 1817), in three volumes, and went through many editions. For the use of Brickell, see I, 157, and II, 222.

⁴ *North American Review*, New Series, IV (July, 1821), 102.

⁵ *North American Review*, New Series, XIV (October, 1826), 288-289.

Sparks was incorrect in his opinion that Lawson's book was a rare item. It was first published as *A New Voyage to Carolina*, in John Stevens' *A New Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1708, 1711), republished separately in 1709, and as *The History of Carolina*, in 1714 and 1718; translated into German in 1712, it was reissued in that language in 1722. The latest edition, that of Frances Latham Harriss, is called *Lawson's History of North Carolina* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1937, Second Printing, 1952). In the present paper all references to Lawson are made to the 1937 edition and are hereinafter cited as Harriss, *Lawson's History*.

very careful in using *The Natural History*; and, in fact, for nearly a century it was almost completely avoided. But Jared Sparks was not permanently successful in his attack, perhaps for two reasons. First, he put his accusation in a footnote, apparently believing it unimportant because he knew of so many such examples of plagiarism. And second, he provided no specific evidence.

But whatever the reason, he was unsuccessful, for in 1911 Dr. John Brickell's *Natural History of North Carolina* was republished in Raleigh with a preface that defended Brickell, calling his book the "Most interesting of early histories of the state." Here is the defense almost in full:

Dr. Brickell's history is the best description we have of the natural, social, and economic conditions in the Colony of North Carolina, but its merits have been obscured and its value largely depreciated by careless and unjust reviewers.

Jared Sparks and others charged him with plagiarizing Lawson. Of this Dr. Stephen B. Weeks says:

"These statements are only partially correct and do grave injustice to Brickell. He acknowledges in his preface that his work is a 'compendious collection of most things yet known in that part of the world.' But it is a good deal more than a slavish reprint of Lawson. It is further increased almost one-half in bulk . . . his 'Journal of a thousand Miles Travel' . . . is not used by Brickell.

"Brickell took the book of Lawson, reworked it in his own fashion, extended or curtailed, and brought it to his time. The effect of his professional training is seen everywhere, for there is hardly a description of a plant or animal which does not have some medical use attached to it. His work is fuller, more systematic, and seems more like that of a student; Lawson's work seems more like that of a traveler and observer. There is, besides, much more relating to the social conditions of the Colony in Brickell, who has a section on 'The religion, houses, raiment, diet, liquors, firing, diversions, commodities, languages, diseases, curiosities, cattle, etc.,' while Lawson sticks close to the natural, economic, and Indian history of the Province."

As more evidence that *The Natural History* was original, the twentieth-century editor pointed to that part which tells of a trip Brickell claimed to have made among the Indians: "His description of this journey is most interesting, and though overdrawn, is a distinct contribution to our history of the habits of the North Carolina Indians."

Apparently this defense in the prefatory note to the 1911 edition succeeded in restoring Brickell's reputation. At least, the book was now more easily available and became a popular source work. One noted writer, while describing Lawson as "the first historian of North Carolina," echoed the statement that *The Natural History* was "by no means a slavish reproduction"; and in 1937 a history of North Carolina, while making only limited use of Lawson, referred frequently to Brickell.⁶ A year later, in his *Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, G. E. Cox repeated Sparks' charge, saying, but without the evidence, that Brickell's material was "stolen" from Lawson.⁷ Nevertheless, in 1946 an article called "Traveler's Tales of Colonial Natural History"⁸ depended heavily upon Brickell but made no mention whatever of Lawson. An important collection of early documents reprinted in 1948, entitled *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries*, prefaced its selection from Brickell with this statement:

One of the most interesting accounts of the social and economic life of the colony is found in *The Natural History of North Carolina*, written by Dr. John Brickell of Edenton about 1731 and published in Dublin in 1743. Although he copied much from Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina*, he went far beyond that writer and gave detailed descriptions of many things not even mentioned by Lawson.⁹

And in 1954 the latest history of North Carolina made extensive use of the Doctor but included no comment on his connection with Lawson.¹⁰ But perhaps the best evidence for the success of the 1911 apology is to be found in the pages of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, where at least six articles published since 1926 contain important references

⁶ C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New York, 1934), III, 258; and Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 48, 97, 738-739, 747, 753, hereinafter cited Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*.

⁷ G. E. Cox, *Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel* (Seattle, 1935-1938), II, 103.

⁸ James R. Masterson, in *Journal of American Folklore*, LIX (January-March, April-June, 1946), 51-67, 174-188.

⁹ Hugh T. Lefler (ed.), *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries* (Chapel Hill, 1948), 61-65.

¹⁰ Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, *North Carolina, The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill, 1954), hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*.

to *The Natural History*.¹¹ Of all these twentieth-century books and articles that used Brickell, only one mentioned Jared Sparks' charge, and the author of that one,¹² having no access to a copy of Lawson, was unable to compare the two books in question.

But they must be compared in order to show how easy it is to give John Brickell credit for something which he did not originate. It is best, perhaps, to begin with the 1911 defense, which can be reduced to three points: 1) Because of his "professional" training, Dr. Brickell's *Natural History* is more "systematic" than Lawson's *History* and more replete with information about the medical properties of the flora and fauna described; 2) His work is bigger than Lawson's by one-half, containing, for example, "much more" on social conditions in North Carolina; and 3) The account of his trip to the Indians "is a distinct contribution."

As for the first defense, Dr. Brickell's "system" was hardly original. Lawson, after a preface and an introduction, began with his "Journal of a thousand miles travel among the Indians from South to North Carolina," a section which Brickell omitted—for the time being. But if we start on page 61 of Lawson's *History* and page 1 of *The Natural History*, we find that the two books follow almost exactly the same order, even to the sub-sections. There are two differences: Brickell added the essay entitled "The Religion, Houses, Raiment, . . . of North Carolina" and waited until the big final section on the red man to include the account of his

¹¹ W. Neil Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (October, 1926), 539-575, hereinafter cited as Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina"; Charles Christopher Crittenden, "Inland Navigation in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII (April, 1931), 145-155, hereinafter cited as Crittenden, "Inland Navigation"; Douglas L. Rights, "The Buffalo in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (July, 1932), 242-250; Julia Cherry Spruill, "Virginia and Carolina Homes before the Revolution," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XII (October, 1935), 320-341, and "Southern Housewives before the Revolution," XIII (January, 1936), 25-47, hereinafter cited Spruill, "Southern Housewives before the Revolution"; Alonzo Thomas Dill, "History of Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII-XXIII (January, 1945—October, 1946), in eight parts, 1-21, 152-175, 293-319, 460-489, 47-78, 142-171, 325-359, 495-535, hereinafter cited as Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern"; and Wendell H. Stephenson, "John Spencer Bassett as a Historian of the South," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXV (July, 1948), 289-318, hereinafter cited Stephenson, "Bassett as a Historian."

¹² Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," 539-575.

thousand miles travel among the Indians. Here are the two tables of contents, with the page numbers:

Lawson	Brickell
Preface	Preface
Introduction	(No title in Brickell, but the contents fit the corresponding title in Lawson.) (1-14)
Journal of a thousand miles (1-61)	The Corn of North Carolina (14-27)
A Description of North Carolina . . . (61-75)	The Present State of North Carolina . . . (27-35)
A Description of the Corn of Carolina . . (75-80)	The Vegetables of North Carolina . . (57-107)
The Present State of Carolina (80-90)	Of the Beasts (107-171)
Of the Vegetables of Carolina (90-118)	Of the Birds (171-215)
The Beasts of Carolina (118-140)	Of the Fish of North Carolina . (215-251)
Birds of Carolina . (140-159)	Further Observations on the Present State of North Carolina (251-277)
The Fish (159-172)	An Account of the Indians of North Carolina (277-409)
The Present State of Carolina (172-179)	
An Account of the Indians of North Carolina (179-260)	

Although his table of contents was not original, Dr. Brickell did include more medical lore than is to be found in Lawson, as the 1911 apology claimed. However, he often reported old wives tales, as when he said of “. . . *Black-mackred flies* . . . The powder of these insects and their Juice cures Baldness.” And of the Moth, “. . . An Oil made of them is said to cure Deafness, Warts, and the Leprosy. . . .”¹³ Many more such examples could be given, especially from the section on animal life. The original and worthwhile medical information is found in such paragraphs as that on the “*Ipecacuana*”¹⁴ and in a four-page sub-section on the diseases of North Carolina—from the ague to stomach ache to whooping cough—all of which the Doctor told about in some detail, and for which he prescribed either his favorite remedy or that

¹³ Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 160.

¹⁴ Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 21. This plant, not mentioned by Lawson, was apparently one of the many North American substitutes for the tropical *Ipecacuanha*.

of the colonists.¹⁵ But usually he was not original, invariably transcribing the many medical uses furnished by his predecessor, as the following quotations will show:

... The Vertues of Sassafras are well known in Europe. This Wood sometimes grows to be above two Foot over, and is very durable and lasting, used for Bowls, Timbers, Post for Houses, and other Things that require standing in the Ground. 'Tis very light, It bears a white Flower, which is very cleansing eaten in the Spring with other Sallating. The Berry, when ripe, is black; 'tis very oily, Carminative and extremely prevalent in Clysters for the Colick. The Bark of the Root is a Specific to those afflicted with the Gripes. The same in Powder, and a Lotion made thereof, is much used by the Savages to mundify old Ulcers, and for several other Uses, being highly esteemed among them.

The *Sassafras* is very common, and grows large, its Wood being sometimes above two Feet over, 'tis durable and lasting for Bowls, Timber Posts for Houses, and other things that require standing in the Ground, notwithstanding it is very brittle and light, it hath a pleasant smell. The Leaves are of two sorts, some long and smooth, the others indented about the edges (especially those growing at the top of the Branches) sometimes like those of the *Fig-tree*, it bears a small white flower, which is cleansing to the Blood, if eaten in the Spring with other Salating; it likewise bears a small Berry, which when ripe, is black and very oily, Carminative, and extremely prevalent in Coughs: The Bark and Root help most Diseases proceeding from Obstructions, and of singular use in Diets for the *French Pox*, it strengthens the whole Body, cures Barrenness, and is a Specifick to those afflicted with the Gripes, or defluctions of Rheum; the same in Powder, and strong lotions being made thereof, is much used by the Savage Indians, to mundify old Ulcers, and several other uses; it is a beautiful and odoriferous Ever-green, makes a delightful and fragrant Fire, but very sparkling.¹⁶

¹⁵ Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 46-50.

¹⁶ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 96; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 76.

The Natural History is almost entirely unoriginal in its order and seldom original in its medical lore, but it would seem to contain a great deal of new matter of some sort; for—to consider the second defense of the 1911 preface—it is over half again as long as Lawson's *History*. But on inspection one discovers that Brickell's additions are largely embellishment. The material on the sassafras, quoted above, offers a key to the problem. There, by furnishing new facts about the shape of the leaves, about the kind of fire made by the wood, and about how the plant cured the French Pox and barrenness, the Doctor was able to make twenty lines out of eleven. Throughout his book he was usually content with Lawson's words or with some sort of embellishment, supplying only two original sections of any length. The first of these, the part called "Of the Religion, Houses, . . ." is twenty-two pages long and contains the "much more" material on social conditions. But even here almost one-fourth is based on Lawson.¹⁷ Another original section, about the same length, is that which contains information on insects. Whereas Lawson had dismissed them in a few words, Brickell went into detail on such creatures as bees, butterflies, wasps, grasshoppers, crickets, fire-flies, ants, spiders, weevils, and mosquitoes,¹⁸ all of which, it should be noted, could be found in Europe as well as in America. In addition to these some thirty-five pages which can not be attributed to Lawson, Brickell provided a few facts in other parts of his book. For example, he increased Lawson's one page on whales to five, found four kinds of owls not listed by his predecessor, changed four varieties of woodpeckers to five, and told of seeing twenty-four runaway Negroes hanged in Virginia.¹⁹ By a rough but generous estimate, all of the additions amount to no more than sixty pages out of a total of 409.

But after we have discovered these parts not taken from Lawson, we have still another problem to deal with in considering the length of the two books: Since Lawson's trip

¹⁷ After reading Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 35-56, compare with Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 14, 82-90.

¹⁸ Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 153-171; Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 139.

¹⁹ Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 178, 187-188, 215-220, 357; Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 149-150, 162-163.

among the Indians was recounted in a sixty-page Journal and Brickell's journey required only six in the telling, what happened to the other fifty-four pages? The answer is that the later writer did make use of his predecessor's journal by taking from it much of the information about Indian life—tribes, burial customs, foods, sex, etc.—and putting it in his last chapter, the "Account of the Indians of North Carolina," which is considerably longer than Lawson's chapter with the same title. For example, in order to describe the feast of the "Waxsaw" Indians at the Harvest of Corn and to give the names and locations of the Sapona Indians, the "Toterias," and the "Keyaweas," Brickell had to glean his facts from the journal of Lawson, who had actually traveled among those tribes.²⁰

The third defense advanced by the 1911 preface is that the "journal" of Dr. Brickell's trip among the Indians, made, it is said, in 1730, is a "distinct contribution" to history. The six pages of this account tell how ten white men and two Indian guides made a remarkably easy journey, saw beautiful scenery, found abundant game, and had a delightful time. To give an idea of their idyllic existence, the author told of a typical night's "camp out" and then added, "It would not be proper to trouble the Reader with the Adventures of each Day. . . . Let it suffice to inform them, that after fifteen Days Journey, we arrived at the foot of the Mountains, having met with no Human Specie all the way."²¹ Lawson, it must be noted, had traveled in the same direction thirty years before and had encountered numerous Indian tribes and villages. On arriving at the "Mountains," Brickell's party was discovered by "Iroquois" scouts, whose "King" sent an "Ambassador . . . painted as red as *Vermillion*," to find out if the party was for peace or for war. Lawson, in similar fashion, had told how, while he was visiting with the "Waxsaws," the King of the Saponas had sent an "Ambassador . . . painted with *Vermillion* all over his Face. . . ." ²² The Iroquois King entertained his visitors in the "State House," just as Lawson's Waxhaw King had done. Both Brickell and Lawson slept on

²⁰ Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 332 ff., 343; Harriss *Lawson's History*, 34 ff., 44-45.

²¹ Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 387-393.

²² Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 389; Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 32.

“benches” covered with animal skins, and both were privileged to see dances performed and games played in their honor.²³ The only original fact supplied by Brickell is his insistence on having given copious supplies of rum to the Indians. Perhaps the best bit of evidence against his having made a trip is the claim that the Indians he visited were Iroquois, who, he said, were “. . . very powerful, and continually at War, wandering all over the Continent betwixt the two Bays of *Mexico* and *St. Lawrence*.”²⁴ The Iroquois were not known to go so far south, although their relatives, the Tuscaroras had—years before this supposed trip—been moved north to increase the Five Nations to Six. It would seem then that Dr. Brickell’s journey among the Indians was as spurious as were many others of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—one by John Lederer in the same territory, others by Lahontan and Hennepin in the Mississippi region, and another by Chateaubriand in the Gulf Coast country.²⁵

Since invented trips were so common among early travel writers, perhaps Dr. Brickell may be forgiven for borrowing his journey from John Lawson. And a very lenient reader might agree with him that his book is a “compendious collection” of facts about North Carolina, even though six-sevenths of the compendium is collected from John Lawson. But probably the most partial of readers should hesitate to approve of Dr. Brickell’s being so unimaginative as to adopt some of John Lawson’s own experiences, narrating them almost word for word, even to the use of the first person pronoun. Here are two examples:

Yet I knew an European Man that had a Child or two by one of these Indian Women, and afterwards married a Chris-

I knew an *European* Man that lived many Years amongst the *Indians*, and had a Child by one of their Wom-

²³ Grimes, *Brickell’s Natural History*, 391; Harriss, *Lawson’s History*, 30, 34-36.

²⁴ Grimes, *Brickell’s Natural History*, 389.

²⁵ For Lederer’s second journey, the last part of which he took alone and the stories of which contain his “prettiest fable,” see, for one discussion, J. B. Brebner, *Explorers of North America* (New York, 1933), 274-275; for Lahontan and Hennepin, see any one of a number of historians, such as Jared Sparks, Parkman, and Father Delanglez; and for Chateaubriand, see Gilbert Chinard, *L’Exotisme américain dan l’oeuvre de Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1918). These four men actually travelled in North America but all of them pretended to have done more than they actually did.

tian, after which he came to pass away a Night with his Indian Mistress; but she made Answer that she then had forgot she ever knew him, and that she never lay with another Woman's Husband, so fell a crying and took up the Child she had by him, and went out of the Cabin (away from him) in great Disorder.

en, having bought her as they do their Wives, and afterwards married a *Christian*. Sometimes after he came to the *Indian Town*, not only to buy Deer-Skins, but likewise to pass away a Night with his former Mistress as usual, but she made answer, *That she then had forgot that she ever knew him, and that she never lay with another Woman's Husband*; so fell a crying, took up the Child she had by him, and went out of the Cabin in great Disorder, although he used all possible means to pacifie her, by offering her presents of several *Toys* and *Rum*, but all to no purpose, for she would never see him afterwards, or be reconciled.²⁶

. . . two Families of the Machapunga Indians, use the Jewish Custom of Circumcision, and the rest do not, neither did I ever know any others amongst the Indians that practiced any such things, and perhaps, if you ask them, what is the Reason they do so, they will make you no manner of Answer; which is as much as to say, I will not tell you. Many other Customs they have, for which they will render no Reason or Account.

There are some few of them that use the *Jewish Custom of Circumcision*, though this kind of Practice is but seldom used amongst them; I never knew but two Families in all the Nations of *Indians* I have conversed with, that were so; the Reason whereof I could never learn, notwithstanding I was very intimate with them, and have often urged them to give me an account on that Head, but could get no manner of Answer, which with them is as much as to say, *I will not tell you*. They have many other strange Customs amongst them, that they will render no Reason for, or give any Account of to the Europeans.²⁷

²⁶ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 199; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 299.

²⁷ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 223; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 368.

The point is that Brickell made use of almost everything in Lawson, sometimes attempting to cover his theft by a slight rearrangement of words or by shifting some bit of information from one part of the book to another; but very often—as in these two instances—he was so bold as to use his source without any pretense at hiding his tracks. Furthermore, the quotations demonstrate clearly how one book can be half again as long as the other, for Lawson's 160 words were increased to 260 by the later writer.

However, Dr. Brickell's lack of originality is not our primary concern; what is important is that his plagiarizing has caused scholars to give him credit for much that was the work of another man. One article, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," quoted Brickell many times; but almost every time the reference should have been to Lawson.²⁸ Another, "Inland Navigation in North Carolina, 1763-1789," gave credit to both Lawson and Brickell for information about the periauger and the cypress tree, when the information was originated by Lawson, and gave credit only to Brickell for the statement—first made by Lawson—that in North Carolina both sexes were adept at handling the canoe.²⁹ One full-length history, while referring on two occasions to something original in Brickell—on Negro slaves and on the excessive drinking of the white settlers—sometimes attributed to Brickell facts that had been taken from Lawson, as in the description of the "Yaws"—Lawson's "Pox"—or when telling of Indian superstitions and Indian magic.³⁰ Another book includes a four-page selection from Brickell, a little over half of which is from one of the two original sections in *The Natural History*. However, the rest is found in Lawson, for example, this paragraph on exports, which was stolen almost word for word.

²⁸ Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," 561, and then compare Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 16-17, with Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 277; see Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," 357, and then compare with Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 15, and with Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 76.

²⁹ See Crittenden, "Inland Navigation," 148 ff., and then compare, Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 32, with Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 86.

³⁰ See Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 14, 48, 738-739; then compare Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 10, 48, 370, with Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 14, 19-20, and 88-89.

Our Produce for Exportation to Europe and the Islands in America, are Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins, Furs, Pitch, Tar, Wheat, Indian-Corn, Peas, Masts, Staves, Heading, Boards and all sorts of Timber and Lumber for Madera and the West-Indies, Rozin, Turpentine and several sorts of Gums and Tears, with some medicinal Drugs, are here produced; Besides Rice and several other foreign Grains, which thrive very well. Good Bricks and Tiles are made and several sorts of useful Earths, as Bole, Fuller's-Earth, Oaker and Tobacco-pipe-Clay, . . .

The produce of this Country for Exportation to *Europe* and the Islands, are Beef, Porke, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins, Furs, Wheat, *Indian-Corn*, Pease, Potatoes, Rice, Honey, Bees-wax, Myrtle-wax, Tobacco, snake-root, Turpentine, Tar, Pitch, Masts for Ships, Staves, Planks and Boards of most sorts of Timber, Cotton, and several sorts of Gums, Tears, with some medicinal Drugs; Bricks and Tile are made here, likewise several useful Earths, such as Bole, Fullers-Earth, Tobacco Pipe Clay. . . .³¹

And finally, the latest and best history of North Carolina, while it prefers Lawson's information on Indians and, from Brickell, obtains original facts about slaves, sometimes gives perhaps too much credit to the Doctor. Here, for example, is its account of early North Carolina birds:

The whole Carolina region was teeming with birds and wild fowl, especially turkeys "in flocks of 500 or more," pheasants, quail, wild geese, ducks, and wild pigeons so numerous that, according to Dr. John Brickell, they would fly "one flock after another for above a quarter of an Hour together." . . .³²

Now, compare the following passages on wild turkeys and wild pigeons, which show that Lawson, and not Brickell, originated the information:

I have seen about five hundred in a Flock. . . .

You shall see five hundred or more of them in a flock together. . . .³³

³¹ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 83; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 65.

³² Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 71.

³³ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 156; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 181.

These Pigeons, about Sunrise, when we were preparing to march on our Journey would fly by us in such vast Flocks that they would be near a Quarter of an Hour before they were all passed by.

After Sunrise I have seen them fly, one Flock after another, for above a quarter of an Hour together.³⁴

Elsewhere in the same history we find this statement: "Lawson and Brickell, contemporary writers, observed that "Marriages were early and frequent, most houses being full of little ones.'" Here is what the two sources say:

The Women are very fruitful, most Houses being full of Little Ones.

The Women are very fruitful, most Houses being full of Little Ones. . . .³⁵

Is it a matter of an agreement between two authors? Or is it a matter of a literary theft?³⁶

The warning of Jared Sparks, repeated briefly by G. E. Cox, should be stated again, perhaps in this way: Although historians need not stop using Dr. John Brickell entirely, they should be very careful in giving him credit for anything, since six-sevenths of his material was taken from John Lawson, a first-rate narrator and observer whose reputation would be even greater if it had not suffered because of the over-long life of his alter-ego.

³⁴ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 148; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 186.

³⁵ Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 85; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 31.

³⁶ There are other examples of what would seem to be an overrating of Dr. Brickell: Stephenson, "Bassett as a Historian," listing Brickell and Lawson side by side as providing "substantial contemporary evidence" of early North Carolina, 305; Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," speaking of "The naturalist Brickell," 462, 468; and Spruill, "Southern Housewives before the Revolution," 27, quoting Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 10, 30, on the hospitality of southern women when she should be have quoted Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 63.

THE DUGGER-DROMGOOLE DUEL

By HENRY W. LEWIS

In the earliest decades of the [nineteenth] century and onward to its middle "the duello" was the recognized custom of the best people from New York to the utmost limits of the then Union. . . . The death of Gen. Hamilton at the hands of Burr was the first blow severe enough to change public opinion so far as to make it not absolute social and political ruin to refuse to fight.¹

With these words Warner Lewis, signing himself as "Monitor,"² introduced his story of the duel between Daniel Dugger and George C. Dromgoole to the readers of the *Brunswick Gazette* of Lawrenceville, Virginia, on January 19, 1893. The account is sufficiently interesting to be made generally available, and its authenticity in detail has been so generally attested by later research that it can be relied upon as an accurate record.

The action took place in 1837 in the middle Roanoke River Valley—in Brunswick County, Virginia, and its neighboring county of Northampton in North Carolina. It was here that the seeds of Methodism had found such favorable soil. One of the earliest circuit riders assigned to the territory was Edward Dromgoole, an Irish convert, who came into the area about 1775 as a bachelor but soon married a Virginia girl,

¹ [Joseph] Warner Lewis, "Dugger-Dromgoole Duel; A Local Incident of Fifty Years Ago," *Brunswick Gazette* (Lawrenceville, Virginia), January 19, 1893. Unless otherwise identified, all quotations in this paper are taken from this newspaper article which Lewis signed with the pen name "Monitor."

² Lewis (1833-1900) was the son of Dr. Henry Lewis (1792-1879) and Frances Gibbons (Stuart) Lewis (1801-1861) of Lawrenceville, Virginia. See John Bennett Boddie (ed.), *Southside Virginia Families* (Redwood City, California: Pacific Coast Publishers, 1955), 317, and *Alumni Directory, University of North Carolina* (Durham, North Carolina: Seeman Printery, 1954), 530, hereinafter cited as *Alumni Directory*. In the Confederate Army Lewis attained the rank of captain. Later he lived in his home town as a bachelor newspaperman, and according to tradition, served as good companion for hunters, good company for the ladies, and *raconteur par excellence*. He edited the weekly *Brunswick Advocate* (Lawrenceville, Virginia) for its entire life, 1874-1879. See Lester J. Cappon, *Virginia Newspapers, 1821-1935* (New York: University of Virginia Institute of Research in the Social Sciences, Monograph Number 22, 1936), 110, hereinafter cited as Cappon, *Virginia Newspapers*.

Rebecca Walton.³ With a good education, a powerful voice, and a great zeal, the Rev. Mr. Dromgoole preached throughout the Roanoke River country. His home plantation called "Canaan" lay in the midst of his flock in southern Brunswick County.⁴ His youngest child was George Coke Dromgoole, one of the principals in the celebrated duel.

George C. Dromgoole was born in Brunswick County, May 15, 1797. He attended the University of North Carolina (1813-1814) and William and Mary College (1817-1818; 1819-1820), and he studied law. In 1823 he was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates from Brunswick, and with one brief interlude he continued to hold legislative positions until his death. From 1823 through 1826 he was a member of the House of Delegates; from 1826 until 1835 he served in the Virginia Senate. It is worth noting that in 1829 Dromgoole was a delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention, and that in 1832 his fellow senators picked him to preside over their deliberations. On March 4, 1835, Dromgoole began his first term as a Democratic member of Congress, the position he occupied when the present narrative begins.⁵

These are the biographical facts about the man of whom Monitor wrote:

No man born within the limits of Brunswick County ever filled so large a place in the estimation of its people as George C. Dromgoole. Indeed there was but one in the Congressional District he so long represented who in any way ranked as his peer,

³ Jane Morris, *Adam Symes and His Descendants* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1938), 175, hereinafter cited as Morris, *Adam Symes*.

⁴ Within a few miles of the Dromgoole plantation stood the Thomas Eaton place near the ferry of that name. Several members of the Harrison, Mason, Robinson, and Beasley families lived on nearby plantations. Down the Roanoke from the Eaton place (but in Northampton County) stood "Mt. Rekcute," home of Thomas Goode Tucker; still lower down the river near Gaston stood "Belmont," home of William Wyche Wilkins and his sons, Edmund and William Webb Wilkins. Most of these families played some part in the story.

⁵ *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1949* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1950), 1104, hereinafter cited as *Biographical Directory*. See also *A Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, from 1693 to 1888* (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1941), 16; and *Alumni Directory*, 242.

and he [Judge James H. Gholson], did not approach very near to those gifts and attainments that go to make up a mighty tribune of the people. . . .⁶

In the year 1837 an entertainment was given at the hotel in Lawrenceville. The intelligence and character of the county were present. It was purely a social gathering. Politics was tacitly forbid; for political feeling was running high, and strange to say, though the issues were then of a sentimental character compared to subsequent periods, the bitterness was as intense as when the interests of nearly half the country were at stake.⁷

Gen. Dromgoole was among those present at the entertainment. The hotel was under the management of Daniel Dugger, Esq., both its proprietor and keeper. Mr. Dugger was an unambitious man, of fine character and average ability, and many lovable traits. He had been a rich young man and was still of fair fortune, but was embarrassed as many young men of that day were by his connection with and love of the "turf," and was at the time of which we write, the owner and breeder of the celebrated race horse Wagner.⁸

On this special evening [Mr. Dugger] was at the head of his table and carving a fowl. Some ill-advised guest addressed to him a political question. The decanter had circulated rapidly, and Gen. Dromgoole who sat immediately at Mr. Dugger's right

⁶ "The exception that we note was [General Dromgoole's] sometime rival for popular favor, Judge James Harvey Gholson, also a native of Brunswick County, and who while wanting in the accurate parliamentary acumen and political information, superb command of language and resonant voice, was more than [Dromgoole's] equal in purely personal attractions, and elegance of deportment, exquisite culture in the highest branches of English and classical literature, and those lighter graces which so adorn and beautify social life." Gholson (1798-1848) served in the Virginia House of Delegates (1827-1831) and in the 22, 23, and 24 Congresses. Later he served as circuit court judge for Brunswick County. Although Monitor gives his middle name as "Harvey" other authorities show it as "Herbert." See *Biographical Directory*, 1205.

"In forming an estimate now, from what we remember of the past, we would say that had Gen. Dromgoole lived to attain his full stature he would have been 'primus inter pares' in an arena with Calhoun, Webster, Clay and Benton, and that Judge Gholson as a representative of his county would have graced any court of any age. Both died before they had reached the zenith of their promised fame. The one a martyr to conjugal duty and the other a victim to the public sentiment of the times—for we hold that though he lived [for ten] years afterwards, that the perfect fruition of a matured manhood was marred by the incident and its consequences . . . in the career of Geo. C. Dromgoole we propose to narrate."

⁷ Here Monitor wrote as a Confederate veteran.

⁸ Presumably Monitor based his statement about Dugger's ownership of Wagner on local information that he believed to be correct. When Dugger's personal property was inventoried shortly after his death in 1837 no mention was made of this horse, although the inventory lists other horses, Brunswick County (Virginia) Will Book 13, 561-567. This does not mean that Monitor's information was incorrect, but it probably indicates that Dugger had disposed of this particular horse prior to the duel.

hand and who had drunk freely, said (before Mr. Dugger could reply) in a loud voice, showing complete intoxication—

“Dugger, Damn Dugger as a political mentor! Why he is below infamy and beneath contempt!”

These words had scarcely passed [General Dromgoole’s] lips when Mr. Dugger struck him fiercely across the face with his open right hand, knocking him from his chair and half across the room, and then threw at him the carving fork as he tried to rise.⁹ Their friends intervened and raised Gen. Dromgoole to his feet. He seemed dazed and unconscious of what had occurred, and asked for his spectacles which had fallen from his face. He was very near sighted and wore glasses always. The matter was easily adjusted by their friends, and the next morning they drank together a glass of wine. The matter was supposed to be ended, and as “inter pocula,” to be forgotten—such then was the custom among fierce convivialists of the day. The rising sun dispelled the deeds and darkness of the wine cup and the night.

Departing from Monitor’s account, it is pertinent to notice a portion of Chapter VIII of the duellists’ *Code of Honor*:¹⁰

5. Intoxication is not a full excuse for insult, but it will greatly palliate. If it was a full excuse, it might well be counterfeited, to wound feelings or destroy character.

Dromgoole’s fondness for the bottle seems to have been a matter of general knowledge and of considerable concern to those interested in his career. When elected to preside over the Virginia Senate some five years before the incident at Dugger’s hotel, Dromgoole’s friend and contemporary, John

⁹ The *Scaevola* (Tarboro), for November 17, 1837 (hereinafter cited as *Scaevola*), reported, “We have not been informed what cause led them to resort to this expedient form but expect it grew out of some political misunderstanding which could not be adjusted otherwise.” This supposition was closer to the facts than Stephen B. Weeks’ statement that “This duel arose from a supposed insult given by Dugger in the presence of ladies.” See Weeks, “The Code in North Carolina,” *Magazine of American History*, XXVI (December, 1891), 453, hereinafter cited as Weeks, “The Code in North Carolina.”

¹⁰ John Lynde Wilson, *The Code of Honor; or Rules for the Government of Principals and Seconds in Personal Difficulties* (Charleston, South Carolina, 1838), 17; reprinted in *The Code of Honor; Its Rationale and Uses* (Charleston, South Carolina, 1878), a pamphlet bound in Volume 14 of the “Dawson Pamphlets” in the Library of the University of North Carolina, 44. Hereinafter these two publications will be cited as Wilson, *Code of Honor* and Dawson Pamphlet.

Y. Mason,¹¹ then serving his first term in Congress, wrote the General from Washington:

I compliment you on the high compliment which our brethren of that most excellent body, the Senate, have paid you, in placing you in the Chair. Permit [me], my dear friend, to ask you to be somewhat more circumspect in your convivial enjoyments than you have been.

A Destiny, of which any man may justly be proud, awaits you if you will temper your social feelings with discretion—You will excuse this Lecture and attribute the suggestions to that pure, disinterested friendship, which I bear you—¹²

In a few weeks the campaign for [election to the 26th] Congress opened. It was conducted with great bitterness. The Whig party had no champion able to cope with the "Brunswick Lion," as Gen. Dromgoole was then called, before the people.

The party papers seized hold of the unfortunate private broil with Mr. Dugger, and used it unsparingly. The "Brunswick Lion" after all was but a poltroon and a craven. "He had been bearded in his den, and had his jaws slapped, and was wanting in manhood to resent an insult so great and so infamous. Could a man who would tamely submit to such an indignity be entrusted to protect the rights of a brave and proud people? If he would not protect his own rights would he protect theirs?" were some of the things said, besides many more of a kindred kind.

The Whig party became exultant and vaunting, the Democrats, snarling and sour, and bets were made and taken that Dromgoole would not fight, and if he did, that Dugger would kill him.

Gen. Dromgoole was then in command of one of the militia brigades of the State. In a few weeks several of his staff officers sent in their resignations and wrote significant letters. Something had to be done. He at once addressed a polite note to Mr. Dugger telling him that the partisan press was taking unfair advantage, and making use of an unfortunate private and personal difficulty to injure him politically, and asking Mr. Dugger to publish a card putting the matter in its proper light.

Under the advice of his friends Mr. Dugger sent no formal reply. Such an opportunity to get rid of so able an advocate of

¹¹Mason (1799-1859) had at that time served in the Virginia House of Delegates (1823-1827) and in the Virginia Senate (1827-1831), and, when he wrote the letter quoted, was a member of the Twenty-Second Congress. Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 21 volumes, 1933—), XII, 369-370; *Biographical Directory*, 1511.

¹²Letter, John Y[oung] Mason to George C. Dromgoole, December 24, 1832, Edward Dromgoole Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Edward Dromgoole Papers.

the Democracy was not to be foregone. In an unfortunate hour he harkened to their counsel. Mr. Dugger, however, stated informally to the bearer of the note, "that he was not the curator of Gen. Dromgoole's reputation, or the guardian of his honor. That a wanton insult had been offered him at his own table. At the moment he had shown all proper resentment. Farther satisfaction he had foregone for reasons well known to Gen. Dromgoole. That while he did not desire to disguise any of the incidents of the occasion, and would make private explanations when asked, he still less desired [that] their disgraceful broil should become any more public than it already was, and that he declined to make any statement about it for public use. That Gen. Dromgoole could make any statement he pleased, and he was ready even before hand to accept it as a verity, and would vouch for the truth of anything he would say. That he presumed that Gen. Dromgoole was amply able to settle with anyone who might question any statement made. That he was content as matters stood, and that Gen. Dromgoole must right any wrong that others had or might do him."¹³

A peremptory demand that [Dugger] comply followed. This was treated with contemptuous silence. A challenge then followed at once. It was promptly accepted.

The 1838 *Code of Honor*, in general, outlines with some precision most of the steps Monitor described. Among other directions, it provides in Chapter III:

2. Upon the acceptance of the challenge, the seconds make the necessary arrangements for the meeting in which each party is entitled to a perfect equality. . . .¹⁴

This seems to have been the case in the Dugger-Dromgoole affair. Monitor wrote:

Mr. [Hiram] Haines, the editor of a Democratic paper in Petersburg,¹⁵ acted for Gen. Dromgoole. W. H. E. Merritt was

¹³ Commenting on this course of conduct, Monitor wrote: "That Mr. Dugger had the right to act in this way, few will deny; but was it generous to a former friend? The conclusion proved that [Dugger] was lending himself against his better nature, to his friends for a partisan purpose. That purpose was to ruin the political standing of Geo. C. Dromgoole. From this standpoint is Mr. Dugger an object of sympathy? We trow not."

¹⁴ Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 11; Dawson Pamphlet, 39.

¹⁵ The *Scaevola* identified Haines as "late editor of *The Constellation*," intending presumably to point out that his paper was inactive at the moment. Cappon identifies the paper as *The American Constellation*, a tri-weekly Democratic paper established May 24, 1834, by Haines in Petersburg, Virginia, and states that the last known issue was dated December 21, 1838. Only random issues of the paper have survived. For a short time in 1839 Haines edited another Petersburg paper called *Peep o' Day*. See Cappon, *Virginia Newspapers*, 148, 151.

the advising friend, and T. Goode Tucker, a young lawyer who had [until that year] resided in Lawrenceville, represented Mr. Dugger as a field second.

Under the *Code*, once the seconds had been selected, they took over all negotiations. The principals were required to remain strictly aloof. It is with this understanding that one should examine the letter Haines wrote to Dromgoole, his principal, on October 12, a day or two after the challenge had been accepted. Writing from Petersburg to the General who by that time had returned to his Congressional duties in Washington, Haines said:

My Dear Friend.

I this day received a note from Mr. T. Goode Tucker relative to the arrangements for the final meeting between his friend Mr. Daniel Dugger and my friend Geo. C. Dromgoole, some time called "General." Mr. Tucker proposes that the meeting shall take place near Gaston, No. Ca.¹⁶ *Agreed to*. He proposes that the usual weapons (pistols of course) shall be used. *Agreed to*. He proposes further, that Mr. D. wanting some further time to settle his worldly affairs desires until the 1st of November to arrange them. *Agreed to*—inasmuch as I had given Mr. Dugger a verbal assurance that such time should be given. . . .¹⁷

What were these "worldly affairs" Mr. Dugger had to attend to? They take on a somewhat less solemn air in Monitor's account:

Mr. Dugger availed himself of his right under the "Code of Honor," and postponed the meeting for three weeks. He was on the eve of starting to New York to attend the celebrated contest between the horses Henry and Eclipse.¹⁸

¹⁶ The plantation ("Canaan") General Dromgoole inherited from his father was located within eight miles of Gaston, Morris, *Adam Symes*, 180-181.

¹⁷ Letter, H[iram] Haines to George C. Dromgoole, October 12, 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers.

¹⁸ Here Monitor made the kind of error that would have embarrassed him. Henry and Eclipse ran at the Union Course on Long Island on May 27, 1823. The race Dugger probably attended was the one at Camden, New Jersey, on October 26, 1837, in which Boston beat Betsy, Andrew, and Tipton. See Henry William Herbert, *Frank Forester's Horse and Horsemanship of the United States and British Provinces of North America* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1857), I, 183, 277.

Monitor next recounted that, "Mr. Tucker acting for Mr. Dugger demanded all his rights under the 'Code,' and drew up the cartel." This seems to be a reference to what an annotated edition of the Code calls the "Terms of Meeting."¹⁹ If Monitor is correct on the point, there is evidence that these Virginia duellists were somewhat behind the times in their procedures, for the 1838 Code says:

The old notion that the party challenged was authorized to name the time, place, distance and weapon, has been long since exploded, nor would a man of chivalric honor use such a right if he possessed it. . . .²⁰

Just what provisions this cartel contained is not entirely clear. Haines wrote Dromgoole:

On Saturday morning I expect to leave for Gaston on a visit to Mr. T[ucker], to arrange definitively day, hour & ground. . . .²¹

It must have been during this visit that Mr. Tucker presented the cartel to Haines.

The third article of this agreement was that they should fire until one or the other should be "killed, mortally wounded or so disabled as to be unable to fire."

Mr. Haines on behalf of Gen. Dromgoole protested against these terms as unusual and murderous. His protest was without effect, for there was a latent opinion among Mr. Dugger's friends that Gen. Dromgoole was wanting in spirit. It was a most unfortunate opinion.

Notice another portion of Haines' letter to his principal:

So soon as Congress adjourns repair to Petersburg (notifying me of the night of your arrival) and I will meet and conduct you to my

"snug fire-side and a jorum."

I wish to initiate you a little in the mysteries of a "preliminary," which your adversary and his friend must attend to for themselves.²²

¹⁹ Dawson Pamphlet, 39.

²⁰ Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 12; Dawson Pamphlet, 40.

²¹ Letter, Haines to Dromgoole, October 12, 1837.

²² Letter, Haines to Dromgoole, October 12, 1837.

On its face this part of Haines' letter conveys very little meaning. But Monitor's next statement may be illuminating:

Haines availed himself of the long interval to teach his friend the use of his weapon. He became very expert,²³ for the bloody terms of his antagonist left that the only way out of the difficulty. He desired to disable, not to kill his former friend, if possible.

Mr. Dugger never seemed to realize and appreciate the responsibility of the event he was to face, or else he was one of those quiet but determined men who are careless of danger. . . .

The meeting was arranged to take place on the border of North Carolina, at a place two miles west of Gaston, and about half a mile from Mr. Tucker's residence.

Although Monitor often visited this neighborhood he is wrong in his statement of distances. No spot can be both two miles from the site of old Gaston and half a mile from Tucker's plantation. "Mount Rekcute," as Tucker called his place, lies in Northampton some four miles below Eaton's Ferry and about five or six miles above Gaston by water. Stephen B. Weeks' account more accurately says the meeting place was six miles from Gaston.²⁴ The evidence is undisputed about the duel having taken place on Tucker's property.

Selection of a site in North Carolina is not to be explained by its having had less stringent laws against duelling than did Virginia.²⁵ Convenience for the principals and the relative remoteness from general curiosity must have been the controlling factors in the choice of the Roanoke River site.

²³ Shortly after the duel one of Dromgoole's political advisers in Brunswick County wrote him as follows: "Myself alone, as far as I have heard, is the only one who think you should not have met your assailant in fair or equal combat. The disparity was too wide—and he only was urged to the field by a party who cared not a groat for him, but wished only to use him to destroy you. . . ." Letter, R. R. Brown to George C. Dromgoole, December 2, [mistakenly written "Novr" in the letter] 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers. Just what was this wide disparity? Was Dugger an older man? Probably not. A poorer shot? Monitor seems to take a contrary view. Or was this a reference to Dromgoole's acquired proficiency with smooth bore and hair-trigger pistols?

²⁴ Weeks, "The Code in North Carolina," 453.

²⁵ North Carolina had first enacted anti-duelling laws after Richard Dobbs Speight was killed in 1802. The North Carolina Code of 1837 re-enacted the prohibition, Weeks, "The Code in North Carolina," 443-444. See Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 43-45.

The day selected for the meeting was Monday, November 6.²⁶ “. . . Mr. Dugger reached Mr. Tucker’s about two days before the appointed time, coming direct from New York. He brought neither surgeon nor weapons.”

On the eve of the appointed day, Dr. W. W. Wilkins,²⁷ a physician residing near Gaston, received a note from Dr. F. W. Harrison,²⁸ asking him to put aside all engagements and meet him at Mr. Alex. Harrison’s. He did so, and on reaching the place found Gen. Dromgoole, Mr. Haines and Dr. Harrison. Dr. Harrison took him aside and told him why he sent for him: That Mr. Dugger was at Mr. Tucker’s and that he knew Dr. Wilkins to be a personal friend of both parties, and a political compatriot [Whig] of Mr. Dugger; that unaided the responsibility was too much for him to bear, and asked his professional assistance, as Mr. Dugger had brought no surgeon with him. Dr. Wilkins made some inquiries looking to peace, but found matters had gone too far to be stopped.

The next morning the three gentlemen [Dromgoole, Haines, and Dr. Harrison] in a carriage, and Dr. Wilkins in his gig, repaired to the designated place. In a few minutes Messrs. Dugger and Tucker came on the ground with a wagon in which there was a bed, for either party that might require it.

The place selected was a level plateau on the banks of the Roanoke River, as smooth as a carpet and covered with a green sward.

Mr. Haines was in the ballroom dress of the period—lace ruffles at his bosom and at his hands, silk stockings and pumps.

The parties greeted each other with a stern and polite civility. Messrs. Haines and Tucker conferred together for a few minutes and agreed upon the ground and stuck up the pegs. The distance was ten paces,²⁹ which they stepped off together. They then, in the presence of each other, loaded the pistols, two pairs of which Mr. Haines and Gen. Dromgoole had brought. Mr. Dugger

²⁶ *Scaevola*, November 17, 1837.

²⁷ See footnote 39, below.

²⁸ Frederick William Harrison of Eastville, Virginia (a post office in either Brunswick or Greensville county), received an A.B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1825, a M.A. in 1832, *Alumni Directory*, 377.

²⁹ Chapter III of the Code states: “5. The usual distance is from ten to twenty paces, as may be agreed upon, and the seconds in measuring the ground usually step three feet.” A footnote in the annotated edition reports that “Tape line is used,” Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 12; Dawson Pamphlet, 40. Weeks’ statement that “the parties stood four paces apart” can hardly be credited, Weeks, “The Code in North Carolina,” 453.

came unprovided. A coin was tossed for word and position.³⁰ Mr. Tucker won the word and Mr. Haines the position.

The combatants took their positions and the seconds handed each a pistol. Mr. Tucker placed himself midway between the combatants and some yards out of the line of fire. Mr. Haines advanced to the remaining case of loaded pistols, and taking one in each hand placed himself in a similar position and opposite to Mr. Tucker, and announced how the word would be given, in a clear and distinct voice.³¹

"Gentlemen, are you ready? If prepared, keep silence. If not, speak. Fire!—one-two-three. Stop! with an interval of about a second between words." This explanation he followed with the declaration—

"Should either of you fire before the word 'fire,' or after the word 'stop,' he falls by my hand."³²

Both men were as cool as a summer's morn. Mr. Tucker gave the word. There was but one report as heard by those present. There was a commingled report as heard by those at a little distance, and who suspected what was taking place. Who fired the first shot is not known.

As the smoke lifted Mr. Dugger was seen to stoop forward, and then pitch heavily face foremost to the ground. The two surgeons advanced and turned him over. His face was colorless and his lips blue. Gen. Dromgoole had tried to shatter his pistol hand or break his arm. The charge of powder was probably not sufficient as the bullet was two inches too low, hitting him in the arm pit,³³ and, from subsequent developments, not making the usual penetration from such perfect weapons.³⁴

³⁰ "After all the arrangements are made, the seconds determine the giving of the word and the position by lot, and he who gains has the choice of the one or the other, and selects whether it be the word or position, but cannot have both." Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 12; Dawson Pamphlet, 40.

³¹ "When the principals are posted, the second giving the word, must tell them to stand firm until he repeats the giving of the word, in the manner it will be given when the parties are at liberty to fire." Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 13; Dawson Pamphlet, 41.

³² "Each second has a loaded pistol, in order to enforce a fair combat according to the rules agreed on; and if a principal fires before the word or time agreed on, he [the second] is at liberty to fire at him, and if such second's principal fall, it is his duty to do so." Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 13; Dawson Pamphlet, 41. Here it will be observed that the participants in the Dugger-Dromgoole affair departed from the procedure prescribed by Wilson. Only one of the seconds held a weapon during the meeting, and that second held two loaded pistols.

³³ Accounts of the wound are in general agreement. The contemporary newspaper report said, "Mr. Dugger received the ball of his antagonist in the axilla of his right side." *Scaevola*, November 17, 1837. Weeks wrote "Dugger received the ball in his side about three inches below the arm-pit," "The Code in North Carolina," 453.

³⁴ Of the weapons Monitor wrote: "I saw these pistols many years after. They were the most beautiful weapons I ever saw. They belonged to Gen. Whittaker of North Carolina and were mounted with gold. I suppose they must have cost several hundred dollars. They had two sets of barrels, one carrying an oz., and the other an ½ oz. ball."

Mr. Haines stepped up in front of Gen. Dromgoole, folded his arms and stood in a position to shield him from a view of his dying adversary, for Mr. Dugger had been mortally wounded.

Mr. Tucker assisted by the surgeons started to remove Mr. Dugger to the wagon and bed. When about midway, General Dromgoole gently put away Mr. Haines and called to Dr. Wilkins, "Is he badly hurt?"

Dr. Wilkins replied—"I fear he is, sir. I do not think he will live to get to the house."

Upon receiving this information, Gen. Dromgoole exclaimed in his deep and resonant voice—"I regret it exceedingly! I regret it exceedingly!"

Gen. Dromgoole and Mr. Haines then left the field.

Under the code to which the parties had resorted, and the cartel of the challenged party, Mr. Tucker should have notified Mr. Haines of his principal's [Dugger's] condition. By failing to do so, he left the quarrel open for renewal upon the original cause.³⁵ Had [Mr. Tucker kept Mr. Haines informed], even had Mr. Dugger survived, it would have been a finality, the terms would have been complied with. (Mr. Dugger lived twenty-one days,³⁶ and there were hopeful periods. During one of these he sent to ask some concessions from Gen. Dromgoole. Gen. Dromgoole did not comply and was notified that should he, Dugger, survive, the fight would be renewed.)³⁷

Haines complained bitterly that Tucker did not inform him of Dugger's condition, charging him with a violation of his own compact. A quarrel ensued. Haines challenged Tucker, who declined to meet him on the grounds that he was not his social equal. Even his friends regarded the position as untenable. [Tucker] had waived all such rights when he consented to act with [Haines] as Gen. Dromgoole's second and peer. A paper warfare followed. It was severe and sarcastic, but not scurrilous or abusive. The following from the pen of the journalist [Haines] is about the severest thing said: "All good and honorable men cannot but regret the death of so pure a gentleman and so gallant a man as Daniel Dugger. He was all that a man could or ought to be—most cruelly, he had been made the victim of false friends

³⁵ This seems to be a legalistic interpretation of the Code's provisions. It is possible, however, that the "Terms of Meeting" agreed to by the parties contained more specific language on the point than did the subsequently printed Code.

³⁶ On this point there is no reason to question Monitor's accuracy. The *Scaevola* on November 17 (eleven days after the duel) said, "The wound is desperate but not considered mortal." Weeks' statement that Dugger "lived until the next morning" is in error, "The Code in North Carolina," 453.

³⁷ This seems unusual in the light of the Code's provision that, "If after a fire either party be touched, the duel is to end . . ." Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 13; Dawson Pamphlet, 41.

for their own bad ends; but for Tom Tucker, he reminds me of a grandiloquent magpie chattering over the torn plumage of a dead eagle."

Having quoted Mr. Haines' newspaper communication, Monitor felt it wise to add:

We would have omitted this as too severe upon an old and very dear friend, but he himself [Tucker], laughingly told it to us and suggested that at a suitable time we should have printed all the incidents he had related, and thus preserve one of the legends of our county.

Of Mr. Haines we know very little, and of his subsequent history nothing. He had formerly been the keeper of a "coffee house" in Petersburg. At the time of which we speak, he was the editor of a Democratic paper of that city. The position he filled towards Gen. Dromgoole, and his conduct in it, bespeak the gentleman, and a man of political prominence. Throughout he exhibited conduct and character. He has been described as a tall fine looking man, with a military bearing. In this hostile meeting his deportment was rigidly polite and formal.

Haines and the General remained on close terms. Among the surviving Dromgoole papers can be found a number of letters written by Haines from Petersburg in the years following the duel. His newspaper, *The Constellation*, seemed constantly in difficulties of a financial nature. Even in his letter to Dromgoole about arrangements for the duel Haines could not resist telling the General about his own personal affairs:

I am happy to say to you that my health is fine, my spirits light as a feather and my hopes high for a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of my pecuniary affairs—for the renovation of my paper and for the triumph of those principles it is our mutual pride and pleasure to advocate.³⁸

"Of the other participants" in the affair on Roanoke River, Monitor wrote, "we know more. . . ."

The gentleman who was the involuntary witness, and present for humanity's sake, we knew from our childhood. Dr. W. W. Wilkins had been professionally educated in France, and subse-

³⁸ Letter, H[iram] Haines to George C. Dromgoole, October 12, 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers.

quently studied the post-graduate's course in the schools of Paris. He was a most accomplished gentleman. . . .³⁹

William Henry Embry Merritt, the Whig whom Monitor called "the advising friend" to Dugger, died in 1884, "and in the eighty-fourth year of his age. . . ." ⁴⁰

When more than eighty he said to [Monitor], that he had frequently canvassed with himself the advice he had given Mr. Dugger, and that he could find nothing in it for which to reproach himself. It was true that his friend had fallen. For that he sorrowed exceedingly; but there were times in the lives of most men when sacrifices had to be made, and guided by the lights given, it was best to accept the lesser, when one of two evils was inevitable. . . .⁴¹

One of the most puzzling of the participants was Thomas Goode Tucker. At the University of Virginia he had been a college mate of Edgar Allan Poe. Later he wrote an account of Poe's college days that has been much relied on by the

³⁹ William Webb Wilkins (1803-1858), son of William Wyche Wilkins (1768-1840) and Elizabeth (Raines) Wilkins (1776-1811), before studying in Paris, attended the University of North Carolina (1817-1818), Yale (A.B., 1822), and the University of Pennsylvania (M.D., 1825). In 1829 he married Mary Ann Beasley. His second wife, to whom he was married in 1841, was Monitor's older sister, Louisa Gray Lewis. "The life of a country physician proved distasteful to him, and he abandoned it early as he had ample means," wrote Monitor. "He died in Lawrenceville . . . although he then lived in Richmond. He is still remembered as a tall and handsome man, seclusive in his habits and tastes, perfect in his business dealings and relations with his fellows, somewhat reticent, but a very prince in politeness and a king at the dinner table." See Wilkins Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, and Dr. Wilkins's medical fee book in the Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Durham.

⁴⁰ "He belonged to a type that has passed away. Educated when boys were made to study, he preserved his knowledge and taste for the classics. In the quietude of his own home he was oftener seen with a Latin or Greek author in his hand than some book of the period. The writer [Monitor] heard one of the principal men of the county, now long past the meridian of life, say that he had known him all his life and never saw him angry. . . . By those who knew him best, it was said, that the feeling of fear he never knew, and occasions that inspired terror in others left him placid and unruffled." In the Manuscript Collection of the Duke University Library there are a number of letters and papers concerning Merritt and his family.

⁴¹ It hardly seems possible that such a man as Monitor describes Merritt to have been could have been the person of whom Dromgoole's political advisor, R. R. Brown, wrote: "[Dugger] only was urged to the field by a party who cared not a groat for him, but wished to use him to destroy you. There is a gang in & around Lawrenceville as I have said who would glory in your downfall" Letter, R. R. Brown to George C. Dromgoole, December 2, 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers.

poet's biographers.⁴² Until shortly before the duel Tucker lived in Lawrenceville and practiced law, but by 1837, having come into some substantial property, he had moved to a new plantation on the Roanoke River in Northampton County.

In the heat of the aftermath of the duel, when Haines had challenged Tucker and Tucker had refused to meet him, and Haines had lashed out at Tucker in the newspapers, Dr. Edward Dromgoole, the General's brother, reported to the absent congressman:

On Monday week I attended Brunswick Court. Things so far as I could learn were peaceable, and it was thought by some of your friends that Mr. Haynes [*sic*] last communication would shut the mouth of the Magpie who had taken shelter under the plumage of a Dead Eagle. The Magpie I fear is no Gentleman (this between us). . . .⁴³

Yet it is of this same "magpie," Mr. Tucker, that Monitor wrote:

When fate endowed him with fortune, she deprived us of a lawyer, a statesman and, had opportunity served, a soldier, to make a perfect specimen of the country gentleman and literary voluptuary. At eighty, with every faculty as bright as at forty, he was ready to discuss any question of politics, science, literature or law; or at the blast of the horn in the morning, to mount "Lord Elgin," his thoroughbred stallion, and keep pace with his hounds, the pedigree of each known for twenty generations. The most pacific of men, he believed in the "Code" and was a terror to that monster, the neighborhood bully. A believer in caste, his hospitality was too strong for his prejudice, and [he] was a democrat in his home. In fact he was a mass of the most delightful anomalies and curious incongruities. While the green grass grows and the water runs and the sound of the horn is heard on the hill, let him be remembered by all men of kindred tastes and gentlemanly instincts.

⁴² "Edgar Allan Poe while a Student at the University of Virginia," referred to by Hervey Allen in *Israfel* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, single volume edition, 1934), 126-127, as being Mr. Tucker's "too complete memories."

⁴³ Letter, Edward Dromgoole [Jr.] to George C. Dromgoole, March 6, 1838, George C. Dromgoole Papers, Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library.

"It was from these gentlemen," wrote Monitor, "that we learned the circumstances of the duel as narrated, and should they be printed, a promise will be fulfilled."

But what of Daniel Dugger the victim? Monitor could only say,

Mr. Dugger passed away before we were capable of a personal knowledge. But we have known many who knew him well. He was a quiet and unassuming man of excellent sense, and a very warm, lovable and loving disposition. He had the respect of all in every relation of life: In that of husband, parent, friend and citizen. His death begat a lifelong antagonism on the part of many former friends of Gen. Dromgoole. He left several sons, but what has become of his family generally, we do not know.

It is odd that Monitor should have been ignorant on this point when, as matters happened, he was never far from Dugger's sons himself. On the day the duel was fought, November 6, 1837, Dugger executed a holographic will in the form of a letter to his wife. (It is interesting to speculate on why he waited until the day of the meeting before he did this.) He spoke of the confusion of his business affairs, his affection for his family, and his eagerness to insure the security and education of his children.⁴⁴ Writing in 1891, Stephen B. Weeks stated that after Dugger's death General Dromgoole "supported the widow of Mr. Dugger and educated his two sons, the late Macon T. Dugger and the late Captain John E. Dugger of Warrenton. . . ." ⁴⁵

Whether or not the support came from Dromgoole, it is true that Captain John Edward Dugger was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1857 and his brother, Macon Tucker Dugger, in 1858. It is also true that Captain Dugger taught school privately in Warrenton and died there in 1887.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ This letter was admitted to probate in January, 1838, as Dugger's will and is recorded in Brunswick County (Virginia) Will Book 13 at page 204.

⁴⁵ Weeks, "The Code in North Carolina," 453.

⁴⁶ *Alumni Directory*, 244. See also Lizzie Wilson Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton* (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards and Broughton, 1924), 193, 240-241.

Now finally, what of the subsequent career of George C. Dromgoole himself? What effect did the duel produce on his political ambitions?

As soon as possible after the duel it appears that General Dromgoole returned to his duties in Washington. Whether he resorted to the bottle is, of course, a matter of conjecture, but the letters he began to receive from the district make it clear that this possibility had not been overlooked by his constituents. One of his Democratic supporters living in Brunswick, R. R. Brown, spoke with a sharpness that rings with truth. Less than a month after the duel and only a few days after Dugger's death Brown wrote Dromgoole:

Take care of yourself & your friends here will take care of you —There is a strong current against you & the Whigs will turn every thing growing out of your late unfortunate affair to your prejudice, especially those in and around Lawrenceville. No person can possibly blame you for your course, for *all* admit you were bound to do what you did do. Myself alone, as far as I have heard, is the only one who think you should not have met your assailant in fair or equal combat. The disparity was too wide—and he only was urged to the field by a party who cared not a groat for him, but wished only to use him to destroy you—There is a gang in & around Lawrenceville as I have said who would glory in your downfall, & they have already predicted you'l [*sic*] destroy yourself by intemperance. You must keep cool during this cession [*sic*] of Congress. You must take an active part in all important questions & you must make speeches. Then & not till then will the people here be satisfied with you as their representative. Take care of yourself while in Washington. *For your indiscretions are sent back to the district. I write frankly but not more so than sincerely. Let me hear from you often.*⁴⁷

Dromgoole answered Brown's letter promptly, pledging himself to a course of personal conduct calculated to improve

⁴⁷ Beneath Brown's signature on this letter is written "Novr 2nd 1837" but the postmark was "White Plains, Va. 8 Dec. 1837." White Plains is a crossroads in southern Brunswick County. The "late unfortunate affair" was fought on November 6, 1837. Thus it seems plain that Brown made a common mistake in dating his letter. It should have been dated "December 2." See letter, R. R. Brown to George C. Dromgoole, December 2, 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers.

his political position. On December 29, Brown again addressed the General:

. . . I have nothing new to give you—farther than to impress upon you the necessity not only for yourself personally, but to give satisfaction & confidence in you to your party in the District that you strictly adhere to the advice in my letter to you which you acknowledged to have rec'd on the 18th Inst. If you adhere rigidly to the course laid down in your letter to me there will be a reaction in the district in your favor that no man will be able to contend with you. Your best friends had begun to despair of you and it will depend wholly upon yourself this winter whether you continue to represent this district if you wish it.⁴⁸

In the Congressional elections of 1838 Dromgoole was re-elected. This is fair testimony of his behavior and its effect in the district. In 1840 he declined to run, but he was re-elected in 1842, 1844, and 1846, despite some evidence that as late as 1843 he was still unable to withstand the lures of the bottle. (He is supposed to have taken the "Temperance Vow" that year at the instigation of the distinguished Thomas Ritchie,⁴⁹ but whether he was able to keep it remains unreported.) We know that he died on April 17, 1847, just a month short of his fiftieth birthday,⁵⁰ and we have Monitor's word for the fact that his fellow citizens felt "the perfect fruition" of General Dromgoole's "manhood was marred" by his duel with Dugger, that he was "a victim to the public sentiment of the times."

"We boast of our civilization," wrote Monitor, "and speak of the 'duello' as suicide and murder. We dare not gainsay the saint as against the sinner, even if the day still be distant

⁴⁸ Letter, R. R. Brown to George C. Dromgoole, December 29, 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers.

⁴⁹ Letter, Thomas Ritchie to Edward Dromgoole, May 30, 1848, Edward Dromgoole Papers. Pertinent portions of this letter to General Dromgoole's nephew and administrator read as follows: ". . . may I ask the favor of you to look for a letter which I addressed to [General Dromgoole] in January or February of 1843 or '44, probably the former year. It relates to the delicate subject of his habits, and nothing but my profound respect for Gen. Dromgoole could have prompted me to write it. The General had the good sense to appreciate my motives—for within 10 or 14 days after I had written it, he informed me by letter that he had taken the Temperance Vow. . . ."

⁵⁰ See p. 328, n. 5 above.

when the lion will lie down with the lamb. A custom recognized by such men [as the participants in this affair] to keep the world pliant to the touch of honor cannot be all bad. . . .”

Monitor would probably have agreed with the verdict of his South Carolina contemporary who wrote,

. . . the duello was the aesthetic mode of settling all difficulties among gentlemen. The stringent laws of the present day have pretty well put an end to this mode of wiping out insults, and the Code can now only be bought in some old bookstore. The silver-mounted, smooth bore duelling pistols have given way to the rifled barreled revolvers, and quick snap shooting on the street [has] superseded the old fashioned ten paces: “fire—one, two, three, stop”; and handshaking, if alive, and a champagne supper to cement the treaty of peace. The formality of a challenge is now out of fashion and the hip-pocket is now inserted in every man’s trousers. Both methods are barbarous, but I am inclined to think that the old time method was the least so, as it gave one time to make his will and hope for an apology. . . .⁵¹

⁵¹ Arney R. Childs (ed.), *Rice Planter and Sportsman, The Recollections of J. Motte Alston, 1821-1909* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1953), 21.

GIFFORD PINCHOT AT BILTMORE

By HAROLD T. PINKETT

The estate acquired and developed by George W. Vanderbilt at Biltmore in western North Carolina is a historic site in the annals of American forestry mainly because of the pioneering work of two eminent foresters, Gifford Pinchot and Carl A. Schenck. The activities of Schenck, the first resident forester on the estate and founder of the first forest school in the United States, have been described recently in an informative and provocative book entitled *The Biltmore Story*.¹ However, the work of Pinchot at Biltmore which blazed the trail for Schenck has been mentioned only briefly or erratically in accounts of American forestry and local history. His own accounts, though informative, lack some important details.²

On February 2, 1892, Pinchot arrived at Biltmore to begin an urgent and unique experiment. In a contract with George W. Vanderbilt, providing an annual salary of \$2,500, he had agreed to make a plan for the management of Biltmore Forest and to superintend the preparation of an exhibit of this forest for the World's Columbian Exposition to be held at Chicago.³ He had been selected for this job apparently on the recommendation of Frederick Law Olmsted, the famous landscape architect, who was Vanderbilt's principal adviser in the planning of the Biltmore Estate. The preparation of a management plan for an American forest in 1892 was a task to be undertaken without any precedent and with little relevant information. Yet it was a project urgently needed to demonstrate the practicality of scientific forestry in the

¹ Carl A. Schenck, *The Biltmore Story: Recollections of the Beginning of Forestry in the United States* (American Forest History Foundation: St. Paul, Minnesota, 1955. Pp. 224).

² See Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York, 1947), 47-69, hereinafter cited as Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*; and *Biltmore Forest* (Chicago, 1893. Pp. 49), hereinafter cited as Pinchot, *Biltmore Forest*.

³ Agreement between Pinchot and Vanderbilt, January 25, 1892, Gifford Pinchot Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Pinchot Manuscripts.

United States and to broaden the movement for the preservation of American forests. Fortunately, it was a task to which Pinchot could bring some unique training and valuable experience.

After graduating from Yale University in 1889 Pinchot became the first American to choose forestry as a profession. He did so despite the advice of government officials and educators who considered scientific forest management in the United States as something beyond the realm of practical affairs. Since there was hardly any organized instruction in forestry in America he studied this subject in France, Germany, and Switzerland during 1889 and 1890. This European study was guided largely by Sir Dietrich Brandis, founder of forestry in British India and perhaps the greatest forester of his time. Sir Dietrich, who had obtained some familiarity with American forest conditions through correspondence and reports, was immediately impressed by Pinchot's earnestness and readily consented to show him the way to scientific forestry.

Returning home in December, 1890, young Pinchot found his country without a single acre of public or private land under systematic forest management. He observed some public spirited citizens protesting against the ruthless destruction of forests by lumbermen and other timber users. He admired their efforts to preserve a great natural resource but considered their protest virtually futile, since it often appeared directed toward stopping the essential practice of lumbering rather than regulating it and assuring its future. The job was not to stop the ax, as he saw it, but rather to control its use.⁴

The first opportunity to make practical use of his training came in January, 1891, when he was hired by the firm of Phelps, Dodge and Company to make a preliminary examination of its white pine and hemlock lands in Pennsylvania and report on the possibility of practicing forestry on them. Shortly thereafter he accompanied B. E. Fernow, the Federal Government's chief forester, on a trip to examine timberlands

⁴ Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, 29.

in Mississippi and Arkansas. A few months later he was on another inspection trip for Phelps, Dodge and Company which carried him to the West Coast and Canada. Within six months after his return from Europe he had seen something of forests in thirty-one states and Canada and had actually examined them in nine states. Such was his preparation for the task at Biltmore.

When Pinchot arrived at the Biltmore Estate in 1892, the developing of this property, which was to make it one of America's most luxurious country residences, had already begun. Under the architectural direction of Richard M. Hunt the massive limestone walls of Biltmore House were rising as if to challenge the grandeur of nearby mountains. The estate lying southeast of Asheville stretched six miles along the banks of the French Broad River and covered more than 7,000 acres. Through its northeast corner ran the Swannanoa River toward its junction with the French Broad. Broken, hilly land alternated with broad alluvial bottoms of the two rivers.

By 1892 much forest land around the site selected for Biltmore House had begun to be consolidated into a large holding as a result of Vanderbilt's purchases from a number of small landholders. These persons compelled by economic necessity to exploit fully their scantily productive lands had resorted to destructive practices. They had cut most of the trees which could be used or sold as fuel, fence wood, or saw logs. Thus the best species had been removed and the inferior ones had remained to seed the ground and perpetuate their kind. Moreover, in accordance with a long-established practice the small landholders had burned the woods each year under the belief that better pasturage was thus obtained the following year. In this way much of the fertility of the soil had been destroyed. Young trees which grew up in many places had been cut back year after year by the grazing of cattle. Thus Pinchot on his arrival at Biltmore found the condition of a large part of the forest "deplorable in the extreme." The timber stands that survived these destructive practices were dominated by varied species of oak, shortleaf pine, and chest-

nut. Most of the stands were broken and irregular and varied greatly in size and age.⁵

Although he was given a free hand to inaugurate management of the Biltmore Estate's forest, subject only to Vanderbilt's control, Pinchot's work was affected inevitably by considerations of the general purpose of the estate as a country residence with its gardens, farms, deer park, and roads. His management was, therefore, subject to checks in instances where silvicultural measures were considered to conflict with landscape, farming, recreational, or other estate purposes. Despite these restrictions, the young forester began work at Biltmore with the hope and zeal of a missionary. His decision to undertake the work, he declared, was largely influenced by the often expressed opinion of Sir Dietrich Brandis that forest management in the United States must begin through private enterprise and his own feeling that the Chicago exposition would present a good opportunity to make known the beginning of "practical forestry."⁶ If forest management could be made profitable at Biltmore, it could be made so in almost any part of the Southern Appalachians. Indeed his hope led him to assert: "The more I know of the conditions the more thoroughly satisfied I am that if Biltmore forest is a success, I need not fear to undertake the management of any piece of forest land that I have seen in the United States."⁷

Compilation of detailed data concerning forest conditions on the estate was Pinchot's first step. This was facilitated by an extensive topographical survey of the property which had already been made. The survey had divided the estate into squares of 500 feet. The squares were used as units of description and pertinent silvicultural data were recorded in a card catalogue. Using this information Pinchot divided the forest area into ninety-two compartments, averaging about forty-two acres each and delimited by ridges, streams, hollows, or roads. For management purposes he grouped

⁵ Pinchot, *Biltmore Forest*, 10-14.

⁶ Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, February 2, 1892, Pinchot Manuscripts.

⁷ Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, March 5, 1892, Pinchot Manuscripts.

these compartments into three blocks, one situated west of the French Broad River and two east of it.⁸

The general purposes of the pioneering forestry work at Biltmore were to promote the profitable production of timber, provide a nearly constant annual yield, and improve the condition of the forest. The effort to accomplish these purposes began with so-called "improvement cuttings" in parts of the forest where old trees were sufficiently numerous and the younger ones sufficiently vigorous to enable profitable lumbering. In these cuttings Pinchot had to instruct his forest assistants and woods crews to fell timber in such a manner that the least harm would come to the future forest. This point of view, which emphasized regard for future use as well as for immediate profit, was new in American lumbering. Demonstration and acceptance of the value of this new view were important for the successful introduction of scientific forestry into the United States and establishment of the idea that the fight for forest preservation in the 1890's was not necessarily incompatible with the profitable use of forests.

Although Pinchot was convinced of the scientific propriety and educational value of careful timber cuttings, he was by no means certain that the timber produced by them could compete successfully with that provided by traditional lumbering methods. Early in his work he was disturbed by the doubtful outlook for immediate "money returns" from the forest. He stated: "There is so much good lumber in the mountains, it is comparatively so cheap and our own is so distinctly poor, that we shall certainly be unable to do more than supply a little inferior sawn lumber and some fire wood for the local market and engage in the wood-distilling industry."⁹ Moreover, his hopes were not raised any higher by this gloomy opinion of the Federal Government's chief forester: "If you can make forestry profitable at Biltmore within the next ten years, I shall consider you the wisest forester and financier of the age."¹⁰

⁸ Pinchot, *Biltmore Forest*, 22 ff.

⁹ Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, February 25, 1892. Pinchot Manuscripts.

¹⁰ B. E. Fernow to Pinchot, September 19, 1892, Records of the Forest Service, National Archives, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Records of the Forest Service.

During his first two years at Biltmore Pinchot was fortunate in finding a ready market for cordwood and sawed lumber on the estate itself where large quantities of wood were needed for the kilns of the brickworks, maintenance of a branch railroad running to Biltmore House, and various construction projects. Because of this situation the forestry work by the end of 1893 showed a favorable financial balance. During that year receipts for wood and lumber sold and the value of wood on hand amounted to \$11,324.19. Expenses for the work (exclusive of his own salary) amounted to \$10,103.63.¹¹ Thus Pinchot was able to announce "a balance of \$1,220.56 on the side of practical Forestry—conservative lumbering that left a growing forest behind it."¹² These cuttings were continued for several years thereafter and produced annually about 3,000 cords of firewood. This wood was sold in competition with that taken by neighboring farmers from their lands with traditional lumbering methods and brought a fair margin of profit above the cost of cutting and hauling. Meanwhile, the general condition of the forest showed steady improvement. The good results of the cuttings, however, were doubtless made possible to some extent by the exclusion of cattle from the forest land and the adoption of fire prevention methods.¹³

The forest experiment at Biltmore was first given considerable publicity in an exhibit and pamphlet prepared by Pinchot in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. The Biltmore Forest Exhibit at this affair appears to have been the first formal illustration of scientific forestry ever made in the United States. With the use of large photographs and maps it showed the nature of the woodland and its improvement under scientific management. With models of well-managed European forests, it showed plans of future work. The pamphlet described the physical characteristics of Biltmore Forest, forestry practices

¹¹ Report of Pinchot's forest assistant, C. L. Whitney, January 10, 1894, Pinchot Manuscripts.

¹² Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, 54.

¹³ Overton W. Price, "Practical Forestry in the Southern Appalachians," *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1900* (Washington, 1901), 364.

inaugurated in it, and receipts and expenditures for the first year's work. The exhibit and pamphlet evoked much favorable comment. Vanderbilt praised his young forester and authorized him to order and distribute 10,000 copies of the pamphlet "for the good of the [forestry] cause."¹⁴ An editorial in *Garden and Forest*, the most influential forest magazine in America during the 1890's, asserted that the Biltmore pamphlet marked "what must be considered a most important step in the progress of American civilization, as it records the results of the first attempt that has been made on a large scale in America to manage a piece of forest property on the scientific principles which prevail in France, Germany, and other European countries."¹⁵

The Chicago exposition of 1893 also gave America's first native-born forester an opportunity to publicize the forest resources of North Carolina and the need for their protection. From the beginning of his work in this state Pinchot had been favorably impressed by these resources. He had told Sir Dietrich Brandis:

North Carolina happens to be so situated that the Northern and Southern floras meet within the State. There is no other state in the union where so many of the valuable kinds of trees are found.¹⁶

A belt of poplar on lands of the Cherokee Indians near Waynesville was described as "the finest strip of deciduous forest" that he had seen.¹⁷ Thus J. A. Holmes, State Geologist, and possibly other state officials had no difficulty in persuading Pinchot to prepare a state forestry exhibit for the exposition. The exhibit prepared made a good impression.¹⁸ From this work a lasting friendship developed between Pinchot and Holmes which led to their important collaboration

¹⁴ Vanderbilt to Pinchot, October 11, 1893. Pinchot Manuscripts.

¹⁵ *Garden and Forest*, VII (February 21, 1894), 71.

¹⁶ Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, February 25, 1892, Pinchot Manuscripts.

¹⁷ Pinchot to B. E. Fernow, February 14, 1893, Records of the Forest Service.

¹⁸ J. A. Holmes to Pinchot, September 19, 1893. Pinchot Manuscripts.

in the movement that eventually brought the establishment of national forests in the Southern Appalachians.

So far the Biltmore forest work had been confined mainly to timber cutting operations. In the spring of 1895, however, Pinchot directed the planting near Biltmore House of seedlings of yellow poplar, black cherry, tulip tree, black walnut, and a few other species. Due largely to unfavorable weather conditions this planting project was a failure. However, other species planted on the estate with similar methods in later years grew to maturity and definitely showed the practicality of large-scale reforestation by private forest owners. The results of this work became the object of special study by the Appalachian Forest Experiment Station during 1921 and 1922.¹⁹ Meanwhile Pinchot collected seeds from many parts of the world for the Biltmore Arboretum which was planned "not merely to make a botanical collection, but to show the value of trees as elements both in scenery and in practical Forestry."²⁰ It was to include 300 acres of 100 of the most valuable and hardy forest species at Biltmore. In a few years the arboretum actually came to possess the most complete collection of forest flora in the southeastern United States and had more woody plants than the world famous Royal Botanical Gardens in London. Despite Pinchot's pleas for its continuance, however, Vanderbilt failed to make permanent provision for the arboretum.

While Pinchot was experimenting with scientific forestry on the Biltmore Estate, he began to examine large forest tracts near the estate which his rich employer sought for use as a vast game preserve and camping ground. This work brought him to the Pink Beds, a great valley tract of unusual natural beauty covered by thickets of the laurel and rhododendron whose pinkish blossoms gave the site its name. He was certain the area would be ideal for hunting and camping and with the exclusion of cattle and fire would offer promise for scientific forestry. There were virgin stands of yellow

¹⁹ See Ferdinand W. Haasis, *Forest Plantations at Biltmore, North Carolina* (U. S. Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication No. 61. Washington, D. C., 1930. Pp. 30).

²⁰ Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, 55.

poplar, hemlock, hickory, black walnut, beech, and a good number of seed-bearing trees. In the spring of 1894 another survey trip carried him to a large mountainous tract northeast of the Pink Beds which was covered with a mature growth of chestnut, oak, and yellow poplar more beautiful than any he had seen in North Carolina. The reckless lumberman's ax had never threatened its primeval splendor. Pinchot realized that here another fruitful field for forest management could be established and immediately made tentative plans for such an undertaking. Included in the plans were an estimate of readily removable timber, recommendation of a fence law against forest trespassers, employment of forest guards, and the building of fire lines and trails. Most of these proposals, though new to American lumbering in 1894, in a few years were to become standard elements in American forest management plans.

The tracts beyond the Biltmore Estate examined by Pinchot were purchased early in 1895 and Vanderbilt consolidated them to form the Pisgah Forest. This woodland began at the headwaters of the French Broad River and extended southward over some 100,000 acres. Close examination of its mature timber had convinced Pinchot that extensive cutting would facilitate natural reproduction of the trees. Therefore, he made a plan designed to enable the harvesting of the mature forest crop and at the same time to let in vital light for the growth of seedlings—the basis for future crops. Vanderbilt approved the plan and cutting was begun under it in October, 1895. Here was perhaps the first systematic attempt in American lumbering to secure the natural reproduction of a forest area. Although it did not produce immediate financial profit, it pointed the way to more rational use and protection of forest resources. By 1914 the site of Pinchot's logging operations in Pisgah Forest was described as one having a silvicultural condition "unequaled elsewhere in the Southern Appalachians." A young growth of "remarkable density" had sprung up under the old trees. There was virtual restoration of primeval forest conditions.²¹ By 1930

²¹ Overton W. Price, "George W. Vanderbilt, Pioneer in Forestry," *American Forestry*, XX (June, 1914), 422.

a new forest crop was ready for commercial logging. Meanwhile the hope of Pinchot, J. A. Holmes, and others had become a reality with the acquisition in 1916 of this great forest tract by the United States Government to form the Pisgah National Forest. In a letter offering the forest for Government purchase Mrs. George W. Vanderbilt aptly described its historic importance: "I wish earnestly to make such disposition of Pisgah Forest as will maintain in the fullest and most permanent way its national value as an object lesson in forestry, as well as its wonderful beauty and charm."²²

In general Pinchot doubtless enjoyed his experience at Biltmore and considered it highly profitable. This experience was not, however, without some disappointment and conflict. The scientific value of his work was not always fully appreciated by the owner of the Biltmore Estate. Thus early in 1895 he complained:

The scientific value of this place does not seem to appeal to Mr. Vanderbilt as much as it did, nor as far as I can see does he realize at all the ways in which a useful result in this direction is to be obtained. In a word, Biltmore is taking its position in his mind as his own pleasure ground and country seat with very secondary reference to its usefulness in other directions.²³

This complaint contrasted sharply with his opinion of the owner of the estate in 1892: "Mr. Vanderbilt recognizes as fully as I do the educational value of the work and is disposed to do everything to give that side of it prominence and force."²⁴ Some of the later feeling probably grew from Vanderbilt's lack of interest in expanding and continuing the arboretum project. The feeling was attributable, Pinchot thought, to some of Vanderbilt's advisers whom he considered "men incapable of appreciating the scientific point of view."²⁵ One of the advisers he had in mind was probably Charles McNamee, general manager of the estate, with whom he had

²² Edith S. Vanderbilt (Mrs. George W. Vanderbilt) to the Secretary of Agriculture, May 1, 1914, Records of the Forest Service.

²³ Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, January 24, 1895. Pinchot Manuscripts.

²⁴ Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, February 2, 1892. Pinchot Manuscripts.

²⁵ Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, January 24, 1895. Pinchot Manuscripts.

conflict in getting approval for forestry expenditures. Moreover, in establishing management over Vanderbilt's vast forest domain he sometimes had to challenge the trespassing of mountaineers who farmed, grazed cattle, hunted, fished, and "stilled" now and then within its boundaries.

Pinchot's direct supervision of the forestry work in Biltmore and Pisgah Forests ended in 1895. By that time he felt that the work had expanded to the extent of requiring the service of a full-time-resident forester. New ventures in other parts of the United States were claiming much of his time. He had been making examinations of extensive forest tracts in the Adirondack Mountains, maintaining an office in New York City as a "consulting forester," and furnishing advice on New Jersey's forest problems. Thus on his recommendation Vanderbilt in the spring of 1895 hired a well-trained German forester, Carl A. Schenck, to have immediate supervision of the forestry work. Pinchot kept general direction of the work. Despite some differences of opinion concerning particular silvicultural methods best suited for American forests the two foresters co-operated in planning and directing the Biltmore and Pisgah operations. This co-operation, however, was replaced a few years later by distrust and hostility when Pinchot questioned the advisability of continuing the Biltmore Forest School founded by Schenck.²⁶ Meanwhile Pinchot's service to Vanderbilt came to an end in 1898 with his appointment as Forester in the United States Department of Agriculture.

By 1898 the Biltmore Estate had become widely known as a center of forestry. College graduates increasingly were seeking training and experience in its woodlands and forest school. It had become a mecca for advocates of scientific forestry and forest preservation. Bernhardt Ribbentrop, Inspector General of Forests of the Government of India, made a visit to Biltmore in 1895 and called Pinchot's work "a wonderful good operation—a perfect piece of work."²⁷ The following year Secretary of Agriculture Sterling J. Morton,

²⁶ Pinchot to Vanderbilt, July 20, 1903, Records of the Forest Service.

²⁷ Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, 67.

the father of Arbor Day, took "great satisfaction in going over the Forestry work" on the estate.²⁸ During the same year R. H. Warder, Superintendent of Cincinnati's Park Department examined this work and lauded it as "a practical example to the whole country."²⁹

Today the Biltmore Estate, owned by grandsons of George W. Vanderbilt, is still being managed as a forest holding. Successful reforestation and timber cutting are carried on under the direction of a full-time forester. This first and continuing American example of successful scientific forestry has helped to influence an increasing number of private forest owners to adopt what Pinchot demonstrated at Biltmore to be practical and profitable—the management of forests for continuous timber crops. More significant is the fact that his work in the Biltmore and Pisgah forests was an important milestone in the march of progress toward a national program for the protection and rational use of American forests—a program that was destined to include all natural resources. Furthermore, his pioneering efforts in the woodlands of North Carolina heralded the leadership that he was to assume in the epochal conservation movement.

²⁸ Morton to R. W. Furnas, March 12, 1896, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

²⁹ Warder to Charles A. Keffer, September 12, 1896, Records of the Forest Service.

THE IDEA OF COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN THE SOUTH, 1870-1900

By HERBERT COLLINS

In spirit, scope, and success the cotton mill movement that arose in the South after 1870 became a project in which all segments of the community eventually participated. Nothing like it had previously occurred on such a scale and in so short a time. It seemed at moments as though "every town or village of any size . . . had determined to have a cotton mill of its own."¹ A growing inventory of original ideas and schemes begged to be realized. The times were auspicious for business prosperity and industrial expansion. Politicians were warned not to distract business from its pursuits by appeals to agrarian, sectional, or partisan causes. There were many advocates of industry, but none put the matter more eloquently than did Henry W. Grady. "We have sowed towns and cities in the place of theories," he told the New England Society when he addressed them at Delmonico's in New York City on December 21, 1886, "and put business above politics. . . . We have established thrift in city and country. We have fallen in love with work."² But in the broadest sense a new civilization was being made by individual men thinking out ideals and working up objectives which aimed at the progress of the whole community. These ideals and objectives were so related to the realities of life that they eventually were able to influence most effectively the circumstances of the time.

In 1870 an immigration convention meeting in Charleston resolved that "A new era is upon us. The policies attending the institutions of the past no longer control our actions."³ It was expected that henceforth agricultural exclusiveness

¹ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXXIII (September 7, 1901), 6.

² Joel C. Harris, *Life of Henry W. Grady, Including His Writings and Speeches* (New York, 1890), 88.

³ *Proceedings of the Immigration Convention Held at the Academy of Music, Charleston, South Carolina, May 3 to 5, 1870* (Charleston, 1870), 32-33, hereinafter cited as *Proceedings of Immigration Convention*.

would be subordinated to manufacturing industries in which manual labor would be respected. Joseph B. Killebrew, a Commissioner for the Tennessee Bureau of Agriculture, declared that the doctrine of the association of labor and servility had ceased to be taught by 1874 and suggested that labor is the true index of civilization.⁴ The end of slavery, Daniel R. Goodloe, the North Carolina abolitionist and journalist, predicted would infuse "new elements into southern life and new ideas into individual enterprise."⁵ Those who shared this opinion also advocated the abandonment of old routines in order to diversify industry and develop natural resources.⁶ A general spirit of improvement associated with a constantly growing demand and inquiry for improved breeds of stock, implements and machinery, and methods of farming came to prevail. Inducements to manufacturers, investors, mineral prospectors, and immigrants were marshalled. In 1871 Governor Todd R. Caldwell of North Carolina proposed an internal improvement program with such features as a geological survey, capital accumulation and investment, and solicitations to immigrants.⁷ "What North Carolina needs is people," P. F. Duffy wrote. His editorials in the *Greensboro Patriot* were consistently on the side of regional development, and he went on to claim that the rich lands, genial climate, and mineral resources "are things strangers know little about."⁸

⁴ Joseph B. Killebrew, *Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1874), 391.

⁵ Daniel R. Goodloe, *Resources and Industrial Conditions of the Southern States. Extracts from the Report of the United States Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1865* (Washington, D. C., 1866), 103.

⁶ Edwin de Leon, "The New South", *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XLVIII (1874), 270; hereinafter cited as de Leon, "The New South"; Alexander H. H. Stuart, "Facts Worth Thinking About," *The Virginias*, II (1881), 51; Z. B. Vance, "All About It," *The Land We Love*, VI (1869), 365; Cassius M. Clay cited in W. H. Gannon, *The Land Owners of the South and the Industrial Classes of the North* (Boston, 1882), 19; Atticus G. Haygood, *The New South* (Oxford, Ga., 1880), 14, hereinafter cited as Haygood, *The New South*.

⁷ *Greensboro Patriot*, November 30, 1871, November 27, 1872, July 18, 1877; North Carolina Board of Immigration, *North Carolina: Its Resources and Progress and its Attractions and Advantages as a Home for Immigrants* (Raleigh, 1875), 32; *North Carolina Handbook* (Raleigh, 1879), 159; *The News and Observer*, (Raleigh), April 23, 1881, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*; Donoho, Duncan and Co., *An Appeal from the South to the North* (Boston, n.d.), 11-12.

⁸ *Greensboro Patriot*, January 12, 1871. Also see W. J. Barbee, *The Cotton Question* (New York, 1866), 249; J. B. Lyman, *Cotton Culture* (New York, 1868), 140-141.

As if a new Eldorado had been discovered, the South was lavishly described by residents and visitors who reiterated apocalyptically the promise of a "New South." A salubrious climate, year-round farming, railroad facilities, raw materials, and ubiquitous launching of new factory enterprises were catalogued with tourist enthusiasm. "The South is in a thorough and long transition," a Georgian announced with the accompanying prediction that "industries, trade and manufactories are to be founded and everywhere multiplied."⁹ Always it was reported that Southerners were in love with their own plans. "No one is more loth," Edward King reported after his tour, "than the Southerner to admit the impossibility of its thorough redemption."¹⁰ Any derogatory reference to the past was less painful, Edward Atkinson observed, than "the expression of doubt as to the immediate capacity of the Southern people to do any kind of work in the manufacturing or mechanic arts."¹¹ He spoke from experience, for his statements were frequently scrutinized for whatever encouragement he had to offer or to dispute his doubts. And Henry W. Grady, who knew his people well enough to advertise their virtues, thought that nothing "so appeals to Southern pride as to urge the possibility that in time the manufacture" of the cotton crop "shall be a monopoly of the cotton belt."¹² The regional optimism and great expectations of future development reported by Carl Schurz after his visit in 1885 were confirmed the next year by another traveller who wrote that "The Southern ego brightens and the Southern face beams with hope, as the future of the South is discussed."¹³ Indeed, the prediction made in 1867 by Zebulon B. Vance, the wartime Governor of North Carolina, that "with progress

⁹ John C. Reed, *The Old and the New South* (New York, 1876), 21, 24, hereinafter cited as Reed, *Old and New South*.

¹⁰ Edward King, *The Great South* (Hartford, 1875), 792.

¹¹ Edward Atkinson, "Significant Aspects of the Cotton Exposition," *Scribner's Magazine*, XXIII (1882), 564.

¹² Henry W. Grady, "Cotton and Its Kingdom," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXIII (1881), 730, hereinafter cited as Grady, "Cotton and Its Kingdom."

¹³ Frederic Bancroft (ed.), *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz* (New York, 6 vols., 1913), IV, 379, hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *Carl Schurz*; Alexander K. McClure, *The South: Its Industrial, Financial and Political Condition* (Philadelphia, 1886), 31, hereinafter cited as McClure, *The South*.

in the arts and sciences, will come also a fantastic variety of philanthropy, religion, politics, and morals,"¹⁴ seemed on the verge of fulfillment.

A writer for the *Memphis Bulletin* claimed in 1866 that southerners paid too much attention to politics, and too little to the improvement of their country.¹⁵ Hinton Rowan Helper's famous dictum that the South was dependent upon the North for a galaxy of commodities that could easily have been manufactured in the South was resuscitated. If the expenditures that went to pay for commodities manufactured in the North "were applied to the building of manufactures in our midst," an editor explained, "in a little while we would not only have a home supply but would be shipping abroad instead of purchasing at enormous prices to meet our own wants."¹⁶ Eventually there were visions of not only a textile industry, but machine and tool, locomotive, carriage, furniture, and agricultural equipment industries.¹⁷

The succession of Rutherford B. Hayes to the Presidency of the United States propelled the discussion of the idea of manufacturing industries by inciting political protests as well as economic threats. One protestation began,

Unwritten history will yet proclaim that disfranchisement of the people in the declaration that Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes was President for the next four years, was done in the days of our political degradation. . . . Our mines must be delved. Our water power must be improved. Our fields must be cultivated. . . . Labor must be made honorable, and our forests must be made to contribute their quota to our coming prosperity. . . . Railroads must be built; immigrants must be invited. . . . The hum of spindles, the ring of the anvil, the rattle of the loom must be heard.¹⁸

There was rejoicing in the fact that political frustrations were drawing attention to the importance of manufacturing enterprise. Political discussions of economic affairs were often sil-

¹⁴ Vance, "All About It," 367.

¹⁵ Cited in *De Bow's Review*, n. s., II (1866), 642-644.

¹⁶ *Greensboro Patriot*, May 14, 28, 1873.

¹⁷ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, August 10, 1881, July 8, 1882.

¹⁸ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, March 10, 1877.

enced on the grounds that every politician was the deadly enemy of business prosperity. Those who had suffered during the industrial and financial depression of 1873-1879 were reassured that they could "rightfully demand that politics shall give way to peace and that politicians shall give way to the interests of business."¹⁹

The defeat of Winfield S. Hancock in the presidential election of 1880 set the critics of political action new conditions for insisting on economic development. Atticus G. Haygood sermonized that political success may enrich a few place-hunters, "but it will bring little reward to the masses of the people."²⁰ He prescribed work, self-denial, civil order, and the blessing of God for his people. The president of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad contended that politics had benefited the South but little.²¹ The lesson of James A. Garfield's victory meant more spindles, more banks, more people employed. To the editors of *The News and Observer* it meant forsaking national politics, building factories, and promoting industrial education. "We must make money—it is a power in this practical business age."²² Political quiet, the *New York Herald* editorialized, had taken the place of political turmoil, and industrial activity was superceding industrial stagnation.²³ Southern editors vehemently supported this view. The *Register* (Columbia, S. C.) declared: "If we have lost the victory on the field of fight we can win it back in the workshop, in the factory, in an improved agriculture and horticulture, in our mines and in our school houses."²⁴ The *New Orleans Times-Democrat* predicted the commercial and manufacturing "New South . . . will control the political and material affairs of the South."²⁵ The almost universally expressed conviction of southerners by 1882 was to leave national politics to others so as to give, as one traveler reported

¹⁹ *Observer* (Raleigh), May 22, 1879, hereinafter cited *Observer*; *Greensboro Patriot*, July 18, 1877.

²⁰ Haygood, *The New South*, 15.

²¹ *New York Herald*, July 8, 1881.

²² *The News and Observer*, November 9, 11, 1880.

²³ *New York Herald*, June 7, 1881.

²⁴ Cited in Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (Baltimore, 1921), 90, hereinafter cited Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*.

²⁵ Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*, 91.

it, "all their strength to work, education, the development of natural resources, and the improvement of the condition of the laboring classes."²⁶

The election of Grover Cleveland closed an era. "The Solid South is back in the Union," the *Daily Charlotte Observer* declared.²⁷ The political battle appeared to have been won on the farms and in the factories, and, although the South's candidate won, there was to be no respite from business, work, factory construction, and resources development. In Carl Schurz's appraisal that "the public mind may henceforth rest in the assurance that the period of the rebellion is indeed a thing of the past,"²⁸ there was general concurrence. "Former political issues," a historian afterwards wrote, "were to be relegated to oblivion with former methods of manufacture, of transportation, of business. . . ." ²⁹ These elections, however, were the critical occasions which enabled the cotton mill crusaders to reveal their catechism. The admission of the *Boston Journal of Commerce* that a new era had commenced "which may be properly denominated the new and prosperous South,"³⁰ was not enough. There were other issues on which to make the North yield; such as, the establishment of a competitive textile industry in the South.

"The discussion of advantages of one section of the country over another, in the manufacture of cotton goods," a publicist observed, "had had the effect of developing interesting and instructive facts, from which there is much to be expected in stimulating renewed and extended efforts towards building up manufacturing industry."³¹ Even when *De Bow's Commercial Review* served the interests of southern economic discourse, it was realized that the subject of cotton mills would require factual support. Subsequently it became a part of wisdom to learn how regional resources could be most profit-

²⁶ "Studies in the South," *Atlantic Monthly*, L (1882), 102.

²⁷ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, November 8, 13, 1884.

²⁸ Bancroft, *Carl Schurz*, IV, 399.

²⁹ Edwin E. Sparks, *National Developments, 1877-1885* (New York, 1907), 351.

³⁰ Cited in *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 15, 1881.

³¹ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 7, 1878.

ably utilized.³² Quick to perceive that the campaign to establish a textile industry was producing a permanently valuable regional inventory, the editors of the New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* remarked in 1876 that southerners were "accumulating ideas of economy, which, in the end, must inevitably not only lead to individual profit, but show to the world the wonderful capabilities of that richly favored section."³³ Writing in retrospect in 1896, Carroll D. Wright, whose administrative duties as statistician and labor economist brought him into intimate contact with industrial developments, recalled how the prospecting of the region had quietly led to the ascertainment of the stores of mineral wealth, and to the demonstration of the various openings for future commercial enterprise.³⁴

What the cotton mill proposals lacked in documentary unity, they retrieved in volubility which the newspapers diligently fostered. The press urged industrialization upon those who had capital to invest. Economic surveys were sponsored, and every manufacturing project was joyfully hailed. Sometimes the editorial workers were praised for "working up a spirit of the enterprise which we long needed," as one admirer expressed his appreciation.³⁵ Frequently the press presented itself with accolades for participating promptly and eagerly in the vanguard of the cotton mill movement.³⁶ The editors liked to cast themselves in the role of inculcators of "not only the necessity, but the absolute duty we all owe to the State to encourage home enterprises. . . ." ³⁷ The editor of the *Raleigh News* embodied in a letter to a mill owner in 1877 what was to become the chief function of the press in nourishing the spirit of investigation and enterprise. The letter

³² James D. B. De Bow, *The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States* (New Orleans, 3 vols., 1852), II, 114-115; *The News and Observer*, December 14, 1880; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 29, 1881.

³³ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXIII (1876), 270.

³⁴ Carroll D. Wright, "The New Industrial South," *Scientific American Supplement*, XLI (1896), 16918.

³⁵ Silas N. Martin, "Wilmington Cotton Mills," *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (1875), 644, hereinafter cited as Martin, "Wilmington Cotton Mills."

³⁶ *Greensboro Patriot*, July 18, 1877; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, December 1, 1881.

³⁷ *Greensboro Patriot*, May 21, 1873.

is a magnificent piece of the huckster's art before advertising became respectable. He proposed to insert in his newspaper a sketch of a factory. The information for such copy the honored owner was expected to supply and finance. His object was "to show the world what we are doing . . . and to give some idea of the water power of the State."³⁸

When Robert Somers, an English journalist, traveled through the South in 1871 he remarked that "A very general desire is evinced in all parts of the country for the establishment of cotton factories."³⁹ He had before him concrete instances of enthusiasm translated into actual manufacturing enterprises. Although the number of cotton mills had fallen off between 1840 and 1870, capitalization had more than doubled, and totaled over eleven million dollars. Four years later one hundred and eighty-seven mills were operating over 480,000 spindles. By 1880 even the statistics seemed to effervesce; capitalization exceeded seventeen million dollars. The total number of spindles increased to over five-hundred thousand in spite of the total number of mills having declined.⁴⁰ The same census figures that first brought southern textile development to the attention of the nation persuaded the *New York Herald* that such progress suggested "the very important inquiry whether the South had not at last set out upon that course which in time must lead to the achievement of one of the great possibilities that nature put within its reach."⁴¹

As the paramount inducement to industrialization, the natural resources of the South had perennially constituted the leading argument of cotton mill campaigners. The proximity of the cotton fiber, the power of the Piedmont waterpower sites, the availability of lumber and minerals, the rural countryside with its inhabitants, and the climate were orchestrat-

³⁸ Johnstone Jones to Morgan-Malloy, May 11, 1877, Morgan-Malloy Correspondence, George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited Morgan-Malloy Correspondence.

³⁹ Robert Somers, *The Southern States Since the War, 1870-1871* (New York and London, 1871), 91, hereinafter cited as Somers, *Southern States*.

⁴⁰ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XIX (1874), 515; Edward Stanwood, "Cotton Manufactures," *Census Reports, ix, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900 Manufactures*, Part III (Washington, D. C., 1902), 54-59, hereinafter cited as Stanwood, "Cotton Manufactures."

⁴¹ *New York Herald*, June 7, 1881.

ed over and over again for local and national audiences.⁴² Not only did local publicists and governmental boards and commissions scour the region for material inducements and statistical documentation, but northerners willingly participated as did Alexander K. McClure when in 1886, after surveying the minerals, crops, climate, and water power of the Carolinas, he predicted "the momentous meaning of a New South, with sectional tranquility assured."⁴³ After 1880 inquiries from the North as well as business trips to the South by New England manufacturers were avidly announced. In the absence of business bureaus and industrial site engineers, the railroads issued pamphlets promoting the water power, agricultural production, mineral deposits, timberlands, and the ever-present cotton mills.⁴⁴

The desire for cotton mills that Robert Somers observed in 1871 never waned. Ten years later Henry W. Grady wrote that "each factory established is an argument for others."⁴⁵ This happy contagion suggested to the editors of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* that if only a small percentage of the cotton mills ever came to fruition "there is an almost unlimited number of projects which . . . will largely swell the number of southern cotton mills within the next few years."⁴⁶ Accomplishments and recognition that accompanied them, however, could never truly indicate the effort and imagination that went into the South's adventure in industrialization. "We may perhaps be on the eve of great changes," the North Carolina Press Association was told in 1881, "for if we do not originate them, many causes combine to draw

⁴² *Proceedings of Immigration Convention*, 29; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 3, March 21, April 13, 1877; N. Dumont (ed.), *Proceedings of the Convention of Northern Residents of the South* (Charlotte, N. C., 1879), 43-44, hereinafter cited as Dumont, *Proceedings*; Grady, "Cotton and Its Kingdom," 726-727, 731-732; G. F. Swain, "Report on the Water Power of the South Atlantic Watershed," *Reports on the Water Power of the United States*, Part I (Washington, D. C., 1885), *passim*; D. A. Tompkins, "Future of Cotton Manufacturing in the South," *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, 60:242; *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans, La.), hereinafter cited as *Times Democrat*, September 1, 1885.

⁴³ McClure, *The South*, 37.

⁴⁴ *The News and Observer*, January 5, 1881; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 29, 1881, April 7, 1886; *Manufacturers' Record*, VI (1884), 296; XXIII (1893), 398.

⁴⁵ Grady, "Cotton and Its Kingdom," 730.

⁴⁶ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXIX (September 9, 1899), 6.

southward the interests of the northern manufacturers.”⁴⁷ But the task of originating the great changes required much more than local patriotism. “I tell you plainly,” a champion of industrialization declared from the rostrum, “that we may talk ourselves blind about our natural resources . . . as long as we do not improve our opportunities ourselves.”⁴⁸

The awakening of the South to the possibilities of economic overhaul and innovation through industrialization eventuated in the financing, constructing, and operating of cotton mills with a verve that only faith can import to a secular movement. A witness to the cotton mill movement recalled how conviction over-came the timidity that a frank canvass of economic facilities might have prompted.⁴⁹ In an analysis of the textile industry for the United States census, Edward Stanwood pointed out that “more mills have been erected which their projectors would not have erected had they studied the matter carefully before entering upon the experiment.”⁵⁰ It is not, however, the certainty of success, but its possibility, that maintains adventure. A meticulous inquiry would have dampened the enthusiasm of civic benefactors and businessmen. When the small cotton mill was financed and constructed with civic, welfare, and pecuniary considerations uppermost in the thoughts and plans of promoters adventure rather than rational planning were the order of the day. “The cotton mill was looked upon as a dynamo to effect changes in all departments of life in a community,”⁵¹ a participant reminisced. Those who sometimes had only caution to offer actually came empty-handed.

There was something irresistible about a cotton factory. In 1883 a representative of the Bibb Manufacturing Company of Macon, Georgia, regarded the wildcat erection of cotton mills unfavorably. “Makeshift industrial organization

⁴⁷ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 13, 1881.

⁴⁸ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, May 7, 1879. Also see the *Observer*, April 13, 1879; *Manufacturers' Record*, XXXI (1897), 333.

⁴⁹ Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*, 129.

⁵⁰ Stanwood, “Cotton Manufactures,” 29.

⁵¹ Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*, 130.

predicated upon the advantages of the South over the North have cut profits and broken the spell of the advantages."⁵² But it was apparently too early to talk of breaking the spell, or of following advice to avoid building small mills in every local community. "This country is getting so full of mills," a manufacturer complained in 1892, "as to keep cotton beyond any reasonable shipping price." He charged that his competitors were foolishly reckless in "'grabbing' all the cotton in sight," so that the cotton market ceased to be a cheap source for raw materials.⁵³ However, there was scarcely a town that could not accumulate \$50,000 to \$100,000 for a cotton factory. The association of farmers, merchants, bankers, and professional men with cotton mill projects lent an aura of confidence and prestige to speculative enterprises.⁵⁴ The editor of the *Laurinburg Exchange* (N. C.) wrote to a textile manufacturer in 1891:

We are making an earnest effort to get up a cotton factory here and want to get all good men into it we can. I know of no man I had rather would take some stock in it than yourself. Your experience enables you to know whether or not there's money in the business. Of course I have no idea a factory here would hurt your business, as there is room for more factories in this country. We want the benefit of your capacity and experience, and let me hope to hear from you taking some stock in this attempted enterprise.⁵⁵

After the turn of the century the realization that southern mills were competing against each other tended to restrain impetuosity, and mills were no longer constructed merely for the sake of having them. But before that was to happen the invention of financial plans became the necessary invocation for a successful enterprise.

⁵² *Daily Charlotte Observer*, January 21, 1883.

⁵³ Schenck Letter Book, October 4, October 13, November 22, 1892, George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University, hereinafter cited as Schenck Letter Book; *Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.), November 14, 1881, hereinafter cited as *Atlanta Constitution*; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XLI (1885), 293.

⁵⁴ *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVIII (1895), 36; Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*, 131; *News and Courier* (Charleston, S. C.), April 5, 1883, hereinafter cited as *News and Courier*; *Savannah Morning News* (Georgia), cited in *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 9, 1884.

⁵⁵ J. D. Bundy to Morgan-Malloy, April 16, 1891, Morgan-Malloy Correspondence.

The heralding of cotton mill projects was accompanied by no lack of insistence on public support as instanced in proposals for tax exemption legislation to encourage the launching of new industrial enterprises.⁵⁶ Legislative support was not, however, the only hinge on which the search for factory sites was considered to turn. Other inducements of a public nature were enlisted, especially the ability of a community to present itself attractively to prospective investors. The vicinity of Jamestown on the Deep River in North Carolina was advertised in 1871 as equipped with water power, railroad facilities, cheap labor, salubrious climate, and a textile mill. Guilford County in the same state was described as "always remarkably free from infectious diseases" and already attracting the attention of investors.⁵⁷ The criteria for selecting a factory site multiplied to the extent that a local railroad, an increasing population, natural resources, churches and schools, and existing cotton mills became standard features in the publicity of rural communities bent on attracting industries.⁵⁸

The boundaries of cotton mill construction were, nevertheless, still remote in 1900. Joseph B. Killebrew, who was now an immigration agent for the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroad, requested at that time a book "that will give the most information to persons . . . who may desire to erect cotton factories." He wanted any book that Daniel A. Tompkins, who had acquired a reputation as an engineer and mill architect, had written which would help to answer industrial inquiries involving investments up to \$500,000.⁵⁹ But the epitomy of such enthusiasm was reported by George Gunton, a labor editor and social economist, after he was mistaken for a prospective investor looking for a site on which to build a mill. The man in error insisted, Gunton reported, "I should

⁵⁶ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, October 10, 1873, June 29, 1879; *Greensboro Patriot*, January 31, 1877; *Observer*, February 16, 1879; *The News and Observer*, February 15, 1881; *Manufacturers' Record*, VI (1884), 106.

⁵⁷ *Greensboro Patriot*, August 24, 1871, July 2, 1873.

⁵⁸ *Observer*, July 26, September 12, 1877; Dumont, *Proceedings*, 83; *Manufacturers' Record*, IX (1886), 325; XVI (1889), 15.

⁵⁹ J. B. Killebrew to D. A. Tompkins, April 2, 1900, Daniel A. Tompkins Correspondence, folio 19, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

go to his town and he would raise fifty thousand dollars and the town would give ten years exemption from taxes, and if need be the land to build the factory on. . . .”⁶⁰

Sometimes the initiative was taken by individuals or small groups of investors. The Pacolet Manufacturing Company in South Carolina was organized in 1883 with a Spartanburg businessman, a millowner, and a Rhode Island textile specialist associated in the initial capital subscription which the community was urged to regard as safe for lesser investors.⁶¹ The Newberry Cotton Manufacturing Company grew out of a canvass of the local community, a subscription to the capital stock by a northern investor, credit for the purchase of machinery extended by a northern manufacturer, and the promise of additional machinery from a neighboring cotton mill in exchange for capital stock in the new enterprise.⁶² Occasionally the organizers hailed the launching of their own enterprises as was the case when J. M. Odell and J. W. Cannon issued the laconic message announcing the founding of the Cannon Manufacturing Company: “Capital stock is \$75,000, with the privilege of increasing same to \$400,000. We will manufacture cotton warps. Capacity 4,000 spindles, and will commence work on building at once.”⁶³ Anxious to have a cotton factory built in their vicinity, the citizens of Sanford, North Carolina, agreed to subscribe as much as \$125,000 if they could get “a man or set of men that understand the business to furnish the balance of capital and run the business.”⁶⁴

The financial convenience and the popular connotations derived from bringing the local citizenry into a cotton mill project had been detected in 1873 by an alert editor who saw in charitable orders, trade unions, the Patrons of Husbandry, and similar voluntary associations the analogy and principle for organizing cotton mills. “No scheme can be successfully inaugurated and carried through without organi-

⁶⁰ George Gunton, “Factory Conditions in the South,” *Lecture Bulletin of the Institute of Social Economics*, III (1900), 345-346.

⁶¹ *News and Courier*, April 5, 1883.

⁶² *News and Courier*, May 1, 1883.

⁶³ *Manufacturers' Record*, XII (1887), 192.

⁶⁴ *Manufacturers' Record*, XII (1887), 426.

zation of some sort," he wrote, and then proceeded to wonder why organizations could not be established for the purpose of encouraging and building up local industries.⁶⁵ "One thing that retards the development of the manufacturing interests of many places," the *Savannah Morning News* reasoned, "is a want of appreciation of the value and power of cooperation and the inauguration of manufacturing enterprises by many small stockholders."⁶⁶ Although the varieties of organizing strategy were numerous,⁶⁷ in so many cases they embraced the conviction that cotton mills constituted engines of progress and virtue. A letter to a textile manufacturer stated,

Your presence here is earnestly solicited on Saturday next to confer with our people who are making a strong effort to establish a Cotton Mill at this place. . . . Our people are in earnest and are subscribing liberally. And we hope to organize as soon as a good number of shares is subscribed. *Come over* and you can do us a great amount of good. Your views as a practical man are earnestly solicited.⁶⁸

The rallying of the small investors through installment purchase of mill securities conferred on the corporation the badge of civic virtue. This came about as the idea spread that investments in cotton mills could be paid for in small weekly or monthly installments. "Heretofore small investors," the prospectus for a Virginia cotton mill claimed, "have not generally been able to share in the large profits made by cotton mills."⁶⁹ In addition to encouraging habits of thrift and the accumulation of investment capital, "The money of the operative," an editor virtuously observed, "is thus by indirection invested in the very industry which offered the work to the laboring classes."⁷⁰ No one was unqualified to enter the ranks of the business community. Next to commercial integrity

⁶⁵ *Greensboro Patriot*, May 28, 1873.

⁶⁶ Cited in *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 9, 1885.

⁶⁷ See *Daily Charlotte Observer*, May 1, 2, 6, 1877; *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), December 10, 1885, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman*; *The News and Observer*, December 17, 1880, January 5, 1881; *Manufacturers' Record*, V (1884), 315.

⁶⁸ H. M. Millan to Mark Malloy, October 26, 1892, Morgan-Malloy Correspondence.

⁶⁹ *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVIII (1895), 22.

⁷⁰ *The News and Observer*, May 13, 1881; C. B. Spahr, "The New Factory Towns of the South," *Outlook*, LXI (1899), 516.

mutual support and co-operation were considered vital to the development of a community. Whatever plan a community decided to select, the principle behind the effort usually acquired the respectability co-operation and association could impart. The method of paying for subscriptions through small assessments secured the building of cotton mills at locations where they could not otherwise, from lack of capital, have been started. The novelty of the savings technique, the wide base of ownership, and the opportunity for partial operations until the subscription was fully taken, recommended the co-operative savings plans. Yet, the most worthy recommendation resided in the belief that capital could be amassed without dispatching a committee to the North to beg for subscriptions.⁷¹

The task of launching a factory enterprise almost immediately acquired a redemptionary justification. The fusion of community welfare and associative effort became a rallying point for the boosters of industrialization who could, in addition to natural resources, freight savings, labor supply, and climate, point to a congenial citizenry. "Home people are better off," Daniel A. Tompkins argued, "for being put into a position of proprietors."⁷² He transformed the gospel of economic independence and industrial development into an immediately attainable goal by popularizing the idea of community savings. Between 1892 and 1896 he elaborated a plan to demonstrate the fact that any ordinary town had within itself the resources to establish a cotton factory.⁷³ Where accumulated capital is scanty, he believed, outside capital will be reluctant to enter. Only systematic savings could create a precedent for industrialization. "The South is full of towns in which the subject of manufacturing is being agitated where the only idea is to get somebody from somewhere else

⁷¹ *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVIII (1895), 22; XXIX (1896), 105; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXXI (September 8, 1900), 6-7.

⁷² *Manufacturers' Record*, XXIX (February 7, 1896), 21.

⁷³ D. A. Tompkins, "Capital for New Cotton Factories," *Manufacturers' Record*, XXI (1892), 8; "Easy Way to Build a Cotton Factory", *Manufacturers' Record*, XXII (1892), 254; *A Plan to Raise Capital for Manufacturing* (New York, 1894), hereinafter cited as Tompkins, *A Plan to Raise Capital*; "Cooperative Cotton Mills," *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 51.

to come to the town to build a factory," he complained.⁷⁴ Tompkins had heard too much about climate which was no substitute for capital, knowledge, and adventure. It remained for local people to establish the conditions that would beckon to more substantial capital resources and to more experienced management. The double idea of spreading industrial proprietorship widely through the community and creating capital resources at home through savings plans was the message he brought to inspired communities. Others relayed comparable messages far and wide. From Mississippi in 1897 came the promise that "If citizens of every community that desires a factory would get together and effect a proper organization . . . they could easily succeed."⁷⁵ This was repeatedly proclaimed, and no one ever seemed to tire of hearing it again.

The straw men of the cotton mill crusaders were the "outsiders," the "Northern Capitalists," and the "New England Manufacturers." At times they were viewed as indispensable to industrialization; at other times they were discouraged from venturing their capital. No inspirational idea, however, was ever nurtured in an environment uncomplicated by contradictions. The believers, at least, liked to imagine that they were doing the job themselves, as in many cases they did. But one of the firmest articles of faith was to get the investor to want to risk his money before anyone formally solicited him. Once the profitableness of manufacturing cotton textiles was discovered, the imminent transfer of the New England textile industry was alternately predicted and demanded.⁷⁶ Yet, long before southerners recognized that in the sources of investment capital resided one of the chief means of industrial development, northern tourists had expressed similar ideas.

"The southern masses cannot but be stimulated," William E. Dodge prophesied in 1865, "by contact with the enterprise of the East and North which now will naturally be attracted

⁷⁴ Tompkins, *A Plan to Raise Capital*, 3.

⁷⁵ *Manufacturers' Record*, XXXI (1897), 333.

⁷⁶ *Manufacturers' Record*, V (1884), 683; XXVII (1895), 54; *Greensboro Patriot*, May 28, September 17, 1873; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, December 16, 1881.

to the South.⁷⁷ The following year, before a Philadelphia audience, William D. Kelley, the Pennsylvania abolitionist, politician and lecturer, prescribed subsoil ploughs, steam engines, and manufacturing machinery for the regeneration of the South.⁷⁸ Whitelaw Reid believed that the openings which the South presented for northern capital and industry were unsurpassed.⁷⁹ Not only was the South ripe for new business enterprises, but Sidney Andrews reported to northern newspapers from the scene that he had heard "much expression of a desire for an influx of Northern energy and Northern capital,"⁸⁰ which John T. Trowbridge confirmed after his tour.⁸¹ In 1876 John C. Reed, a southerner, gave credence to tourist opinion by reiterating earlier claims that northern investors constituted "the most powerful agency in introducing the much-needed higher type of industrial organization."⁸² But these predictions failed to materialize. The final estimate of the situation, however, came from Rutherford B. Hayes. He wrote in his Acceptance Letter to the Republican National Convention,

The welfare of the South depends upon the attractions it can offer to labor and immigration and to capital, but laborers will not go and capital will not be invested when the constitution and the laws are set in defiance, and distraction, apprehension and alarm take the place of peace-loving and law-abiding social life.⁸³

Ironically it was the very success of his candidacy that impelled so many to undertake the industrial development of the South themselves.

⁷⁷ William E. Dodge, *The Influence of the War on Our National Prosperity* (New York, 1865), 29.

⁷⁸ William D. Kelley, *Speeches, Addresses and Letters on Industrial and Financial Questions* (Philadelphia, 1872), 182, hereinafter cited as Kelley, *Speeches and Addresses*.

⁷⁹ Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour* (Cincinnati, 1866), 578.

⁸⁰ Sidney Andrews, *The South Since the War* (Boston, 1866), 320.

⁸¹ John T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of Its Battlefields and Ruined Cities, A Journey Through the Desolated States and Talks with the People* (Hartford, Conn., 1866), 583.

⁸² Reed, *Old and New South*, 21.

⁸³ *Daily Times* (Columbus, Ga.), July 13, 1876.

Occasionally a cautious invitation was issued to northern capitalists, as in 1869 when the Alabama Commission of Industrial Resources, after reviewing the inducements for industries, pointed to the influx of investment capital as a worthy objective in any manufacturing campaign.⁸⁴ A New England manufacturer, who had joined a South Carolina mill, observed in 1880 that if "Northern capitalists only thoroughly understood the condition of affairs here, a great deal of capital would be invested in this State."⁸⁵ The Georgia Commissioner of Land and Immigration, without extending a persuasive invitation, identified the lack of capital as the major obstacle to the utilization of the inducements for a local factory economy.⁸⁶ The local publicists and the tourists often vied with each other to advertise the South as an investors paradise or to announce that outside capital was already appearing. When Carl Schurz returned from his tour he confirmed the lively desire to excite interest in industrial development and to attract northern capital, enterprise, and immigration.⁸⁷

But the prophesy that the surplus capital and industry of the North would become inseparably interwoven with the "New South" grew stale. The managers of industrialization had already discovered local means of capital accumulation and investment. Although northern capital did eventually find its way into southern industries through the participation in financial schemes of commission merchants, machinery manufacturers, and New England cotton mill owners, the very availability of local funds served the propagandistic tactics of the cotton mill publicists. Enthusiasm is not, however, a statistical phenomenon. The idea of a cotton textile industry was just as strong an incentive to industrialization as the precise source of the investment capital. The patience and stamina of the campaigners, nevertheless, seemed inex-

⁸⁴ Alabama Commissioner of Industrial Resources, *A Few Remarks About Her Resources, and the Advantages She Possesses as Inducements to Immigration* (Montgomery, 1869), 8-9.

⁸⁵ J. K. Blackman, *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina, Their Names, Locations, Capacity and History* (Charleston, 1880), 14, hereinafter cited as Blackman, *Cotton Mills*.

⁸⁶ *New York Tribune*, June 13, 1881.

⁸⁷ Bancroft, *Carl Schurz*, IV, 379.

haustible. As inquiries with a view to locating factories were recorded, it remained necessary to believe "that capital will come South at no distant day to seek investment."⁸⁸

Another article of faith was to anathematize northern capital. In 1873 the *Daily Sun* (Columbus, Ga.) reported how the capital for a local factory was raised in the immediate vicinity and how local money and brains were restoring the ruins of the war.⁸⁹ Several years later another editor charged: "We have gotten on without the confidence and capital of the North until we almost know how to live without it."⁹⁰ A chamber of commerce orator warned his audience that "With all our natural advantages, we shall continue to be the overseers and agents of others" as long as factories languish for want of capital which will be long in coming "unless we first begin by helping ourselves."⁹¹ The weighing of the advisability of inviting outside capital was less a sign of hesitancy than a monologue on who should perform the feat of industrial development first. The promoters of manufacturing industries did not disparage northern capital. They merely wanted to demonstrate that cotton mills could be successfully organized and managed by home folks. "We simply want to advertize to the world," the *Atlanta Constitution* editorialized, "that Atlantans have the fullest confidence in Atlanta, and that we ask no man to put his money where we have been afraid to risk our own."⁹² The gyrations of local patriotism seemed never to become uncoiled, for in 1897 one could still hear that "If the Southern people want factories among them, the quickest and surest way to get them is to go to work and build them ourselves, and show to the world that we are not dependent on anybody for anything."⁹³

The response of New Englanders had been anticipated as something delicious. The *Boston Journal of Commerce* bowed gracefully to the fact "that there is no better field today for the investment of capital than is offered by cotton mills in

⁸⁸ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, June 9, 1881, April 7, 1884.

⁸⁹ Cited in *Greensboro Patriot*, September 12, 1873.

⁹⁰ *Observer*, February 9, 1878.

⁹¹ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, April 6, 1879.

⁹² Cited in *Daily Charlotte Observer*, March 7, 1882.

⁹³ *Manufacturers' Record*, XXXI (1897), 333.

the South.”⁹⁴ Chiming in, the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* reported that during several years preceding 1896 “A feature of the development of cotton manufacturing in the South . . . has been the prominence therein of New England millowners.”⁹⁵ The movement of investment capital into southern mills further stimulated the local promoters to a greater realization that the opportunities in their vicinity would eventually turn the pending competition with the New England textile industry into a rout.

“It is the North which the South has always in view when it sighs for more and more cotton factories,”⁹⁶ an English traveler remarked after a sojourn in Georgia during 1870. Adulation for thrift, work, and enterprise often reminded the advocates of industry of the happy side of New England civilization. But, if advice were ever to mean anything, the terms laid down by William D. Kelley that “the South must be regenerated, and we of the North must do it,”⁹⁷ were very unlikely to win approval. The factories, schools, and businesses of New England suggested instead models southerners were implored not to feel ashamed to imitate. Benjamin H. Hill idealized the Puritan virtues and advised his people, in defense of his Athens speech, to do the many things “which these very derided Northern people have done.”⁹⁸ For the editor of *The News and Observer*, the maxim “Learn from the enemy,” justified the study of New England savings banks. In a more humorous mood, Henry Watterson wrote:

If proselytism be the supremest joy of mankind, New England ought to be supremely happy. It is at length the aim of the Southron to out-Yankee the Yankee, to cut all the edges, and repair his losses by the successful emulation of Yankee thrift.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVIII (1895), 166.

⁹⁵ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXIII (1896), 935-936.

⁹⁶ Somers, *Southern States*, 91.

⁹⁷ Kelley, *Speeches and Addresses*, 183.

⁹⁸ B. J. Hill, Jr., *Senator Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia: His Life, Speeches, and Writings* (Atlanta, 1893), 333, 343.

⁹⁹ *The News and Observer*, January 5, 1881; Henry Watterson, “Oddities of Southern Life,” *Scribner's Magazine*, XXIII (1882), 895.

Against the voices of moderation, however, were arrayed the excited voices of hostility. They spoke of dictating to the markets of the world, and forever terminating contributions "to the enrichment of hostile sections."¹⁰⁰

Future industrial prominence was measured in 1870 by the extent to which New England manufacturers dismantled their mills and either migrated or engaged in other branches of manufacturing. The report of the Saluda Cotton Mills in South Carolina enumerated the proximity of cotton, tractable labor, and a local demand for yarns and sheeting as detrimental to established manufacturers in the North. To this was added the claim that wage rates, living costs, a shorter working year, and the expense of shipping raw cotton to New England were depressing northern mills rather than any contraction in the flow of risk capital following the Panic of 1873.¹⁰¹ The South was also described as a refuge from "those disruptions of social order which unfortunately threaten to be a source of perpetual danger" in New England.¹⁰² And the prospectus for a cotton mill in Wilmington, North Carolina, suggested that the absence of "society combinations" such as breed discontent and turbulence among millhands, would transform distant competitors into collaborators in industrial development.¹⁰³ Lay-offs, reduced production, wage cuts, and the threats of strikes in Fall River in 1878 contributed additional ammunition to fire in the industrial competition between the sections. A survey of American industrial development expressed at the time the folly of ignoring the anxiety felt on the subject of the possible dismantlement of factories manufacturing coarse cotton goods in New England.¹⁰⁴ The fact that New England mills were mature, commercially experienced, securely financed, but nevertheless plagued by large inventories, falling prices, and restless operatives,

¹⁰⁰ *Greensboro Patriot*, September 17, 1873.

¹⁰¹ *Greensboro Patriot*, February 26, 1873, October 28, 1874, January 6, 1875; *North Carolina Handbook* (Raleigh, 1879), 157.

¹⁰² "It will be many years before the discouraging elements that have reached such ascendancy in the North obtain any potency in the South." *Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 24, 1885; *North Carolina Handbook*, 160.

¹⁰³ Martin, "Wilmington Cotton Mills," 644.

¹⁰⁴ *New York Herald*, May 12, 1878.

further documented the case for the South eclipsing all competitors. Textile analysts, nevertheless, warned against a premature belief in the industrial growth of the South immediately contributing to decadence elsewhere. The future eminence of the southern textile industry was not doubted, but it was difficult to imagine the New England mills becoming branch offices.¹⁰⁵

The yearly tabulation of new mills became a difficult chore. There were periodic resummptions of building projects, expansions of established mills, and the starting up of mills that seemed to be dead. But always there was a net increase in the number of mills in operation. By the end of the century there were over four-hundred mills housing more than four million spindles and over one-hundred thousand looms.¹⁰⁶ Edward Atkinson, who certainly was never indifferent about southern industrialization, came quite close in his review of the Census of 1880 to making a correct prediction about the course of industrial development. His appraisal revealed the prevailing outlook of his time which may not have accounted for what happened, but which certainly justified men believing in what they were doing. "If the future changes in population, wealth, and conditions of the different sections of the country," he wrote, "shall in the future cause the increase of spindles . . . it will simply be the greater evidence that *natural laws* are paramount."¹⁰⁷ There was never any hesitancy about appropriating the doctrine of the laws of nature which were then being extended to account for biological and social evolution.¹⁰⁸ But the logic of such reasoning required someone to qualify for extinction, and the unfit vehemently protested against their candidacy. The Rhode Island Judiciary Committee listened in 1885 to a complaint that

¹⁰⁵ *Observer*, May 21, 1879; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, January 6, 1884; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXIX (1884), 284; XLI (1885), 293.

¹⁰⁶ Stanwood, "Cotton Manufactures," 54-59; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXXI (September 8, 1900), 7.

¹⁰⁷ Edward Atkinson, "Report on the Cotton Manufactures of the United States," *Report on the Manufactures of the United States at the Tenth Census* (Washington, D. C., 1883), 12.

¹⁰⁸ ". . . natural immutable laws seem to have forever fixed the Piedmont belt as the one pre-eminently fit section for the manufacture of cotton goods." Albert Phenix in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXXI (1897), 5.

“The number of spindles has been greatly increased during the past two years—especially in the South, with only one object . . . to beat the Northern mills.”¹⁰⁹ Some northern manufacturers thought it might be prudent for southerners to begin with the manufacture of shoes or some other commodity. At one time Edward Atkinson proposed the advisability of establishing a marmalade industry as preferable to textiles.¹¹⁰

On numerous occasions between 1879 and 1898 Edward Atkinson insisted that it would be more to the advantage of the South to improve the handling of cotton than to engage in the manufacture of textiles. He was convinced that the South lacked the capital, machinery, and trained labor necessary for an industry in which mechanization is worth more than tractable labor, depression a test of management, and the margin of profit small in comparison with the initial investment.¹¹¹ In 1880 he proposed an exhibition devoted to tools, methods, products, and processes related to the production and use of cotton. His proposal materialized in the Atlanta International Cotton Exposition, the first of a series in southern industrial showmanship, which had already been proposed by the Mississippi Valley Cotton Planter's Association. As far as Atkinson was concerned, the primary objective of the Exposition was to bring into common knowledge and use the various machines and tools for the cultivation and preparation of cotton prior to its being sold or spun.¹¹² But the Exposition involved the much larger idea of wiping out, as its Director claimed, “all the remains of sectionalism, and in opening up a knowledge of the South to capital, labor, invention, and commerce.”¹¹³ The Exposition turned out to

¹⁰⁹ *Manufacturers' Record*, VII (1885), 105.

¹¹⁰ “Studies in the South,” *Atlantic Monthly*, XLIX (1882), 746; E. Atkinson, “Future Situs of the Cotton Manufacture of the United States,” *Popular Science Monthly*, XXXVI (1890), 306.

¹¹¹ *Atlanta Constitution*, November 4, 1881; *New York Tribune*, May 30, 1881.

¹¹² *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXI (1880), 25; *New York Herald*, August 18, 1880; H. I. Kimball, *International Cotton Exposition. Report of the Director-General* (New York, 1882), 227-228, hereinafter cited as Kimball, *International Cotton Exposition*; E. Atkinson to H. B. Loring, August 6, 1881, *New York Herald*, August 13, 1881.

¹¹³ Kimball, *International Cotton Exposition*, 139.

be a preview of the industrial potentialities of the South. It drew from every part of the country thousands of visitors. They were already indoctrinated with the idea that agricultural specimens and machinery were glamorous spectacles to behold in the midst of fountains and ferns. In spite of the general applause and the rich prognostications in favor of the South, Atkinson adhered to his first thoughts. In 1893 he wrote that the South needed fewer cotton mill booms and the planting of more legumes.¹¹⁴

The New England Cotton Manufacturers' Committee was fully aware of everything the Exposition symbolized, but in the use of agricultural, mineral, and timber resources they found the promise of a vastly greater number of customers for their industrial output than they expected to find competitors in textile manufacturing.¹¹⁵ Carroll D. Wright stated the matter quite frankly before the Norfolk Club. He foresaw New England industries becoming the beneficiaries of a rapid industrial development in the South. But before New England could profitably participate in the exploitation of southern economic wealth some modifications in the quality of textile production would need to occur in factories with antiquated machinery.¹¹⁶ Edward Atkinson thought that the steady enlargement of spinning and weaving facilities in New England should dispel the belief that there was any fear of upstarts elsewhere.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the eventual supremacy of the South in coarse yarns and fabrics was already being granted by observers and being seized by investors. "New England is now being forced to witness," the *Chicago Independent World* admitted, "the not very encouraging spectacle presented by her migrating factories."¹¹⁸ Industrial prospecting commenced quite actively after 1880 with the result that many visitors negotiated to transfer production. The Southern Cotton Manufacturers' Association announced in 1883 that cotton mills were so well established that the region con-

¹¹⁴ *Manufacturers' Record*, XXIII (1893), 337.

¹¹⁵ Kimball, *International Cotton Exposition*, 183.

¹¹⁶ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January 25, 1886.

¹¹⁷ *New York Tribune*, May 30, 1881; H. F. Williamson, *Edward Atkinson: The Biography of an American Liberal* (Boston, 1934), 172-173.

¹¹⁸ Cited in *Greensboro Patriot*, April 6, 1883.

trolled the market for coarse cotton goods and regulated prices even in New England. Not only did the publicists talk themselves into believing in their own pre-eminence, but they were always warning their rivals that the New England textile industry would momentarily move to the South.¹¹⁹ "New England mills will be forced," the *New York Herald* observed, "to surrender to the South the manufacture of coarse cotton goods . . . and bend their attention to fine fabrics which require more skilled labor."¹²⁰ And a southern periodical, as if to make the triumph complete, announced the impending transfer not only of textile, but iron, wood, and leather industries too.¹²¹

Richard H. Edmonds, who has served as editor and speaker in the cause of southern industrialization with distinction, tried to persuade the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association in 1895 that it would be far better to foster the migration of the textile industry than to remain where they were as unequal competitors.¹²² It was believed that what was just a skirmish over coarse cotton goods would become a rout whenever the New England competitors could be forced to shift the regional base of their operations. The *Boston Manufacturers' Gazette* was willing to comply. It proposed abandoning the coarse goods trade, replacing obsolete machinery with improved equipment suitable to making fabrics not influenced by southern competition, and exporting the cast-off machinery to the South. "This building of cotton mills in the South", the commentator wrote, "by existing corporations in this State is a movement of relief from Southern competition. . . ." ¹²³ By the end of the century all the early predictions were exceeded. The textile industry in

¹¹⁹ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, December 23, 1881, October 31, 1883, November 17, 1883, January 11, 1885; *Observer*, May 17, 1878; *The News and Observer*, January 5, 1881; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LX (1895), 501.

¹²⁰ *New York Herald*, March 28, 1883.

¹²¹ *Industrial South* cited in *Greensboro Patriot*, April 6, 1883.

¹²² R. H. Edmonds, "Cotton Manufacturing Interests of the South," *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, Vol. 59:196-197.

¹²³ Cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 23. "Our own opinion has been and is that Northern manufacturers stay at home because they are free from Southern competition. . . ." *Observer*, April 13, 1879.

the United States witnessed a shift in regional location, a mechanical overhaul, a heavy influx of investment capital, a widening of domestic and foreign markets, and rapid alterations in consumer fashions. The alarm felt in the North that southern competition would become so strong and assertive as to endanger the stability and future prospects of the cotton industry in that section was protracted and made tantalizing as the rivalry was periodically intensified by business depressions.

The languishing of the New England cotton mills in 1870 was interpreted to mean the possible immunity of the same industry in the South to depression.¹²⁴ But the textile industry was largely an idea then and negligible in the economy of cotton manufacturing in the United States. Nevertheless, between 1870 and 1873 the consumption of baled cotton increased almost twenty-five million pounds, and it was reported that cotton manufacturing had passed beyond the point of experiment.¹²⁵ When financial derangements elsewhere were producing a decrease in the consumption of cotton many mills in the South were making profits. "In the South," the annual review of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* for 1876-1877 pointed out, "manufacturing business has . . . been rather more satisfactory than in the North. . . . That section just now presents a more hopeful condition than any other portion of the country."¹²⁶ At the Atlanta Cotton Exposition the fact that the South came through the Panic of 1873 and its aftermath unscathed seemed proper information to disseminate among inquisitive visitors.¹²⁷

The chief disturbance to industrial stability in the South came from a redundancy of cotton mills, flimsily financed, amateurishly staffed, and competing with each other. When factories temporarily suspended production there were doubts about the possibility of recuperation and renewed

¹²⁴ *Proceedings of Immigration Convention*, 30.

¹²⁵ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XVII (1873), 346; XIX (1874), 287.

¹²⁶ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXV (1877), 251.

¹²⁷ Kimball, *International Cotton Exposition*, 222.

growth. But the doubters were often the very ones who had been taken in by extravagant statements to suppose that no depression however severe could ever affect the South. The shock of business contraction impressed upon some prospective investors the desirability of a good site, adequate machinery, and careful management. Unrestricted cotton mill building intermittently tended to break the spell of local advantages. Involved in this predicament were uninitiated managers overburdened with initial expenditures viewing business circumstances as favorable when no basis for such estimates existed.¹²⁸ In Atlanta depression was viewed as a blessing by producing a precarious situation which only a rationalization of production and management could surmount.¹²⁹ This relationship between depression and industrialization in an undeveloped region had been noticed by a manufacturer as early as 1873. He wrote:

This will be a close year on Manufactures unless well managed . . . the eastern factorys are stopped or running on short time which will reduce the stock of goods on the market & cause a greater demand. . . . I have no hesitation in saying . . . that the present is a favorable time for manufacturers who have the means to run.¹³⁰

The interplay of fluctuating cotton prices and southern competition kept the New England industry jittery. When cotton prices rose, the mills could not afford to produce at prevailing yarn and cloth prices; when the price of cotton fell, the southern manufacturers flooded the markets with finished goods. When many northern manufacturers were curtailing production in a state bordering on despair, stocks in the South were neither auctioned nor limited by produc-

¹²⁸ *Manufacturers' Record*, VI (1884), 263; XXIII (1893), 197; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXIX (1884), 284; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 2, 1883 (statement by H. P. Hammett); January 21, 1883 (statement by J. F. Hanson); Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*, 154.

¹²⁹ *Manufacturers' Record*, VI (1885), 779.

¹³⁰ E. M. Holt to J. W. White, October 27, October 30, 1873, James W. White Correspondence, George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University. Also see, M. F. Foster, "Southern Cotton Manufacturing," *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, Vol. 68: 168-169; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XLI (1885), 293; XLV (1887), 326.

tion curtailments, but sold at handsome profits. The depression shock absorbers were believed to be the panoply of advantages that had always been hawked as well as the inability of New England mills to abandon coarse cotton goods fast enough.¹³¹ The vitality of the New England branch of the industry was never permanently diverted by contractions in business. Yet the old belief was supported once again in 1899 by the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* when it noted that southern "Growth during the time of business depression has been marvelous, and it is still at the full tide of development."¹³²

So very much was expected of cotton mills. They were even expected to work a moral and material revolution in the lives of people who had not yet been introduced into the complexities of urban and industrial life. A cotton factory became "that long hoped for enterprise," as one promoter eulogized, "to which those who have at heart the welfare of the community so anxiously look forward."¹³³ The builders of cotton mills were sometimes characterized as public benefactors. The cotton mills were likened to a panacea for the rural poor. An employer reasoned:

When by education the minds of the laboring people have been so trained that they can do a day's work in ten hours then it would be well to make a ten hours a day, but at present there are so many poor people living on farms or who, in other occupations, lead a very precarious life, it is time they ought to be allowed employment on any terms.¹³⁴

There is a degree of exaggeration in the explanation that southern industrial pioneers carried their traditional plantation relations with labor into the cotton mills, and took for

¹³¹ *Manufacturers' Record*, XVI (1889), 15-16; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XLVII (1888), 308; XLIX (1889), 326; LI (1890), 327-328.

¹³² *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXIX (September 9, 1899), 6.

¹³³ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, May 29, 1879.

¹³⁴ *Seventh Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Raleigh, 1893), 67-68.

granted, the old dependent and subservient status of labor.¹³⁵ It was a tenet of industrial psychology at the time that an employer was responsible for more than the means of subsistence of those he employed. "He holds," as Carroll D. Wright expressed the theory, "their moral well-being in his keeping."¹³⁶ Millowners were encouraged to provide mental and religious instruction on the grounds that "an investment in the affections of those employed is always as good as any money put in machinery. . . ."¹³⁷ At one factory in North Carolina workers who earned between forty and fifty cents a day sometimes were fined fifteen cents for "carelessness on work" or ten cents for "bad conduct."¹³⁸ Cotton mills were also expected to furnish, in addition to employment, the facilities for physical, mental and moral training. One mill superintendent thought that "Southern people peculiarly need the employment afforded by cotton manufacture," and another meliorist described mill work as beneficial for the intelligence of operatives who would always be "subject to elevating social influences" in a factory environment.¹³⁹ Instead of considering factories as economic organizations, the guardians of the millhands portrayed the factories as the shelters of a moral rescue society. The novelty of factories and the efforts to make factory employment genteel called for a benignancy that was not without precedence in the textile industry. Edwin de Leon's description of the life of

¹³⁵ See Elliott D. Smith, *Technology and Labor* (New Haven, 1939), 195; A. Berglund, and Others, *Labor in the Industrial South* (Charlottesville, Va., 1930), 19-20. There is a marked difference between plantation paternalism and industrial paternalism. Any perusal of the literature on industrial recruiting in the South during this period [See for example A. Kohn, *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina* (Columbia, S. C., 1907), 22-23] will suggest that entrepreneurs were inventing industrial labor practices that anticipated in so many ways (although the motivation was not the same) the job security and welfare benefits incorporated in subsequent principles of management.

¹³⁶ Carroll D. Wright, *Some Ethical Phases of the Labor Question* (Boston, 1903), 152.

¹³⁷ *First Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Raleigh, 1887), 140.

¹³⁸ Morgan-Malloy Cotton Mill, "Time Book, 1889-1890," George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University.

¹³⁹ *Carolina Watchmen*, November 9, 1876; Henry V. Meigs quoted in de Leon, "The New South," 413; Henry V. Meigs to Editor, *New York Herald*, December 6, 1880; Blackman, *Cotton Mills*, 22-23.

cotton millhands revealed the meliorists' assumptions when he wrote:

Their hours are usually from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., with an interval at mid-day of half an hour for dinner. Attached to some of the mills are residences for the operatives, but a majority of the instances they board themselves, thus avoiding some of the supposed demoralizing effects of colonization. Thus far it is certain that no moral miasma has been generated in the South by the introduction of this species of labor.¹⁴⁰

Since the industry was introduced into an agrarian society at a time when farmers were hard pressed, cotton mill conditions were often considered better than those on the farms. "The hands we have are persons who failed to make a good living on the farm," was the simple story told by countless observers.¹⁴¹ The decision to migrate to the factories was accompanied by numerous applications from families restive under the vicissitudes of farming. Their letters have all the poignancy of immigrant mail.

I write you for to know if yould could give me a job. I have made by my mind to go to a cotton mill & would like to have a job with you as you have been recommended to me as a good place I am about 29 years old have a boy about 10 years old a girle that will soon be large enough to go in a mill.¹⁴²

The South offered its population as the most treasured asset any people can possess in a cause so well intentioned. "Our operatives are admitted to be remarkably frugal, industrious, easily taught and controlled," an advertisement stated in 1870, "and we have an unemployed class of many thousands from which to draw in the future."¹⁴³ What recommended these people was that they worked for low wages, were tractable, never went on strike, and readily learned the

¹⁴⁰ de Leon, "The New South," 414.

¹⁴¹ *First Annual Report of North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 91, 149; *Fourth Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Raleigh, 1890), 34; *Fifth Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Raleigh, 1891), 130, 171.

¹⁴² Morgan-Malloy Correspondence, letter from George Wallace, November 27, 1889. There are many comparable letters scattered abundantly through the collection during the next ten years.

¹⁴³ *Proceedings of Immigration Convention*, 29.

routine of factory work. Sometimes a traveler added to the advertisement that the "poor whites" make industrious and faithful operatives. After they entered the factories, they were considered capable of acquiring the highest skill required in manufacturing cotton goods.¹⁴⁴ "They are docile," Richard H. Edmonds taunted a New England audience in the difficult year of 1895, "not given to strikes, and as a class are anxious to find work and willing to accept much lower wages than northern operatives."¹⁴⁵ Their backwardness in joining unions, demanding wage increases and reductions in hours, or supporting compulsory school attendance laws was viewed as a major source of advantage over older industrial sections as well as a leading target of criticism.¹⁴⁶ Textile circles charged that until labor conditions were equalized by regulatory legislation of child labor, hours, and working conditions, cotton manufacturing in the United States would be unbalanced in favor of the South.¹⁴⁷ This was corroborated by the reaction of a North Carolina manufacturer to the introduction of a Nine Hour Labor Law when he wrote:

I guess the poor fellow wants to head off & stop northern capital which threatens to come south & build cotton mills in N. C. A sweet set these Solons of ours.¹⁴⁸

It was the Southerners who were engrossed in the agitation for cotton mills; and outside attention, although periodically proffered, did not reach any significant peak until the last

¹⁴⁴ Report of the Saluda Cotton Mills, *Greensboro Patriot*, February 26, 1873; *Observer*, February 6, 1878; Bancroft, *Carl Schurz*, IV, 377; *Manufacturers' Record*, XXIII (1893), 197.

¹⁴⁵ Edmonds, "Cotton Manufacturing Interests of the South," 199-200.

¹⁴⁶ W. C. Lovering to Labor Committee of the Massachusetts General Court, *Manufacturers' Record*, XXIII (1893), 292; *Boston Commercial Bulletin* cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 239.

¹⁴⁷ Statements by D. M. Thompson of Corliss Engine Co., *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 4; XXXI (1897), 219; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LIII (1891), 350.

¹⁴⁸ Schenck Letter Book, January 28, 1895. During the month of September, 1898, J. F. Schenck wrote the following in the Letter Book: "Providence can bestow no greater blessing upon our factory community than is already bestowed than to forever deliver them from the influence of labor agitators, and from the influence of all other agitators whose main object is to stir up dissatisfaction and prejudice." Also see, *Gunton's Magazine*, XXI (1901), 50; *American Federationist*, IX (1902), 19-20.

decade of the nineteenth century. A manufacturer reminisced in 1895:

We felt no danger from the south until 1880. . . . In that year I called the attention of my stockholders to . . . the South. Then the cloud was no bigger than a man's hand. . . . In 1889 and again in 1891 I spoke of it to my stockholders; but since 1891 it has been useless to point it out, for everyone could see it.¹⁴⁹

What they saw was the emergence of a new competitor unburdened with investments in out-moded machinery and uncommitted to friends and associates in non-automatic machinery manufacture. Southern mills were already abandoning the practice of buying cast-off machinery and were beginning to install automatic equipment that did not need the attention of craft or industrial conscious workers. Furthermore, they saw upstart competitors, unencumbered by regulatory industrial labor practices sanctioned by custom and law, flaunting an industrial reserve army of docile, dutiful, and native workers. A scissors movement was occurring in which New England manufacturers felt that southern employment practices and New England social legislation were cutting them to shreds.¹⁵⁰

Investigating committees from legislatures, factories, trade associations, labor organizations, and social service societies agreed that climate, tax and freight rates, the proximity of cotton, coal and water resources, building costs, and a local labor supply all favored a vigorous textile industrialization.

¹⁴⁹ Statement by Jefferson Coolidge cited by E. Porritt, "The Cotton Mills of the South," *New England Magazine*, XII (1895), 578, hereinafter cited as Porritt, "The Cotton Mills of the South." A southern interpretation was expressed at the time by R. H. Edmonds: "So long as the cotton manufacturing business of the South was handled exclusively by Southern people, it attracted only moderate attention throughout New England, but when several of the strongest cotton mill companies of Massachusetts decided that it was necessary to build large mills in the South in order to hold their trade, cotton mill investors throughout New England commenced to study the advantages of the South for this industry." Latham, Alexander and Co., *Cotton Movements and Fluctuations, 1890-1895*, XXII (1895), 45. See above, note 123.

¹⁵⁰ Report on Southern tour of the Arkwright Club, *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 179-180; *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, Vol. 63, 384-385; *Report of the Committee on Southern Competition of the Arkwright Club* (Boston, 1897), 3-5; Thomas T. Smith, *The Cotton Textile Industry of Fall River, Massachusetts* (New York, 1944), 86-103.

They also discovered that the new automatic machinery required less experienced workers, who incidently worked longer hours in factories, where two and three shifts prevailed, for wages that were lower than prevailing rates in New England. Trade unions and the use of the strike had little precedent in the South and the occurrence of such practices was scanty and infrequent. Policies regulating hours, employment of women and children, night work, and school attendance, that were current in New England, were either absent or somewhere in the remote future.¹⁵¹

The calculated approval that came from the Arkwright Club and its member manufacturing concerns slighted the entire edifice upon which the textile industry had been built in the South. It was to the millhands and the legislatures of the South that the out-manuevered manufacturers attributed their plight. At home they threatened to equalize conditions themselves in their own factories. They tried to persuade their legislatures to amend regulatory labor laws. Many petitioned legislatures for increases in capitalization with a view to opening branch plants in the South. They damned the trade unions, while their competitors prodded them on with the cry: "We have no labor agitators." So real did the exodus of cotton mills from New England become that the only escape seemed to lie in the encouragement of trade unions in the South or the enactment of national labor legislation in order to establish equality between the sections.¹⁵² In the midst of all this furore perhaps Daniel E. Tompkins best represented southern reaction to the final triumph against the New England giants. He wrote:

Southern towns that want mills should reflect upon the fact that the advantages of the South have been proven by Southern mills built with Southern money by Southern men . . . I don't want

¹⁵¹ *Times-Democrat*, September 1, 1885; Porritt, "The Cotton Mills of the South," 575-576; W. C. Lovering, "Report to the New England Textile Club," *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVI (1895), 392-393.

¹⁵² *Post* (New York), cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 131; *Daily Citizen* (Lowell, Mass.) cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXIX (1896), 178; *Arkwright Club Report*, 5-6; *Boston Advertiser* cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 33; *Congressional Record*, (55 Cong., 2 Sess.), XXI, pt. i, 806-807.

to see any advantages that we have developed in our system of manufacture destroyed by the transplanting of New England mills, ideas, organizations, etc., bodily to the South.¹⁵³

But in some quarters the process of mill building, spindle and loom installation, and labor recruitment was expected to precipitate a labor shortage and a rise in wage rates. It was also difficult to imagine the permanent postponement of unionization. The ascendancy of social legislation throughout the nation was not expected to be indefinitely resisted in the South. With such assurances, the feeling prevailed in New England that, however immediately serious the southern contentions concerning its human resources appeared, or how vociferously local manufacturers rationalized the place of southern millhands in their liquidation, the peculiar sectional arrangements that made these human resources weapons in the hands of southern businessmen could never remain permanent fixtures in the industry.¹⁵⁴ For some it was comforting to look forward to statutory hours of work, labor shortages, and trade unions, but as one Massachusetts manufacturer complained: "What do I care if between the time legislation reaches the southern mills and the present time, my business is ruined?"¹⁵⁵

The cotton mill development movement and its consummation left its critics aghast and shifted the center of textile production in the United States to the South. It was conspicuously the product of individual initiative and community enthusiasm. Men trusted each other with somewhat more than they could, at the moment, do well. The situations they were inventing became, therefore, training grounds for free individuals. Cotton mills were something people wanted. Had they inquired into the long-run circumstances favoring their success they might never have noticed them; they might even have lost interest in the search. And having waited and not

¹⁵³ *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 34-35.

¹⁵⁴ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXVII (September 10, 1898), 3-4; LXIX (September 9, 1899), 4-5; *Boston Transcript* cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXXI (1897), 24.

¹⁵⁵ Cited in Porritt, "The Cotton Mills of the South," 578.

acted, the very conditions they would have been studying might have been denied the influence of their actions. This did not happen. Nerved by the vigor to adventure beyond the safeties of the past into the uncertainties of the future, the people of the South demonstrated that they knew something about how to act in the present. This was preceded and accompanied by endless talk which played no small part in preparing the ground for men of action. They talked and acted like Americans.¹⁵⁶ There was confidence, pride, boastfulness, associated effort, and rivalry. It was not enough for the campaigners that their achievements and successes be measured; they had to be observed, recorded, applauded, and envied.

¹⁵⁶ See Ralph B. Perry, *Characteristically American* (New York, 1949), Ch. I, "The American Cast of Mind."

SIMMS'S VIEWS ON NATIONAL AND SECTIONAL LITERATURE, 1825-1845

By JOHN C. GUILDS

When did American literature become truly national? This question, answered variously by various scholars, can probably never be answered to the satisfaction of all. Almost any decade in the nineteenth century could with some reason be said to mark the beginning of a distinctively American literature. Probably most scholarly opinion agrees with Professor Clarence Gohdes that American literature did not become truly national until the advent of the local-color movement in the 1870's.¹ Acceptance of this theory is, in effect, to define national literature as the composite literature of all regions.

National literature has not been, and is not, always so defined, however. As any student of American history knows, *nationalism* and *sectionalism* were explosive words in the literary, economic, and political North-South controversy leading up to the Civil War. The bitterness of this controversy—and the increasing confusion of the terms *nationalism* and *sectionalism*—is nowhere better revealed than in the magazines of the Old South. Almost without exception the editors of early southern literary journals proposed to promote the literature of both their country and their section. By the 1840's, however, it seemed (particularly to northerners) that most southern magazinists were advocating a "sectional" rather than a "national" literature; and the cry, "Provincial!" was shouted at many a southern editor by many a northern critic. Needless to say, the southerners did not let the shouts go unanswered.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the problem of nationalism and sectionalism as it was met by an important magazine editor of the Old South, William Gilmore Simms, who put himself on record as both nationalist and sectionalist

¹ See "The Later Nineteenth Century," Arthur Hobson Quinn (ed.), *The Literature of the American People* (New York [1951]), 639 ff.

in literature and maintained that his position was not only logical, but inevitable.

Simms ranks as the South's most tireless advocate of a distinctive American literature. Rising from an inauspicious beginning as a green, outspoken journalist to a position as a recognized spokesman of the South, he remained throughout his editorial career an ardent and faithful champion of "Americanism" in literature, though in time he became convinced that he could best serve American literature by encouraging the development of letters in his own section. And if the South possessed anyone equipped to serve as its literary spokesman, Simms was that person. Although he sometimes thought that his efforts to promote the literature of his section (and of his country) went unappreciated, probably his fame as the South's "most prominent novelist" and "most eminent author"² gave him a greater prestige—a greater influence—than that attained by any other magazine editor of the Old South. The one thing that Simms worked most faithfully for—the one thing above all else that he hoped to accomplish in his career as editor of literary journals—was the advancement of literature in the South.

But if Simms was admittedly a sectionalist, how then can he be termed a leading proponent of a distinctively American literature? Simms himself has given the clearest explanation; in dedicating *The Wigwam and the Cabin* (1845) to his father-in-law, he wrote:

One word for the material of these legends. It is local, sectional—and to be *national* in literature, one must needs be *sectional*. No one mind can fully or fairly illustrate the characteristics of any great country; and he who shall depict *one section* faithfully, has made his proper and sufficient contribution to the great work of *national* illustration.³

Thus, according to Simms, by helping the South to create its own literature, the southern man of letters was also contributing to the establishment of a truly national literature, because to be national a literature must represent all sections.

² *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, Va.), IV (August, 1838), 529, hereinafter cited as *Southern Literary Messenger*.

³ Redfield edition (New York, 1856), 4.

The process by which Simms arrived at this conclusion, however, was gradual. Throughout his life he worked and fought for the growth of a distinctively American literature, but his struggle to achieve this end went through several stages. At first, though both the *Album* and the *Southern Literary Gazette* stated that their chief objective was the encouragement of local writers, Simms's concern was mainly with the status of American (rather than southern) letters: like Emerson he was dismayed at his country's enslavement to British traditions. Already he was convinced that one of the chief reasons for the absence of a worthy literature in America was the continued reliance upon England for models. He pointed out that America could never establish a literature of its own as long as its writers imitated the British; he praised the independence of American authors who dealt with native themes even when he could not speak highly of their genius, and, conversely, he called to task those who knowingly or unknowingly echoed the British even when he admitted their ability. He denounced the British for their want of discrimination in ridiculing or condemning everything American; he deplored American public taste, asserting that it had been perverted by English books and magazines, and complained that his countrymen ignored even the best American work until it had been praised by one of the British journals. As a means of ridding themselves of English influence, he suggested that American writers take up the study of the literature of Germany to see how that country had achieved intellectual independence.⁴

Simms, then, had early raised the cry that after 1837 was heard so frequently in the pages of the *Democratic Review* and other organs of the "Young America" critics in New

⁴ All of these points were made by Simms in the *Southern Literary Gazette* (Charleston, S. C.), 1828-1829, hereinafter cited as *Southern Literary Gazette*.

⁵ John Stafford, *The Literary Criticism of "Young America": A Study in the Relationship of Politics and Literature, 1837-1850* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952), 84, calls the Young Americans "the most strenuous advocates in America" of a new and distinctive American literature. This reference hereinafter cited as Stafford, *The Literary Criticism of "Young America."*

York.⁵ In his two early Charleston journals (in the *Album* to a much lesser degree than in the *Southern Literary Gazette*) he had given voice to the movement that a decade later such conservative periodicals as the *North American Review*, the *American Quarterly*, the *New England Magazine*, and the *New York Review* were to regard as the *Democratic Review's* "radical" idea—advocacy of a national literature free from slavish imitation of the British.⁶ It was only natural, then, that at the first opportunity he should fall into line with the group of young New Yorkers—Evert A. Duyckinck, William A. Jones, John L. O'Sullivan, Parke Godwin, and Cornelius Mathews—the liberal-minded Young Americans who championed a movement in literature paralleled in politics by the trend culminating in Jacksonian democracy.⁷ Simms, like the Young Americans, stressed democracy as an incentive to literature because, by giving free rein to individual expression, it favors the general development of all intellect. Furthermore, he was convinced of the value of the competitive spirit; literary genius, he thought, was inspired by the realization that recognition could be won through merit without the benefits of wealth or rank:

It is a wondrous impulse to the individual, to his hope, his exertions and his final success, to be taught that there is nothing in his way, in the nature of the society in which he lives. That he is not to be denied because of his birth or poverty, because of his wealth or his family. That he stands fair with his comrades, with no social if no natural impediments—and the prize is always certain for the fleetest in the race.⁸

Simms was also politically allied with the Young Americans, almost all of whom were Locofoco Democrats; on August 15,

⁵ Stafford, *The Literary Criticism of "Young America,"* 5 and *passim*.

⁷ Simms apparently did not make his first trip to New York until 1832, when he visited James Lawson. He perhaps met some of the Young Americans at that time, though he mentioned none of them in his correspondence of that year. He and Duyckinck, particularly, were later to become fast friends.

⁸ *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review*, I (Charleston, S. C.), January, 1845, 11-12, hereinafter cited *Southern and Western Monthly*.

1842, he wrote to George Frederick Holmes, ". . . I am an ultra-American, a born Southron, and a resolute loco-foco."⁹

Simms never ceased to be chagrined with America's tendency to lean upon England for guidance in literary taste and standards; he regarded this bondage to "an unnatural mother & natural enemy"¹⁰ as the chief threat to the growth of a literature that was characteristically American. In explaining his ill will toward the British to the English-born Holmes, Simms asserted: "Individually, I am no Anti-Anglican. I am only so in a purely national point of view, and in reference to national interests & questions."¹¹ The extent of his animosity, however, is perhaps best revealed in a letter of July 15, 1845, to Evert A. Duyckinck, in which he suggested that war with Great Britain was the surest and possibly the only way for America to gain its literary independence.¹² Several weeks earlier he had expressed a similar attitude toward the British in a letter to James Lawson:

His [Edwin Forrest's] only error is in any attempt to win favor from the English. No American can hope for this. They must be made to fear us, and, it is through our scorn and our

⁹ Mary C. Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, and T. C. Duncan Eaves (eds.), *The Letters of William Gilmore Simms* (Columbia, S. C., 5 volumes, 1952-1956), I, 319, hereinafter cited as Oliphant, Odell, and Eaves, *Simms Letters*. John W. Higham, "The Changing Loyalties of William Gilmore Simms," *Journal of Southern History*, IX (May, 1943), 210-223, greatly over-simplifies his case in discussing Simms's changing social and political views. Higham (p. 213) states that in 1830 "Simms was utterly devoid of the sectional antagonism which was rising throughout South Carolina"; by 1845, however, according to Higham, Simms's early Unionism had been almost completely destroyed by strong sectional feelings. Higham attributes this change chiefly to Simms's marriage to Chevillette Eliza Roach, only child of a large landowner, in 1836, at which time the author supposedly shifted his allegiance from the mercantile class to the planter aristocracy. Higham overlooks the fact that Simms's views were characteristic of the thinking of many other southerners—whether living in the country or in town or whether planter or merchant—who had opposed Nullification but later became convinced that the federal government was hostile to the society in which they lived. Even Higham grants, however, that Simms's "literary Americanism" continued for a while after his "federal nationalism" disappeared; in 1845 Simms "was still agitating for a national literature, but antipathy toward the North was weakening his enthusiasm . . ." (p. 221). In 1845 as editor of the *Southern and Western* Simms still retained his objectivity in treating northern authors.

¹⁰ Simms to G. F. Holmes, July 27, 1842, Oliphant, Odell, and Eaves, *Simms Letters*, I, 317.

¹¹ Letter of August 15, 1842, Oliphant, Odell, and Eaves, *Simms Letters*, I, 319.

¹² See Oliphant, Odell, and Eaves, *Simms Letters*, II, 90.

strength, not through our arts conciliatory that a people so bigoted in self will ever do justice to that other, which spring from their loins, & setting up for themselves, are so fast treading on their heels.¹³

As early as 1828 Simms the "born Southron" felt some antipathy toward the North even while Simms the "ultra-American" joined hands with northerners in combating the detrimental influence of England. Already political differences between North and South were making southerners aware of other distinctions between themselves and their northern neighbors.¹⁴ Almost for the first time, perhaps, southerners were conscious of being a minority—and proud southerners rebelled at many northerners' air of superiority in everything from literature to morals. This growing southern animus toward the North is apparent in both of the literary journals founded in Charleston in 1828. In the prospectus of the *Southern Review* (1828-1832), its editors stated:

It shall be among our first objects to vindicate the rights and privileges, the character of the Southern states, to arrest, if possible, that current which has been directed so steadily against our country generally, and the South in particular; and to offer to our fellow citizens one Journal which they may read without finding themselves the objects of perpetual sarcasm, or of affected commiseration.¹⁵

The *Southern Literary Gazette*¹⁶ reveals Simms likewise as embittered by the North's condescending attitude toward his section. In the prospectus issued before the publication of the second volume of the *Gazette*, Simms spoke of the contempt and apathy with which his section's intellectual quali-

¹³ Oliphant, Odell, and Eaves, *Simms Letters*, II, 83. The letter is dated June 27, 1845.

¹⁴ For an excellent analysis of the growth of sectionalism in the South, see Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (Baton Rouge, La., 1948). For a briefer treatment with emphasis upon literary factors, see Jay B. Hubbell, "Literary Nationalism in the Old South," *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd* (Durham, 1940), 175-220, hereinafter cited as Hubbell, *American Studies*.

¹⁵ Quoted in Linda Rhea, *Hugh Swinton Legare* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 237. I have not been able to find the original.

¹⁶ The fact that a large portion of the magazines of the Old South carry the word *Southern* in their titles is indicative of sectional feelings. See Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (New York and London, 1930), 380.

ties were regarded. Later he charged that southerners, "taunted by Englishmen and Northernmen,"¹⁷ would have to work hard to assure themselves of representation in the literature of America; recognizing the dominance of northern publishing, he stressed the importance of southern writers having their works published in the South. He praised Isaac Harby as a pioneer of a distinctively southern literature; and, perhaps most significant of all, so unaccustomed had the South become to consideration from the North, he thanked the *New York Mirror* for the "novel courtesy" of its fair treatment of southern literature and politics.¹⁸

Through the years Simms became more and more alarmed about the South's intellectual vassalage to the North. By the time he accepted the editorship of the *Magnolia: or Southern Apalachian* in June, 1842, political developments had widened the gap between North and South. Like most other southern editors,¹⁹ Simms directed his efforts toward weaning his section from its cultural dependence on the North. Whereas in the 1820's he had editorialized largely against American imitation of British literary style and taste, in the 1840's—as editor of the *Magnolia* and the *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review*—he was more concerned with freeing the South from its literary bondage to the North. This generalization holds true despite the fact that in the 1820's Simms was already speaking against Northern domination of American literature and that in the 1840's he still battled vigorously for American freedom from intellectual servility to England.

Perhaps what vexed southerners most was the assumption by some Northern critics that northern literature was *the* American literature and that the literature of the South was sectional rather than national in character. Early in 1842 Simms pointed out that the "wise men of the East" who frantically shouted "Sectional literature!" at the South failed

¹⁷ *Southern Literary Gazette*, n.s., I (June 1, 1829), 33-34.

¹⁸ *Southern Literary Gazette*, n.s., I (August 1, 1829), 127.

¹⁹ Perhaps the chief exception was English-born William C. Richards, editor of the *Orion*, who had little sympathy with sectional literature. See, for example, *Orion* (Penfield, Ga.), I (July, 1842), 248.

to realize that magazines published in New York or Boston were just as provincial as those published in Charleston or Savannah. In line with his similar views on national literature, he maintained that a truly national magazine must assert the character of its people—must, paradoxically, then, be sectional—because a magazine of one section could not possibly fully represent the needs and wants of the people of another section. Therefore, a magazine editor failed to be national only when he ceased to represent faithfully his own section.²⁰

Simms, then, clearly and definitely identified national with sectional literature even before he wrote the preface to *The Wigwam and the Cabin*—even before he became full editor of the “sectional” *Magnolia*; in fact, from this distance he appears to have remained remarkably level-headed amidst all the high ranting and small heckling over nationalism and sectionalism in the 1840’s. Later, of course, the movement for “Americanism” and “Southernism” was reduced to absurdity by the uncritical demands of “superficial critics,” to whom (as Timrod said) “it meant nothing more than that an author should confine himself in the choice of his subjects to the scenery, the history, and the traditions of his own country.”²¹ If Simms did not emphasize, as Timrod later did, that true nationalism and true originality depend upon the creation of an individual style, tone, and spirit²²—or if he did not make a distinction, as Harris later did, between *section-*

²⁰ See *Magnolia: or Southern Monthly* (Savannah, Ga.), IV (April, 1842), 251-252, hereinafter cited as *Magnolia*. In July, 1842, when the magazine was moved from Savannah, Ga., to Charleston, S. C., its title became the *Magnolia: or Southern Apalachian* and Simms, who had been a contributor and associate editor, became editor.

²¹ “Literature in the South,” Edd Winfield Parks (ed.), *The Essays of Henry Timrod* (Athens, Ga., 1942), 87, hereinafter cited as Parks, *Henry Timrod*.

²² Parks, *Henry Timrod*, 88. Timrod made it clear, however, that he was not opposing the idea that authors write of their own regions; he was “simply protesting against a narrow creed” which insisted upon nationalism and overlooked everything else. Timrod agreed that the poet or novelist who “shall associate his name with the South” in an original treatment of Southern scenery, society, or history “will have achieved a more enviable fame than any which has yet illustrated the literature of America” (Parks, *Henry Timrod*, 90-91).

alism and *localism*²³—his writings reveal his own understanding of these principles.²⁴ Almost before anyone else, he seems to have defined sectionalism as an integral part of nationalism—a definition with which both Timrod and Harris, despite their carefully stated qualifications, essentially agreed. Unfortunately, however, Simms's critics (chiefly northerners) did not see eye-to-eye with him on this subject and much purposeless quibbling was the result, despite the fact that all concerned were working toward the same end.

One may ask why Simms regarded the magazine as the best medium through which to further the cause of southern and, consequently, American literature. How could the magazine editor accomplish what the novelist and the poet could not? The South, Simms reasoned, posed a peculiar problem: in a "Letter to the Editor of *Wheler's Magazine*" he pointed out the particular reasons why magazines—a benefit to any section or country—were a necessity to the intellectual awakening of a sparsely settled agricultural region like the South:

The very sparseness of our population, which renders it so difficult a matter to sustain the Periodical, is the very fact that renders its existence and maintenance so necessary.—The great secret of mental activity, in most countries, is the denseness of their settlements,—the size and frequency of their great cities, and the constant attrition of rival minds, which can take place nowhere so constantly as in the commercial and populous marts. Wanting in these fields of attrition and collision, the mind of the Southern gentleman, residing on his plantation and secluded from the crowd, is apt to sink into languor or indifference. Why should he indulge in studies which seem unnecessary to his situation? Why pore over volumes, upon the merits of which he has no one to provoke him to discussion? . . .

²³ "Literature in the South," Julia Collier Harris (ed.), *Joel Chandler Harris, Editor and Essayist: Miscellaneous Literary, Political, and Social Writings* (Chapel Hill, 1931), 45. Harris closely followed Simms in saying: "In literature, art and society, whatever is truly Southern is likewise truly American; and the same may be said of what is truly Northern. Literature that is Georgian or Southern is necessarily American, and in the broadest sense."

²⁴ Simms's Revolutionary romances, for instance, are no less national, no less American, than the Revolutionary historical novels of Cooper and Kennedy. Simms possesses a great deal of essentially "American" pride, optimism, and faith in democratic government. As a critic he was almost never guilty of praising an American (or southern) book simply because it dealt with native subject matter.

To persons, thus secluded by their modes of life, even where the taste for letters is innate, the very difficulty in procuring books, which cannot be transmitted by mail, opposes a barrier to that constant exercise which is necessary to keep up and to nourish the desire for literature. Periodicals, alone, appear calculated to supply these deficiencies to counteract these discouraging influences, and to provide that gentle stimulus which keeps the mind true to its instincts and acquisitions, while furnishing new food for its progress. . . .²⁵

Simms himself asserted many times that his section's cultural enslavement to the North should be a matter of shame to every patriotic southerner; yet he recognized that this literary dependency was based on practical, economic matters: the North's near monopoly of the publication and distribution of books and magazines. As a result, since southern books were sometimes difficult to procure even in the South, the best-intentioned southerner often read easily accessible northern publications and remained almost wholly ignorant of the literature of his own region. Moreover, he argued, although the South was following the lead of the North, the North refused even the best works published in the South. In his opening address in the *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review* Simms made this dilemma clear: ". . . no periodical of the country, not published at one of the great cities of the North, could possibly hope for the countenance of the public in their vicinity. Our experience is conclusive on this head. The northern press claims to supply us in the South and West with all our Literature, and will take none of ours in return."²⁶ Later in the same year (1845) he commented: "We have it from good authority, that one of our Southern publishers, seeking to establish a Northern agency for his publication, was fairly told by the house to which he addressed himself, that the people of the North would not buy Southern periodicals."²⁷

Thus with some reason southerners complained that their literature was never given a fair hearing—and that their

²⁵ *Wheler's Magazine* (Athens, Ga.), n.s., I (July, 1849), 1-2, hereinafter cited as *Wheler's Magazine*.

²⁶ *Southern and Western Monthly*, I (January, 1845), 67.

²⁷ *Southern and Western Monthly*, I (May, 1845), 364.

achievement in letters remained largely unknown in the North and only slightly less so at home.²⁸ It was in helping to correct this want that the southern magazine hoped to perform one of its greatest services; because books were "scarce, and not to be had without great difficulty and expense" by the inhabitants of an "almost wholly agricultural" region, Simms repeatedly emphasized that

... the periodical is at once the cheapest, the most eligible, and, perhaps, the most useful form, in which Literature may yield them its advantages. The mail brings it to the door of the farmer, to the cottage of the peasant, to the stately mansion, enbosomed in deep forests, of the lordly and secluded planter. It is, along with the newspaper, the chief mode by which he communicates with the distant world without.²⁹

Literary journals, then, had to play the leading role in the kindling of literary interests in the South. These journals, moreover, must be southern—not northern or British—though the southern magazine must necessarily at first be inferior both in typography and in content.³⁰ But because this very inferiority was indicative of the mental apathy of the South—because a superior journal was a product of the intellectual stimulation (as well as of the good publishing houses) which the South lacked—the well-meaning and patriotic southerner owed it to his section to support the magazines that were attempting to rouse his people from their slumber. The magazines must promote the crusade, not the crusade the magazines—thriving magazines would be proof that the crusade had been successful.³¹

²⁸ Of course, of even more importance to southerners was the fact that the North's monopoly of the book trade enabled northern publishers to accept only those southern books which were favorable to the North, and consequently the North remained ignorant of the "essential soundness of the Southern cause" in other matters. See Hubbell, *American Studies*, 198.

²⁹ *Wheler's Magazine*, I (July, 1849), 3.

³⁰ In a letter to P. C. Pendleton published in the *Magnolia* for April, 1841, Simms spoke of the scarcity of good printers and the total absence of proof-readers in the South. See *Magnolia*, III, 190. Simms did not advocate that southerners read southern magazines to the exclusion of all others. In fact, he stressed the advantages of reading journals from other sections and countries. See *Wheler's Magazine*, I (July, 1849), 3-4.

³¹ *Wheler's Magazine*, I (July, 1849), 4-5.

But as Simms himself well knew, the southern magazine editor who wished to encourage the development of distinctly southern literary culture was often defeated by the very thing he hoped to overcome—his section's indifference to literature. In 1841 in the first of his letters on "Southern Literature" addressed to P. C. Pendleton, then editor of the *Magnolia*, Simms bluntly stated that the magazine was doomed to failure. Despite Pendleton's high hopes Simms pointed out that excellent contributors and capable editors did not ensure a magazine's success; other southern journals had possessed these and had failed. Before any southern magazine could succeed, Simms maintained, an "intellectual appetite among our people" was needed—that appetite, he added, was nowhere apparent.³²

Simms was fully aware of the difficulties he faced in his later efforts to establish a permanent literary journal in the South: first-hand experience and years of observation had taught him much about running a southern magazine. Yet twice within a span of three years he assumed the editorship of Charleston magazines—the *Magnolia* in 1842 and the *Southern and Western* in 1845. That each of these journals collapsed after only one year of publication—that he was never able to found a permanent literary organ for his section—that he was vastly underpaid and sometimes not paid at all—none of these matters shook more than momentarily the courageous determination with which he struggled for the literature of his state, his section, and his country. Without resorting to the puffery he detested, he encouraged Southern writers in their efforts to create a distinctively southern literature; he resolutely replied to northern charges against his section and at the same time demanded recognition in the North for southern authors; and through it all, he seems never to have lost sight of the fact that what he was really working for was the development of an American literature. Both the *Magnolia* and the *Southern and Western* won recognition as leading southern literary journals though never enough paying subscribers; without doubt they both attained

³² *Magnolia*, III (January, 1841), 1-3.

a standard of excellence above that of most of the monthly magazines of the period. Simms had fought his crusade and in one sense his defeat represented a victory: he had made his contribution to the cause of American letters by faithfully and accurately portraying the peculiar characteristics that distinguished his section. Exactly fifteen years after the last number of the *Southern and Western* had been issued, *DeBow's Review* contained a comment on Simms that might well apply to his editorial work in the 1840's:

He reflects . . . the spirit and temper of Southern civilization; announces its opinions, illustrates its ideas, embodies its passions and prejudices, and betrays those delicate shades of thought, feeling, and conduct, that go to form the character, and stamp the individuality of a people.³³

Although in the early 1830's some southerners frowned upon Simms for his national views and in the 1840's northerners generally upbraided him for his sectional views, he at all times considered himself a proponent of both nationalism and sectionalism because to his eyes the two forces were not opposed but, conversely, were too closely allied to be separated. Fundamentally his outlook remained surprisingly steadfast throughout the turbulent decades before the mid-century. His early emphasis on American literature and his later emphasis on southern literature represent changes in degree, not in position.

³³ *Magnolia*, XXIX (December, 1860), 708.

TRYON'S "BOOK" ON NORTH CAROLINA

Edited by WILLIAM S. POWELL

A forty-four page manuscript letter written from Brunswick by Governor William Tryon on July 26, 1765, to his uncle, Sewallis Shirley, forms a part of the collection of North Caroliniana of the late Bruce Cotten, now in the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina Library. This lengthy letter, which Tryon himself referred to as a "book," is bound in full calf and bears the bookplate of the Shirley seat, Ettington, Warwickshire, as well as the plate of Sir Evelyn Shirley. The letter remained at the seat of the Shirley family until about 1934 when it was sold to the Rosenbach Company in Philadelphia from which Major Cotten purchased it.¹

Tryon reached North Carolina on October 11, 1764, to serve as lieutenant governor under the aging and ailing Arthur Dobbs. This letter, in an informal and chatty tone, tells us of the personal activities of Tryon from his arrival through the first nine months of his stay in the province. Perhaps the account of his tour with Mrs. Tryon from Wilmington northward and westward to the Virginia line and Halifax will be counted the most interesting part of the letter. Not to be passed over, however, are descriptions of his house, news of his staff of servants, and remarks concerning his salary. All in all, Tryon has given us an interesting and valuable glimpse of his personal life. Evidence of his wide and detailed knowledge of North Carolina after so short a time in the colony will perhaps be thought remarkable.

The uncle to whom the letter is addressed, Sewallis Shirley (1709-1765), was the fourteenth son of the first Earl Ferrers and brother of Tryon's mother, the former Lady Mary Shirley. Shirley was a member of Parliament (1742-1761) and Comptroller of the Household to Queen Charlotte. He died on

¹ Margaret de Bullet, "A Catalogue of the Tar-Heel Book-Shelves of Mr. Bruce Cotten." Unpublished manuscript in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, IV, 358. (Descriptive notes in the Catalogue are by Bruce Cotten.)

October 31, 1765, probably soon after receiving this letter from his nephew.²

North Carolina,
Brunswick on Cape Fear River,
July ye 26th, 1765

My Dear Sir:

I most gratefully received the happiness you conferred on me the 5th Ins:^t by your letter bearing date the 12th of Feby last, accompanied with a most acceptable present, a Gold Box with the Picture of an invariable friend, as well to my family, as myself. You could not have sent me a more acceptable present; and for which you have my most sincere acknowledgements.

Your particular detail of your affectionate and steady conduct in adjusting the intricate state of the affairs of my Mother, and the agreement she has entered into with my Brother for the sale of my Hobby Horse Henbury,³ gives me great satisfaction from the evident necessity of such a proceeding. Your good offices on this, and every other occasion claim as they merit, more than I am able to repay you. However, I shall ever retain a lively and affectionate regard for the author of them.

I will now endeavour from memory to give you a rough sketch of my Proceedings in this Country since my arrival in it, you must not expect to have the unities preserved. My Landing⁴ in this Province was on the 11th of Oct^r last, soon after finding the Goverⁿ determined to stay the Winter here. I repaired to Wilmington, 15 Miles higher up the River than Brunswick. About the Middle of Dec^r I took with Mrs. Tryon and Mr. Elwin⁵ her Cousin, a Tour through part of this Province. We kept the Sea Board Road for two hundred & 40 Miles, (that is never being

² *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage* (London, 1949), 754; W. S. Lewis and Warren H. Smith, (eds.) *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Madame Du Deffand and Wiart* (New Haven, 1939), V, 397; VI, 513; W. S. Lewis and Ralph S. Brown, Jr. (eds.), *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Montagu* (New Haven, 1941), I, 113-114; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXV (November, 1765), 539.

³ A hobby horse was a small or middle-sized horse or a pony. James A. H. Murray (ed.), *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Oxford, 1888-1928, 10 vols.), V, 316, hereinafter cited as Murray, *A New English Dictionary*.

⁴ For details of Tryon's arrival off the North Carolina coast and his landing in the Cape Fear see Alonzo T. Dill, Jr., *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill, 1955), 79-80.

⁵ Fountain Elwin was Tryon's private secretary. He returned to England in 1767. William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1886-1890, Vols. 1-10), VII, 134, 547, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

farther from the Sea than Sixty or eighty Miles) till I came to the Virginia Line which is in $36^{\circ} 30'$ North Lat. This from Wilmington kept me on a North and North East Course from the Virginia and Carolina dividing line (where we struck it, was forty Miles North of Edenton.) We took a West Course to Halifax 70 Miles to the Westward of Edenton and from thence, took a South and South West Course back to Wilmington where we arrived the Middle of Feby. This Journey was accomplished with more ease and better accommodations than I could possibly have expected to have experienced, and I found the *Gentlemen* very ready in giving the hospitality their Plantat[ions] afforded. The Tour was five Hundred Measured Miles and upwards. The whole of the Journey to the Virginia Line is Sandy, flat and for the most part covered with Pine Trees tho' to the Northward you go over some Oak Land, yet Sandy Soil. The Roads over the Swamps, called Pocosons, are all made, which Swamps are covered with tall Cypress Trees some of six feet in Diameter, and Seventy feet in height before they shoot a Branch, with Bay Trees and Red and White Cedar Trees; with a variety of other Aquatilis which I am unacquainted with. These swamps when cleared and drained produce fine Rice or Indian Corn or I believe Indigo, but this Province is not yet sufficiently inhabited, to have cleared any great quantity of these Pocosons.

I saw no large parcel of Rich Land that laid dry, till I took the Course Westward from the Northward of this Province. Near Halifax there are fine Rich lands of clay and loamy texture and by the thickness of the Corn Stalks of the last Season, I could perceive the goodness of the Earth. About twenty Miles Westward of Halifax, I was carried to See a Situation called Mount Gallant⁶ which was the first Hill I had seen that was high enough to over look the woods of this Wild Forest. The Soil here they told me was very good tho' in dry weather pulverises as light as snuff, and when wet will stick to your Shoes like Marle, it is of a Reddish Cast. Under this Hill is the first principal falls on the Roanoke River, they are wildly pleasing to the Eye, not from the height of the Falls, but from the appearance of a course of a River two Miles across interrupted irregularly with Rocky Stones so as to Stop the Navigation for any thing but Canoes, and those not safe unless under the conduct of a dexterous Negroe. This and the Neighboring Hills were the only ones that have given me an opportunity of over looking in an Horizontal line the Woods. In our return from Halifax in less than twenty Miles we got again into Sandy Pine Land, and continued

⁶ Mount Gallant is located on the northeast side of the Roanoke River, approximately twenty miles northwest of Halifax, on Henry Mouzon and others, *An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina* (London, 1775).

it to Wilmington the distance from which is 180 Miles. I remained quiet at Wilmington till March, when Lord Adam Gordon⁷ came into this Province, a visit that gave me no small joy, as he was not only a particular friend, but had the additional merit of being the first person I had seen, even of my personal acquaintance since I left London. I was accompanying him as far as Newbern in this Province, when My trusty servant George, who now lies dangerously ill of a Putrid fever and is in a Raving fit, at this instant, over took me with an account of Governor Dobbs's Death the 28th of March last. I was then within Twenty Six Miles of Newbern and 74 from Wilmington. This Event obliged me to quit my friend, who proceeded through Virginia to the Northern Colonies, and is to sail from New York in Oct^r Next for Falmouth in the Packet. I reached Wilmington the 30th of March and to my surprize found they had buried the Governor and for want of a Clergy, the Funeral Service was performed by a Majestrate of Peace.⁸ The usual Steps on this Event being taken, I called an assembly at Newbern, the place in my opinion at present, the most convenient for holding the genl assembly. We met the 3^d of May. The Journals will be the History of our Works.⁹ I was sore at the time, as you will hear by the letter I wrote Our worthy Friend at the Gov: but as I carried the Material Points; particularly the Clergy Bill,¹⁰ I shall forget what is over, and wait for more at our next meeting which is the 27th of Nov: I left Newbern the End of May and got to Brunswick the 1st of June to the House the late Gov^r lived in¹¹ the furniture¹² we brought from England, and for want of Room when we began to be very busy in opening and unpacking half we could not put up in our house at Wilmington.

⁷ An officer of the Sixty-sixth Regiment of Foot stationed at this time in the West Indies. A journal of his tour in 1764 and 1765 in America and the West Indies is in Newton D. Mereness (ed.), *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), 365-453.

⁸ For a brief account of Dobbs' death and funeral based on a report in *The South Carolina Gazette* for April 27, 1765, see E. Lawrence Lee, Jr., "The History of Brunswick, North Carolina," unpublished masters thesis, University of North Carolina, 1951, 42, hereinafter cited as Lee, "The History of Brunswick."

⁹ This session lasted from May 3 through May 18. The journals are reprinted in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 41-88.

¹⁰ See Chapter I, "Laws of North Carolina, 1765," in Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, 1895-1905, Vols. 11-26), XXIII, 660-662, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

¹¹ Dobbs' house was the former residence of Captain John Russell and the fifty-five acre tract on which it was located, joining the northern boundary of the town of Brunswick, was called Russellborough. Dobbs had occupied the house since 1758. Lee, "The History of Brunswick," 40-41.

¹² An inventory of Tryon's furniture which was lost when fire destroyed his home in New York on December 29, 1773, will be found in *New York History*, XXVI (July, 1954), 300-309. Undoubtedly a large part of this furniture had been brought to North Carolina in 1764.

As you are acquainted with M^{rs} Tryons Neatness you will not wonder that we have been pestered with scouring of Chambers White Washing of Cielings, Plaisterers Work, and Painting the House inside and out. Such is the Sickness and indolence of the Workmen in this Hot Climate that I shall not I am persuaded get rid of these nuisances this month. This House which has so many assistances is of an oblong Square Built of Wood. It measures on the out Side Faces forty five feet by thirty five feet, and is Divided into two Stories, exclusive of the Cellars the Parlour Floor is about five feet above the Surface of the Earth. Each Story has four Rooms and three light Closets. The Parlour below & the drawing Room are 20 x 15 feet each; Ceilings low. There is a Piazza Runs Round the House both Stories of ten feet Wide with a Ballustrade of four feet high, which is a great Security for my little girl.¹³ There is a good Stable and Coach Houses and some other Out Houses. if I continue in this House, which will depend on Capt. Dobbs"¹⁴ Resolution in the manner he disposes of his Effects here, I shall & must build a good Kitchen, which I can do for forty Pounds Sterling of 30^f x 40^f— The garden has nothing to Boast of except Fruit Trees. Peaches, Nectrs Figgs and Plumbs are in perfection and of good Sorts. I cut a Musk Melon this week which weighed 17½ Pounds. Apples grow extremely well here I have tasted excellent Cyder the Produce of this Province. Most if not all kinds of garden greens and Pot herbs grow luxuriant with us. We are in want of nothing but Industry & skill, to bring every Vegetable to a greater perfection in this Province.¹⁵ Indian Corn, Rice, and American Beans (Species of the Kidney Bean) are the grain that is Cultivated within a hundred and fifty Miles of the Sea Board at which distance to the Westward you begin to perceive you are approaching high ground, and fifty Miles farther you may get on tolerable high Hills. The Blue Mountains that Cross our Province I imagine lay three Hundred Miles from the Sea. Our Settlements are carried within one Hundred Miles of them. In less than twenty years or perhaps in half the time inhabitants may Settle at the foot of these Mountains. In the Back or Western Counties, more industry is observed than to the Eastward, the White People there to, are more numerous than the Negroes.

¹³ Margaret Tryon (1761-1791). Marshall DeLancey Haywood, *Governor William Tryon, and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771* (Raleigh, 1903), 201, 203.

¹⁴ Tryon did not finally purchase Russellborough from Captain Edward Brice Dobbs, the late governor's son, until February 2, 1767. Lee, "The History of Brunswick," 43.

¹⁵ In March Tryon had sent to the Moravian settlement "to get all kinds of seeds . . . for the plantation which [he] wishes to lay out." Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1922), I, 301.

The Calculation of the Inhabitants in this Province is one hundred and twenty Thousand White & Black, of which there is a great Majority of White People. The Negroes are very numerous I suppose five to one White Person in the Maritime Counties, but as you penetrate into the Country few Blacks are employed, merely for this Simple reason, that the poorer Settlers coming from the Northward Colonies sat themselves down in the back Counties where the land is the best but who have not more than a sufficiency to erect a Log House for their families and procure a few Tools to get a little Corn into the ground. This Poverty prevents their purchasing of Slaves, and before they can get into Sufficient affluence to buy Negroes their own Children are often grown to an age to work in the Field. not but numbers of families in the back Counties have Slaves some from three to ten, Whereas in the Counties on the Sea Coast Planters have from fifty to 250 Slaves. A Plantation with Seventy Slaves on it, is esteemed a good property. When a man marries his Daughters he never talks of the fortune in Money but 20 30 or 40 Slaves is her Portion and possibly an agreement to deliver at stated Periods, a Certain Number of Tarr or Turpentine Barrels, which serves towards exonerating the charges of the Wedding which are not grievous here.

I suppose you will expect to be informed what return is Made for the expence of Supporting such a Number of Slaves in the Province. Their chief employ is in the Woods & Fields, Sowing, and attending and gathering in the Corn. Making of Barrels, Hoops, Staves, Shingles, Rails, Posts and Pails, all which they do to admiration, Boxing of Pine Trees to draw off the Turpentine, Making of Tarr kills which is a good deal after our Manner of making a Charcoal Pitt, excepting they have a Subterraneous passage to draw off the Tarr as the fire forces it from the Lightwood in the Kiln. Lightwood I understand to be as follows. When a Tree has been blown down or Cut. The Turpentine that is in the tree, in a few years retires to all the knotty parts of the said Tree. These they Cut up in small strips and will form a Tarkiln so large that when set on Fire, will run from 6, 7, 8 or 1000 Barrels of Tar. These splinters are so loaded with Bitumen that they will burn like a Candle; it is a usual thing to carry a Torch of Light Wood at night as you Europeans do flam beaus. The above are the articles we export Beside Deer Skins, Barrels of Pork, Beef, Bees Wax, Tallow &c. Great Quantity of Lumber is Shipped to the West Indies. We have in the Creeks and Branches of this River of Cape Fear from 36 to 40 Saw mills,¹⁶ each with two Saws, and upon an honest Medium, each

¹⁶ For a description of the saw mills on the Cape Fear at this time see Charles C. Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven, 1936), 64-65.

Mill Saws two hundred Thousand feet of Timber. They could do a thousand more but most of them in the Summer Months are obliged to lay Still for want of Water. This Article would make a fine remittance to Great Britain if a Bounty was allowed on the importation. The Pine (as M^r Hawks¹⁷ the Master Builder I took over with me from England, and who is a very able Worthy man) says is Vastly Superior to the Norway the Norway [*sic*] Pine, for the Decking of Ships, as it is more Solid and filled with Turpentine which makes it very durable. He is Positive that a Ship's Deck laid of the yellow Pine of this Province will last at least as long as two decks of the Norway Pine. The Shingles made for Exportation are made of Cypress, and are Sold the best at 9^s Sterling per Thousand. I shall now say no more at present of the Produce of this Country Its Naval Stores &c. but return to some private occurrences of my own family. As to Health M^{rs} Tryon and the little girl have enjoyed a very happy share of it. As to Myself I cannot say so much, having been sharply disciplined with a Billeous disorder in my Stomach and Eruptions of the Rash kind, on my Legs, this I got over the latter end of April last. About a Month since I had a return tho' not so Violent, a Strong Emetic was administered which handled me very Severely, however it effected the cure, and I have Supported the heats very well since. The Thermometer (made by Adams¹⁸) was in June in a Cool passage at 88°=0' at the highest, and this Month it has been from 79 to 87°—0'. The day after I wrote my last letter of June to L^d H¹⁹ the glass in twenty hours sunk from 87°=0' to 71°—30'. Which great change caused much Sickness in in [*sic*] the Province. If I was to Muster my family I should not be able to return many fit for Duty. The Lad we took from Norfolk, a sailor I have made my groom and a little French Boy I got here, is all the Male Servants, well, Le Blanc, Cuisinier; & Turner, the Farmer, have both fevers and are taking the bark.²⁰ Georges Senses just returned with some favorable Symptoms and lastly the girl we took from my Farm has been so ill that she has done an hours work these two months. I sent her last week to a Plantation on the Sea Side, for a change of Scene, and air, She is getting better. These are inconveniences I am told every newcomer must experience in this Colony they term

¹⁷ John Hawks, subsequently the architect of "Tryon's Palace." Alonzo T. Dill, Jr., "Tryon's Palace," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (April, 1942), 122.

¹⁸ George Adams, "mathematical instrument maker to George III." *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885-1900, 63 vols.), I, 97.

¹⁹ This could refer to Lord Halifax, Lord Hillsboro, or Lord Hyde, all of whom are later mentioned by name.

²⁰ Bark of the cinchona tree, from which quinine is procured, was formerly ground into a powder and taken as a febrifuge. Murray *A New English Dictionary*, I, 672.

it a seasoning. Surely it has a little too much of the Kian Pepper in it. We have been drove to very short Commons, and the Cooks being sick deprived us of our Baker. We often sent to Brunswick Town (about 20 families in it) to beg our Bread, as there is none for Sale that can be eat nearer than Wilmington fifteen Miles off, either by Land or Water. I shall do better when I get my family on their Legs again. As I have purchased a yard full of fowls, have some good Hams and occasionally get a Bit of Mutton or Beef I reckon My Situation here is more out of the way for buying provisions than any Corner of the Province, but hold it to be as healthy as any in the Province, being within sight of one of the Sea Inlets at the distance of five Miles, tho' to the Bar of the River where the Vessels go over, is fifteen Miles, which makes us half way between the Bar and Wilmington. As I am desirous of not showing myself particularly partial to any particular Spot of the Country or people, I have hired three other houses. One at Wilmington to be at when I hold the Land Office,²¹ which is twice a year, One at Newbern, where I hold the Genl Assembly and the Courts of Chancery,²² and a Small Villa within three Miles of Newbern, for the purpose of raising a little Stock and Poultry for use of the family. I imagine you will say Tryon will certainly ruin himself, but my good Friend Houses are not so convenient nor so high priced as in Britain. The Rent of these four Houses with Six Hundred and forty acres to the Newbern Villa amount to near 130 £ Ster^s. I have Sixty acres of land belonging to this House all sand, except about 15 acres of Salt Marsh, use less at present from neglect & Weeds. I must now confine myself to my particular Situation in a Political View. I have been at great charges both of labor and expence in getting my family into this Province, and after many tedious disappointments Collected them more together than ever they have been yet, and as I think there is a large Field for good offices, If the People are reasonable I am persuaded, I could render His Majesty as much Service in this Colony as in any other more settled.

If the climate continues to agree with M^{rs} Tryon and little one I shall be content to Act as the Political Physician, but if they will neither take my Pills, or follow my Prescriptions I shall desire another Doctor may be called in, and that Physician retire who will never give his attendance for the consideration of the

²¹ As governor, Tryon was an official of the Land Office which was responsible for certifying and recording land grants in the colony. Charles Lee Raper, *North Carolina, A Study in English Colonial Government* (New York, 1904), 101-124, hereinafter cited as Raper, *A Study in English Colonial Government*.

²² The governor, sitting in council with at least five members, could act as a Court of Chancery to hear and decide all cases in equity. Raper, *A Study in English Colonial Government*, 150-151.

Fee. As to the Emoluments for the Gov^r they arise from Licences for Public Houses and Marriages if by License Special,²³ Fee for putting the Seal of the Province to letters Testimonial, letters of Administration Registers for Ships &c. All which by the Estimate the Governor gave me some time before his Death amounts to about 400£ St^s and the Fees on the Warrants for Surveying the Lands and Patents for granting them (which business is done in the Land Office) amount to between 3£ and 400£ Ster^s which last is a donation of the Crown to the Governor so that the Province gives the Gov^r 400£ per Ann: Which he is obliged to Collect from at least forty or fifty different hands, in which Number there must be some deficiencies. The County Clerks account with the Gov^r for most of these Fees. I do not See, or believe the Province in a Situation capable of adding any considerable addition to the Fees, and I am persuaded, their inclination is as slack as their ability is weak for such a step. Therefore, the Gov^r of this Province must live in a Mean and shabby Manner, if it was not for the Salary allowed from home to him. I hope you and my friends have been very busy in procuring My Commission as Governor, passing the Offices²⁴ as soon as possible. I was determind you see when I took pen in hand to say what I might have subdivided into Six letters. I have from the heat of the Weather found myself in such a State of Indolence, that I have been perpetually moving from one room to the other, tho' motion makes us hotter, and never able to Settle to reading or any business. I have wrote this long letter yesterday Evening and this Morning. I was up at 4 o'clock. We ride most days, Morning or Evening. M^{rs} Tryon fortunately has two horses which carry her very safely.

Say Every thing for me to Lord Halifax²⁵ & L'Hillsborough²⁶ that is proper and grateful; particularly make my very affec-

²³ A 1741 law regulating the issuance of marriage licenses was in force at this time. The governor's fee for each license amounted to twenty shillings. Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 158-161.

²⁴ There were four methods of appointing colonial officials and all required that certain documents be recorded in one or more offices in England. Tryon's term "passing the offices" refers to this step. For details concerning the appointment of colonial officers see Charles M. Andrews, *Guide to the Materials American History, to 1783 in the Public Record Office of Great Britain* (Washington, 1912), I, 233-236.

²⁵ George Montagu Dunk, second Earl of Halifax, first lord of the admiralty and (until he was dismissed in July 1765—the very month in which this letter was written) high in the administration of George Grenville. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVI, 199-201.

²⁶ Wills Hill, Earl of Hillsborough, a relative of Tryon's wife. As president of the board of trade and plantations he was influential in Tryon's appointment as lieutenant governor of North Carolina. He resigned this position in July, 1765—again, the very month in which this letter was written. *Dictionary of National Biography*, LVII, 276; XXVI, 427-429.

tionate Compl^{ts} to L^d Hyde.²⁷ Communicate some contents to him of this book. He knows he is my Sheet Anchor.²⁸ I expect ample amends for the trouble I give you to read this Manuscript. I think you promised to send me the Monthly Gazetes,²⁹ I have received none. Pray remember us all to every body that inquires after us. I have received a handsome cheerful letter from My friend Hotham³⁰ and also from Leland both whom I regard. I shall be most happy if in your next letter you tell me you have recovered your appetite and in better health; a Circumstance I am very Solicitous about. M^{rs} Tryon joins with me very Sincerely in our wishes for your health &c.

I am D^r S^r

Most cordially yours,

W Tryon

²⁷ Thomas Villiers, first Baron Hyde, a member of the privy council and joint postmaster-general. *Dictionary of National Biography*, LVIII, 352-353.

²⁸ "That on which one places one's reliance when everything else has failed." A sheet-anchor, formerly always the largest of a ship's anchors, was used only in an emergency. Murray, *A New English Dictionary*, VIII, 670.

²⁹ Tryon probably was referring to such popular monthly publications as *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *British Magazine*; or, *Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies*, *Candid Review and Literary Repository*, etc., of which there were many. See R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye, *A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800* (Chapel Hill, 1927).

³⁰ Perhaps Beaumont Hotham (1737-1814), a member of the bar then practicing in the chancery courts. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXVII, 403-404.

BOOK REVIEWS

Home on the Yadkin. By Thomas W. Ferguson. (Winston-Salem: Clay Printing Company. 1956. Pp. 242. Illustrations.)

This little book is too opinionated to be history, too factual to be fiction, too carelessly written and printed to be a work of art, and too localized in interest to be read widely. It is, nevertheless, what the author, in his own words, set out to write: “. . . while intended to be more for local interest with a description of The Valley, family histories, customs, habits and provincialisms of its people, the author also discusses at length, politics, governmental processes, schools, churches, religion, intoxicating beverages, prohibition, A.B.C. Stores, roads, conservation of natural resources, flood control, the Grange and Agriculture.”

Mr. Ferguson is a life-long resident of the upper Yadkin and his story concerns the valley from Wilkesboro toward Blowing Rock, with special attention to the area immediately around the community of Ferguson (formerly known as Kendall and Yellow Hill). A farmer by occupation as well as conviction, he has written his reminiscences in a conversational manner that often captures the excitement of an autumn 'possum hunt, the youthful anticipation of calling up a doodlebug, and the discomfort of a straw tick. The author's interest in the land and its people, his devotion to the New Deal and the Grange, and his opposition to alcohol, mosquitoes, Army engineers, and Republicans, figure prominently in the story. Mr. Ferguson's liberal political views do not include support for the proposed Yadkin flood control dam, a scheme which he feels would destroy “a goodly portion of both Wilkes and Caldwell [counties].”

The reader may find some of the author's ideas more amusing than practical, but he will admire the courage of expressing them. Mr. Ferguson suggests, for example, that the way to do away with the liquor problem is to abolish all prohibitions and taxation so that alcohol will cease to be a luxury. Result: both the psychological and economic attractions will

be eliminated, and it will become unprofitable to produce. Nor will there be common agreement that "ninety-five per cent of the world's progress has emanated from this minority [Christian] group. The other five per cent has no doubt been due to the association with Christian people and Christian principles."

Mr. Ferguson is at his best in describing local color incidents—as, for example, when Cousin Ben Ferguson wrote a recruiting officer in 1898 that he was "ready to go to Cuba, hell, or anywhere else." But perhaps the choicest gem is the author's assumption that "we on our little planet, the earth, have as much or more intelligence than any other planet in the universe, otherwise they would have communicated with us before this time."

Home on the Yadkin will be a delightful reading experience for those who are more interested in life in the valley than in the literary or historical merits of the book.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

James W. Davis: North Carolina Surgeon. By LeGette Blythe. With a Foreword by Johnson J. Hayes. (Charlotte: William Loftin Publishers. 1957. Pp. ix, 227. Index.)

This is the story of one of North Carolina's most colorful and successful contemporary surgeons. Drawing freely from correspondence, published tributes, documents, and the memories of many who knew him, LeGette Blythe has written an authoritative biography in the same interesting narrative style that has made his historical and biblical novels so successful.

It is the story of a man who dedicated his life to a purpose first expressed as a youth, "I'm going to be a doctor and have a hospital and operate on a lot of folks, and get rich, too!"

It is the story of a surgeon who performed a prodigious number of operations and of a shrewd business man and

organizer who built, staffed, and equipped a 200-bed modern hospital and clinic in Statesville, without the aid of local or governmental subsidy.

It is the story of a man of boundless energy and strong convictions who believed firmly in the virtues of self discipline, hard work, and individual enterprise. He hated idleness and waste. He expressed himself strongly on the evils of alcohol and cigarettes. And in national politics, he abhorred the practices of the New Deal and was a staunch and vocal Taft Republican in the center of Democratic North Carolina.

Critics might have questioned the indications for some of his operations. Others who worked with him might have complained that the Chief took all the work and left nothing for the associate. Undoubtedly, in the relentless pursuit of his singleness of purpose and in the expression of his convictions, he trod on the toes of others. Yet they were few compared to the thousands who loved and respected him for a lifetime devoted to his profession.

Clarence E. Gardner, Jr.

School of Medicine,
Duke University,
Durham.

Index and Digest to Hathaway's North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register. Compiled and edited by Worth S. Ray. (Baltimore: Southern Book Company. 1956. \$10.00. [Reprint].)

Colonial Granville County and Its People. Compiled and edited by Worth S. Ray. (Baltimore: Southern Book Company. 1956. \$7.50. [Reprint].)

In 1947, Worth S. Ray published *The Lost Tribes of North Carolina*, a combination of four titles that were also printed separately. This work was an offset reproduction from typescript which, while bringing together a wealth of genealogical data, at the same time taxed the patience and eyesight of readers. Some portions were unreadable, others almost so.

The Southern Book Company, a specialist in genealogical works, has now reproduced the first two parts of the Ray volume — *Index and Digest to Hathaway's North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register* and *Colonial Granville County and Its People*. Inasmuch as the reproduction is an offset from the 1947 edition, the same handicap accompanies the reprints. In fairness to the Southern Book Company, however, it should be said that in general an excellent job of reproduction has been done, considering the quality of the original pages.

Parts III and IV of *The Lost Tribes*, published separately in 1947, under the titles *Mecklenburg Signers and Their Neighbors* and *Old Albemarle and Its Absentee Landlords*, are still available in the original editions.

In the preface to *The Lost Tribes*, Mr. Ray wrote, "The book contains many errors, as nearly all good books do, but I will never live long enough to re-write it, so I am sending it out into the world just as it is. Future writers may correct them later." The errors and omissions remain, but long-suffering genealogists will benefit from the new publication of the two parts under review. Hathaway's *Register*, published in 1900, 1901, and 1903, contains a vast accumulation of historical data gathered chiefly from the Albemarle counties. Although Ray's index to the *Register* omits many names, it nevertheless fills a need realized for almost half a century.

Colonial Granville County does not purport to be a history of old Granville, but it nevertheless brings together information that cannot be found in any other published source. Family lines and biographical sketches are particularly valuable. The reader should not assume, however, that Mr. Ray exhausted his sources. For instance, only about a hundred marriage bonds—a fraction of the total—are abstracted, and even fewer wills are included. Thus, while finding the little book useful, the researcher will still need to do most of his work in the manuscript records of the county.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

The Decisive Battle of Nashville. By Stanley F. Horn. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 181. Maps and illustrations. \$3.00.)

Of all the battles of the Civil War, the Battle of Nashville has been called the most perfect. It was a model in strategy and execution—a textbook battle—and it marked the end, for all practical purposes, of the Army of Tennessee. That army was a rugged fighting force that had been cursed with incredibly poor leadership through most of the war. It had its peak under General Joseph E. Johnston in the campaign to Atlanta, but Johnston was not sufficiently aggressive to satisfy Jefferson Davis, who replaced him with the less experienced and less able John B. Hood. Hood responded with the aggressive action that the Confederate President desired, but without success and with a loss in men that the Army of Tennessee could ill afford. Forced to surrender Atlanta, Hood led his army on a quick march back into Tennessee in a desperate attempt to capture Sherman's bases of supply and menace Kentucky, Ohio, and points North. Failing in that, he planned to move through Cumberland Gap to the aid of Lee in Virginia.

Hood's planning was basically sound, but his execution was poor. He delayed too long in crossing the Tennessee River, blundered in allowing General Schofield to elude him at Spring Hill, and then in a pique of anger fought the useless and costly Battle of Franklin. At this point he forgot, or decided to ignore, his original campaign alternative. Instead of trying to join Lee, he led his decimated army to the outskirts of Nashville and entrenched.

Behind the strong fortifications of the city General George H. Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga," slowly and methodically built up his forces and planned his strategy for the forthcoming battle. Unhurried, despite threats and pleas from Lincoln and Grant, he finally moved out against the Confederates on December 15 with a great flanking movement that,

by the following night, had crumpled the Army of Tennessee and sent it in flight for the safety of the Tennessee River.

It is this battle that Mr. Horn describes, and no one can tell it better. Completely familiar with every part of the battlefield, Mr. Horn makes the battle come alive with his vivid descriptions of the action, and he makes it intelligible to the modern reader through his happy device of describing it in terms of present-day streets, houses, and subdivisions. The addition of several fine maps, pictures of Nashville's fortifications, and a dust cover on the inside of which is a map of the city showing the location of markers erected by the Tennessee Historical Commission to describe the battle, make the book a valuable addition to every Civil War library.

Mr. Horn has produced the best and probably the definitive history of the Battle of Nashville. But he has tried to do still more. He has attempted to show that Nashville was "*the* decisive battle of the war"; and it is this interpretation that will draw most criticism of the book. If, as the author maintains, *the* decisive battle of a war is one in which the contrary event would have changed the future drama of the world, can Nashville claim the distinction over the bloodbath at Franklin, which many believe dictated the result of the Battle of Nashville—or over the repulse at Gettysburg of Lee's northern invasion—or over the surrender of Atlanta with its crucial boost of northern morale at a critical point—or over the Confederate defeat at Antietam when British recognition of the Southern nation apparently hung in the balance?

Many readers will disagree with Mr. Horn's closely reasoned argument for the decisiveness of the battle, but most will finish the book with a feeling that the author has done an incomparably fine job of describing a battle that was more important than it has generally been considered by historians of the Civil War.

William T. Alderson.

Tennessee State Library and Archives,
Nashville, Tenn.

Georgia's Land of the Golden Isles. By Burnette Vanstory. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 202. Illustrations. \$3.75.)

In this pleasant little book, Mrs. Vanstory has recreated the atmosphere of leisurely plantation luxury on the famed Sea Islands of Georgia and the adjoining coast. After presenting an overview of the islands from Ossabaw to Cumberland, she then describes each separately. Extensive research is evident in the descriptions of aboriginal life, early settlers, wars with the Spaniards, and events of both the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. The thread of her story continues on to the present; and all the islands are once more considered in a concluding chapter.

The style is warm and flowing, informal but not chatty, and spiced with family anecdotes and legends. The author has fortunately not succumbed to what must have been a great temptation to overburden her narrative with genealogical data. Although many family histories are given in some detail, this is almost essential inasmuch as most of the islands were owned by single families during the pre-Civil War period.

The most interesting sections are those dealing with pre-Revolutionary history. One wishes Mrs. Vanstory had dwelt longer on this aspect. The book's gravest fault—although some might call it an asset—is its extreme romanticism. One becomes slightly wearied by the excessive number of moonlight boat rides, balls, faithful retainers, and an atmosphere drenched with the perfume of flowers and filled with the melodious song of birds. The twentieth-century houseparties of northern millionaires seem a travesty on the past, as well as dull. A more critical and realistic approach by the author would have provided a more substantial contribution to the literature of Georgia history.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon.

Meredith College,
Raleigh.

The Road to Appomattox. By Bell Irvin Wiley. (Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State College Press. 1956. Pp. x, 121. \$4.00.)

Few historians are as qualified as Professor Wiley to speculate on the causes of Confederate defeat. His interest in the common soldier in gray and in the plain people behind the lines has given him a deep understanding of the wartime mind of the South. In these three lectures (originally presented as the J. P. Young Lectures in American History at Memphis State College), he advances some theories about the things that beat the Confederates.

The first lecture is devoted to Jefferson Davis. In a charitable portrait of the Confederate President, Dr. Wiley defends him against many of the charges made by his contemporaries and by later historians, but is forced to conclude that Davis' "record as President leaves more to condemn than to praise" (p. 42). In the second lecture, dealing with "the waning of the Southern will," the author draws on his knowledge of the little people to sketch the ups and downs of Confederate morale. High at the beginning, morale sagged in early 1862, revived later that year, plummeted with the disasters of July, 1863, and continued down to the nadir of 1865. Author Wiley's analysis of factors affecting morale is extremely good. Lecture three deals with "failures that were fatal," and here the author theorizes that disharmony among the people and leaders was one of the worst failures. Another which hurt morale was the inadequate system of public information. No central propaganda agency kept the war aims before the people and soon they wondered why they were fighting. Rigid political and economic views fashioned another failure by making it difficult for the government to be flexible in formulating war policy. State rights and cotton dominance kept the South agricultural and local in the face of desperate need for centralization and industry. The last failure considered, and one which Dr. Wiley thinks vital, is that of Confederate judgment. Southerners misjudged foreign attitudes on slavery and underestimated the dedication of the North to the Union.

Some of Dr. Wiley's "exploratory" and "tentative" views are bound to stir up some disagreement among his readers. Some will not agree with his evaluation of Davis, others will quarrel with certain conclusions on morale factors, and still others will wish to delete some things from his list of failures and to add many others. Whatever the opinion, though, the reader will be stimulated to reaction and will enjoy the book.

Frank E. Vandiver.

The Rice Institute,
Houston, Texas.

General George B. McClellan. *Shield of the Union*. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 350. \$6.00.)

Shortly after the close of the Civil War Robert E. Lee was asked to name the ablest general he had faced during the conflict. Without hesitation he answered: "McClellan by all odds!" Professor Warren W. Hassler, Jr., in the present volume, *Shield of the Union*, presents considerable historical justification for Lee's statement. It is the author's contention that McClellan, contrary to the views of many writers, was more than just an "able organizer, drillmaster, and disciplinarian." He was, in addition, "a soldier of superior strategic and tactical ability. . . ."

With exceptional clarity Professor Hassler describes both the Peninsula and Antietam campaigns. The bloody fighting which marked these early stages of the war reveal McClellan as a far cry from the commander charged by his contemporaries as being stupid, incompetent, and even disloyal.

Equally clear and scholarly is the treatment of the political pressures of the day which had a direct bearing on military events. The author shows considerable skill in interweaving the political and military stories, thus giving the reader an intelligible and convincing picture of the tremendous handicaps under which McClellan labored. "Political enmity toward him was largely his undoing." As a Democrat hated

by the Radical Republicans and at odds with the administration, the General was destined for political sacrifices.

Shield of the Union is an extremely fine piece of work in defense of McClellan and helps bring the controversial General into a truer focus. However, Professor Hassler is open to the criticism of riding his thesis a little too hard. There is no denying that McClellan was a talented officer but it must always be remembered that he failed before Richmond and gained no more than a debatable draw at Antietam. It is highly questionable whether "Little Mac" could have done Grant's job in 1864-1865.

John G. Barrett.

Virginia Military Institute,
Lexington, Va.

The Early Jackson Party in Ohio. By Harry R. Stevens. (Durham: The Duke University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 187. \$4.50.)

In this short book Dr. Harry Stevens, an Assistant Professor of History at Duke University, attempts to tell the story of the election of 1824 in Ohio. He begins with a biographical sketch of the Irish revolutionary and educator, Moses Dawson, and then jumps to a bitter congressional election between William Henry Harrison and James W. Gazlay. He then begins to cite letters in which prominent Ohioans discuss the presidential prospects of the various candidates.

Stevens' chief efforts are devoted to showing how this feeling for one candidate was actually transferred into a party organization. The advocates of DeWitt Clinton, led by Ethan Allen Brown, organized early but soon folded. Most of the Congressmen were active politicians and generally worked for Henry Clay. John McLean was active for John C. Calhoun, until Pennsylvania developments caused the South Carolinian's withdrawal. Certain politicians, professing to resent Southern domination, attempted to appeal to all opponents

of slavery to support John Quincy Adams. Little support came to Crawford, and as the Calhoun and Clinton campaigns failed, several editors and politicians began to praise Jackson. Moses Dawson, then an editor, was active for Jackson, and Congressman Gazlay, in spite of great personal animosity toward Dawson, espoused the Jackson cause. Stevens constantly reminds us that there was little connection between state and local tickets and the national alignment.

In monotonous detail in every county where local committees were formed, Stevens tries to trace the actual formation of a party for each of the three main candidates. Although hundreds of names are listed as leaders of one of the candidates, the author fails to show any significance as to why they acted. The pattern shows editors announcing their support of one candidate and of men holding meetings, passing resolutions, and sometimes selecting electors. On the whole there seemed little co-operation beyond county limits. In the election Clay's ticket received 19,255 votes, Jackson's ticket, 18,489, and Adams' ticket, 12,280. Jackson's strength was great where his county organizations existed, but the Hero of New Orleans had less of a state-wide organization than Clay. Stevens fails to find much reason why people favored individual candidates, and usually accepts at face value the assertions of politicians that they favored one candidate because he was best for the country. He does believe that the Jacksonians were the most national of the parties, but he fails to find any economic cleavage between the groups.

The Ohio story may be interesting, but this reviewer looks in vain to find significant determinants in political divisions of the western state. Although the author has undoubtedly done much research, to one interested in the Jackson party the results of his labors prove disappointing.

William S. Hoffmann.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone.

The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763. By Louis B. Wright. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1957. Pp. xiv, 292. \$5.00.)

Of the forty-odd volumes of the New American Nation Series launched by Harper, this is the seventh to appear. Dealing with various periods of history and frequently overlapping each other intentionally, they will supplant the valuable but now passé old series.

In this book Dr. Wright goes at it with might and main. Agriculture, trade, national origins, religion, education, libraries, literary productions, music and drama, architecture, science, and the press—all these eleven aspects of colonial times come off neatly packaged in eleven chapters. There is ample evidence of wide study and extensive reading. A useful bibliography at the end of the book attests the author's industry.

If there is little here of which the earnest student of early American culture is not already aware, at least it is well to have it in such a convenient and concise arrangement. For the old boys, this compendium may serve as a handy reference in spite of the inadequate and capricious index. For the college student, it will doubtless appear on many lists of parallel reading.

With so many dates, names, facts, quotations, and conclusions, one might expect some new lights on our colonial forebears, but such is not the case. With humor Dr. Wright reminds us many times that the Puritans were interested in more than religion—an admonition which is hardly necessary any longer. Following his predecessors, American history still begins in 1607 (poor Roanoke!). Virginians and New Englanders still dominate the scene, though occasionally Pennsylvanians and South Carolinians are allowed brief entrance. "Culture," when not in cities, is for the most part on vast plantations.

On every occasion, University of North Carolina-trained Dr. Wright mentions North Carolina only in passing. The

colony was peopled by "simple folk" (p. 20), "was the most backward of the colonies in matters of education" (p. 114), was called a "hell of a hole" by a preacher in 1721 (p. 115). William Byrd gets page after page after page, John Lawson twelve lines. Dr. Thomas Bray established libraries in Maryland and South Carolina, but presumably none at Bath. A man named James Parker founded "the *Constitutional Courant* in 1765 at Woodbridge, New Jersey" (!); there is not even the barest mention of James Davis and 1751 and New Bern.

All this drives home one inescapable conclusion: Tar Heels are still delinquent in writing their own history. From the *Colonial Records* and the vast data in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill—from these two alone—a cultural history of colonial North Carolina could be spelled out which would astound even authorities like Dr. Wright. Meanwhile, novelist Inglis Fletcher has the field to herself.

Richard Walser,

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

The Origins of the American Party System. By Joseph Charles. (Williamsburg: The Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1956. Pp. viii, 147. \$2.50.)

This slight but meaty volume consists of three chapters from the author's doctoral dissertation on the party origins of Jeffersonian democracy, a work characterized as a "brilliant piece of original analysis" by Frederick Merk in his brief foreword. This posthumous publication makes generally available parts of the thesis, which the author regarded as unfinished and hoped to be able sometime to refine and strengthen. The published essays deal with "Hamilton and Washington," "Adams and Jefferson," and "The Jay Treaty."

Of necessity, the selected chapters do not build into a fully rounded exposition of the origins of the party system. Yet

they contain insights most suggestive to the political scientist concerned with the theory of parties. Mr. Charles viewed deterministic explanations of party origins with reserve. Although well aware of economic and other such influences, his general view is that the political factor in the system may be to a substantial extent independent of the supposed determinants. Party cleavages were to a degree man-made. The management of the great issues of the 1790's plowed a furrow that set off one group of partisans against another; the managed impact of the issues, not latent and predetermined cleavages, fixed the party division. Once built up the party groupings became entities with a life of their own to be understood by their own inner dynamics, not as puppets propelled by abstract, external forces.

The speculative passages are worth pondering, but they do not make up the bulk of the essays which center on their subjects. From these pages Hamilton emerges not so much the saviour of the financial integrity of the country as a tireless advocate of the propertied classes and of a powerful state who "seems never to have asked himself how powerful a state could be if it were not based on the loyalty, affections, and best interests of all of its citizens" (p. 36). In the development of the party system Washington, subject to management by those around him, does not appear at his best. Adams' great contribution to the creation of parties came in his policy of resistance to those Federalist leaders not indisposed toward war with France, a tactic that gave time for the formation of a new party and helped create circumstances favorable to its peaceful succession to power. The Republican party itself was not a creation of Jefferson. Rather, "a widespread popular movement recognized and claimed him as its leader." These and other such points, persuasively argued, make the book of interest to historians of the period.

V. O. Key, Jr.

Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes. By John Hope Franklin. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Pp. xv, 639. Illustrations, bibliographical notes, and index. \$5.50 text, \$7.50 trade.)

This book could have been entitled *History of the United States with Emphasis on Negroes*. One may quarrel with Franklin over such points as his oversimplification of the Compromise of 1850 or his overemphasis on the organized underground railroad. Yet his book is about as accurate as one can expect in a general work. Most of the better known secondary studies are mentioned in the bibliographical notes, and there is nothing particularly startling in the interpretations. Except for brief accounts of early Negro Kingdoms, Latin American bondmen, and an excellent chapter on the Negro in Canada, there is little new to the American historian. Yet it is the sort of book every instructor should recommend to students.

The book is a synthesis. Especially well done is the description of plantation slavery. The status of the free Negro is adequately described. The philosophy of Booker T. Washington is interestingly discussed. Reconstruction is explained as part of a national economic revolution.

Dr. Franklin is a Negro. For the first three-quarters of the book one is impressed with his detachment and objectivity. Yet when he reaches the Twentieth Century a note of bitterness is present. This part of the book reads like a special plea for justice, and one feels the Negro's outrage and determination to continue the fight for equal rights. Until a reader reaches the last chapter he senses that Franklin and Negroes in general were filled more with despair than with hope. But many significant things happened after 1947; segregation ended in many areas and the Supreme Court declared school segregation unconstitutional. Franklin himself gained acclaim in the historical profession. In his last chapter, written in 1956, the author records these national developments, and, although realizing that the battle is not yet won, he expresses satisfaction.

As in the case of most revised general works little has been added. It is, however, a worthwhile study. It shows that the high reputation which Franklin enjoys among the profession is not merely a sign of his colleagues' liberalism but is a well-deserved tribute to his scholarly work.

William S. Hoffmann.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History met on May 8 with the following members present: Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman, Miss Gertrude Carraway, Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, and Mr. Josh L. Horne. Present also were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department; Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist; and Mrs. Fannie M. Blackwelder, Records Center Supervisor. The Board authorized Dr. Crittenden to file a report with Governor Luther H. Hodges and the Council of State to instigate proceedings to acquire the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace property. The Director and the division heads presented reports of the activities of the Department since the last meeting. A report was also made on Senate Bill 55 amending Chapter 371, *Public Laws of North Carolina*, relative to counties appropriating non-tax revenues to local historical societies; and Senate Bill 56 amending the basic act of the Department of Archives and History, Chapter 121 of the *General Statutes*, and authorizing the setting up of a committee on the disposal of historical records that have no administrative or historical value or importance.

On June 11 Governor Luther H. Hodges reappointed Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City to the Executive Board for a six-year term to expire March 31, 1963; and appointed Mr. H. V. Rose of Smithfield to succeed Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville, for a term of six years to expire the same date.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, accompanied by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, attended a meeting on March 7 of the Hillsboro Garden Club to aid in developing a plan for a historical museum there. The town of Hillsboro later voted the sum of \$250 to be used for the proposed

museum which is to be established in the old courtroom. On March 29 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Washington, D. C., at which time those present approved a long-range plan for the Trust which was presented by a special committee. On April 4 he was presented a "time capsule" for preservation in the Department by representatives of the National Education Association as a part of the centennial celebration of the group which was concluded by a reception held with the North Carolina Education Association which also celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary this year. Dr. Crittenden attended the organizational meeting of the Wake County Historical Society on April 9, and on April 19, accompanied by Mrs. Fannie Memory Blackwelder and Mr. H. G. Jones of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, met with the Meredith College junior history majors and their faculty advisors to discuss the Department's internship course. This course, presented biennially, offers archival, museum, publications, and historic sites training to juniors and seniors. Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, Head of the History Department at Meredith, led the discussion. On April 23 Dr. Crittenden talked on the "History of Raleigh" to the Daughters of the American Revolution, Junior Group, and on April 26 attended the Historical Society of North Carolina meeting at Elon College. He and Mr. W. S. Tarlton met with the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission on March 29, at which time the group discussed the request for appropriations and reached an agreement. With Mr. H. G. Jones, Mrs. Grace Mahler, and Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips, Dr. Crittenden attended the May 10-11 regional meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Bertie County. Dr. Crittenden is Secretary of the association and on May 11 made a speech to the group on "The Historic Sites Program of North Carolina."

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden attended the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Masonic Museum in Greensboro on

March 13 and on April 5 Mrs. Jordan went to Goldsboro to judge the Junior Historian Exhibits. On April 11 Mrs. Jordan went to Warrenton to attend the garden tour which emphasized early kitchens and on April 16 assisted the Tar Heel Junior Historian Club of Josephus Daniels Junior High School (Raleigh) at a reception for their parents which was held in the Portrait Gallery of the Hall of History. She went to Williamsburg, Virginia, for a special showing of eighteenth-century textiles and wrought iron, May 1-2, and assisted as hostess at a meeting on May 16 of the Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century held in the Department of Archives and History Assembly Room. From May 22 to May 24 Mrs. Jordan attended the meetings of the American Association of Museums in Lincoln, Nebraska, and she was in New Bern from May 27 to May 29 for the meetings of the Tryon Palace Commission.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, attended the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina which met on April 26 at Elon College, and the meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association in Asheville on April 27 where he spoke on "Local Historical Societies." On the evening of April 27 he attended the meeting of the Western North Carolina Press Association for Weekly Newspapers and spoke to those present on "Zebulon B. Vance—His Birthplace and the Publication of His Papers." He talked to the Daughters of the American Revolution at Rutherfordton on April 29 on the "Department of Archives and History and Its Services to the Public," and in the evening addressed the Rutherford County Club and the Forest City Kiwanis Club at a joint meeting in Forest City on the "Educational Phases of the Work of the Department of Archives and History." Mr. Corbitt was guest speaker at the April 30 meeting of the Rotary Club in Sylva where he discussed "Increased Interest in the History of North Carolina," and on May 1 he talked to the history class at Western Carolina College, Cullowhee, on "The Publication Program of the Department of Archives and History." On May 2 he spoke

to the Cherokee County Historical Society at Murphy on "Legislation in Behalf of Local Historical Societies and Reconstruction of Fort Butler," and on May 3 spoke at the junior high school in the same town on "Learning About Your Community." His topic at the Bakersville meeting of the Mitchell County Historical Society on May 4 was "The Importance of Local Historical Societies," and on May 13 he went to Lexington to assist in the organization of the Davidson County Historical Society. He spoke to the Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century on May 16 on "The Early Settlements in North Carolina."

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, went to Washington, N. C., on March 4 to assist in presenting an appeal for funds for the restoration of Colonial Bath to the Beaufort County Board of Commissioners. He spoke on March 20 to the Johnston-Pettigrew Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, on North Carolina's contribution to the Civil War, and visited Person's Ordinary, Littleton, on March 25 to discuss with the local committee future restoration procedures. Mr. Tarlton represented the Department along with Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, member of the Executive Board, at the unveiling of a historical marker on March 29 at Dallas, Gaston County, at which event Dr. William C. Friday, President of the University of North Carolina, was the principal speaker. Both Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Griffin also spoke at the ceremonies. On April 3 Mr. Tarlton attended the executive committee meeting of the North American Association of Historic Sites Public Officials in New York City, and he represented the Department on April 8 at unveiling ceremonies of a highway marker honoring James Lytch near Laurinburg. He attended a meeting of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association in Halifax on April 12, and on April 29 he represented the Department at a meeting of the Forest History Committee of North Carolina held at Duke University.

Mr. Norman Larson, Historic Site Specialist, presented a slide-lecture program to the Northampton County Historical Society held in Jackson on April 3 on "Historic Sites in North

Carolina," and he gave the same program to the Mt. Airy Kiwanis Club on April 12. On April 28 the final program in the first series of telecasts given by the Department in collaboration with WRAL-TV was presented on the subject, "Early Medicine in North Carolina," with Mr. Larson serving as narrator.

On April 12 Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, spoke at the luncheon meeting of the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, at the Carolina Country Club on "Genealogical Source Material in the State Archives." He attended the Eleventh Institute in the Preservation and Administration of Archives, sponsored jointly by the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the Maryland Hall of Records, and the American University, held in Washington from June 17 to July 12. Dr. Theodore R. Schellenberg, Assistant Archivist of the United States, was Director of the Institute.

Mrs. Fannie Memory Blackwelder attended the Fourth Institute on Records Management in Washington from June 3 through June 14. The course was directed by Dr. Herbert E. Angel, Assistant Archivist of the United States, and was sponsored by the National Archives and the American University.

Changes in personnel in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts are as follows: Mrs. Bessie W. Bowling replaces Mrs. Betty Hunter; Mrs. Suzanne G. Bell replaces Mrs. Doris Swann; Mrs. Elizabeth J. Hilbourn returned following a leave of absence; Mrs. Elissa H. Green resigned effective May 31; Miss Rebecca Knight begins work June 1; and Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis Battle Watkins joined the staff as Laminator replacing Mrs. Sue Griffin.

The following manuscript volumes which had been withdrawn from public use because of deterioration have now been laminated, rebound, and made available for use by the Division of Archives and Manuscripts: Perquimans Precinct Court Minutes, 1688-1693; Rutherford County Court Minutes, 1782-1786; Richmond County Court Minutes, 1786-1792; and Robeson County Court Minutes, 1797-1806.

During the months of January, February, and March the Search Room was visited by 664 researchers. Reference service was also given to 697 mail inquiries and 47 telephone calls. These figures do not include visitors in the State Archivist's office, or mail and telephone inquiries answered directly from the office. During the same period the following copying services were rendered: 700 photocopies, 117 microfilm prints, 87 certified copies, and 75 feet of microfilm. The division has also laminated 1,559 pages.

The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association held its spring regional meeting in co-operation with the Bertie County Historical Association, May 10-11, in Windsor. The program included tours of the following historic places: "Hope," built about 1770 and birthplace and home of David Stone, with Dr. and Mrs. J. E. Smith as hosts; "Windsor Castle," originally a log house built by William Gray and rebuilt in 1850 by Patrick Henry Winston, where tea was served by Dr. and Mrs. Cola Castelloe; "Rosefield," erected in 1768 and birthplace of William Blount, with Mrs. Moses B. Gillam and Miss Helen Gillam as hostesses; St. Thomas Episcopal Church; "Avoca," with a side trip to the site of the "Nathaniel Batts House," believed to be the first permanent home of a white man in what is now North Carolina; "Scotch Hall," with refreshments served by Mr. and Mrs. George W. Capehart; and "Mount Gould."

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Secretary, presided at the Friday afternoon session and Mr. A. S. Askew presided at the Saturday morning session. A Friday dinner meeting with Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, President, presiding, and a picnic lunch at Colerain Beach as well as ceremonies at the Confederate monument were features of the meeting. Speakers included Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College who spoke on "The Earliest Permanent Settlements in North Carolina, circa 1650," with emphasis on the Nicholas Comberford Map drawn 300 years ago; Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., of East Carolina College, who spoke on "The Tuscarora Indians"; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden who spoke on "The Historic Sites Program of North Carolina."

The staff of the Department of Archives and History had as a special feature of the May staff meeting a film, "The Battle of Gettysburg," which was produced by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in collaboration with the Department of the Interior. Special consultant for the movie which was in color was Dr. Walter Coleman, Superintendent of Gettysburg National Military Park.

On March 15 in the office of Governor Luther H. Hodges the first copy of the *Public Addresses, Letters, and Papers of William Kerr Scott, Governor of North Carolina, 1949-1953*, was presented Senator Scott by Governor Hodges. This publication, edited by David Leroy Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, is available free to the public upon application to Mr. Corbitt, Box 1881, Raleigh.

The Papers of William Alexander Graham, Volume I, 1825-1837, is also ready for distribution by the Department. Edited by Dr. J. G. de Rouillac Hamilton, it is the first of several in a series of volumes to be published as funds become available. William A. Graham was born in Lincoln County and moved to Hillsboro in 1826. He was Governor, 1845-1849; Secretary of the Navy, 1850-1852; and Confederate States Senator, 1864-1865. Any person interested in procuring a copy of this volume should apply to Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Box 1881, Raleigh, and enclose the sum of \$3.00.

Two maps have been released by the Division of Publications and are available for five cents each. One is an outline map of the State and the other a copy of the Civil War map in Volume I of Clark's *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-65*. Five of the pamphlets distributed by the Division have been reprinted and may be purchased as follows: *Money Problems of Early Tar Heels* and *The North Carolina State Flag*, both 14-page booklets and ten cents each; *Tar Heel Tales*, 34 pages; *The War of the Regulation and the Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771*, 32 pages; and *The History of the Great Seal of North Carolina*, 40 pages, each 15 cents.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Chairman of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina, announces the following news items: Dr. Harold A. Bierck spoke to the Pi Gamma Mu at Elon College on March 1 on "What Latin America Means to the United States." Dr. James R. Caldwell contributed an essay, "The Churches of Granville County, North Carolina, in the Eighteenth Century," to the *Studies in Southern History*; and Dr. Cornelius O. Cathey contributed "The Impact of the Civil War on Agriculture in North Carolina" to the same publication. Dr. Elisha P. Douglass has been co-ordinator and a participant in a weekly WUNC television program on "Ideas." He will spend the academic year, 1957-1958, in Germany as a Fulbright Lecturer. Dr. James L. Godfrey gave two lectures at Winthrop College on May 6 and 7. He addressed the Phi Alpha Theta History Fraternity on "Some Problems for the Historian in Contemporary History," and his subject for the college assembly was "Great Britain: Post-war Adjustments and Evaluation." He is the author of "Recent Political and Constitutional Development in the Gold Coast," in the current issue of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Dr. Fletcher M. Green read a paper, "The Origins of the Credit Mobilier," at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Lincoln, Nebraska, on May 2, and on May 11 he delivered the Annual Honors Day address at Mars Hill College on the subject, "The Incidence of Greatness in North Carolina." Dr. Hugh T. Lefler addressed the March meeting of the Chapel Hill chapter of the A.A.U.W. on "Some Problems in Writing North Carolina History," and he spoke at the April meeting of the Orange County unit of the North Carolina Education Association on "Some Landmarks in the Educational History of North Carolina." Dr. Loren C. MacKinney presented an "Exhibit of Medieval Anatomy as Seen in Manuscript Illustrations" before the joint annual meeting of the American Association of Anatomists and the sesqui-centennial celebration of The Maryland School of Medicine on April 19, and on May 7 he read a paper, "The Spongia Soporifera in Medical Surgery; Was it ever Used?" at the meeting of the

American Association for the History of Medicine. He is the author of *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (South Bend, Ind.: The Medieval Institute, 1957). Dr. MacKinney will be a Visiting Research Professor of Medical History at the 1957 summer session at the University of California at Los Angeles. Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson is the editor of *Studies in Southern History* in Memory of Albert Ray Newsome, published by the University of North Carolina Press. He contributed "Business Leaders in Post-Civil War North Carolina, 1865-1900" to the volume.

Mr. Marvin R. Farley, Assistant Professor of History at Western Carolina College, died April 16, a victim of accidental drowning.

News items from East Carolina College are as follows: Dr. W. E. Marshall will succeed Dr. A. D. Frank as Head of the Department of Social Studies at the close of the spring quarter. Dr. Frank will continue teaching for some time. New faculty members who will begin teaching in September are Mr. Charles Price, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina; Dr. Ralph Napp, who received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Munich; and Dr. Ruth Keesey, who received her Ph.D. degree from Columbia University.

Mr. Richard Walser, member of the English Department at North Carolina State College, announces that he plans to use the Guggenheim Fellowship (1957-1958) which he was recently awarded to study the similarities and dissimilarities of literary interpretations in North Carolina writing.

Dr. Alice B. Keith and Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon of Meredith College have essays included in the University of North Carolina publication, *Studies in Southern History*, in Memory of Albert Ray Newsome, edited by Dr. J. C. Sitterson. Dr. Keith's essay is "William Blount in North Carolina Politics, 1791-1798," and Dr. Lemmon's is "Eugene Talmadge and the New Deal." Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, Head of the Department of History at Meredith, was elected Vice-

President (and program chairman) of the Association of Social Studies Department of the North Carolina Baptist Colleges.

Dr. Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., Dean of Students and Professor of History at Davidson College, has resigned to accept the Presidency of Mary Baldwin College in Staunton, Virginia. He will assume his duties on August 1, 1957.

Dr. Daniel McFarland of Columbia College, Columbia, South Carolina, has resigned his teaching duties to become Head of the Department of History at Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, and will begin work on September 1, 1957.

The following news items relative to the Department of History at Duke University have been released: Dr. Paul H. Clyde was a Visiting Scholar at the University of Georgia, April 9-11. He also lectured at Emory University and Agnes Scott College, and he presented a paper before the combined History and Political Science faculties of the three institutions. Dr. Joel Colton has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship and will spend part of the year in France making a study of Leon Blum and twentieth-century socialism. Mr. Guy R. MacLean, a doctoral candidate, has accepted a position at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Mr. Willard Badgette Gatewood, Jr., has completed a doctoral dissertation on "Eugene Clyde Brooks: Educator and Public Servant." Mr. Carl Cannon, a doctoral candidate, has accepted a position in the Department of History at St. Mary's Junior College. Dr. Jay Luvaas, Director of the George Washington Flowers Memorial Collection in the Duke University Library, has resigned to accept a position in the Department of History at Alleghany College. Dr. Robert Franklin Durden has published *James Shepherd Pike, Republicanism and the American Negro, 1850-1882*; and Dr. Harry R. Stevens has published *The Early Jackson Party in Ohio* and has read a paper at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on "Hugh Glenn and Expansion of the Southwest Frontier, 1817-1822." Dr. John R. Alden has published

“The Military Side of the Revolution” in *Manuscripts* (winter, 1957), and in the same issue his doctoral student, Mr. Don R. Higginbotham, published “General Daniel Morgan: His Character as Seen in His Letters.” Dr. John Shelton Curtiss has published *The Russian Revolution of 1917* in the Anvil Series under the general editorship of Dr. Louis L. Snyder; Dr. William B. Hamilton has been named editor of *The South Atlantic Quarterly* to succeed Dr. W. T. Laprade, Professor Emeritus of History. Dr. Hamilton will return to Duke University in the fall from a leave of absence to study and travel in Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and England. The Society for French Historical Studies will hold its annual meeting at Duke and the University of North Carolina, February, 1958. The president is Dr. Harold T. Parker of Duke, and the vice-president is Dr. James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina. The Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center is again conducting a summer program for qualified social scientists whose research interests relate to the British Commonwealth. The program will include a series of discussions on “Emergent Canadian Federalism,” which will be led by five distinguished Canadian lecturers.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences of Wake Forest College, announces the division of the department into two departments to be effective September 1, 1957. Dr. Stroupe will be Chairman of the Department of History and other members of that department will be: Dr. Percival Perry, Mr. Forrest W. Clonts, and Dr. Wilfred B. Yearn, Associate Professors; Dr. David L. Smiley, Dr. Lowell R. Tillett, Dr. Robert Granville Gregory, and Dr. Frank Butler Jossierand, Assistant Professors; and Mr. John Keith Huckaby and Mr. Thomas Eugene Mullen, Instructors.

The faculty of the Department of Political Science will be: Dr. Claud Henry Richards, Jr., Chairman, and Dr. Roy Jumper, Assistant Professor.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting at Elon College on April 26 with Dr. Christopher Crittenden, President, presiding. Dr. H. H. Cunningham was in charge of local arrangements and dinner was served in the McEwen Memorial Dining Hall. Papers were read by Dr. Burton Beers of North Carolina State College, Dr. William S. Hoffmann of Appalachian State Teachers College, Mr. William S. Powell of the University of North Carolina Library, and Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson of the University of North Carolina. New members accepted into the society are Dr. Percival Perry of Wake Forest College, Mr. David Stick of Kill Devil Hills, and Mr. James S. Brawley of Salisbury.

The second annual joint meeting of the Wayne, Johnston, and Sampson County historical societies was held in the Goldsboro High School April 7 with separate business meetings by each group. A play, "The Vision of Charles B. Aycock," by Mr. John Ehle, given by the Goldmasquers and directed by Mr. Daron Ward, was presented as a feature of the meeting. Mr. Henry Belk of Goldsboro introduced Dr. D. J. Rose, Chairman of the Aycock Memorial Commission, who reported on the work and plans for the restoration of the Charles B. Aycock birthplace. The size of the site, an appropriations request presented to the General Assembly, and funds raised by the three counties in a public campaign were topics included in Dr. Rose's report. The Wayne County society elected Mr. Dan Fagg, Dean of Mount Olive College, as President to succeed Mrs. C. W. Twiford. Other officers elected were Mr. Hugh Dortch and Mr. Fitzhugh Lee as Vice-Presidents; Mr. Bruce Duke, Treasurer; Mrs. N. A. Edwards, Secretary; and Mr. Eugene Roberts, Chaplain. Tea was served to those attending and the Junior Historian clubs of Goldsboro exhibited displays of their work for the year. Members of the staff of the Department of Archives and History who attended were Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, and Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist.

The official opening of the "House in the Horseshoe," or Alston House, in Moore County as a state historic shrine and major restoration took place with an open house and informal program held in front of the house on April 6. Mr. James A. Stenhouse, President of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, Representative H. Clifton Blue, Judge W. A. Leland McKeithen, and Mrs. Ernest L. Ives, all of whom have been instrumental in the restoration program, participated on the program. A portrait of Governor Benjamin Williams, painted by Mr. William Fields, Fayetteville artist, was unveiled in the "parlor" of the house. Governor Williams purchased the house as his retirement home and is buried nearby. The Moore County Historical Association is to operate the historic site under the general supervision of the State Department of Archives and History. Members of the Department who attended the ceremonies were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians and the Currituck County Historical Society sponsored a tour of the county on April 7 with the following places of interest visited: the old Dey homestead; Enoch Ferebee house; the Launch wharf and shipyard; Harrell House, which escaped burning in 1862 by a display of the Masonic emblem; Providence Baptist Church, established in 1817; Old Thad Hall Tavern; and about 75 other sites. Lunch was served at the Shawboro Community Ruritan Building and an unexpected feature was revealed by Mrs. Alma O. Roberts and Mr. Ray Etheridge—a portion of the original Liberty Pole from which the first flag is said to have been flown when the colonies declared their independence from Great Britain. The relic is to be placed in the proposed museum of the Currituck society.

On May 5 the Society of County and Local Historians sponsored a tour of Bladen County, meeting at the county courthouse in Elizabethtown. Places of interest visited were:

Old Brown Marsh Church; Old Trinity Church; Sallie Salter Monument; Tory Hole, site of the Battle of Elizabethtown; Owen Hill, home of Governor Owen; Purdie Home and Cemetery; Colonel Robeson home and tomb; and the Beth Carr Church. A picnic lunch was enjoyed by those participating in the tour at the Municipal Building in Elizabethtown.

The quarterly meeting of the Pasquotank County Historical Society was held in Christ Church Parish House in Elizabeth City, February 26, with the President, General John E. Wood, presiding. Miss Olive Aydlett, Treasurer, presented a financial report and General Wood gave the presidential report. The society voted to continue the entire slate of officers for another year as follows: General Wood, President; Mr. Buxton White, Vice President; Mrs. A. L. Pendleton, Secretary; Mr. F. P. Markham, III, Vice-Secretary; and Miss Olive Aydlett, Treasurer. The speaker for the evening was Rev. Paul K. Ausley. Plans were discussed for a joint meeting to be held with the Camden, Currituck, and Pasquotank societies as well as interested persons from Perquimans County, in an effort to stimulate interest in the history of the entire section embraced by these groups.

The Bladen County Historical Society was organized on March 8 in Elizabethtown with the following officers elected: Mr. H. H. Clark, President; Mr. Clifford Crawford, Vice-President; Mrs. Carl Campbell, Secretary-Treasurer; and Miss Amanda Clark and Mrs. Hobson Sanderlin, Historians.

On March 29 two markers were erected at Dallas in Gaston County in honor of G. M. Dallas for whom the town of Dallas—first county seat—was named. One marker was placed at the courthouse and the other by the highway. Dr. William C. Friday, President of the University of North Carolina, Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, made brief addresses.

The event was sponsored jointly by the Dallas Woman's Club, the Gaston County Historical Society, and the Major William Chronicle Chapter and the William Gaston Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Mrs. James Gribble was chairman of the committee in charge of the marker erection and Mrs. E. D. Pasour was chairman of the steering committee.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin issued for the last quarter carried articles on the Abernathy family history, "Magnolia Grove," and a report on the work of members of the county historical society who are collecting material for a local history.

Mr. William A. Parker was elected President of the Wake County Historical Society at its organizational meeting held on April 9 in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History. Other officers elected were: Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Vice-President; Mrs. Herbert Norris, Secretary; and Mr. Richard Seawell, Treasurer. Members of the Executive Council are: Mr. R. N. Simms, Mrs. J. M. Broughton, Miss Elizabeth Thompson, Mrs. Vance Jerome, Mr. Alfred Purrington, Mrs. Edith T. Earnshaw, Mrs. Sprague Silver, Mr. William Hatch, and Mr. John Burke O'Donnell. The constitution and by-laws prepared by Mr. John H. Anderson were adopted and the society designated March and September as months of meeting. Persons joining before the September meeting will be considered charter members. Approximately 100 persons attended the meeting after which refreshments were served in the Portrait Gallery of the Hall of History.

The annual meeting of the North Carolina Society of the Descendants of the Palatines was held on April 18 in New Bern with Judge R. A. Nunn, President, presiding. Special guest and speaker was Professor Hans Gustav Keller, official of the National Archives and teacher at the University of Bern, Switzerland. He is here to do research on the Swiss immigrants to colonial America and their influence on the Amer-

ican way of life. Mr. Charles R. Holloman was also a special guest and spoke briefly to the group. The Palatine History Award was presented to Jerry Ball, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Ball of New Bern, whose brother and sister have previously won the award. Judge Nunn spoke of the 250th anniversary celebration to be held in 1960, and Miss Lucy Cobb of Raleigh was asked to write a pageant for that occasion. Mr. Mack Lupton introduced the speaker and a paper was read on Miss Frances Willis, former Ambassador to Switzerland.

On April 20 the Carteret County Historical Society met at the home of Miss Mary Whitehurst and her sisters in Gloucester. President Thomas Respass presided and papers were presented by Miss Josie Pigott on "The Graham Academy" and by Mrs. Nat Smith on a section of the county known as "The Straits." Reports were made and the group was invited to meet at the Ennett Cottage on Bogue Sound for the July meeting and annual watermelon cutting.

The Pitt County Historical Society met on May 2 in Greenville and plans were discussed relative to the publication of a county history. The group presented the General Assembly with a request that legislation be enacted establishing a commission to make plans for the celebration of the bi-centennial of Pitt County. Since the meeting of the society the General Assembly has passed a bill establishing the Pitt County Historical Commission and has authorized it to make plans for the celebration in 1960. The commission is composed of 125 members specified in the act and they have been authorized to elect 40 additional members. Forty-one new members joined the society at the May meeting.

On May 11 the annual meeting of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society was held in Wilmington, and Dr. B. Frank Hall was elected as president. Other officers elected were: Mr. Henry MacMillan, Vice-President; Mrs. Ida B. Kellam, Secretary; Mr. Ludlow P. Strong, Treasurer; and Miss Carolina D. Flanner, Mrs. Boyd D. Quarles, Mr. Julien D. Martin,

Mr. Davis H. Howes, and Mr. Winston Broadfoot as members of the board of directors. Dr. Paul Murray of East Carolina College presented a paper, "The Contribution of County Historical Societies to North Carolina History."

Mrs. Bettie Sue Gardner of Reidsville won highest honors at the thirteenth annual Rockingham County Fine Arts Festival held in the Wentworth High School on May 10. Mrs. Gardner was awarded the Lillian Smith Pitcher Cup for her historical map of Rockingham County. Mrs. Gardner was instrumental in the founding of the county historical society and is a member of the Greensboro Writers Club. The festival, first of its kind in the State, was founded by Miss Marianne R. Martin and is under the direction of an association as well as the Rockingham County Library.

Mr. J. V. Moffitt, Jr., was elected President of the newly organized Davidson County Historical Association which met in Lexington on May 13. Other officers elected were: Mr. L. A. Martin, First Vice-President; Mr. H. Cloyd Philpott, Second Vice-President; Mr. Walter Brinkley, Treasurer; and Mr. Wade H. Phillips, Secretary. A constitution and by-laws were adopted by the group, membership dues were established, and it was provided that persons who join before the next quarterly meeting are to be charter members.

The McDowell County Historical Association held its quarterly meeting on May 18 and elected a slate of officers to begin their duties in September. Those elected are: Miss Ruth M. Greenlee, President; Mr. M. W. Gordon, Vice-President; and Mrs. Garland Williams, Secretary-Treasurer. The program centered around gold mining in McDowell and surrounding counties.

Mr. Phil R. Carlton, Jr., of Greensboro, President of the North Carolina Society, Sons of the American Revolution, has announced the appointment of nine regional vice-presidents and members of the board of managers. Those named to the board were Mr. John G. Bragaw, Mr. Collier

Cobb, Jr., Judge Francis O. Clarkson, Mr. John Layman Crumpton, Mr. William Arthur Mitchiner, Mr. John Yates Jordan, Jr., Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, Mr. J. Hampton Price, and Dr. Hugh A. Watson. Officers of the State society are Mr. Carlton, President; Mr. Victor H. Idol, Vice-President; Mr. William A. Parker, National Trustee; Col. Jeffrey A. Stanback, Historian; Mr. Frank Parker, Secretary-Treasurer; Mr. Horace B. Lindsay, Genealogist; and Dr. A. M. Fountain, Chaplain.

Mr. George W. McCoy of Asheville was elected President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association at the spring meeting held in the Pack Memorial Library, Asheville, on April 27. Judge Owen Gudger was presented the "Outstanding Historians' Cup" for his work toward the preservation of history during the past year. Dr. Rosser H. Taylor of Western Carolina College was elected Vice-President and Dr. J. J. Stevenson of Brevard College was elected Secretary-Treasurer. Mrs. Virginia Terrell Lathrop gave a paper on "The Journey and Writings of George Lovick Wilson," and Mrs. Anne Kendrick Sharp read a paper on "The Cherokees and the Part They Played in the War Between the States." Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, President, presided at the business session and Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History spoke briefly to the group. Mrs. John S. Forrest presented the award to Judge Gudger and Mr. Albert S. McLean gave the report of the nominating committee. Mr. Robert Beard, Farmers Federation Editor, spoke on the Forest History Foundation and a resolution was passed to send a message of sympathy to Col. and Mrs. Paul Rockwell.

The *Western North Carolina Historical Association's History Bulletin* for April has the following items of interest: A story of the Cherokee history which Mrs. Margaret Walker Freel is preparing, a resume of a number of programs presented by the several county historical societies and patriotic groups in the area, and a feature story on Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely who plans to continue the work begun on a non-fiction book about the mountain people of North Carolina

and Tennessee. Mrs. Stokely began the study after being awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship which expired in May.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture has received a grant of \$60,000 from the Lilly Endowment, Inc., to promote the expansion of its book publication program. An annual payment of \$20,000 per year for the next three years will assist the Institute in subsidizing scholarly publications of high caliber without financial obligation to authors. The Institute, sponsored jointly by the College of William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg, is devoted to research and publication in the colonial, Revolutionary, and early national periods of American history.

In 1958 the Institute of Early American History and Culture will replace its annual Book Prize with a newly-established Institute Manuscript Award to be given annually for the best unpublished work in early American history. The amount of the award will be \$500 and assurance of publication of the Award-winning manuscript. A committee chosen from the Council of the Institute will judge the entries in association with James M. Smith, Editor of Publications. To be eligible for the 1958 Award, manuscripts must be sent before December 31, 1957 to the Editor of Publications, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The annual Book Prize of the Institute of Early American History and Culture has been awarded to I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard University for his volume on *Franklin and Newton: An Inquiry into Speculative Newtonian Experimental Science and Franklin's Work in Electricity as an Example Thereof* (American Philosophical Society, 1956).

Five new members were elected to the Council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at its annual meeting on May 3, 1957: Lyman H. Butterfield, Editor of The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Edmund S. Morgan of Yale University; Richard B. Morris of Columbia University; Max Savelle of the University of Washington; and Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago.

The Chronicle, official organ of the Bertie County Historical Association, carried the following stories in its May issue: a history of Aulander by Miss Ella Early, comments on the Jamestown celebration by Mr. Holley Mack Bell, excerpts from *Wheeler's Reminiscences*, and a story about the gift of a coat of arms to the association from Mr. and Mrs. John E. Tyler of Roxobel.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association announces the inauguration of an annual award of \$1,000 for an outstanding study of American history—the first award to be made in April, 1959, and the manuscript to be selected to be published by the University of Kentucky Press. Manuscripts will be accepted for the first judging through August 31, 1958. For complete information apply to Dr. Chase C. Mooney, History Department, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., who is chairman of the committee conducting the competition.

Announcement of the Joseph F. Loubat Prizes to be awarded Columbia University in the spring of 1958 has been made. These awards in the value of \$1,200 and \$600 are given in recognition of the best works printed and published in the English language on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America and are awarded every quinquennial period. Further information will be furnished by the Secretary of Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

Books received for review during the last quarter include: Wylma Anne Wates, *Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution*. Books C-F (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1957); Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon. The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1957); Donald Davidson, *Still Rebels, Still Yankees and Other Essays* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957); A. L. Rowse, *A True*

Discourse of the Present State of Virginia. By Ralph Hamor. Reprinted from the London Edition, 1615 (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1957); Mary Lynch Johnson, *A History of Meredith College* (Raleigh: Meredith College, 1956); Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, *The United States. The History of a Republic* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957); Roy C. Moose, *O. Henry in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Library [Library Extension Publication, Volume XXII, No. 2], 1957); Frank E. Vandiver, *Mighty Stonewall* (New York, Toronto, and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., Trade Book Department, 1957); George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860* (New Haven, Conn., 1957); Robert H. White, *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1845-1857, Volume IV* (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1957); Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957); Louis R. Wilson, *The University of North Carolina, 1900-1930. The Making of a Modern University* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957); Oscar Handlin, *Readings in American History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957); Earl Schenck Miers, *When the World Ended. The Diary of Emma LeConte* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957); Mary C. Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, and T. C. Duncan Eaves, *The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume V, 1867-1870* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1956); Edward Younger, *Inside the Confederate Government. The Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957); Clarence Edwin Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States, Volume XXII, The Territory of Florida, 1821-1824* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1956); and Monroe F. Cockrell, *Gunner With Stonewall. Reminiscences of William Thomas Poague, . . . A Memoir Written for His Children in 1903* (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1957).

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