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COVER—Scene from Kermit Hunter's outdoor drama, "Unto These Hills," presented annually at Cherokee and depicting the beginning of the removal of the Indians from western North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama to Indian Territory. See pages 455-466 for an article dealing with Cherokee pre-history.

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## CHEROKEE PRE-HISTORY

By DAVID H. CORKRAN

Of late years a growing body of theory dissociates Cherokee pre-history from the North. For lack of clearly defined evidence, Lilly and his associates question the old idea that the Cherokees were builders of the Ohio Valley mounds.<sup>1</sup> Kneberg, relying upon the possibility of a connection between the Cherokees and the Yamassees, though making a nod toward the northeast, develops the idea that the Cherokees were shoved into the Appalachians from a more southerly home.<sup>2</sup> Lighthall, impressed by certain similarities between Iroquoian and Carib culture, sees the Iroquoian peoples, of which the Cherokees were one, moving from South America to North America via the Caribbean and Florida.<sup>3</sup> Witthoft heard in the Carolina mountains the story of a possible Cherokee origin in Mexico which has no antecedent before the writings of James Adair and appears to represent his guesses.<sup>4</sup> The point of view appeals because of the concept of a "nuclear America" in Mexico and Central America from which spread American Indian culture, yet its basis is unsubstantial in the light of evidence pointing the other way.

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<sup>1</sup> Eli Lilly and others, *Walam Olum, or Red Stone*, the migration legend of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians (Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana Historical Society, 1954), 281, 287, 359, hereinafter cited as Lilly, *Walam Olum*.

<sup>2</sup> James B. Griffin (ed.), *Archeology of Eastern United States* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), 198, hereinafter cited as Griffin, *Eastern United States*.

<sup>3</sup> W. D. Lighthall, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. 25, Section 2, 71-81.

<sup>4</sup> John Witthoft, *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* (Washington, D. C., 1947), XXXVII (September 15, 1947).

Fenton,<sup>5</sup> Kraus, Speck, and Griffin among contemporaries follow in the main the idea held by Mooney that the Cherokees came into the South down the Alleghenies within the past thousand years. This view depicts them as a people who had moved into the East in the general Iroquoian migration which appears to have flowed on either side of Lake Erie, possibly, according to some, from a southwesterly direction. Somewhere along the way, very likely in the northern Alleghenies, the Cherokees split from one of the Iroquoian streams and moved toward the southern Appalachians along one of the great mountain troughs. Under the probable impact of long continued warfare with peoples to the east, north, and west, they continued their southwesterly course until they made contact with Muskogean peoples in northern and central Georgia whose temple mound civilization of the Middle Mississippian type probably made a strong impression upon them.

This study is concerned with setting forth further evidence of Cherokee migration from the North, some deductions from that evidence, the probable development of the nation after it reached its historic home, and the effect of that development upon the historic Cherokees.

Two fragments of the ancient migration myth of the Cherokees have come to light and both point to the North. One of these was recorded in 1725 by Alexander Long, a Carolina trader, and the other in 1826 by the famous Cherokee, Charles Hicks.

The Long fragment, which relates an arctic experience, reads as follows:

We know now noething but what was had from our ancestors and has brought down from genration to genration // the way is thuss wee belonged to another land far distant from heare // and the people increased and multiplied soe fast that the land could not hould them soe that they were forst to separate and travele[?] to look out for another countrey they traveled soe four that they came to a countrey that was soe could . . . [context garbled in *Mss.*] yet goeing still one they came to mountains of

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<sup>5</sup> W. Fenton, *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 100), 232.

snow and ice the prestes held a council to pass these mountains // and that they believed that there was warmer wether one the other sid of those mountains because it lay nearer to the sone setting which was belived by the whol assembly // we were forst to make raccitts to put on our ould and younge // and being all loded with provisions and fat lightwood we passed one our journey and at last found our ourselves soe fare gone over these mountains till we lost the sight of the same and went thru dark-ness for a good space and then . . . the sone again and goeing one we came to a countray that could be inhabited and there we multiplied soe much that we spread all this maine.<sup>6</sup>

Somewhat more specific and vivid than the Delaware *Walam Olum* relation, this story depicts a people having snowshoes and thus familiar with the northern woodland economy of the so-called taiga variety. The narrative contains no data to warrant as specifically recent a dating as Lilly picks for the Delaware migration from Asia,<sup>7</sup> and strictly speaking is indefinitely old; yet that so much detail had survived could indicate the firmness of tradition that comes from national intactness, freedom from cataclysmic disaster, and a relatively recent experience. Though the movement depicted appears east to west and therefore geographically impossible as an overland migration from the eastern hemisphere, yet if one remembers that the arctic sun is southern in late autumn before the winter dark, the migration as presented becomes possible, and the original homeland, Asia.

As Asiatics these people very likely brought with them the religion of the Creator Fire and its cult of the feathered serpent—emphasizing the Creator heredity of the Fire King or headman by his privilege of concubines and polygamous marriage, ancestor reverence, awe of the bearded monarchs and priests, and sanctity of nakedness and sensuous looseness.

The Hicks fragment, which purports to have been in the priestly language of the old Cherokee national oration recited at the annual Green Corn festival, refers to much later

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<sup>6</sup> Alexander Long, *A Small Postscript to the Ways and Maners of the Nashun of Indians called Cherikees* (Washington, D. C. Library of Congress, Papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, IV).

<sup>7</sup> Lilly, *Walam Olum*, 277.

events. It speaks of Cherokee settlement in southwestern Virginia and subsequent colonization of parts of western North Carolina, South Carolina, and East Tennessee:

Can too ghi [towns] che oas ter [people] oosungh he tah oo lay mingh say ach [night's rest to another—or may be rendered, towns of people in their many nights' rest to another—or may be rendered, towns of people in their many nights' rest to others]; and the name is missing here, which there is no doubt belongs to this part of the oration—as a day represents for one year . . . and the first account that is given speaks of only two resting places in their emigration before they finally reached the lands of their rest; and the first of which is mentioned was at ah nee cah yungh lee yeh which have reference to some large mountains lying somewhere between the headwaters of the Holston, the Clinch and the Cumberland waters; and the other rest was somewhere near noh nah cloock ungh; and from this rest it is presumable the nation separated although there is no account given in the traditions; but it is stated that the third settlement was at a place called two sparrows-tully-ach-chesquah-yaw-ach-lying on the head of Tuckaleetchee River, fork of the Little Tennessee—and no doubt this part of the nation came up the French Broad River and from this it may justly be concluded that they extended their settlements on Cowee and Highwassee Rivers; and the other part of the nation as on about Echota [old Echota] on the Little Tennessee, but not till many years after of those two first settlements mentioned; and it is very likely that Cowee became the parent of the settlement they made on the Koo, wah, he [Kewehe] and Too, goo, lah rivers; and the settlement in the valley Towns became the parent of those on the big Tellico; and the nation being thus established as their final resting place, the concluding part of their emigrations is here introduced as testimonial of their rights of the soil by the gift of the power above—Cho tau, le, eh [Grand Elders of all] Can [u?], lauh, we, tah-oo, da, kne-la, eh [Their council been convened] Can [?] ske, lo, gi, eh-cheu, na, ka, se, eh [on their seats of white] Tay, che, eeh-can [u?] le, lul, te, ch [kept above and may be rendered thus “Grand Elders, or sires of all, their council been convened, on their benches, or seats of white, kept above” and it is represented that [it was] this council above that give this country to our forefathers; and some believe that this was the center of the continent where the forefathers were placed being at the extreme heads of the southern and western water; but this last part of the emigration oration will be found to be missing—that which

bestowed the gift on the fathers of the Cherokees, of which there is no trace of it more than is represented above; and the nation being thus established in four divisions and in a country that was calculated to supply themselves with food from the abundance of wild game of all kinds which must have abounded on their first arrival in this country; beside they had other resources to obtain their subsistence from the waters also—with the wild potatoe, which must have grown in abundance in these prairies. Besides these advantages they were in a situation to provide for their families from the inclemency of the cold, with warm wigwams from the long blue grass which grows in these prairies, where their settlements were established . . . and the antiquity appearance of the first two settlements of the lands and woods around them will justify a belief [that] they were the first that was established in this nation, etc.

The two foregoing parts of the emigration oration have been related as near as I have heard them repeated . . . and the lands they claimed by the gift from the elder fires above, for the word cho tauh ne le eh implies the elder brother, as [well as] Elder Fire of all—for he is acknowledged to have had a being before all things, etc.<sup>8</sup>

While Hicks' commentary on the migration myth suggests the possibility of an ancestral home near "the center of the continent . . . at the extreme heads of the southern and western waters"—i.e. anywhere from southern Colorado to southern Alberta—it definitely places the Cherokees at one time northeast of their historic home. It outlines a pattern of colonization and indicates a time order of settlement which may explain why so many of the artifacts of the southeasterly Cherokee mounds tie more closely into the neighboring cultures than do those of the Overhill mounds.

The story tells of division and migration, a superior council establishing others and very likely endowing them with a coal of the eldest fire of all. The migrants deriving from the earliest division of the nation, suggested by Hicks to have occurred in southwest Virginia, travelled southwest toward the Unaka and Great Smoky Mountains. Their direction indicates that the region to the north of them and the lowlands

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<sup>8</sup> J. H. Payne, *Papers Concerning the Cherokee Indians* (Chicago, Illinois: Newberry Library), VII, 2-3, hereinafter cited as Payne, *Cherokee Papers*. The brackets used in this quotation were inserted by Payne or Hicks and not by the author. Editor.

on either side already sustained all the population they could support, but that the Southern Appalachians were empty. Such a movement, if occurring between 1000 A.D. and 1300 A.D., would fit into that conjectural chronology of eastern Indian culture held by Ritchie and Griffin which places Iroquoian development in the northeast between 1200 A.D. and 1450 A.D. and the Georgia phases of the Middle Mississippian from 1250 A.D. to 1450 A.D.<sup>9</sup> Migration in the pattern outlined by Hicks if occurring between the limits of these dates and the beginning of the historic period implies a rapid increase of population within a relatively short time, perhaps between 1300 A.D. and 1500 A.D. This could mean that woodland Cherokees acquired agriculture shortly before this period or that they seceded from a more numerous people which had already acquired agriculture. With the Cherokee acquisition of agriculture came an expansion of ancient rituals propitiatory of the Creator Fire to accommodate the agricultural fact. The reasoning followed here suggests that this occurred before they reached their historic home.

Perhaps the early migrants halted for periods on New River, on the Holston, and on the Nolichucky before traveling up the French Broad and through the mountain gaps to the Tuckasegee.<sup>10</sup>

Where the settlement on the Tuckasegee, if any, stood is doubtful. Hicks places it at "Two Sparrows . . . tully-achches-quah-yaw-ach lying on the head of Tuckaleetchee River." Mooney believes that this meant Ketuah which, near present day Bryson City, North Carolina, stood but a few miles from the mouth of the Tuckasegee River.<sup>11</sup> However, one suspects that Ketuah had its origin as a "mother town" from the "Cowee" group; that perhaps it was sent from the Middle Settlements proper in the late seventeenth century to be the nuclear council fire of a new community to consist of southerly towns—Stecoe, Tuckareetchee, and Tessentee—

<sup>9</sup> Griffin, *Eastern United States*, Fig. 205.

<sup>10</sup> John Haywood, *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee up to the first settlements therein by the white people in the year 1768* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1823), 233, 237, hereinafter cited as Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History*.

<sup>11</sup> James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 21, hereinafter cited as Mooney, *Myths*.

which had fled from the Creeks.<sup>12</sup> If that is so, there very likely never had been another "mother town" on the Tuckaseegee. The early Tuckaseegee settlement of which Hicks spoke probably was mythical, or at best but a temporary settlement of the original migrant group preceding its final establishment on the Little Tennessee at Cowee or one of its neighbors.

Under this interpretation one must look to the Cowee group of towns, of which Nequassee near present day Franklin, North Carolina, was the historic "mother town," for the mother settlement of the Cherokees in North Carolina, South Carolina, and North Georgia. On the banks of the Little Tennessee behind the double protection of the Cowee and Balsam ranges and on wide meadows spread over the bottoms between low hills, the Cherokee villages later known as the Middle Settlements thrived and grew populous. In the course of time, decades at least and possibly centuries, these towns colonized Upper South Carolina and northeast Georgia with communities centering on Keowee (Oconee County, South Carolina) and Toogaloo (Rabun and White counties, Ga.). By the eighteenth century these colonist Cherokees had been so long separated from the earlier migrants that they had developed their own dialect. Also from the "Cowee" towns, says Hicks, stem the Cherokee towns on the Valley and Hiwassee rivers (Cherokee County, North Carolina). The Valley towns, as these were called, in the course of time colonized Great Tellico over the mountains into what is now Monroe County, Tennessee, on Tellico Creek. In its turn Great Tellico was the parent of Chestowe and the settlement (circa 1760) at Hiwassee Old Fields. Except possibly for Ketuah, Great Tellico was the final "mother town" to stem from the early migrants.<sup>13</sup> Its possessing a mother fire caused trouble when the Overhill segment of the nation moved into its neighborhood, bringing the ancient mother fire of the Cherokees. The Overhills were the last to come to the Little

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<sup>12</sup> Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 4.

<sup>13</sup> Cheoh, Eustanally, and the neighboring villages in Graham County, North Carolina, were refugee from Creek assaults in historic times and, lacking a mother fire, looked to the Valley for leadership.

Tennessee from the northeast.<sup>14</sup> Possibly because of assault from the northern Indians, the Cho tauh ne le eh, "the Elder Fire of All," finally settled near the rest of the nation—perhaps as late as the sixteenth century. Other peoples occupied their sites in the fifteenth century; but Spaniards found the Overhill town of Tanse on its historic site west of the Snowbird Mountains in 1567.<sup>15</sup>

In their new homes Cherokee stimulation by the Middle Mississippian pattern proceeded, in all likelihood, from a long period of peaceful contact<sup>16</sup> between Keowee-Toogaloo Lower Cherokees and the Muskogean of central and east Georgia. From the lack of clearly identifiable Cherokee mounds on any of the sites of their migration southwestward it appears possible that under Muskogean influences the Cherokees began to place their town houses, those great domelike centers of their social, political, and ceremonial life, upon barrows which were burial mounds of their great men. These hereditary interrelated regional and local priestly chieftains, though not so represented in available Cherokee tradition, must in the logic of Asiatic origins have believed in their descent from or incarnation of the Creator God. Along with this development, the Cherokees may have further elaborated their ceremonial and their religious concepts until their priesthood pretended to the power and pride characteristic of the Aztec and Mayan priestly rulers. Nevertheless, in the light of Asian precedents one cannot bar the possibility of the Cherokees having had dormant temple mound concepts impossible of execution until they had become reestablished in a sedentary way. The Muskogean example could have revitalized these.

Elaboration of the Creator Fire priesthood into the formal red and white structures characteristic of the Creeks, the red leaders being war officials, the white, peace officials, is not a drastic step from the separation of civil and military functions apparent in the religio-political structure of the eastern Indians. Both in Virginia and in New England, shamans

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<sup>14</sup> Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 3.

<sup>15</sup> Mooney, *Myths*, 28, 29.

<sup>16</sup> Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 5.

with healer, conjurer, and religious functions, and a counselling duty, existed quite apart from the warrior group. The leadership of both probably derived from the same pattern of heredity as the Muskogean and Cherokee leadership, except where broken by tribal disaster. The more clear definition of the Cherokee and Muskogean organization indicates either less wilderness attrition of traditional patterns or a longer period of stable settlement.

Both factors may enter, though the latter appeals as the more probable. Aztec, Inca, and Mayan elaborations of the fundamental Indian politico-religious concepts were made possible by long periods of residence in economic plenty. The simpler religious and political structures of the Muskogean could derive from similar circumstances on a less abundant scale.

In the historic Cherokees one does not find the serpent complex quite as elaborate as the De Soto chroniclers depict it to have been among the Muskogean where there is frequent ornate exhibition of the awful majesty of the polygamous feathered serpent monarch. The complex is, of course, present among the Cherokees in the concept of the Fire King who on certain occasions of a religious nature is dressed in white, wears a white-winged, rainbow-decked, and serpent-tailed headdress and is borne on a platform by his relatives. It also appears in the serpent mask and adornment of the shamans, and in a body of serpent myths and teachings. Presumably it also is present in the relationship of the sexes, for they were Indians. But plural wives and concubines for the monarch have disappeared, or have become less conspicuous to the outsider. The individualistic family home appears an important social unit. Though woman has great freedom of action, the cult of nakedness and promiscuity does not appear as dramatically prominent as it does among the more northerly Algonkians.

A reason for the de-emphasis of the serpent cult may have been a Cherokee rebellion against the license of the priests. Charles Hicks wrote that the Cherokee priests were once known as the Proud,<sup>17</sup> a title which suggests ancient Musko-

<sup>17</sup> Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 5-7.

gean and Aztecan pomp. His description of them reminds of the historic Hopi priests of fire, sun, heat, and fertility, whose voices on occasion the laity heard in the night expressing the will of heaven as they moved in the dark toward such women as they chose.<sup>18</sup> According to Hicks,<sup>19</sup> the Proud eventually fell in bloody revolt occasioned by a priest's demand for the wife of a hunter. The husband killed the priest, and with his brother led the Cherokees against the priestly tyranny. Certain it is that before the eighteenth century the Proud had lost some of their power. The war leadership of the nation, as opposed to the peace leadership, had begun to loom large.

If the Proud had been stimulated by association with the Muskogean to aggressive display of power, the reunion of the Overhills with the nation may also have contributed somewhat to their chastening. Long resident to the northeast, the Overhills possessed "the Eldest Fire of All." Remote from the Muskogean influence and under enemy assault, they had retained a more warlike character than the Lower Townsmen who had reveled in a long period of peace with their Muskogean neighbors. The Overhill war leadership must therefore have been strong. Had the power of the Proud not already been lessened, the arrival in the Nation of the Grand Elders of All would have reduced it. Certainly in historic times the Fire Kings of the nation came to the headship through the red or war phalanx rather than through the white or peace phalanx.

The Overhill coming occasioned another important manifestation. Once seated on the Little Tennessee, the Overhills appear to have struggled to reassert the authority inherent in their traditional prestige over all their lesser priestly relatives and councils whose fires, in essence, derived from theirs. Of necessity the regional councils of the Carolina and Georgia towns must accept the Overhill prestige or else question the very charter of their own existences and prestiges. The priests of Cowee (or Nequassee) who had in fact if not in acceptance stood in a parental character above those

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<sup>18</sup> J. W. Fewkes, *Fire Worship of the Hopi Indians* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, 1920-1922), 308-309.

<sup>19</sup> Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 5-7.

of the Lower Towns and those of the Valley, though retaining great prestige, must yield before Chotte, the capitol of the Overhills. The war-mindedness of Chotte would stand ascendant in its sterner primitiveness while the Proud gradually dwindled toward lesser roles as witch doctors, minor conjurers, and leaders of ceremony. This would not mean that the Overhills rejected in toto the expanded ceremonialism of the rest of the nation, particularly if the cult was strong in the tribes around; for Indians tended to add the new to the old.

The arrival of the Overhills in the Tennessee basin appears to have caused the long series of wars which characterized Creek-Cherokee relations. Haywood in one context says that soon after the arrival of the Overhills, they became engaged in wars with their neighbors.<sup>20</sup> Despite this statement he elsewhere puts the outbreak later, as a result of Lower Settlements invading Creek hunting grounds on the Savannah.<sup>21</sup> Hicks also puts the outbreak as late, saying that it did not come until after the Creeks received guns from the whites.<sup>22</sup> However, both may be wrong. That Telassee and possibly Tomatley, Overhill towns, bear Creek names and appear to have done so from the seventeenth century at least, suggests much earlier wars; for sometimes at peace-making the contracting parties exchanged the names of selected towns.<sup>23</sup> And, of course, belligerence carried more prestige among the Overhills than it did elsewhere in the nation.

Besides warfare with the Creeks and the subordination of an over-developed peace organization, the Chotte council's drive to reassert its ancient power over all the Cherokees meant something of a reorganization in the nation. The "Cowee" council had apparently not only given each of the mother towns it sent out a share of the original mother council's fire, but also allowed them powers similar to those the ancient Cho tau le eh, The Grand Elders, had granted it on the original separation. Thus, each "mother town" had a re-

<sup>20</sup> Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History*, 235.

<sup>21</sup> Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History*, 235.

<sup>22</sup> Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 12, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 8.

gional council derived from the Elder Council via Cowee. That council apparently possessed full powers even to the privilege of granting refuge to offenders upon whom in any other town blood vengeance was by custom mandatory. The Grand Elders now established at Chotte on the Little Tennessee could not eliminate the sacred fires or the hereditary prestige of their relatives in the established councils; but they did eliminate the privilege of refuge in the precincts of lesser councils, reserving to themselves the prerogative of suspending the fundamental law.<sup>24</sup>

Not all the efforts of the Overhills to reassert their prerogatives met with success. Their pressures, while frequently forcing conformity, drove the younger councils to protestations and acts of independence, and to rivalries such as that existing in historic times between the mother town of Great Tellico, colonized by the Valley, and Chotte, the grandmother town of all, but twenty miles away. Grudgingly, the younger councils granted Chotte only an Elder Brother's position.<sup>25</sup> In historic times they frequently entered into treaties of trade and peace for themselves with but a token nod to Chotte. In the mid-eighteenth century we find Chotte after a period in which its ascendancy had been dimmed by English and French dickering with Great Tellico, struggling again, as it must have long before, to gain ascendancy over the centrifugal forces in the nation.

The net product then of Cherokee pre-history was geographical dispersion into regional entities, a well-developed but waning religious and ceremonial structure, a weakening of serpentism, a strengthening of the war leadership, and an accidentally loose political structure consisting of regional councils which were sometimes rivals despite blood ties, hereditary prestige, and traditions.

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<sup>24</sup> Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, III, 21. See also James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London, England: 1775), 81.

<sup>25</sup> Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History*, 237.

## COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

By KENNETH SCOTT

North Carolina did not consider the counterfeiting of its paper money or the passing of the same when forged as a light offense, since death without benefit of clergy was provided as the punishment in the act of 1714 for emitting £24,000 and in that of 1722 for issuing £12,000.<sup>1</sup> It was, however, far from easy to capture counterfeiters and passers and still more difficult to secure their conviction, as is shown in numerous instances. Thus, when in October, 1722, Joseph Oates was arrested on a warrant issued by the chief justice and brought before a Court of Oyer and Terminer at Edenton to answer to a complaint of one Thomas Lovick that Oates had passed a false bill of the province, the matter could not be proved, so that the prisoner was released.<sup>2</sup>

Again, in the spring of 1724 the General Assembly caused several counterfeit bills to be lodged with the clerk of the Court of Oyer and Terminer held at Edenton in order that the Attorney General might prosecute the offender whenever sufficient evidence or information might be forthcoming.<sup>3</sup> At the time nothing came to light but at the next sessions from July 28 to August 4 a certain Luke White was brought before the bar on the charge of having, on or about July 6, passed a false 7/6 bill. When it was discovered that he could neither read nor write and when he furthermore swore the bill on William Holliday, White was dismissed and a warrant issued for the arrest of Holliday,<sup>4</sup> who apparently was never captured.

In the following year a forged £3 bill, allegedly passed by James Spier (or Speers), was exhibited by the Precinct Court

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, Raleigh, and Charlotte: The State of North Carolina, 10 volumes and 4-volume index [by Stephen B. Weeks], 1895-1914), XXIV, 158, 174, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

<sup>2</sup> William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), II, 478, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

<sup>3</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 549.

<sup>4</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 554.

of Bertie in Albemarle County to a Court of Oyer and Terminer held at Edenton in March and April. At the same time the Precinct Court of Bertie turned over to Attorney General Thomas Boyd a 2/- bill altered to 20/- and a counterfeit 7/6 bill. Edward Howard of Bertie Precinct was then indicted for altering the 2/- note and passing it, but a petit jury acquitted him, whereupon the counterfeit was lodged in the office of the clerk to be used as evidence against John Williams, also of Bertie Precinct. Williams was taken into custody but, as there was not sufficient evidence, was released on bail (£500 furnished by Williams and £250 each furnished by James Castellaw and Francis Pugh) to appear at the next sessions in July, 1725. When, however, no one appeared to prosecute him or testify against him, he was released, as was James Spier, also for want of evidence.<sup>5</sup>

Before long the authorities at last succeeded in detecting some counterfeiters, although the ultimate result of their endeavors was discouraging. In July, 1726, a planter named John Armstrong was brought before the court at Edenton on a warrant of the Attorney General for having passed two counterfeit 10/- bills to Edmund Smithwick. Armstrong nevertheless managed to convince the court that he had received the bad money from James Kelly, who delivered them to Armstrong from Thomas Oldner of Bertie Precinct in payment of a debt. At first suspicion fell upon Kelly, especially since he had likewise passed a spurious £5 bill to Thomas Pierce, Jr. Yet Kelly stoutly maintained that he had obtained all three bills from Oldner, so a search was made for Oldner, while Kelly was released on bail, £100 provided by himself and £50 apiece furnished by his sureties, Edward Moore and John Armstrong. At the court held in October the Attorney General was prepared to prosecute Oldner, but that individual was not to be found and apparently was not taken later. It seems likely that Oldner was guilty and also may have been associated with John Richardson, who was arrested at this time on a charge of counterfeiting the current money but broke prison and made good his escape.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 586-587, 594.

<sup>6</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 658-659, 669.

Enforcement of the law was made more difficult through the laxness of magistrates in Bertie and Beaufort, some of whom were "persons of very ill Fame and Character." Thus when William Larner was arrested in 1733 for forging the paper currency he was admitted to bail by Benjamin Peyton, J. P., of Beaufort. Larner put up a bond of £1,000 for his appearance in court, with Robert Peyton, Sr., and Edward Travis as sureties, each in the amount of £500. Justice Peyton, however, instead of making return of this recognizance, sent in one acknowledged only by Larner without sureties, so it is not surprising that there is no record of Larner's appearance at the sessions.<sup>7</sup>

So troublesome had become the flood of counterfeit bills that when the Council met in the Court House in Brunswick on November 2, 1734, Governor Gabriel Johnston informed its members that since his arrival in the province he had been acquainted by several of the principal merchants and traders of the many and great inconveniencies to trade and commerce caused by the great multiplicity of counterfeit bills of credit issued by "Vagabond and Idle people passing from one part of the Government to another." It was decided that Johnston should issue a proclamation commanding all persons to assist in apprehending those who were guilty and offering a reward of £50 for the bringing to justice of anyone who should be convicted of the offense, while a royal pardon was promised to any of the accomplices of such criminals who should discover one or more of them so that they be taken and convicted, provided only that such discovery be made within two months from the date of the proclamation. The Provost Marshal, moreover, was charged with having the proclamation published at the courthouse door in every precinct in North Carolina and with having a copy affixed to each such door.<sup>8</sup>

On January 15, 1735, Governor Johnston addressed the Council and House of Burgesses, warning the members that the matter of the currency of their bills could no longer be

<sup>7</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 596.

<sup>8</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 2.

neglected "without the entire Ruin of the Country." He pointed out that originally their notes were on a very precarious footing but that now the situation was infinitely worse because of the great number of counterfeits spread into all parts of the province "by the villanous Arts of wicked and ill disposed persons, and to the utter undoing of many poor industrious Families." The governor charged his hearers with finding a proper remedy for so great an evil and urged upon them, since the people could not carry on their dealings without a paper currency, the necessity of preserving the credit of the same and preventing the industrious planter from being robbed of the fruits of his labor "by the Tricks and Frauds of profligate and abandoned persons."<sup>9</sup>

The House, in replying on January 20 to Johnston's speech, laid the blame for the bad state of the currency on "the late corrupt Administration," which neither had the taxes collected in the proper fashion nor suffered the "vile persons" who counterfeited the bills to be prosecuted. An act for regulating the currency was passed on February 13, and the proclamation bore fruit within the two months that the offer of the reward was to be in effect, for on February 27 a claim for £100 in rewards for the discovery of two counterfeiters was approved by the House of Burgesses.<sup>10</sup>

The New Englanders had discovered long before that the best formula for catching counterfeiters was to offer a reward, and a pardon to an accomplice who would denounce the others in the gang. The success which attended the issuance of Governor Johnston's proclamation in 1734 must have led to a similar proclamation late in 1739 or early in 1740, for on March 4, 1740, a committee on claims, meeting in Edenton, received the claim of Thomas Brown for £50 as a reward for apprehending Thomas Hamilton Scott, accused of making and uttering counterfeit bills of North Carolina.<sup>11</sup> Scott had also been making bills of South Carolina and was taken into custody at Pon Pon, whence Lewis Lorimer, one

<sup>9</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 78; *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), February 15, 1735.

<sup>10</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 84, 120, 149.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 401-402.

of the constables of Charleston was sent to bring him to that city. Scott either committed suicide or, more likely, was killed in an attempt to escape, and along with him died Lewis Jones, apparently an accomplice, for Alexander Stewart, Coroner of Berkley County, held inquests on the bodies of the two men.<sup>12</sup> Three of Scott's accomplices, incidentally, one of them Lawrence Wolfersten, a counterfeiter from Pennsylvania who had been convicted there in 1727,<sup>13</sup> were arrested at Winyaw and committed to jail by Justice Thomas La Roche, who later had them removed to prison in Charleston.<sup>14</sup>

In 1745 the Assembly decided that new legislation was needed, so an act was passed for the punishment of those who should counterfeit, forge, alter, deface, or knowingly pass such counterfeited bills. One convicted thereof for the first offense was to be set in the pillory for two hours, have his ears nailed to the pillory and then cut off, while a second offense was to be punished as felony without benefit of clergy.<sup>15</sup>

An act of 1748 for emitting £21,300 set the same penalties, save that for the first offense, in addition to pillorying and cropping, the court, at its discretion, might also punish with whipping, not to exceed forty lashes.<sup>16</sup>

The Assembly, in October of the following year, put into force a number of statutes of the Kingdom of England, three of which were concerned with counterfeiters of coin: 1 Mary Ch. 6, providing that counterfeiting of foreign coins current in the kingdom should be adjudged treason; 1 & 2 Philip and Mary Ch. 11, providing that importers of counterfeit coin into the realm should be punished as traitors; 5 Elizabeth Ch. 11, providing that the clipping of coins, for gain's sake, should be high treason.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> J. H. Easterby (ed.), *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, September 12, 1739-March 26, 1741. The Colonial Records of South Carolina* (Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1952), 225, 244, 280, 281, hereinafter cited as Easterby, *Journal of Commons House*.

<sup>13</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1955), 17.

<sup>14</sup> Easterby, *Journals of Commons House*, 217, 280.

<sup>15</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 235.

<sup>16</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 295.

<sup>17</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 322-323.

Only a few years later, in 1752, two persons were executed for treason in accordance with the above legislation of 1749. In the summer of 1752 a counterfeiting scheme was hatched in Virginia. Patrick Moore, a tailor, was living in that province, where he worked at his trade at the house of Richard Brooker in Gloucester County. A certain Daniel Johnston, alias Dixon, a chemist or doctor, and William Jillet, a blacksmith, frequently went to Brooker's home. If these two told the truth, Moore was the promoter of the counterfeiting venture. Be that as it may, sometime in June Brooker gave Moore a small boat with a supply of provisions sufficient to bring the tailor, Johnston and Jillet, with their bellows, hammers, molds, and other materials for making money, to North Carolina. About the end of June the men went up the Neuse River, where they landed and thence proceeded to the house of Peter Matthews, about thirty miles from New Bern. Near this dwelling, in a great swamp, they set up their forge and prepared molds and other materials for making doubloons, pistoles, pieces of eight, and half pistareens.

By some means the sheriff of the county discovered their undertaking and, acting with great vigilance and industry, captured the coiners at the home of Matthews, who was also apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in the affair. Some of the doubloons, a pistole, pieces of eight, and half pistareens were found on the persons of the three coiners but the money was so badly done as not to be imposed easily upon anyone. Apparently, however, the coins had not been completed, for, although they were very exact in similitude and size, they were much wanting in color, so that it was believed that the proper coloring of them was to have been the finishing stroke.

The prisoners were locked up in the jail at New Bern, a prison which had previously been remarkable for letting its inmates escape, but the sheriff kept a watch around the building each night and foiled several attempts which were made by the counterfeiters to break out. They came up for trial at the General Court which ended early in October. Moore turned evidence for the Crown against his associates,

Matthews was acquitted, and Jillet and Johnston were found guilty of treason and condemned to death.

Some ten days later the condemned men, together with another criminal named David Smith, alias Griffith, were executed. They were accompanied to the gallows by the Reverend Mr. Lopierre, who had also visited the men in jail. The convicted coiners appeared very penitent and expressed much sorrow and contrition for their wrongdoing. Johnston, it was reported, died a staunch Roman Catholic and was very earnest and pathetic in his prayers for the friends and followers of Lord Lovat, Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and all the rebels who suffered in the rebellion, while he heartily prayed for the continuance of "that noble Spirit which he hop'd was yet alive in Scotland among the Well-wishers of the Pretender."<sup>18</sup>

As regards counterfeiters of the bills of credit, an act of 1754 for the emission of £40,000 contained the same penalties as were included in the act of 1748,<sup>19</sup> but subsequent acts of 1756 (for emitting £3,400), of 1757 (for emitting £5,306), of 1758 (for emitting £7,000), and of 1758 (for emitting £4,500) all made counterfeiting and passing a felony without benefit of clergy.<sup>20</sup>

On February 3, 1764, Governor Arthur Dobbs, alarmed by the quantities of counterfeit bills in circulation, called upon the Assembly for new legislation to cope with the situation.<sup>21</sup> In response to his appeal a bill "for the more effectual detecting and punishing the makers and utterers of Counterfeit Bill Money" was introduced and passed in March.<sup>22</sup> In the preamble to the act, which was to be in force for two years, it was set forth that great numbers of evil persons in the frontier parts of the province had banded together and were supporting one another in committing murder and other felonies, as well as in counterfeiting the paper currency of

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<sup>18</sup> *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Nov. 9 and Dec. 7, 1752; *Boston Weekly News-Letter* (Massachusetts), Dec. 7, 1752; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), Nov. 23, 1752.

<sup>19</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 393.

<sup>20</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 333, 347, 352, 363, 372.

<sup>21</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1090.

<sup>22</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1104.

North Carolina and Virginia and in fraudulently and deceitfully imposing their bad money on the honest, industrious inhabitants of the colony, in defiance of authority and in open violation and contempt of all laws. It was therefore enacted that the penalty of death might be imposed on any person convicted of counterfeiting, or knowingly passing when so forged, the bills of North Carolina or Virginia or base coin or of escaping from prison after being committed for any of the above crimes and then neglecting or refusing to surrender to the sheriff before the last day of the Superior Court which should next follow the court wherein the bill of indictment was found. In every such case the chief justice, or assistant, or the associate judge, should issue proclamations for each county in the district, calling upon the offender to surrender within sixty days after the last day of the court session and stating that unless the offender should give himself up it would be "lawful for any Person or Persons to kill and destroy such Offender." If anyone should apprehend an offender who had escaped or neglected to surrender within the sixty days, such a person should be allowed a reward of £30 upon the conviction of the offender.<sup>23</sup>

The above act was, as has been noted, to be in effect for two years, so in November, 1766, a bill to revive the act was introduced and passed,<sup>24</sup> but on June 26, 1767, it was ordered repealed by his Majesty in Council.<sup>25</sup>

Very likely news of the repeal of the act encouraged counterfeiters, one of whom was an elderly man named Timothy Green. He proceeded to New York and on Tuesday, August 26, 1767, when he had been there but a short time, he applied to Elisha Gallaudet, a well-known engraver of that city, to procure of him plates with which to forge the current money bills of North Carolina, whence he had come. Gallaudet, however, had the would-be-counterfeiter taken before an alderman, who, after examining him and finding two false dollars in his possession, committed him to jail. Green was indicted in the Supreme Court on October 29 "for a Misdemeanor."

<sup>23</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 616-617.

<sup>24</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 300.

<sup>25</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 673; XI, 213.

meanor," pleaded not guilty, and on October 30 was tried. The jury, without going from the bar, convicted him, and when, on the next day, the attorney general moved for judgment, the court ordered that the prisoner stand in the pillory on Wednesday next for one hour between the hours of ten and twelve in the forenoon and that on Thursday next he be whipped through the town at the cart's tail and receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back.<sup>26</sup>

Even though Timothy Green's plans were foiled, other counterfeiters were more successful, as is shown by an address made by Governor William Tryon to the legislators on December 7, 1767. Pointing out that the counterfeit bills circulating in the province tended "to the most ruinous consequences" to the government, he applied for some redress proportioned to the evil. "It evidently depreciates," he said, "the small remainder of currency in the Country and deprives the Creditor of his just debts, wounds the credit of the public, and what is of further consequence too frequently extends to the impoverishing of families in the exchange of their property for these false bills, too artfully resembling the true for common discernment to detect them."<sup>27</sup> A committee of both houses, on January 15, 1768, requested the governor "more particularly to state the distress of this Colony, partly occasioned by counterfeit money, and for want of a sufficiency of good paper currency or other medium of Trade."<sup>28</sup>

Governor Tryon was in sympathy with this request of the legislators, as is shown by the fact that on February 2 he wrote the Earl of Shelburne that the mischiefs arising from the counterfeited proclamation bills then circulating would cease if a new currency were emitted, since the remainder of the money then out would be immediately called in.<sup>29</sup> The same day he wrote to Messers Drummond & Co. that, if the royal consent were secured, he was ordered to obtain, in order to prevent counterfeiting, proper copperplates, paper, presses, and other materials. "If," he added, "by your ingenu-

<sup>26</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1955), 126-127.

<sup>27</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 551.

<sup>28</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 683.

<sup>29</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 697.

ity this currency, should it have an existence, can be put out of the knavery of counterfeits, you will render an essential service to the inhabitants of this province who have felt the ruinous effects of the counterfeit currency.”<sup>30</sup>

Had the governor but known it, another threat to the money of North Carolina was in the making and was only narrowly averted. During the second week of February, 1768, the Honorable William Smith, Jr., in New York received a letter from a gentleman in Fairfield, Connecticut, acquainting him that a schooner had lately been at that place, had remained there six weeks with five men on board, that they had passed some counterfeit New York bills, that they came from Rhode Island, and that he imagined they had gone to New York. This intelligence was communicated to the mayor, who immediately sent officers in search of the schooner. They found it just on the point of sailing for North Carolina, as it was thought. On board were arrested Gideon Casey, his two sons, Tibbets Hopkins (the master of the ship) and Daniel Wilcox, alias Chase, while a search of the vessel revealed a small bag containing all the instruments for coining and milling dollars of the years 1763 and 1764, two plates for making North Carolina currency, molds and stamps for making pistareens, recipes for smelting and varnishing metals, and several counterfeit forty shilling New York bills. The men were held in jail and indicted but by April 4 had been acquitted “for want of sufficient evidence,” an indication that none of the gang would talk. Casey was a capable silversmith of Rhode Island but, like his talented brother Samuel, also a noted silversmith, he could not refrain from counterfeiting and had been convicted of passing false doubloons in Philadelphia in 1752.<sup>31</sup>

Although the province was mercifully spared the presence of Casey and his accomplices, other criminals were at work, two of whom, Samuel Robert Hall and James Mansfield, were captured in 1768, convicted and sentenced to death for counterfeiting the paper currency. While they were in the

<sup>30</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 680-681.

<sup>31</sup> Kenneth Scott, “Gideon Casey, Rhode Island Silversmith and Counterfeiter,” *Rhode Island History*, XII (1953), 50-54.

jail of Craven County awaiting execution, the speaker and several members of the Assembly, as well as other prominent inhabitants of the province, petitioned the governor on behalf of the two young men, who had formerly been of good character and had been seduced and instigated to commit their crime by John Butcher, a blacksmith, who had made his escape. Governor Tryon, on November 28, 1768, was pleased to pardon the young men and at the same time issued a proclamation offering a reward of £10 for the apprehension of Butcher.<sup>32</sup>

By the autumn of 1770 counterfeit notes were passing without sufficient question,<sup>33</sup> and Governor Tryon informed the council that large sums of the certificates of 1768 had been forged. A proclamation was therefore issued in which a reward of £200 was offered to any informer, except an offender, while the king's pardon was promised to that offender who should first appear and denounce his accomplices.<sup>34</sup> On December 5, Tryon delivered an address to the Council and House in which he stated that the circulation of so large a quantity of counterfeit currency afforded presumption that "persons of more considerable property than those of moderate substance" had been concerned in the base and dishonorable traffic. The evil, he pointed out, was "absolutely destructive of all public credit" and operated to the ruin of many honest homes and families. It was his opinion that, if the legislators called upon those who had passed the bad money to declare from whom it was received, by tracing back the counterfeits the authors of the iniquity might be discovered.<sup>35</sup>

The Council assured the governor that the detection of the counterfeiters was a matter of real concern and that every salutary measure would be taken to punish the guilty.<sup>36</sup> The same day, December 10, the House expressed itself to the effect that the great amount of false certificates and proclamation bills in circulation was alarming to the province, in-

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<sup>32</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 870-871.

<sup>33</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, xxix.

<sup>34</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 249-250.

<sup>35</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 284.

<sup>36</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 289.

jurious to individuals and destructive to public credit. Nothing less than calling in all the paper currency could put an end to the fatal consequences attending so infamous an imposition on the inhabitants, a sentiment which the same body repeated on January 26, 1771.<sup>37</sup>

The governor had caused Adam Boyd to print two hundred handbills respecting the counterfeit debenture bills and to distribute them, as a result of which some information must have been received. Warrants were issued for the arrest of three suspects, Daniel Duncan of Orange County, George Martin, and John Alston. Duncan was immediately taken but discharged for want of proof. Martin, who was apprehended at the same time, was suffering from an indisposition which made traveling impossible without manifest danger of his life, so it was sometime later that he was taken into custody by Simon Bright and brought before the bar of the House. It is not recorded whether he was convicted or, like Duncan, discharged. There was, at least, some evidence against him, for a certain Philemon Hawkins appeared to testify against him.<sup>38</sup> John Alston was not to be found.<sup>39</sup>

Upon the presentation of sworn evidence other counterfeiters were sought in Granville County and elsewhere, two of whom, Robert Pryor and William Wharton, were arrested and then released on bail for their appearance at the Superior Court of Justice to be held at Hillsboro on March 22, 1771. When, however, it developed that because of the disturbances in the western part of the province the court would not be held at Hillsboro, it became apparent that, unless some extraordinary measures were taken, the two offenders, who were dangerous and clearly guilty, would escape punishment. Richard Henderson therefore petitioned the governor that a special court of oyer and terminer be held at Oxford, in Granville County, where, Henderson believed, it might sit "without danger of being obstructed by the Insurgents." The governor and council approved the request and

<sup>37</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 312, 473.

<sup>38</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 198.

<sup>39</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 351, 370, 397, 443; IX, 125.

ordered a special commission of oyer and terminer, so that presumably Pryor and Wharton were tried.<sup>40</sup>

On August 15, 1771, Josiah Martin, the new governor, wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough that the treasurer of the Southern District had agreed to pay Governor Tryon's warrants by promissory notes, so that a new species of currency had arisen on the faith of public credit. The notes were easier to counterfeit than any previous money, for they bore only one signature, that of the treasurer, and not several, as did all other bills. The various earlier emissions, furthermore, had been widely counterfeited and the evil was so pernicious that it deserved immediate attention. Martin was of the opinion that the only remedy would be the extinction of all former issues and a new emission to replace them and to provide a sufficient currency for the needs of the growing province.<sup>41</sup> An act of 1771 authorized the emission of £60,000 in debenture bills to pay the costs of Governor Tryon's expedition against the insurgents, and the penalty for counterfeiting, altering, or defacing these notes was to be death without benefit of clergy.<sup>42</sup>

John Alston had been sought in vain in 1770-1771 and had continued his nefarious activity. According to the *Virginia Gazette*<sup>43</sup> on the evening of March 4, 1773, Moses Terry of Halifax County, Virginia, was brought to Williamsburg and committed to jail for passing false bills, a charge to which he pleaded guilty, informing against many others and confessing that he had passed counterfeits "which were made by the Allstons in Carolina (who appear to be the great instruments of this horrid plot against the peace and welfare of this country)." Another of the Alstons suspected of counterfeiting was Philip, a gunsmith, for whom James Ransom, Jr., sergeant at arms of the House of North Carolina, and four assistants made a determined but fruitless search.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 539-540.

<sup>41</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 18.

<sup>42</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 851.

<sup>43</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), March 4, 1773, and *Rind's Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), March 4, 1773.

<sup>44</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 391-392, 480-481.

The House of Burgesses of Virginia, thoroughly alarmed by the counterfeiting of their money in North Carolina, passed an act making it a felony "to prepare, engrave, stamp, or print" the money of other British colonies or to cause the same to be done or knowingly to pass such bad money. This step was taken because it was supposed that certain evil persons had lately established presses in Virginia for preparing counterfeits of the paper money of other colonies and by that means such forged paper was put into circulation with greater facility and with more security to the authors of the mischief. Reasonably enough, Virginia hoped for a similar action by colonies which did not already have legislation making it a crime to forge the bills of the other provinces. As a subcommittee of the House of Burgesses pointed out, the chief author of the recent counterfeiting of the currency of Virginia was an inhabitant of North Carolina (probably Philip or John Alston was meant).<sup>45</sup> Governor Martin of North Carolina warmly commended the policy of the legislature of Virginia in its measures designed "to prevent that most baneful crime of counterfeiting the paper currency circulating in the Colonies of America."<sup>46</sup>

In February, 1773, a bill "for the more effectual punishment of Counterfeiters of the Public Debenture Bills of Credit of this Colony and Coin" was introduced in the House. The measure was passed both by the Council and House but early in March, when it reached the governor, he withheld his consent.<sup>47</sup> In a letter, written on May 30, 1773, to the Earl of Dartmouth, Governor Martin explained that he had rejected the bill because "the Criminals marked out to reproach by punishments allotted in this Act and rejected on all hands would lose every sense of shame, become desperate and abandon themselves to the perpetration of every kind of enormity, dreading death (the Law's utmost penalty) less than existence held at the expense of everything that can make life

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<sup>45</sup> Kenneth Scott, "Counterfeiting in Colonial Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXI (1953), 24, hereinafter cited as Scott, "Counterfeiting in Colonial Virginia"; Clark, *State Records*, XI, 241.

<sup>46</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 709.

<sup>47</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 386, 390, 396, 399-401, 443, 446, 464, 468, 478, 494, 497, 500-503, 507, 584, 586.

desirable.”<sup>48</sup> From this it may be assumed that the bill would have made the counterfeiters outlaws.

Since the governor's assent had been refused, Mr. Joseph Hewes of Edenton moved early in December, 1773, that he be granted leave to prepare and bring in a bill to prevent the counterfeiting of the paper money of North Carolina and the other British colonies and the gold and silver coin circulating in the province. On December 20 it was introduced and duly passed and approved by the governor.<sup>49</sup> The preamble of the act, which was to be in force for five years, stated that it was supposed that presses had been established in North Carolina of late to forge the bills of other provinces. It was judged reasonable that neighboring colonies having intercourse in trade should provide against the debasing of their medium of commerce, and it was also a fact that the laws of the province for the punishment of counterfeiters of the gold and silver coin in circulation were defective. To remedy this situation it was provided that death without benefit of clergy should be the penalty for those who defaced, counterfeited, or altered bills or who knowingly passed counterfeits.<sup>50</sup> Governor Martin was delighted with the new law, about which he wrote on July 13, 1774, to the Earl of Dartmouth: “I conceive great hopes that it will be attended with the best effects.”<sup>51</sup>

The outbreak of the Revolution could by no means be expected to check counterfeiting, so that, when an emission of bills by North Carolina was authorized in September, 1775, it was provided that any person accused of counterfeiting them should be imprisoned until the next meeting of the Council of Safety and that upon conviction an offender should be punished by death.<sup>52</sup> As for Continental currency, Lieutenant Governor Colden, on February 14, 1776, wrote that the British would endeavor to depreciate the Congress paper “by throwing in forged notes.”<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 663.

<sup>49</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 728, 744, 777, 784, 836, 839, 847, 861, 882, 884, 888-889, 896, 904, 906-907, 927.

<sup>50</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 969-970.

<sup>51</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 1012.

<sup>52</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 195.

<sup>53</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 453.

By June, 1776, information had reached the Council of Safety that counterfeits of the four dollar bills emitted by the Congress held at Hillsboro, had been passed by Benjamin Sheppard of Dobbs County and, when Sheppard was arrested, he could give no satisfactory account of how he obtained the bills and was therefore ordered to give a bond of £1,000 to appear before the Council whenever called.<sup>54</sup> It became clear in July that the dollar bills issued by the Congresses held at Hillsboro and Halifax had been counterfeited<sup>55</sup> and by July 22, 1776, the Council had information that five persons concerned in the affair had been taken and jailed in Williamsburg, Virginia, one of whom was an old offender named Benjamin Woodward, who had assisted in cutting the plates for the counterfeits.<sup>56</sup> It may be noted that Woodward was a slippery customer, who broke jail and long eluded the officers of the law, although Virginia offered a reward of four thousand dollars for his capture. He was finally taken in Georgia but not before 1791. He was arrested there again in 1796. One of his neighbors, John Young, once found in the woods near Woodward's home several thousand pounds in counterfeit North Carolina bills, as well as tools for counterfeiting and coining.<sup>57</sup>

Not only were the four and one dollar bills imitated but also the two and a half dollar and five dollar notes. David Craig, a second lieutenant in William Temple Cole's company, was suspected of passing these counterfeits and of being concerned in the making and engraving of the five dollar plate. As President Samuel Ashe put it in a letter to General Moore, such practices were "frequent" and "of the most dangerous Tendency."<sup>58</sup> Thus the newborn state was beset from the beginning by an assault on its currency from the British, from professional counterfeiters, and even from members of its own army.

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<sup>54</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 635, 638.

<sup>55</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XI, 317.

<sup>56</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XI, 320.

<sup>57</sup> Scott, "Counterfeiting in Colonial Virginia," 28, 30-33.

<sup>58</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XI, 346-347.

## JOSEPH SEAWELL JONES OF SHOCCO— HISTORIAN AND HUMBUG

By EDWIN A. MILES

Everyone who met Joseph Seawell Jones of Shocco, North Carolina, agreed that he was a most unusual person. Although he was a licensed lawyer and the author of two historical works, his greatest fame resulted from his non-professional ventures. "An inveterate propensity to hoax and play upon the credulity of the public distinguished him, and made him known far and wide."<sup>1</sup> "The time has been," wrote a Tennessean in 1849, "when the sayings and doings of this singular personage were chronicled with as much avidity as is displayed by the Court Journal in the narration of the movements of the British queen."<sup>2</sup> And, it might be added, the sayings and doings of the fun-loving North Carolinian were a far greater source of amusement than the movements of the staid Victoria.

Take March, 1840, for example—the month following the Queen's marriage to Prince Albert. Newspaper subscribers throughout the United States were avidly reading accounts of how Shocco Jones, "the Mammoth Humbug," had completely mystified hundreds of prominent Virginians, North Carolinians, and Mississippians in two separate hoaxes performed the previous year. By the time of his death in 1855, he was almost a legend. Three years later the *Weekly Raleigh Register* asked: "Is there a grown man in North Carolina, or the United States, who has not heard of Joseph Seawell Jones, who, having been born in Warren County, on the banks of Shocco Creek, was as famous in his day as 'Shocco Jones,' as ever was Mr. Randolph as 'John Randolph of Roanoke!'"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Natchez Daily Courier* (Mississippi), March 3, 1855, hereinafter cited as *Natchez Daily Courier*, quoting *Columbus Democrat* (Mississippi).

<sup>2</sup> *Herald and Correspondent* (Port Gibson, Mississippi), April 13, 1849, quoting *Nashville Whig* (Tennessee).

<sup>3</sup> *Weekly Raleigh Register*, April 21, 1858. This paper was published variously as the *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina State Gazette*, *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, *Raleigh Register*, and other titles but will in all cases be hereinafter cited as *Raleigh Register*.

This remarkable individual first saw the light of day “on the banks of Shocco Creek” about 1806, the son of Edward J. and Elizabeth Seawell Jones.<sup>4</sup> There was nothing in his ancestry to indicate that his happiest moments would be spent while “enjoying the fun of hoaxing people.”<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, Edward Jones—according to his own obituary notice—was a “valuable and highly respected planter” of Warren County;<sup>6</sup> his wife was a member of a prominent North Carolina family—a sister of Judge Henry Seawell of the State Supreme Court and a niece of Nathaniel Macon, one of the most distinguished sons of the Old North State.

The early years of Joseph Seawell Jones were spent at Poplar Grove, his father’s 2,000-acre plantation within a mile and a half of Shocco Springs, one of the state’s most fashionable watering places.<sup>7</sup> Each summer during Joseph’s boyhood, Edward Jones maintained a boarding house for visitors to the Springs.<sup>8</sup> His children, Joseph, Edward, Jr., and Martha Ann, probably played many carefree games with the sons and daughters of the prosperous merchants and planters who annually flocked to the popular resort.

But there were serious moments, too, at Poplar Grove. In the fall of 1816 Edward Jones and two of his neighbors announced the establishment of Shocco Academy, a boarding school, to meet at his house.<sup>9</sup> Undoubtedly, young Joseph and his brother Edward were among the first students enrolled. Edward Jones, Sr., however, never lived to see the school enjoy the “flourishing state” which he predicted for it

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<sup>4</sup> The most complete sketch of Jones’s life is by Marshall De Lancey Haywood in Samuel A. Ashe, Stephen B. Weeks, and Charles L. Van Noppen (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina from Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1907), VI, 329-334, hereinafter cited as Ashe, *Biographical History*. The exact date of Jones’s birth is not known. His parents were married in February, 1803. *Raleigh Register*, February 22, 1803.

<sup>5</sup> The quotation is from Joseph D. Shields, *The Life and Times of Seargent Smith Prentiss* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1884), 296, hereinafter referred to as Shields, *Prentiss*.

<sup>6</sup> *Raleigh Register*, June 6, 1817.

<sup>7</sup> For the reference to Poplar Grove, see *Raleigh Register*, June 18, 1813. For a description of the estate see *Raleigh Register*, November 14, 1817.

<sup>8</sup> For examples, see his advertisements in *Raleigh Register*, May 22, 1812, June 18, 1813, June 2, 1815, and June 19, 1816.

<sup>9</sup> *Raleigh Register*, November 1, 1816.

in March, 1817.<sup>10</sup> In May, with death imminent, he drew up his last will and testament and died shortly thereafter.<sup>11</sup> Two years later his widow married James Gordon, who had been one of the co-founders of Shocco Academy, which had already ceased to exist.<sup>12</sup>

Under the guardianship of their uncle, Hill Jones, and later their stepfather, Joseph and Edward Jones, Jr., continued their studies at schools in nearby communities. For a while they attended Warrenton Academy, taught by George W. Freeman, the schoolmaster of old Shocco Academy;<sup>13</sup> then transferred to Midway Academy, conducted by Charles A. Hill.<sup>14</sup> In 1824, during Shocco's last term at Midway—located in Franklin County “midway” between Louisburg and Warrenton—Edward, his brother and schoolmate, died.<sup>15</sup> Less melancholy, we may assume, was another memorable event of that term: Professor Hill's schoolhouse burned to the ground.<sup>16</sup>

In the summer of 1824, his stepfather gave him \$80.00 and young Joseph Seawell Jones set out for Chapel Hill to enter the University of North Carolina.<sup>17</sup> It was probably during his college days that he became known as “Shocco”—to distinguish him from three other students at the University who

<sup>10</sup> *Raleigh Register*, March 7, 1817.

<sup>11</sup> *Raleigh Register*, June 6, 1817; Warren County Wills, 1780-1825, III, 28, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

<sup>12</sup> *Raleigh Register*, November 19, 1819.

<sup>13</sup> For tuition payments to George W. Freeman, see the accounts of Joseph S. Jones and Edward J. Jones with Hill Jones, their guardian, 1822, Warren County Guardian Accounts, 1792-1825, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Warren County Guardian Accounts. Freeman taught at Warrenton Academy from 1820 through 1823. Charles L. Coon (comp.), *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840, A Documentary History* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1915), 584-585, hereinafter cited as Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies*.

<sup>14</sup> For tuition payments to C. A. Hill see the accounts of Joseph S. Jones and Edward J. Jones with James Gordon, their guardian, 1823 and 1824, in Warren County Guardian Accounts, 1792-1825. Hill taught at Midway Academy from 1822 through 1824. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies*, 107-110.

<sup>15</sup> For a division of his brother's estate, November 20, 1824, see Divisions of Estates, Warren County, 1782-1825, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>16</sup> Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies*, 110.

<sup>17</sup> Account of Joseph S. Jones with James Gordon, his guardian, July 12, 1824, in Warren County Guardian Accounts, 1792-1825.

possessed the same familiar family name.<sup>18</sup> He spent two and one-half years at Chapel Hill, but they were not entirely happy ones.<sup>19</sup> He particularly disliked the necessity of attending chapel and classes. Finally, during his senior year, in December, 1826, a faculty committee counted up his total absences for the term: “. . . from prayers 76 times, and 22 times from recitation.” Since he was also “exceedingly deficient in scholarship especially on mathematics and Natural Philosophy,” the faculty dismissed him from the University.<sup>20</sup> According to a classmate, Governor Henry T. Clark, Shocco felt that his dismissal was due to the fact that the Professor of Mathematics, presumably James Phillips, had done him a “grave injustice.”<sup>21</sup>

Discouraged by his unhappy experiences at Chapel Hill, Shocco did not immediately resume his formal education. Then, in September, 1829, he journeyed northward to enter the Harvard Law School. On the whole, he was pleased with the society of Cambridge and vicinity. In nearby Boston he found “quite a North Carolina circle here in the very heart of New England.”<sup>22</sup> Among the transplanted Carolinians was William Gibbs McNeill, a young engineer from Wilmington, who became his closest friend.<sup>23</sup> He also met many

<sup>18</sup> Du Ponceau D. Jones, John Jones of Salisbury, and John H. Jones of Raleigh attended the University of North Carolina while Shocco was a student there. Daniel Lindsey Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: General Alumni Association of the University of North Carolina, 1924), 327-329.

<sup>19</sup> He was a member of the Dialectic Society, Dialectic Society Minutes, April 12, 1826 (list of members), Dialectic Society Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. This collection will hereinafter be cited as Southern Historical Collection. On one occasion he took the affirmative side in a debate on “Will the Dark Ages Ever Return.” Joseph Blount Cheshire, *Nonnulla, Memories, Stories, Traditions, More or Less Authentic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 231, hereinafter cited as Cheshire, *Nonnulla*.

<sup>20</sup> Report of Public Examinations, Faculty Reports, December, 1826, University of North Carolina Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

<sup>21</sup> Cheshire, *Nonnulla*, 230-231.

<sup>22</sup> Jones to William Gaston, Boston, November 8, 1833, William Gaston Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as William Gaston Papers.

<sup>23</sup> Jones dedicated his first book to him. *A Defence of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina from the Aspersion of Mr. Jefferson* (Boston: Charles Bowen; Raleigh: Turner & Hughes, 1834), v, hereinafter cited as Jones, *Defence of North Carolina*. For a sketch of McNeill see Howard K. Beale, “William Gibbs McNeill,” Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 21 volumes and index, 1928—), XII, 152-153.

of the distinguished statesmen of Massachusetts and often acted as an unofficial host to young North Carolinians visiting in Boston. In June, 1831, for example, he accompanied Fred S. Blount on a visit to former President John Quincy Adams;<sup>24</sup> and two months later he arranged an introduction for William A. Graham with Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story.<sup>25</sup>

According to records in the Harvard University Archives, Jones "entered" and "left" the Law School three times between 1829 and 1832.<sup>26</sup> In January, 1831, long before he had completed his studies, the Supreme Court of North Carolina granted him a license to practice in the county courts of his native state.<sup>27</sup> Although he returned to Cambridge three months later, he soon became so fascinated with the reading of Spanish literature and history that he neglected the study of law. He talked of visiting Europe to continue his studies of the Iberian culture; he even wrote of "making my bow—my farewell goodnight to my native land."<sup>28</sup> But for some reason—possibly because he lost interest in the project as quickly as he had taken it up—the proposed trip abroad did not materialize. Finally, in 1833, the Harvard Trustees awarded him the LL.B. degree.<sup>29</sup>

While in Law School, Jones had become engaged in a new project: the writing of a Revolutionary history of North Carolina. State pride stirred him to action. Thomas Jefferson had once declared that the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" was a spurious document; and he had also stated that "we had not a greater tory in Congress" than William Hooper, one of the North Carolina signers of the national

<sup>24</sup> Fred S. Blount to John H. Bryan, Boston, June 29, 1831 (copy), William Gaston Papers.

<sup>25</sup> Extract from the Journal of William A. Graham of His Trip from Hillsboro to Boston, June 20, 1831 to August 20, 1831 (August 18) (copy), William Gaston Papers.

<sup>26</sup> Letter to the writer from Kimball C. Elkins, assistant in the Harvard University Archives, February 14, 1952.

<sup>27</sup> *Raleigh Register*, January 6, 1831.

<sup>28</sup> Jones to William A. Graham, Cambridge, October 4, 1831, William A. Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as William A. Graham Papers.

<sup>29</sup> Letter to the writer from Kimball C. Elkins, assistant in the Harvard University Archives, February 14, 1952.

Declaration of Independence. Jones determined to expose the "Sage of Monticello" as a base liar whose name deserved "the execration of every native citizen" of the Old North State.<sup>30</sup>

In March, 1832, Jones probably discussed plans for his book with David L. Swain, whom he accompanied on part of the latter's journey while attending court in the eastern part of the state.<sup>31</sup> He spent several months in North Carolina collecting materials. He interviewed many elderly persons—"every old man and old woman from Cape Hatteras to the Blue Ridge," according to his own reckoning.<sup>32</sup> Some interviews were disappointing. His kinsman, Nathaniel Macon, refused to be quoted during his lifetime. Jones, who complained privately of the sensitiveness of "the old men of our country on the subject of being quoted," was thus obliged to state in his work "many acts without giving authority."<sup>33</sup> In general, he believed "the details of elderly ladies, on matters of history, more correct than those of old men."<sup>34</sup> But he realized that "personal testimony . . . is always weak, as the memory of man is fallible." "A distant historian," he conceded, "will demand more contemporary records, as the best evidence in the case."<sup>35</sup>

In search of more valid evidence, Jones consulted such printed works as *The Memoirs of Josiah Quincy*, Peter Force's *National Calendar*, John Marshall's *Life of Washington*, William Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry*, and the writings of Herman Husband, the North Carolina Regulator. He also gained access to certain manuscript sources in the Secretary of State's office in Raleigh; of particular value were the journals of the Council and Assembly. He also examined the

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<sup>30</sup> Jones, *Defence of North Carolina*, vii.

<sup>31</sup> David L. Swain Diary, March 24, 1832, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>32</sup> Jones, *Defence of North Carolina*, 6.

<sup>33</sup> Jones to David L. Swain, Shocco, August 24, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as Swain Epistolary Correspondence. At Jones' request, Macon consented to leave a paper, dated October, 1835, "to be published by my executor." It concerned the reputation of William Hooper. Nathaniel Macon Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Nathaniel Macon Papers.

<sup>34</sup> Jones, *Defence of North Carolina*, 269.

<sup>35</sup> Jones, *Defence of North Carolina*, 7.

private correspondence of a few Revolutionary leaders, including the papers of John Williams and James Iredell. The Iredell Papers, one member of the family later complained, "were obtained from my father against his positive injunction to their removal from his office."<sup>36</sup> The family never regained possession.

Shocco did most of the writing of his book in Cambridge. At first he contemplated a work of 250 pages; and in January, 1833, he wrote David L. Swain, then governor, that it was "nearly completed."<sup>37</sup> Shortly afterwards, however, he returned to North Carolina in search of additional material. On October 26, once again in Cambridge, he wrote Swain: "My book—my book—It is about to grow up into a dangerous size." He had enough manuscript to fill 800 pages, but he decided to print "only 350—or 400—at the farthest."<sup>38</sup> "Too proud—or too ambitious—to publish it in any other than the most elegant form," he arranged with a Boston printer to execute the book in a manner "superior to the general stile of historical works."<sup>39</sup> Rising costs forced him to offer the book at a higher price than he had originally intended. He urged Governor Swain "to speak of my book as coming out in an elegant stile of printing as often as you can—for such conversation may not only assist the sales—but apologize for any charge above 2 dollars."<sup>40</sup>

Although the book was in the binder's hands by January, 1834, it was not published until several months had elapsed. The cost—more than \$1,200 for 1,300 copies<sup>41</sup>—proved to be too great for the author's limited resources; and he was

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<sup>36</sup>James J. Iredell to David L. Swain, Raleigh, August 5, 1856, David Lowry Swain Papers, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as David Lowry Swain Papers.

<sup>37</sup>Jones to Swain, Cambridge, January 17, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>38</sup>Jones to Swain, Cambridge, October 26, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>39</sup>Jones to David L. Swain, Cambridge, October 26, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence; Jones to William Gaston, Boston, November 8, 1833, William Gaston Papers.

<sup>40</sup>Jones to Swain, Cambridge, October 26, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>41</sup>Jones to Swain, Cambridge, October 26, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

forced to sell his copyright to a "Mr. Patterson" of Boston.<sup>42</sup> Shocco chafed at Patterson's delay in releasing the book, but the latter insisted on withholding publication until the southern merchants made their annual shopping visit to the northern cities.<sup>43</sup> Further delay resulted from the tardy arrival of the copies shipped to Turner and Hughes, Raleigh booksellers, who were the co-publishers.<sup>44</sup> It was not until September, 1834, that *A Defence of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina from the Aspersions of Mr. Jefferson* by "Jo. Seawell Jones, of Shocco, North Carolina" was finally published.

Jones devoted his book to three principal themes: a history of North Carolina from the Regulator movement through July 4, 1776; a defense of the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence"; and a vindication of the character of William Hooper. Thomas Jefferson, not George III, was the chief villain. Prior to the publication date, Shocco had shown copies of his book to several friends, most of whom "objected to its severity" in dealing with the Virginian.<sup>45</sup> Justice Joseph Story, however, was pleased with the treatment accorded Jefferson. "I read the work with great satisfaction," he wrote, "& think it is a triumphant refutation of his misrepresentations. It will do you great credit with the public."<sup>46</sup> Patriotic North Carolinians also applauded the defender of the State's Revolutionary history. In May, 1835, Jones visited Charlotte where he was an honored guest at the sixtieth anniversary of the "Mecklenburg Declaration."<sup>47</sup>

In his treatment of the Regulators, Jones was more sympathetic than were the previous North Carolina historians, Hugh Williamson and Francois X. Martin. "I know from my own investigations," he wrote Governor Swain, "that the

<sup>42</sup> Jones to Swain, New York, February 12, 1834, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>43</sup> Jones to Swain, New York, February 12, 1834, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>44</sup> Jones to William Gaston, Washington City, August 7, 1834, William Gaston Papers.

<sup>45</sup> Jones to Gaston, Washington City, August 7, 1834, William Gaston Papers.

<sup>46</sup> Story to Jones, Cambridge, July 30, 1834, William Gaston Papers.

<sup>47</sup> *Raleigh Register*, June 9, 1835.

clamor of their being all tories during the war—is not true.”<sup>48</sup> “I espouse the cause of the Regulators,” he wrote William A. Graham, “vindicate them—and sanctify them with the title of real Fire worshippers.”<sup>49</sup> Jones is probably responsible for the origin of the belief—still widely held by many North Carolinians—that the Regulators were striking an early blow for American independence in their opposition to Governor William Tryon; for example, he referred to the colonial militia that subdued them at Alamance as the “King’s forces.”<sup>50</sup>

The Washington *Daily National Intelligencer* (edited by two former North Carolinians) declared Jones’s work to be “highly creditable to his talents.”<sup>51</sup> Contemporary historians, however, were divided in their opinion. Lyman C. Draper wrote a few years later that Shocco “put his hands to the plough, & looked back.”<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, Griffith J. McRee, who had no respect for Jones as an individual, wrote in 1857 that “I think his Def. of No. Ca. a reliable work—creditable to him & the State.”<sup>53</sup> In 1851, Fordyce M. Hubbard, in an address before the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina, expressed this judgment: “The events he records, are well chosen, judiciously arranged, often grouped with some measure of artistic skill, and, so far as I can judge, his representations of important facts are very much to be relied on for substantial truth and minute accuracy.” But, Hubbard added, “It may be, that in some cases,

<sup>48</sup> Jones to Swain, Cambridge, January 17, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>49</sup> Jones to Graham, Cambridge, January 12, 1833, William A. Graham Papers.

<sup>50</sup> Jones, *Defence of North Carolina*, 48. Jones was also apparently responsible for originating the dispute concerning the roles of Alexander Lillington and Richard Caswell during the Moore’s Creek Bridge Campaign. “If you publish the sketch of Gov. Caswell sent you some time since,” David L. Swain wrote the historian Benson J. Lossing on December 20, 1851, “please strike out the words ‘in conjunction with Col. Lillington.’ The statement implying a divided command was first made by Jones, and followed by Wheeler.” William R. Davie Papers, No. 2, Southern Historical Collection. See also Jones, *Defence of North Carolina*, 343.

<sup>51</sup> *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), hereinafter cited *National Intelligencer*, quoted in *Raleigh Register*, October 28, 1834.

<sup>52</sup> Draper to David L. Swain, Baltimore, Maryland, February 18, 1845 (copy), in David Lowry Swain Papers.

<sup>53</sup> McRee to David L. Swain, September 24, 1857, David Lowry Swain Papers.

as has been alleged in regard to his story of Miss Esther Wake, he took too much counsel of his imagination."<sup>54</sup>

Ah, Miss Esther Wake, the charming and beautiful sister-in-law of Governor Tryon—in whose honor Wake County was named. Or so Shocco said. Actually, she was one of the first of many hoaxes that he played upon an unsuspecting generation. Jones vowed to subject Governor Tryon “to a most rigid scrutiny” and promised that not even “the lovely and accomplished females of his family, his lady and her sister, Miss Esther Wake,” would “escape that vigilant observation which a faithful historian on all such occasions will always exercise.”<sup>55</sup> When puzzled New Bernians questioned the existence of such a lady, Jones appeared to be offended. In 1838 he wrote William A. Graham an account of “Miss Esther Wake” replete with quotations from “a number of private letters” attesting to her beauty and charm.<sup>56</sup> Yet no historian—except Shocco, of course—has ever produced any contemporary reference to the beautiful heroine.<sup>57</sup> In view of Jones’s subsequent career, it is not difficult to believe that Miss Esther Wake was a creature of his imaginative mind.

Shocco was indeed gaining a well-earned reputation for eccentricity. R. B. Creecy remembered him as a “man, swarthy, tall, long-haired, [and] wild eyed.”<sup>58</sup> Returning to Chapel Hill in 1832 when his friend William Gaston made the commencement address to the Senior class, he proposed to address the Freshmen “on the most approved method of

<sup>54</sup> “An Address Delivered before the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina, June, 1851,” in *University of North Carolina Magazine*, new series, I (October, 1852), 351.

<sup>55</sup> Jones, *Defence of North Carolina*, 18.

<sup>56</sup> Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, who found this account among the papers of the North Carolina Historical Commission, apparently believed the narrative—for a while. In 1915 he wrote that “unless our modern historians are prepared to charge Jones with inventing the letters . . . from which he quotes with so much circumstantiality, they will have to revise their histories and do the lady the justice of restoring her to the place of preeminence among the heroines of North Carolina history.” “Was Esther Wake a Myth?” *North Carolina Booklet*, XIV (April, 1915, 220-224.

<sup>57</sup> See Marshall De Lancey Haywood, *Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771* (Raleigh, privately printed, 1903), 74-75, and Kemp P. Battle, “Is Esther Wake a Myth?” *North Carolina University Magazine*, XIV (November, 1894), 91-95.

<sup>58</sup> R. B. Creecy, “What I Know about ‘Shocco’ [sic] Jones,” *Trinity College Historical Society, Papers*, II (1898), 31.

getting bulls in the Chapel.”<sup>59</sup> The following spring he attended the wedding of Laura Baker and the Reverend Joseph Saunders in Martin County. There were many raised eyebrows among the other guests when Jones embraced the bride almost before the groom had an opportunity to do so.<sup>60</sup>

His friends were doubtlessly pleased to learn in early 1834 that Shocco was planning to get married. “Ay—Governor—,” he wrote Swain from Cambridge on January 2. “Suppose I bring a Yankee wife—about the first of May—and go to housekeeping!”<sup>61</sup> Shortly afterward he wrote that he had persuaded “a couple of moral industrious and enterprising printers” from Boston “to go with me to Raleigh with a view of setting up a press and executing all printing jobs.”<sup>62</sup> At last, it appeared, Shocco was planning to settle down.

But, alas, within a few weeks a duel had smashed this idyllic dream. “The real cause of the difficulty,” he wrote Swain, “is the delicate reputation of a Lady—and this fact must prevent me from being too particular even to you.” A certain Hooper—no relative of the North Carolina Revolutionary statesman—had “questioned not only her integrity—but the *honor* of my most particular and beloved *male friend*.” Jones had boxed Hooper’s jaws “and succeeded in giving him without the slightest injury to myself—further and proper chastisement.” A duel had followed. Shocco assured his friend that reports that he had been wounded in the left leg were erroneous. Writing from New York on February 12, he stated that “I do not only walk with great ease—but almost every evening waltz with the most sublime dignity—with the lovely ladies of this mam[l]oth city.” The duel, however, had broken up his “matrimonial prospects.”<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> George N. Evans, “Reminiscences of Joe Sewell [*sic*] Jones (Shocco Jones),” Southern History Association, *Publications*, X (May, 1906), 141-142, hereinafter cited as Evans, “Reminiscences.”

<sup>60</sup> Evans, “Reminiscences,” 142. The marriage took place on March 25, 1833. *Raleigh Register*, May 21, 1833.

<sup>61</sup> Jones to Swain, Boston, January 2, 1833 [1834], Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>62</sup> Jones to Swain, Boston, January 22, 1834, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>63</sup> Jones to Swain, New York, February 12, 1834, Swain Epistolary Correspondence. According to the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, February 1, 1834, the duel took place on the previous day at Pawtucket, Rhode Island. “Mr. Jones was wounded, his antagonist’s ball passing through his left thigh. The wound is not considered dangerous, he being able to walk.”

The meeting with Hooper took place within the borders of Rhode Island, where duelling was prohibited by law. Governor John Brown Francis of that state—according to Shocco—issued a proclamation for the arrest of the participants. At any rate, when Jones returned to North Carolina, he drafted a counter proclamation—to which he affixed the “Great Seal of Shocco”—offering a reward of “a barrel of tar and forty pounds of feathers” for Brown’s apprehension! Shocco vowed never to fight another duel in Rhode Island. The next time he engaged in one, he would do so across the borders of that state, “which is not more than the usual distance between the parties in such cases convened.”<sup>64</sup> In view of Shocco’s later venture on the field of honor, perhaps the affair with Hooper should not be considered too seriously. George N. Evans felt that the duel had been “gotten up for effect”—to publicize Jones’s forthcoming book.<sup>65</sup>

Publication of his first volume did not terminate Shocco’s interest in the history of the “Old North State”—a phrase, incidentally, that he popularized and perhaps originated.<sup>66</sup> He was one of the charter members of the North Carolina Historical Society, incorporated by the General Assembly during its 1832-1833 session.<sup>67</sup> In October, 1834, he issued a call for the organization of the society.<sup>68</sup> Apparently no record exists of this meeting—scheduled for December 1 in Raleigh. At any rate the movement to establish a state historical society at that time came to naught.

As early as January, 1834, Shocco had “already projected a new book on the history of the state.”<sup>69</sup> He requested permission for an “entire insight” into the records of the Secretary of State’s office, which the General Assembly granted.<sup>70</sup> He obtained additional collections of private manuscripts,

<sup>64</sup> Ashe, *Biographical History*, VI, 333-334.

<sup>65</sup> Evans, “Reminiscences,” 144.

<sup>66</sup> Ashe, *Biographical History*, VI, 331.

<sup>67</sup> *Public and Private Laws of North Carolina, 1832-1833*, Chapter LXIII. Governor Swain was responsible for making Jones a charter member. Swain to Jones, Raleigh, December 30, 1832, David Lowry Swain Papers.

<sup>68</sup> *Raleigh Register*, October 28, 1834.

<sup>69</sup> Jones to Swain, Boston, January 2, 1833 [1834], Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>70</sup> *Public and Private Laws of North Carolina, 1833-1834*, Chapter CXXXV.

including the papers of Archibald D. Murphey and Richard Henderson.<sup>71</sup> In October, 1834, he wrote Swain from Washington, D. C., that he had examined the records relating to North Carolina history in the State and other federal departments. "I have by the favour of the President . . .," he wrote, "got an insight into the Colonial office at London." Andrew Jackson had been "exceedingly kind," permitting Shocco to order copies in his name from a London bookseller.<sup>72</sup>

Jones tentatively entitled his new work, "Curiosities of North Carolina." In November, 1834, he wrote William A. Graham that the first volume was already "in type," but that he had suspended publication "to see if I cannot do something in the way of collecting some interesting matter when I shall come to the State."<sup>73</sup> The following April, the *Raleigh Register* reported that Jones was preparing "A Picturesque History of North Carolina"—to be "served up in a style of extraordinary splendor . . . with rich, and of course expensive engravings."<sup>74</sup> Seven months later Jones wrote Graham that "I have completed the first volume of my Picturesque history of N Carolina—and it will be before the public as soon as I can close some little traffic with the gentlemen of the trade. It comprises only the history of the Raleigh colony and is adorned with 12 plates and sixteen *vignettes* of rather an expensive character."<sup>75</sup>

In January, 1836, "A Democrat," writing for the *Richmond Enquirer*, reported that he had lately seen "a copy of a work,

<sup>71</sup> Jones to Swain, Shocco, August 24, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence. For many years these and other papers entrusted to Jones were feared lost. After Shocco's departure from North Carolina, Lyman C. Draper tried in vain to get information concerning their location. After Jones's death, David L. Swain, through "a lucky accident," traced them to their hiding place and deposited them with the collection of the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina. Draper to Swain, Madison, Wisconsin, June 20, 1855, Swain to James J. Iredell, Chapel Hill, August 8, 1856, David Lowry Swain Papers; William Henry Hoyt (ed.), *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 2 volumes, 1914), II, 213; Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 2 volumes, 1907-1912), I, 487.

<sup>72</sup> Jones to Swain, Washington, D. C., October 23, 1834, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>73</sup> Jones to Graham, New York, November 21, 1834, William A. Graham Papers.

<sup>74</sup> *Raleigh Register*, April 14, 1835.

<sup>75</sup> Jones to Graham, New York, November 13, 1835, William A. Graham Papers.

entitled 'A Picturesque History of the State of North Carolina; by Jo. Seawell Jones, of Shocco: Raleigh, Turner & Hughes—1835.' "In the first place," he wrote, "no one will pretend to believe that a work, containing a dozen large and expensive steel engravings, and sixteen vignettes—all executed in London—was ever published in Raleigh, North Carolina. It is a mere bookseller's trick. . . ." Although he criticised Shocco for his harsh treatment of Jefferson and Virginia, the writer conceded that "Mr. Jones has got up this book in a style superior to any work of the age."<sup>76</sup>

In reply to "A Democrat," a correspondent for a "Boston Paper" took exception to the inference that "Mr. J's work was [not] printed and got up in this country." "We assert from actual knowledge," the writer continued, "that it is purely an American work, printed and published in America, which affords a proud evidence of the progress which the arts have made in our country."<sup>77</sup>

"A Picturesque History of North Carolina" was another hoax perpetrated by Shocco Jones.<sup>78</sup> Possibly he planned such a work but it was never published. The correspondent of a "Boston Paper" predicted that "the promise of 'A Democrat' to pursue that subject in a more studied manner will not be performed."<sup>79</sup> Undoubtedly he spoke with authority: it appears likely that the author of "A Picturesque History" wrote both reviews!

In the meantime Jones wrote a series of articles on North Carolina history, which were published in the *New-York Mirror*, a popular literary magazine of the day, the *Raleigh Register*, and other journals.<sup>80</sup> Perhaps originally intended for

<sup>76</sup> Quoted in *New Bern Spectator and Literary Journal*, January 22, 1836, hereinafter cited as *New Bern Spectator*.

<sup>77</sup> Quoted in *New Bern Spectator*, February 26, 1836.

<sup>78</sup> "The Norfolk Beacon is also led into the common error respecting Jones's History of North Carolina. Did the Beacon ever see that History—or ever see any one who did? The History was a hoax. . . ." *Vicksburg Sentinel (Mississippi)*, November 5, 1839, hereinafter cited as *Vicksburg Sentinel*, quoting *Old Dominion* (Portsmouth, Virginia), hereinafter cited as *Old Dominion*.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in *New Bern Spectator*, February 26, 1836.

<sup>80</sup> *The New-York Mirror; A Weekly Gazette of Literature and the Fine Arts*, XIV (November 4, 1836), 149-150, (November 12, 1836), 158, (November 19, 1836), 166. See also *Raleigh Register*, September 16, 1834, November 10, 1835, July 23, 1838.

“A Picturesque History,” they provided the nucleus for a small volume entitled *Memorials of North Carolina*, published in 1838.<sup>81</sup> Shocco’s second book—it boasted no engravings or vignettes—contained chapters dealing with “The Landing of Sir Walter’s Colony,” “The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence,” “Roanoke Island,” and “Miss Flora MacDonald.” Over one third of the book was devoted to a newspaper controversy in which Jones had defended his “assumptions for North Carolina.” All in all, *Memorials of North Carolina*, to quote Shocco’s own criticism of Williamson’s history, “reflected no lustre either on the author or the subject.”<sup>82</sup>

In the 1830’s Shocco took an active interest in politics. In the nullification controversy his sympathies lay with the advocates of state rights. To Governor Swain in January, 1833, he pledged his whole-hearted allegiance to North Carolina. “Consistently with that faithful allegiance,” he wrote, “I will do anything but fight—a remark I now make to save myself the trouble of a refusal when you shall order me off with a shot gun—to the State of S. Carolina.”<sup>83</sup>

Like many Nullifiers, Jones joined the newly created Whig party in 1834. At that time he criticised his venerable relative, Nathaniel Macon, who supported President Jackson’s removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States. “I was surprised to hear this,” he wrote his great-uncle, “for I thought you were always opposed to breaches of faith—public as well as private.”<sup>84</sup>

In December, 1835, Shocco participated in a Raleigh meeting that endorsed the nomination of Senator Hugh Lawson White, one of the Whig candidates for President in 1836.<sup>85</sup> Yet in the closing days of the campaign he attended a New York rally in honor of General William Henry Harrison, the

<sup>81</sup> It was printed by Scatcherd & Adams of New York. For a favorable review, perhaps written by Jones himself, see *Raleigh Register*, November 12, 1838.

<sup>82</sup> Jones, *Defence of North Carolina*, 14.

<sup>83</sup> Jones to Swain, Cambridge, January 17, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

<sup>84</sup> Jones to Macon, Washington City, April 4, 1834, Nathaniel Macon Papers.

<sup>85</sup> *Raleigh Register*, December 29, 1835.

Whig candidate in most of the northern states. According to reports in the Democratic press, Jones, "while puff'd up with flattery and mellowed with wine," assured the gathering at Niblo's Saloon that "the Whig party of N. Carolina was ready to go for Harrison in the event of *White* being out of the question." North Carolina Democrats used this indiscreet statement by the "young federal-whig 'in buckram'" to bolster their argument that White was merely a stalking horse for Harrison in the South.<sup>86</sup> By a narrow margin, North Carolina cast its vote for Martin Van Buren, the Democratic candidate.

In 1837 Shocco met Van Buren.<sup>87</sup> Two years later he was a strong supporter of the President he had opposed in 1836. "A good old Democrat of the So. Carolina school," he wrote the Kinderhook statesman years later, "[I] learned to love you in former times—and to know you to be a thorough State Rights man. . . ." <sup>88</sup> When Jones pulled off another of his celebrated hoaxes in 1839, one North Carolina editor attributed "his fall from the high stand which he formerly occupied, as a courteous, high-toned well-informed gentleman of honour, to nothing but his recent defection from his old Whig associates. . . ." <sup>89</sup>

It was another "affair of honor" that thrust Jones once more into public prominence in 1839. On April 27 the *Norfolk Beacon* and the *Portsmouth Old Dominion* carried accounts of a duel between the North Carolina historian and "Mr. H. Wright Wilson of New York." The affair had taken place the previous day near the Dismal Swamp Canal in Norfolk County, Virginia, close to the North Carolina line. The dispute between the two men, it was revealed, had arisen from an incident at a Petersburg race track. Wilson had stated in Jones's presence that "I know enough of Southern people to know that they NEVER comply with their obliga-

<sup>86</sup> *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), October 27, 1836.

<sup>87</sup> Jones secured a letter of introduction from Nathaniel Macon. Macon to Van Buren, Warren County, June 18, 1837, in Elizabeth Gregory McPherson (ed.), "Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Van Buren," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XV (January, 1938), 71.

<sup>88</sup> Jones to Van Buren, Columbus, Mississippi, July 8, 1848, Van Buren Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

<sup>89</sup> *New Bern Spectator*, October 18, 1839.

tions"—whereupon Shocco had twisted the New Yorker's nose. A challenge followed, and the "melancholy affair," with pistols at six paces, was "conducted in the most honorable manner by all parties." On the first fire the ball from Wilson's pistol grazed Jones's temple. Shocco, however, was a more accurate shot, and his adversary fell dead from a gaping wound in the breast."<sup>90</sup>

The first non-participant to learn the details of this tragic *rencontre* was H. C. McLaughlin, an Edenton schoolmaster who was journeying to Norfolk. He had stopped at the Dismal Swamp Hotel near Lake Drummond about noon on that fatal day "for the purpose of resting my horse and taking some refreshments." "I had not been seated many minutes," he revealed afterwards, "when I observed Mr. Jones, of Shocco, N. C., enter, under much apparent perturbation, and evidently, after a hard and long chase."

Jones approached the schoolmaster and hastily confided to him the details of the tragedy. He was being pursued by officers who had been informed of the proposed duel; consequently it was necessary for him to leave Virginia. Yet the unsettled state of his affairs in Norfolk, where his mother now lived, made it imperative for him to return there for a few hours. Of his new acquaintance Jones made a strange request. "The reasons urged in behalf of this request," McLaughlin later explained, "were of such a nature as to decide me, at once, in rendering him any aid in my power that might be likely to facilitate his visit to, and escape from Norfolk, and I accordingly agreed to his plan, that I should take his clothes and name and accompany him to Norfolk; and, in case of danger of arrest, pass myself off as Mr. Jones, until he was beyond the limits of Virginia."

Shocco showed McLaughlin copies of the correspondence that had led to the fatal meeting. He then accompanied his new friend to the field of honor, which was found "fairly and honorably measured," and stained in several places with

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<sup>90</sup> The *American Beacon and Virginia and North Carolina Gazette* (Norfolk, Va.), hereinafter cited as *Beacon*; and the *Old Dominion* accounts were reprinted by the *Raleigh Star and North Carolina Gazette*, May 8, 1839, hereinafter cited as *Raleigh Star*, and the *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), May 17, 1839, respectively.

blood." They visited a nearby house where McLaughlin examined a blood-stained handkerchief. A woman testified that she had been attracted to the field by the sound of pistol fire and had discovered the handkerchief. She also had seen what appeared to be "a dead body in a sack" being carried from the scene.<sup>91</sup>

Jones and McLaughlin then proceeded to Norfolk, where news of the duel had preceded their arrival. That night Shocco told his story to the editor of the Norfolk *Beacon*. "Should it be said that it was singular in a duellist to tell the story to an editor," his newest confidant explained, "it must be remembered that the mother and the family of Jones resides [*sic*] in Norfolk, and that the affair according to his statement must be made public by those who are in quest of his person, with such exaggerations as might give unnecessary pain to his friends."<sup>92</sup> On the following day the *Beacon* revealed the affair to its readers. "We have reason to know of the high appreciation in which the character and worth of the dec'd was held by him whose hand he has fallen," lamented the editor, "& the bitter regret which he feels that such a step was deemed indispensable [*sic*]."<sup>93</sup>

After a brief visit with his family, Shocco hastily prepared to leave the state. About midnight he left hurriedly for North Carolina "on a swift horse," which his new friend, the Edenton schoolmaster, had provided. McLaughlin returned to North Carolina on the following day, "and, being dressed in Mr. Jones' clothes felt no slight apprehensions for my own safety, when, about eight miles from the town I met some nine or ten constables, with green bags, and a grave looking coroner, returning after their fruitless search for the dead body of the unfortunate Wilson."<sup>94</sup>

Papers throughout the nation carried accounts of the duel between Jones and Wilson. But within a short time many suspicions were raised concerning the affair. No body of the

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<sup>91</sup> For McLaughlin's version see the *National Intelligencer* (tri-weekly), October 3, 1839, quoting the *Alexandria Gazette* (District of Columbia), hereinafter cited as *Alexandria Gazette*.

<sup>92</sup> *Tarboro' Press*, October 26, 1839, quoting the *Beacon*.

<sup>93</sup> *Raleigh Star*, May 8, 1839.

<sup>94</sup> *National Intelligencer*, October 3, 1839, quoting *Alexandria Gazette*.

victim could be found, although Jones had said that it would be shipped on an early boat to Baltimore. The correspondence leading to the meeting, promised by Shocco, was not immediately forthcoming.<sup>95</sup> Within a few weeks several editors, aware of Shocco's "love of fun, frolick and hoax," expressed disbelief in the reports of the duel. Yet credence in the authenticity of the story was somewhat restored when the promised correspondence was delivered to the editor of the *Beacon* "under the frank of a member of Congress from North Carolina," who expressed his faith in Jones's integrity.<sup>96</sup> "We believe," said the puzzled editor of the *Baltimore Chronicle*, "this question is destined to be as mysterious as the birth, education, and death of Caspar Hauser."<sup>97</sup>

The puzzle was finally solved by McLaughlin himself. The schoolmaster had returned "to the spot of 'painful remembrance,' where the duel took place, to remove some misgivings, which, in the face of all evidence to the contrary, were daily arising in my mind, with regard to the mysterious affair." "I reached the spot," McLaughlin wrote, "and there found a solitary mourner, lamenting the fate of an unfortunate pig, found a short time before, near the duelling ground, whose mangled throat fully indicated whence the blood flowed, by which the ground and handkerchief were so abundantly stained."<sup>98</sup>

Several months before McLaughlin revealed that "Mr. H. Wright Wilson" had been "nothing more than a little Pasquotank roaster,"<sup>99</sup> Shocco had embarked upon an even more fantastic adventure in the state of Mississippi. It made his duel hoax by comparison seem "but a small affair."<sup>100</sup>

Mississippi was perhaps the hardest hit of all the states during the years following the panic of 1837. The "wildcat" banking system, which had made possible fantastic speculations in lands and slaves during the "Flush Times" of the mid-1830's, had completely collapsed. "We have had hard

<sup>95</sup> *New Bern Spectator*, May 10, 1839; see also *Raleigh Register*, June 8, 1839; *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), June 5, 1839.

<sup>96</sup> *Tarboro' Press*, October 26, 1839, quoting the *Beacon*.

<sup>97</sup> Quoted in *Raleigh Star*, June 19, 1839.

<sup>98</sup> *National Intelligencer*, October 3, 1839, quoting *Alexandria Gazette*.

<sup>99</sup> *Raleigh Register*, March 20, 1840.

<sup>100</sup> *Vicksburg Sentinel*, November 11, 1839.

times in No. Ca.," said one visitor in 1840, "hard times in the east, hard times everywhere, but Miss. exceeds them all..."<sup>101</sup> Shocco turned to Mississippi—according to one contemporary—because "the present rottenness of her banking institutions and the generous and unsuspecting character of her sons" made that state a fertile field for his peculiar talents."<sup>102</sup>

Arriving in Columbus a few weeks after he "had made poor Wilson, alias the old lady's pig, 'bite the dust,'"<sup>103</sup> Shocco carried with him impressive parcels labelled "Cape Fear Money" and "Public Documents," which he deposited in a local bank. Reluctantly, it appeared, he let it be known that he had come to the state in a dual capacity: As an agent of the Bank of Cape Fear of Wilmington, North Carolina, he was seeking investment opportunities in Mississippi; as an emissary of the United States Treasury Department, he had instructions to compel the Agricultural and Planters' Banks of Natchez to repay the government deposits that had been entrusted to those two "pet banks" prior to the suspension of specie payments in 1837.

Under such circumstances Jones became at once the most respected and feared man in Mississippi. He was wined and dined by applicants for loans—for in 1839, as one newspaper correspondent expressed it, "if there were a bank in the desert of Sahara, which had money to loan, the Mississippians would find it out, and besiege its portals."<sup>104</sup> The directors of the hard-pressed Real Estate Bank of Columbus were so anxious to obtain a loan from the Bank of Cape Fear that they elected Shocco's stepfather, James Gordon, their president at a salary of \$3,000 per annum!<sup>105</sup> Some minor technicality, such as failure to obtain final approval from officials in Wilmington, always prevented Jones from completing negotiations for the loan; and in the meantime he was entertained royally.

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<sup>101</sup> William H. Wills, "A Southern Traveler's Diary in 1840," in Southern History Association, *Publications*, VIII (January, 1904), 35.

<sup>102</sup> *Raleigh Register*, March 20, 1840.

<sup>103</sup> *Raleigh Register*, March 20, 1840.

<sup>104</sup> *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson), April 5, 1839.

<sup>105</sup> *Southern Argus* (Columbus, Mississippi), June 18, 1839; *Vicksburg Sentinel*, December 24, 1839.

Shocco's fame preceded him as he journeyed to Jackson, Vicksburg, and Natchez. In each town he placed his special deposits in a local bank. In Jackson he became fast friends with former Governor Hiram Runnels, president of the Union Bank of Mississippi. Runnels, who had been authorized to float a new \$5,000,000 bond issue for his state-sponsored institution, eagerly solicited Jones's advice. He apparently hoped to sell a portion of the bonds to the Bank of Cape Fear.<sup>106</sup> In Vicksburg Shocco became equally intimate with Seargent S. Prentiss, the celebrated Whig orator, whom he promised a liberal fee for aid in the government's case against the "pet banks."<sup>107</sup> Jones and Prentiss were inseparable even after Prentiss began his campaign for the United States Senate that summer.

In Natchez the directors of the Agricultural and Planters' Banks, informed of the nature of Shocco's mission, trembled at the prospect before them. When Jones arrived in that city, the Natchez "nabobs" courted him assiduously.<sup>108</sup> Apparently the managers of the "pet banks" hoped to hold off the wrath of Jones, the Treasury agent, until they could negotiate loans from Shocco, the representative of the Bank of Cape Fear!

Throughout the summer of 1839 Jones successfully kept up the masquerade. It was not until October, four months after his arrival in Columbus, that the United States Marshal William M. Gwin, who had not originally doubted the genuine nature of his mission, exposed Jones as a prankster. Shocco had answered an innocently posed question in such a manner that the marshal became convinced that he was not an agent of the Treasury Department.<sup>109</sup> Within a few days Jones had quietly slipped away and it was only then

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<sup>106</sup> *Vicksburg Sentinel*, November 11, 1839.

<sup>107</sup> For further details concerning Jones and Prentiss see Shields, *Prentiss*, 296-297.

<sup>108</sup> *Vicksburg Sentinel*, February 5, 1840.

<sup>109</sup> ". . . I discovered he was an imposter [sic] by [his] saying in answer to a mere idle question of mine as to who issued the distress warrants, he after hesitating replied the Sec<sup>y</sup> of the Treasury, when in fact all were issued by the Solicitor of the Treasury. My question arose from a change at that time in the Solicitor's office. . . ." Gwin to J. F. H. Claiborne, San Francisco, November 14, 1878, Claiborne Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

that an examination revealed that his parcel of "Cape Fear Money" contained nothing but blank pieces of paper and that his "Public Documents" were in reality old newspapers!

The exposure of Jones's Mississippi hoax occurred almost simultaneously with the disclosure that his duel with Wilson had also been a cunning deception.<sup>110</sup> A few months later, Francis Leech, a minor Democratic politician of Columbus, wrote an engaging account of "The Mammoth Humbug, or the Adventures of Shocco Jones in Mississippi, in the Summer of 1839," which was published in the *New York Herald* and copied by scores of other newspapers.<sup>111</sup> Shocco Jones became a household name throughout the nation.

But Shocco's Mississippi adventure was his last great hoax. "He seemed suddenly to have sunk into oblivion. Whether he were gone down 'to the vaults' of Death, or were touring in Europe as the agent of the United States Bank, or smoking a pipe with the Sultan, or doing pilgrimage, in sandal or sackcloth, to the Holy Shrine of Jerusalem, or joining a caravan to that of Mecca, or engaged in exploring for the northwest passage, or gone to establish a bank in the Sandwich Islands, or become Prime Minister of the Emperor of Japan,

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<sup>110</sup> McLaughlin's letter to the public was published in the *Intelligencer* (Macon, Mississippi) on October 31, just two weeks after Jones and Prentiss attended a Whig barbecue in that town. On October 30 the *Vicksburg Sentinel* exposed the secret of Shocco's special deposits.

<sup>111</sup> "The Mammoth Humbug" enjoyed a great popularity. For example, both the *Star* and the *Intelligencer and Petersburg Commercial Advertiser* of Petersburg, Virginia, carried the account, and the *Star* later published it in pamphlet form. *Vicksburg Sentinel*, April 21, 1840. In Mississippi it was even more popular, being copied by several newspapers. James Hagan, editor of the *Vicksburg Sentinel*, published five hundred extra copies of the issue that contained the narrative. He stated on March 30 that "the edge of public appetite seemed only to be 'set' by that meagre supply." In a letter to Joel R. Poinsett, May 15, 1840, Chapman Levy of Columbus identified Leech as the author of the anonymous "History of Shocco Jones's travels and operations in Mississippi." Poinsett Section, Henry D. Gilpin Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The present writer's account is based on Leech's narrative, as it appeared in the *Raleigh Register*, March 20, 1840, rather than the better known account of "Shocco Jones in Mississippi," in H. S. Fulkerson, *Random Recollections of Early Days in Mississippi* (Vicksburg: Vicksburg Printing and Publishing Company, 1885; reprinted by Otto Claitor of Baton Rouge, La., 1937), 66-75. Portions of Fulkerson's account are reproduced in Arthur Palmer Hudson, *Humor of the Old Deep South* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1936), 362-366, hereinafter cited as Hudson, *Humor of the Old Deep South*.

or President of the Bank of China"—nobody seemed to know.<sup>112</sup>

After the burst of his "Mississippi bubble," Shocco never again attracted public attention in such a spectacular fashion.<sup>113</sup> He left the state for a while but soon returned to Columbus, where he lived for a time in the law office of George N. Evans, a former North Carolinian. Later, in a delirium, he jumped from a second story window and broke a leg. He subsequently retired to the home of his mother and stepfather near Columbus. After her death he lived alone. In his latter years he became a devout Roman Catholic.<sup>114</sup> "From between the crevices of my cabin," he told one visitor to his retreat, "I can peep at the great world rolling by and laugh at it, as I did when I was in it."<sup>115</sup>

Although he had few contacts with his fellow men, he retained the marvelous power of conversation that had sustained him in many of his earlier adventures. One who met him in 1853 wrote that "such were his knowledge of men and things in the world of fashion and politics—his powers of narrative and description—his talent at gracefully embellishing every subject he touched—the ease with which he passed from one topic to another, &c; &c;—that I was perfectly delighted, and almost forgot his former errors."<sup>116</sup> Another visitor to his retreat, perhaps the novelist Joseph Holt Ingraham, reported that "he was full of anecdote! He knew Van Buren, Jackson, both Adamses, Calhoun, Clay, Randolph,

<sup>112</sup> Hudson, *Humor of the Old Deep South*, 368-369, quoting *Natchez Daily Courier*, May 15, 1853.

<sup>113</sup> According to one report, Jones went to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, immediately following the exposure of his Mississippi hoax. The Alabama legislature was then in session. He informed the prominent men of the state that he had concluded from his studies of physiology and comparative anatomy that "moral and mental greatness was derived solely from the maternal parent." He proposed to write biographical sketches of Alabama's distinguished sons to prove his hypothesis. Apparently he had little difficulty in obtaining biographical information about the maternal ancestors of many Alabamians. This story is related in a slightly revised version of Leech's narrative, *The Mammoth Humbug: or, the Adventures of Shocco Jones, in Mississippi, in the Summer of 1839, including the History of His Visit to Alabama, and "the Way He Come It over Certain Members of Its Legislature, &c. &c.* (Memphis, Tennessee, 1842), 21, hereinafter cited as *The Mammoth Humbug*. A copy of this pamphlet is in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

<sup>114</sup> Evans, "Reminiscences," 146-149.

<sup>115</sup> Hudson, *Humor the Old Deep South*, 372, quoting *Natchez Daily Courier*, May 15, 1853.

<sup>116</sup> *Raleigh Register*, June 4, 1853.

and every man of note who had figured on the world's stage for thirty years past, and had anecdotes to tell of each. He knew the private history of everybody who had any 'private history,' had danced with the belles of two generations, had dined with all the foreign ministers of seven administrations, and was *au fait* of all the political and domestic scandal of Washington for as many reigns."<sup>117</sup>

But for the most part Shocco lived "forgotten by the world, . . . smoking pipes all night, and dreaming of the world he had flown from and sleeping all day. He was very grey; he had the habits of a monk, in his love for solitude, for his cabin was his castle. . . . In more absolute obscurity a man could not live who had formerly been so prominent before the public eye."<sup>118</sup> He died on February 20, 1855.<sup>119</sup>

"I have never . . . inflicted a pang on the crushed spirit—never drawn a tear from the widow or the orphan—never imposed on the weak and defenceless, nor betrayed the confiding heart of the young, the beautiful and the good." These words have been attributed to the "immortal Shocco."<sup>120</sup> His contemporaries—except those few who had fallen the hardest for his ruses—bore him no malice. Upon his death, the editor of the *Columbus Democrat* summed up the feelings of many:

"He was a remarkable man in many respects—possessed a vigorous well cultivated intellect and fine social qualities, but unfortunately, he yielded to the tempting seduction of the Epicurain [*sic*] philosophy and buried a talent which, if properly used might have raised him to distinction. . . . But there was no malice, ill-feeling or selfishness in his hoaxes and humbugs. It was all done for the humor and fun of the thing. When we remember his companionable disposition, his easy, quiet humor, his sprightliness and jests on occasions, we forget his failings; we drop a tear of regret over his grave and feel inclined to exclaim, with Hamlet in the play, ALAS! POOR SHOCCO!!"<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Hudson, *Humor of the Old Deep South*, 371. The editor of the *Raleigh Register*, June 4, 1853, in reprinting the same article from the *Natchez Daily Courier*, May 15, 1853, surmised that Ingraham was the author.

<sup>118</sup> Hudson, *Humor of the Old Deep South*, 372, quoting *Natchez Daily Courier*, May 15, 1853.

<sup>119</sup> *Natchez Daily Courier*, March 3, 1855.

<sup>120</sup> *The Mammoth Humbug*, 22.

<sup>121</sup> Quoted in *Natchez Daily Courier*, March 3, 1855.

## WOODROW WILSON: THE EVOLUTION OF A NAME \*

By GEORGE C. OSBORN

“Our boy is named *Thomas Woodrow*,” wrote the child’s mother to his grandfather, the Reverend Thomas Woodrow.<sup>1</sup> The child was born, on December 28, 1856, to Joseph Ruggles Wilson and Jessie Woodrow Wilson. Within a year, this “beautiful baby boy,” as the neighbors said of him, who was just as good as he could be and who gave his mother as little trouble as it is possible for a baby to do, was answering to the call of “Tommy.” And Tommy the child’s name was to remain for years. It was Tommy Wilson who played chase or tag with his two older sisters in the yard of the Presbyterian Manse in Augusta, Georgia. It was Tommy who, as he grew taller, but still a small boy, held his father’s hand as the two of them went to visit members of the minister’s spiritual flock. Upon returning from the round of clerical calls, father Wilson habitually inverted a chair on the floor, and fortified by a pillow, reclined on the floor with Tommy stretched out on a nearby rug to listen, fascinated, to the reading of choice bits of literature, or orations from famous authors, or passages from the Bible.

One autumn morning Professor Joseph T. Derry looked up from his desk at his private school in Augusta to see the Reverend Joseph R. Wilson standing before him. Upon shaking the local Presbyterian minister’s hand, he was introduced to Tommy. To the other students at Professor Derry’s school young Wilson was Tommy. For those interested in such matters, Tommy was not an average student. In fact, he learned his A-B-C’s at nine years of age and had passed his eleventh birthday before he could read.

In 1870, Dr. Wilson moved to Columbia, South Carolina, to become Professor of Rhetoric and Theology in a seminary.

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\* Dr. Osborn wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the American Philosophical Society for a grant which made the writing of this article possible.

<sup>1</sup>Jessie W. Wilson to Thomas Woodrow, April 27, 1857, in Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited Wilson Papers.

When Sunday came Tommy could frequently be seen accompanying his mother to the First Presbyterian church. Jessie, or Janet Woodrow, who was born in England, was thought by many of her husband's parishioners to be "high hatish." This was perhaps untrue but she was definitely reserved. Of this reserve she bestowed a bountiful amount upon her first born son—*Thomas Woodrow*.

While at Columbia, the Wilsons built a large house, for years one of the show places of the South Carolina metropolis. An example of the Irish love for grandeur, the Wilsons delighted in showing it to friends and in entertaining neighbors in it. Occasionally, Uncle James Wilson, educated at Heidelberg and elsewhere abroad, came to visit and to instruct young Tommy in the sciences. Apparently, the nephew was dull or preoccupied or just had no liking for scientific facts.

"Tommy," quoth Uncle James, "you can learn if you will. Then, for heaven's sake, boy, get some of this. At least, if you have no ambition to be a scholar, you might wish to be a gentleman."<sup>2</sup>

On July 5, 1873, "three young men out of the Sunday School and well known to us all," so read the records of the First Presbyterian Church, applied for membership in the church. After confessions they were unanimously admitted to membership in the church. One of these three lads was Tommy Wilson; only this time the record reads—"Thomas W. Wilson."<sup>3</sup>

Another private school, just across the street from the new Wilson home was attended by Tommy. To all his fellow schoolmates the Wilson youth was just plain Tommy Wilson. He was an average boy and gave no indication of any unusual future whatsoever.

In such an ordinary environment, unusual only in that he was a preacher's son, Tommy Wilson had his childish heart formed and his youthful mind trained. He grew from freckled

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<sup>2</sup> William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (Boston, 1924), 47, hereinafter cited White, *Woodrow Wilson*.

<sup>3</sup> See Minutes of the First Presbyterian Church, Columbia, South Carolina, South Carolina Archives Department, Columbia.

boyhood to callow youth in the grand house in Columbia. During these years the Wilson boy was always "Tommy"; he was never "Tom."<sup>4</sup>

In the fall of 1873, Davidson College, located some twenty miles north of Charlotte, in a country of rolling red fields, had among its newly matriculated students a youthful "T. W. Wilson." To young Wilson's one hundred-seven fellow Davidsonians, he was Tommy. Interestingly, however, in this the first time the young Wilson's name is officially recorded away from home he became "T. W. Wilson." For the first time Tommy joined a literary society—the Eumenean Society—and for the first time he participated in debate. For sitting on the rostrum, "T. Wilson" was fined ten cents by his society and, evidently, paid his fine.<sup>5</sup> Freshman Wilson gave an original oration at least once during the session before his society confreres.

The young Wilson was witty and popular, but languid. Reportedly, the captain of the baseball team, for which Tommy was an aspirant, remarked explosively: "Tommy Wilson would be a good baseball player if he weren't so damned lazy."<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the boy wasn't so lazy; he just didn't have the physical stamina for the game.

Back home in June, 1874, went the Wilson boy, carrying in his pocket a report card that contained only average grades. Upon arriving home Tommy's father realized at once that his son was not well. For some fifteen months this tall frail youth remained at home. Home meant, after September, 1874, Wilmington, North Carolina, where the itinerant Dr. Wilson became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. When acquaintances were made, the first-born son was always presented as Tommy. Somehow, the lad never cared much for the North Carolina port town. Many times in the years ahead, after the boy became known only as Woodrow Wilson, he referred to his youth in the South. Frequently, he

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<sup>4</sup> White, *Woodrow Wilson*, 81.

<sup>5</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, His Life and Letters* (New York, 8 volumes, 1927-1939) I, 76, hereinafter cited as Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*.

<sup>6</sup> Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, 74.

mentioned Augusta or Columbia. Seldom did he refer to Wilmington.

In the autumn of 1875, "T. W. Wilson of Wilmington, North Carolina" entered Princeton College.<sup>7</sup> Not very well prepared for the Freshman work there, Tommy Wilson found his work most difficult. In fact not once did he make the Dean's List, or the Honor Roll, during the eight semesters he was a student. When one realizes that the list included from eighteen to twenty-two per cent of the class each semester, then the mediocrity of Tommy's grades is clearly revealed.

The decade of the 1870's was one of great activity in the Whig Literary Society at Princeton. As soon as school routine was established Tommy joined this group under the name of "T. W. Wilson." When he participated on the society's program for the first time, however, it was as "T. Wilson."<sup>8</sup>

In many ways Tommy's Sophomore year at the New Jersey college was one of the most significant of his young life. According to his official biographer, he found himself intellectually at that time.<sup>9</sup> In Whig Hall, as T. W. Wilson, he won second prize as Sophomore orator, his subject—"The Ideal Statesman." Try though he did, Wilson never won another oratorical contest at Princeton. Thereafter, young Wilson participated in a number of debates, always as "T. Wilson." When elected as first comptroller of Whig, he is, in the society's records, "T. W. Wilson." Moreover, this was this Princeton student's signature on all society reports, etc., which are extant. During the session, 1877-1878, the new speaker of the Whig Society was "T. W. Wilson."<sup>10</sup> Young Wilson's greatest contributions to Whig Hall, concludes the society's historian, was in discussions of the business sessions.<sup>11</sup>

Dr. Wilson's son and some of his chums organized a Liberal Debating Club. Among those chosen as officers were "Thomas

<sup>7</sup> Consult records in Princeton University Library. Photostatic copies in Ray Stannard Baker Papers, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Baker Papers.

<sup>8</sup> Jacob N. Beam, *American Whig Party of Princeton University* (Princeton, 1933), 188ff, hereinafter cited Beam, *American Whig Party*.

<sup>9</sup> Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, 85.

<sup>10</sup> See Whig Hall records in Princeton University Library. The best published source is Beam, *American Whig Party*, 178 *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> Beam, *American Whig Party*, 192.

W. Wilson of North Carolina, Secretary of State." Apparently, Wilson wrote the constitution which was modeled on the English system—the Secretary of State exercising the powers of Prime Minister.<sup>12</sup>

While a student at Princeton young Wilson decided upon a career in politics. Having made the decision, and having set his goal, he wrote out his political objective on many cards which he distributed among his classmates. Upon receipt of the card, each read:

Thomas Woodrow Wilson  
Senator from Virginia <sup>13</sup>

In tracing the multiplicity of changes in Tommy Wilson's name, one cannot omit the signatures which he used himself in his early published writings and in his youthful private letters. Fortunately, some of each remain of the Princeton period.

Wilson's first published article was in the *Princetonian*, June 7, 1877, on the subject of "oratory" and was signed, in complete anonymity, "X". The second article, longer and more significant than the first, was signed "Atticus." Entitled "Prince Bismarck" it appeared in the *Nassau Literary Magazine*, November, 1877. From this anonymous beginning as a writer, Tommy emerged triumphantly a year later. A prize essay—"William Earl Chatham," when published in the same periodical was signed "Thomas W. Wilson, '79 of N. C." Here we find not only his name but his Princeton class and the state in which he lived. A third article, Tommy's first to be published off campus, came out in the *International Review*, August, 1879. It bore the signature of "Thomas W. Wilson." Of the few letters written by the young Wilson during this period that are known to be preserved, his signature is "Thomas W. Wilson"<sup>14</sup> or "T. W. Wilson." On a visit to Columbia, South Carolina, in the summer of 1878, Wilson wrote: "I have just returned from calling on a whole family

<sup>12</sup> Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, 94-95.

<sup>13</sup> Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, 104.

<sup>14</sup> See Thos. W. Wilson to Bobie [Robert R.] Bridges, July 18, 27, August 20, 1877; August 10, 1878. All of these letters are in the Karl A. Meyer Collection of the Correspondence of Woodrow Wilson and Robert R. Bridges, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Meyer Collection.

of girls who are old acquaintances. They all knew me as a boy and know me as 'Tommie.' I always enjoy getting among people who know me well enough to throw aside the formal prefix *Mr.* and call me *Tommie*, simply."<sup>15</sup>

Having chosen politics as a career, it was natural for the Princeton graduate to select law as his profession. "I entered the one because I thought it would lead to the other," he confided to Ellen Axson.<sup>16</sup> The War Between the States and its aftermath—Reconstruction—kept this aspiring young man from entering a northern law school. There was only one of distinction in the South and so he went to the University of Virginia. According to the bursar's record, Tommy entered the institution, which was the lengthened shadow of Thomas Jefferson, on October 2, 1879, as "Thomas W. Wilson." When he returned a year later his name became "T. Woodrow Wilson."<sup>17</sup>

Here the embryonic barrister joined the Phi Kappa Psi social fraternity, sang first tenor in the glee club, indulged himself in an arduous romance, and as a member of the Jefferson Society participated in campus forensics. Among those elected to membership in the Jefferson Literary Society at its first meeting in October, 1879, was "T. Woodrow Wilson."<sup>18</sup> Subsequently, Tommy became secretary of his society under the identical signature in which he achieved membership. During his tenure as secretary the minutes of "Old Jeff" were signed "T. Woodrow Wilson." On January 31, 1880, "Mr. T. Woodrow Wilson" was unanimously elected orator for the ensuing month. Tommy's oration, "John Bright," was given March 6, 1880, and was unsigned when published in the *University of Virginia Magazine* a few days later.<sup>19</sup> "Mr. Wilson," as Tommy was now referred to in campus publications, contributed an essay to the same journal the following month, April, 1880. Although "Mr. Gladstone: A Character

<sup>15</sup> T. W. Wilson to J. Edwin Webster, July 23, 1878, Baker Papers.

<sup>16</sup> Woodrow Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, quoted by Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 109.

<sup>17</sup> See Bursar's Records, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

<sup>18</sup> Consult Minutes of Jefferson Society, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, hereinafter cited as Minutes of Jefferson Society.

<sup>19</sup> *University of Virginia Magazine* (March, 1880), 354-370.

Sketch" was signed "Atticus," on the page containing the table of contents "by Woodrow Wilson" is opposite the title of the article.<sup>20</sup> Significantly, this is the first time that Wilson's name appeared publicly as it was to be permanently.

That Tommy Wilson repeatedly participated in debating is attested by the minutes of his society. He is mentioned as a debator—"T. W. Wilson," "Mr. Wilson," or "Brother Wilson."<sup>21</sup> Returning to Charlottesville in the fall of 1880, "T. Woodrow Wilson" was the first member to sign "Old Jeff's" register. On October 9 he was chosen, again unanimously, as president. The first reference to Wilson as "President Wilson" came a week later when the secretary of Jefferson began the minutes: "The House was called to order at 7 o'clock, President Wilson in the chair."<sup>22</sup> The most dramatic event of Tommy Wilson's life, as an "Old Jeff," was the participation in a debate on April 2, 1880, on the negative side of the question: "Is the Roman Catholic Element in the United States a Menace to American Institutions?" Much to Wilson's dismay, the first prize, as the best debator, went to an opponent. "Mr. T. W. Wilson" had to accept second prize as the best orator.<sup>23</sup>

Early in the session of 1880-1881, Tommy's health broke completely. As he left for Wilmington and home, a campus publication noted that "Mr. T. W. Wilson" had left the University on account of his health.<sup>24</sup> Several letters written by young Wilson from the fall of 1879 to 1881 have remained. To Charles A. Talcott, a chum of the Princeton years, Tommy wrote periodically. Invariably, the signature was "T. Woodrow Wilson."<sup>25</sup> His correspondence with Robert Bridges continued but no letter was ended with "Woodrow Wilson." A change from "Thos. W. Wilson" to "T. Woodrow Wilson" was subscribed in November, 1879. A postscript gave the rea-

<sup>20</sup> *University of Virginia Magazine* (April, 1880), 401-426.

<sup>21</sup> Minutes of Jefferson Society, 1879-1880, 1880-1881.

<sup>22</sup> Minutes of Jefferson Society, October 16, 1880.

<sup>23</sup> See *University of Virginia Magazine* (May, 1880), 524-525; A. W. Patterson, *Personal Recollections of Woodrow Wilson* (Richmond, 1929), 17. Patterson, a member of the Jefferson Society, was a classmate of Wilson's at the University of Virginia.

<sup>24</sup> Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, 127.

<sup>25</sup> T. Woodrow Wilson to Charles A. Talcott, July 7, December 31, 1879; May 20, October 11, 1880; Baker Papers.

son: "I sign myself thus at mother's special request, because this signature embodies *all* my family name."<sup>26</sup>

A contributing factor to Tommy's ill health which forced his withdrawal from Jefferson's educational institutional was the exactness of law coupled with Tommy's repeated journeys over to Staunton. Attending Mary Baldwin's Academy there was Harriet Woodrow, who, though Tommy's first cousin, was the center of his affections. Of the letters which must have passed between them only a few have been preserved, and all of these were penned after Wilson left the University of Virginia. In April, 1881, Tommy concluded a long letter: "You know that I love you dearly . . . Lovingly yours, Woodrow."<sup>27</sup> The next letter preserved addressed to "My Sweetest Cousin" is signed "T. Woodrow Wilson."<sup>28</sup>

On February 12, 1881, "T. W." published a letter in the *New York Evening Post*. From Wilmington, North Carolina, the author's correspondence was entitled, "Stray Thoughts From the South."<sup>29</sup> Fourteen months later, April 20, 1882, a second letter published in the same paper, on the subject "New Southern Industries," was signed "W. W."<sup>30</sup> Sometime earlier in a personal letter to his intimate friend, Robert Bridges, Tommy Wilson had not only signed "Woodrow Wilson" but added this explanation: "You see, I am no longer 'Tommy,' *except to my old friends*; but have imitated Charlie [Charles Andrew Talcott] in taking the liberty of dropping one of my names, as superfluous."<sup>31</sup> The evolution of "Woodrow Wilson" was practically complete by 1882. Exceptions were to occur, however, as late as June, 1885, when Wilson signed a letter to his Uncle Thomas Woodrow, the father of Harriet, as "Thomas Woodrow Wilson."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> T. Woodrow Wilson to Robert Bridges, November [?] 1879; February 25, 1880; August 18, 1880; September 18, 1880; January 1, 1881; February 24, 1881; May [24], 1881; Meyers Collection.

<sup>27</sup> Woodrow [Wilson] to Harriet Woodrow, April 22, 1881, Baker Papers.

<sup>28</sup> T. Woodrow Wilson to Harriet Woodrow, May 10, 1881, Baker Papers.

<sup>29</sup> See copy of letter, Wilson Papers.

<sup>30</sup> See copy of letter, Wilson Papers.

<sup>31</sup> Woodrow Wilson to Robert Bridges, August 22, 1881, Meyer Collection.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Woodrow Wilson to Thomas Woodrow, June 8, 1885, Baker Papers.

Why did Tommy finally decide on "Woodrow Wilson" for his name? Was it because a Princeton chum deleted one of his names? That was a good explanation, but was it the real reason? Several have offered their conclusions which are interesting to note. Ray Stannard Baker concludes: "After going through all the permutations and combinations of "Tommy" and "Tom," "T. W. Wilson," "Thos. W. Wilson," "T. Wilson," and "T. Woodrow Wilson," the last of "Tommy" drops away—sacrificed on the altar of euphony. Thereafter he never signed anything but "Woodrow Wilson."<sup>33</sup> William Allen White declared that "Tommy" was dropped because it lacked dignity. "It was Tommy the turkey and Tommy the cat and Tommy the gardener." Moreover, the same biographer adds that Tommy declared to Robert Bridges: "I find I need a trademark in advertising my literary wares. Thomas W. Wilson lacks something—Woodrow Wilson sticks in the mind. So I have decided publicly to be Woodrow Wilson."<sup>34</sup> But Wilson, as White contended, had not turned some sudden corner at the University of Virginia and "lost Tommy forever."<sup>35</sup> The transition began at Charlottesville, only to be completed later. Yet another suggested the longer signatures were altogether too lengthy, too commonplace, too lacking in distinction. Woodrow Wilson was brief, alliterative, more striking, and easier to remember.<sup>36</sup> Was Wilson superstitious? Did he believe the thirteen letters in "Woodrow Wilson" contained some kind of fixed destiny or good luck? Although this has been contended, it is doubtful.<sup>37</sup>

Wilson declared to Bridges his decision to use only "Woodrow," and no longer "Tommy," within a few days after Harriet Woodrow had refused to marry him. Wilson's letters to his cousin, Harriet, reveal the deep passion of his affection for her. In accepting her rejection of his love, he vowed to

<sup>33</sup> Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 137. Baker is wrong in saying Wilson never signed anything but "Woodrow Wilson" after 1881. There were several examples of variations but not many. I have found none after 1885.

<sup>34</sup> White, *Woodrow Wilson*, 89.

<sup>35</sup> White, *Woodrow Wilson*, 85.

<sup>36</sup> Harold G. Black, *True Woodrow Wilson, Crusader for Democracy* (New York, 1946), 38-39.

<sup>37</sup> David Loth, *Woodrow Wilson: The Fifteenth Point* (Philadelphia, 1941), 30.

love her always.<sup>38</sup> Did Wilson retain only "Woodrow" in romantic remembrance of his first love? If so, Harriet Woodrow, in rejecting "Tommy Wilson's" proposal for marriage, influenced destiny greatly.

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<sup>38</sup> See Woodrow [Wilson] to Harriet Woodrow, no date but obviously in summer, 1881, Baker Papers.

## CHILDHOOD RECOLLECTIONS OF MY FATHER

By MARY C. WILEY

When I was a child my favorite place to play when my father was at home<sup>1</sup> was the Study—the book-lined upper room with the sun streaming in the eastern window, with the view of friendly neighborhood yards from the western and northern windows; and beyond the quiet street, wide stretches of unbroken woodland, part of the Moravian reservation upon which Winston stood, which we always designated as Fries' woods (since in our childish way of thinking the Fries of Salem stood for all Moravians, past and present).

My sister Annie and David and Jimmy, my brothers, would be at school, my baby sister Mittie would be downstairs with her beloved Henretta,, the young black girl, whose forebears had belonged to my father's people, and who was regarded by all of us as one of the family.

I can see myself now, quiet as a mouse, playing with the bits of paper and the yellow envelopes my father would give me, building houses under the window with the books I could reach from the lowest shelves of the open book cases, slipping up every now and then to the table before the open fireplace where my father was writing, watching his pen go back and forth across the white sheet, as I lovingly smoothed the little red and white China dog that stood in his accustomed place on the corner of the table—as a paper weight, I suppose.

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<sup>1</sup> Calvin Henderson Wiley, son of David L. and Ann Woodburn Wiley, was born February 3, 1819, in Guilford County, at the old homeplace (near Greensboro), of his great-grandfather, William Wiley, who in the Scotch-Irish emigration of the 1750's had come down the "Great Wagon Road" through the Valley of Virginia, from Pennsylvania to Guilford County (at that time Orange County). Calvin H. Wiley, *Alamance County, Historical Address* (1879), C. H. Wiley Diary, April 9, 1876, 9-10.

He served as first Superintendent of Public Schools of North Carolina from 1852 until their suspension in 1866. He was District Superintendent of the American Bible Society, Middle and East Tennessee, 1869-1874; North and South Carolina, from 1874 until his death, January 11, 1887. *Encyclopædia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1884), 1009, hereinafter cited as *Encyclopædia of the Presbyterian Church*.

I can see every detail of the sunny morning room, dominated as it was by the presence of my father: the old-fashioned schoolmaster's desk of massive walnut, standing between the eastern and northern windows, filled, every pigeon hole and the deep well under the heavy lid, with neat piles of closely written sheets of paper, and bundles of letters, labeled and tied with red tape. In the big drawer extending all the way under the desk were stacks of paper, numbers of paperback books, which my father always referred to as "annual reports" and thin little books, soft to the touch, with reddish backs or yellow or black, which years later I learned were the diaries which my father so conscientiously kept during the years he was in the service of the American Bible Society.

But more interesting to me than the papers and books in the old desk were the various paper boxes carefully stored away from childish fingers and brought out on long Sunday afternoons that we children might see the bits of jewelry, cherished as mementoes of happy occasions; the time-stained sheets and half-sheets bearing various signatures greatly prized by our father because they related to the days when his father and his father's father lived at the old home in Guilford—Woodbourne, he himself had named it in honor of his dearly beloved mother, Ann Woodburn Wiley; the yellowed slips of printed paper, the "s's" looking like "f's" and the animals pictured on them unlike any animals we had ever seen. These pictured slips, we were told, had been used in place of copper and silver money in the days when our people first came to Guilford and during the Revolutionary War, and we loved to imagine the stirring events that must have happened in those days when they passed from hand to hand in exchange for sugar and shoes, as receipt for taxes paid the sheriff, as payment of the schoolmaster's monthly bill for "scholar-and-a-half."

Hidden somewhere in the roomy desk must have been the brace of ancient pistols, used in the Revolutionary War, which the tenants at Woodbourne during the years my father

lived in Tennessee had badly misused, picking out most of the ivory.

In my mind's eye I can still see the large colored map of North Carolina hanging on the Study wall across from the desk, and under the bottom bookshelf next to the door, the heavy oblong box, filled with mysterious looking parts, which when fitted together and mounted became the sun, moon, and stars, revolving around the earth on its axis.

I can see the open bookshelves, covering two sides of the room, getting smaller and smaller as they reached the top, the heavy thick books on the lower shelves, the tiny black ones in fine print on the top shelf, with the big earthen bottle of ink beside them safe from little fingers and the stout little wooden box with old-fashioned lock and key—always locked.

In the corner where the front and side bookshelves came together was a deep open space where the long, heavy Woodbourne hunting pieces were stored and the rusty old sword with the dark stain on the dull edge, which we children were sure was blood spattered on it at the Battle of Guilford Court House.

And beside the old guns and Revolutionary sword were the walking sticks, twelve or more, which had been presented to my father on various occasions and by special friends. I liked to play with the glossy, slender stick made of wood from Mount Olivet, the strong, heavy cane made from the wood of some battle ship and mounted with a band of plain, hand-beaten silver; but my father liked best the tall, light cane made of twisted palmetto and he often carried it on his walk to the post office, especially on sleety, cold days.

The books packed tightly on the Study shelves my father prized greatly. Many of these books were arithmetics and readers and geographies presented to him when he was Superintendent of Common Schools; many were works on theology,<sup>2</sup> Bible commentaries and writings on Bible proph-

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<sup>2</sup> My father studied theology under his life-long friend and the pastor of his church, Old Alamance Presbyterian Church of Guilford County, Rev. Eli W. Caruthers, D.D. In 1855 my father was licensed to preach by the Orange Presbytery and in 1866 he was ordained by the Presbytery to the full work of the ministry. *Encyclopædia of the Presbyterian Church*, 1009.

ecy. There were some of the law books he had used when reading law after college days, and legislative volumes relating to the common schools of the 1850's and 1860's. Many of his histories of North Carolina, works of fiction, and law books, we were told, had been destroyed by fire in the days when he was a young lawyer in Oxford, North Carolina.<sup>3</sup>

The books in the Study represented Home to my father; he had carried them from Woodbourne to Tennessee and then back again from Tennessee to North Carolina and when at length he spread them out on the shelves in the home he had built in Winston, he felt that he had really settled down for good in the Old State he so dearly loved.<sup>4</sup>

In front of the open wood fire was my father's writing table, the shiny walnut top spread with the soft checkered table cloth, maroon and black, to protect it from the occasional ink spot.

Stretched out beside the writing table, Dan, our beautiful, intelligent bird dog, kept company with me in the quiet Study. He loved to be near my father; often he would accompany him to the post office, and when my father died, he sensed that something was wrong, and he would come whining to the study door and then walk down street to the post office and back again to the Study door; for several days he kept this up.

My father had built for Dan a comfortable doghouse, on the back porch, with a bed of fresh leaves and a strip of rag carpet hung over the open side; how well I remember how my father on a cold winter night would go out to the back

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<sup>3</sup> Stephen B. Weeks, *Beginnings of the Common School System in the South* (1898), 1431. In the fall of 1875 while on a visit to Oxford in the interest of the American Bible Society, my father records in his Diary: "Milton. October 25, 1875. My reception here, my home for some years when I was quite young and where I practiced law, was exceedingly kind & gratifying."

<sup>4</sup> In his Diary, July 5, 1877, my father records: "Today got all of my books & papers put up at my new home (Spruce Street, Winston). I have yet in Guilford (at Woodbourne) some 20 or 30 volumes of books & considerable numbers of papers. Since May 1869 when I went to Tennessee, I have not had all my books & papers together, but the Lord willing, I hope soon to have all together once more at my own home."

And on July 7, 1877, he continues on the same subject: "At last I am even with my office business, & have my books & papers all arranged. Now for the first time since May 1869 are these my fixed companions, put up & arranged at my home to remain."

porch before locking up for the night to see that Dan was warm and comfortable.

Like black Hen'retta, Dan was one of the family, and when he died, we grieved as if a beloved relative had departed.

I can see my father now, tall, thin, soft brown hair streaked here and there with white, bending over the Study table, writing, writing, writing. I didn't understand what it was that kept him so busy writing all the time he was home from his trips.

But now, from reading his Diary, I can appreciate how arduous were the home duties he had to perform as District Superintendent of the American Bible Society:<sup>5</sup> the making of long monthly statistical and narrative reports to the home office of the Society in New York City—reports that had to be sent strictly on time, complete in every detail; the checking of the accounts sent in by regional Bible depositories and by colporteurs; the answering of numerous and varied inquiries relating to the planning of union denominational meetings in widely separated areas and of anniversary celebrations of Auxiliaries in his field stretching from the western boundaries of North Carolina to the southeastern shores of South Carolina; the thinking-out of sermons to be preached in the near future; the constant study of the Scriptures that he might give his hearers fresh inspiration from the living streams of spiritual life.

It is of interest to note that my father never wrote out his sermons, the notes he carried to the pulpit being the barest of outline, often jotted down on the backs of used envelopes.

As I look back in memory upon this period of my father's life—the final period of his busy and fruitful life—and think of the strenuous pioneer work in the educational field he had crowded into the thirties and forties of his manhood and

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<sup>5</sup> A few items from my father's Diary give an idea of the writing he had to do between his field trips. On April 26, 1879, he records that on returning home from a field trip he found 82 letters awaiting him and 33 documents needing immediate attention. On September 1, 1880, he records: ". . . letters for August 115, documents 242." On August 7, 1885, he writes: "I am very tired. Since noon yesterday I have written 27 letters, one of them 3 pp. & one nearly 4 pp." His entry for April 5, 1886, states: "Today I finished the 5 statistical tables of my annual report & copied them—a heavy work."

then at fifty years of age had entered upon an entirely different life service, yet a service requiring the same dauntless spirit, the same resourcefulness of mind and selfless devotion to his task that his earlier work had required—when I think upon these things, I marvel at the amazing vitality he put into his Bible work, the unabated keenness of mind, the enthusiasm with which at fifty and sixty years of age he carried on duties which might well have taxed the mental and spiritual resources of a much younger man.

His physical powers were indeed taxed during the years of his Bible work; frail from boyhood, he found most wearing the constant traveling in draughty, over-heated or under-heated railroad cars of the old type, in open hacks or buggies over rough, dusty roads; the sleeping in noisy hotel rooms and the eating of hotel fare unsuited to his delicate stomach.<sup>6</sup>

Yet with all the exacting office work and strenuous field service as District Superintendent of The American Bible Society, my father ever took an active part in the affairs of his home town.<sup>7</sup> With constructive suggestions and loyal cooperation he responded to the many and varied calls of small town Winston, taking a leading part in the establishment of graded schools; he graciously entered into the social activi-

<sup>6</sup> These entries from my father's Diary show the hardships of railroad travel in the 1880's:

"August 20, 1880. Left Winston at 7 a.m. & arrived at Lexington, N. C. at 11 a.m. The Southbound train was 1 & ½ hours late, full of passengers & ran from 40 to 45 miles an hour. Extremely warm & dusty. Arrived At Greenville, S. C. at 6 p.m.

"May 30, 1881. I feel worsted by this trip, the fare & water disagreeing with me. It is astonishing how carelessly many people live. I have scarcely tasted a vegetable since I left home & have seen only raw onions, lettuce, cabbage, new & unhealthy Irish potatoes.

"June 23, 1882. Left R[ockingham] at 10 a.m., arrived at Charlotte at 6 p.m.—71 miles in 8 hours. On the Carolina-Central Railroad the night train makes 13 miles an hour & the day train 9. The road goes through a hot, unhealthy country, the water is bad & the hotels poor. I am thankful to God He enabled me to stand a trip I greatly dreaded."

<sup>7</sup> *The Western Sentinel* of Winston in its issue of January 13, 1887, states:

"In 1874 Mr. Wiley (as District Superintendent of the American Bible Society, New York, for North and South Carolina) made Winston his home; this was at a time when the town had just begun to enter into its new and prosperous career. He took a great interest, as a man and a citizen, in its growth and welfare and from the first sought to promote good schools. The establishment of the present Graded School was due in a very large measure to his personal ability, influence, and zeal in the matter."

ties of his widely divergent circle of friends, men and women of culture and wealth, citizens of little education; and to the struggling little Presbyterian Church he was a tower of strength. Before the calling of Dr. Frontis Johnston of Lexington as full-time pastor, he visited the sick of the congregation, held Wednesday night prayer meeting and Sunday services when he was in Winston. After Dr. Johnston took full-time charge of the church, he continued his active interest in the affairs of the congregation, organizing a society for young men, teaching a Bible class of young adults,<sup>8</sup> filling the pulpit in the absence of Dr. Johnston on presbyterial duties.

As I look back upon my childhood days and recall the affection my father lavished upon his family,<sup>9</sup> his love for home and appreciation of simple home joys and home interests, the strong local attachments he had, it seems almost a tragedy that all his married life he should have had to spend so much time away from home.

It was seldom that he could spend a week end in Winston, with no preaching appointment in some local church in the interest of the Bible work, and these rare occasions were red-letter days with us.

Some Sunday evenings he would "baby sit" with the three youngest of us, while our mother attended church services with the two oldest children.

"Tell us about when you were a boy," we would beg and pressing close about him, we would never tire of the stories he had to tell again and over again of his childhood in the "Old Place," as we called Woodbourne: of the big spring at the foot of the hill with the spring house made of logs; of the clear branch flowing from it with the earthen vessels in

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<sup>8</sup> In his Diary on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1881, my father writes: "At 2 p.m. in the Presbyterian Sabbath School heard a Bible class of adults, mostly married, organized for me.

"I have been much desired by males & females, married & young, to take such a class. I delight in this work, but if I teach on Sabbaths, it will have to be at irregular intervals."

<sup>9</sup> A sketch of my father published in the *Encyclopædia of the Presbyterian Church*, 1009, speaks of his devotion to family: "The richest overflow of his sympathies has been in the home-circle, where devotion to kindred, strong filial feeling, and tenderest attachments have ever marked his character."

it filled with milk and butter; of the meadow where the wild strawberries grew; of the woods, with the squirrels cracking the nuts which fell from the tall hickory trees; of the sweet old-fashioned "pinks" (his favorite flowers) blooming in his mother's flower garden just off the kitchen and the great bush of yellow roses beside the front gate.

How real he made the people, black and white, who lived at Woodbourne when he was a boy. There was the little slave boy, Newt, just about his age, who loved to run around with him; there was smiling, fat Aunt Hettie, the cook, Newt's mother, who lived with her family down the road in the log cabin, with the outdoor stairs leading to the room above and the big cactus bush just outside the room below. How our mouths would water as he told us of the peach "pot pies" Aunt Hettie would bake, the crusty salt rising bread, the "hard biscuits" beaten by hand until the bubbles rose and cracked in the soft unrisen dough.

How we loved to hear him tell about going with his mother to the Female Missionary Society of Old Alamance Church, sitting up in front of her on the big fat horse, listening during the meeting to the ladies talk about the Indian boy they were supporting, whom they had named David Caldwell after the beloved pastor of former days, David Caldwell of Revolutionary fame.

What an appeal to the imagination were the stories he told us of boyhood days when he would walk to church barefoot, cool his feet in the clear little branch running below the churchyard and put on his squeaky shoes just in time to reach the family pew before the preacher ascended the steps to the tall pulpit with its sounding board above and the "clark" arose with his tuning fork to lead the hearty congregational singing.

We would beg for stories of his early school days at the little red schoolhouse near his Grandmother Woodburn's home; with the big open fire, the backless benches, the narrow writing table under the high window at which the "scholars" took turn about copying the lines the master had written in his flowing hand. We loved to hear how the master would call, "To books! To books!" whenever the noisy hum of boys

and girls conning aloud their lessons would die down and how he would place the dunce cap upon the head of the luckless fellow who failed to get the right answer to his "sum," and make the "bad boy" sit on the high stool in the corner.

We loved to hear the story of the hungry little bear, who passing one day by the open door of the schoolhouse, caught a whiff of the dinner pails hanging on the nearby pegs and waddled in for his dinner; we loved to hear of the time the "scholars" locked out the master and how the master climbed up on the low roof of the schoolhouse and slipped down the wide chimney, scattering the soot and setting everybody sneezing.

We never tired of listening to his account of the trips he would make to Fayetteville with his father's slaves in the big farm wagon filled with butter and other farm produce to exchange at the town stores for sugar and coffee, bone-handled knives and forks, and sewing materials for his mother. Here and there along the road other wagons would join his father's wagon and at night the wagoners would camp around a big pine knot fire. It was on one of these trips that the "stars fell" but he was fast asleep and saw nothing of the awe-inspiring sight which to the terrified Negro wagoners betokened the Judgment Day.

Memory goes back to the simple home pleasures of a wintry evening, the sense of security and family oneness, as doors closed and window blinds shutting out the stormy darkness, we gathered around the open wood fire. My mother would be busy with her needle, my father would join us in popping corn (for in those days the corn-popper was as necessary an adjunct to the hearthstone as tongs and shovel), guessing riddles, playing checkers, or dominoes, or authors.

The game of authors I remember best of all the games our father played with us; for though I could not read, I was not left out. With my little chair pushed up just as close as I could get it to my father's chair, I was allowed to hold the "books," as a completed set of one author's titles was called. And it was thus unconsciously I learned, from hearing the others call for titles, the names of many authors and their works, such as Whittier's *Tenting on the Beach*, and Cooper's

*The Deerslayer*, long before I could tell a letter of the alphabet.

As I recall my earliest memories connected with my father, I can smell the faint, pleasant odor of tea cakes which seemed always to emerge when my father opened his roomy, linen-lined valise to unpack after a trip, for whenever his journeyings took him to Raleigh, where his beloved niece, who had married my mother's brother, lived, he had a way of slipping in among his fresh handkerchiefs and socks a package of fresh tea cakes for his little grandnieces and nephews.

The pungent smell of his cigar lingers also in my memory. He had a way of cutting his cigar in two and leisurely puffing down to the tip of each small piece. I loved to watch the curling whiffs of smoke as they drifted from his cigar into the fire-lighted room where we gathered after supper on a wintry evening, and I loved, too, the dry tobaccory smell which lingered in the old-fashioned woolly dressing gown he wore as he relaxed in his favorite chair, the high-arm chair with the short worn-down rockers, the chair which had been the favorite chair also of his father and his father's father.

The scent of apples, delicious sheep nose apples, a variety long off the market, is among the earliest memories of my father. In my mind's eye I can see my father coming down Spruce Street in the winter twilight, a large paper bag of apples in his arms. I can hear his quick, decisive step, as I run out the gate to meet him. He selects from his bag one big juicy apple for me to sample before supper. Taking out his ever-handly pen knife, he proceeds to peel it (I never saw him eat an apple without first peeling it) while I, my mouth watering, stand by watching the knife go round and round, the curling skin growing longer and longer.

In the attic of our Spruce Street home (or garret as we called the long, wide room with the sloping roof over the dining room and kitchen ell) are two small, split-bottomed chairs whose smooth, worn backs bear silent testimony to the fun we used to have as children, when after supper, our father would join us in our winter sport—sliding down the long, gently-sloping side yard covered deep in freshly fallen snow. We didn't have sleds enough to go round and so when

all of us wanted to slide at the same time, we used the chairs for sleds.

My father, with the youngest in his lap, preferred the safety of a chair-sled which he could guide at his own rate of speed between the big trees down the sloping yard to the chain of sleds loosely fashioned together and guided by the boy in the foremost sled lying flat on his stomach.

With shouts and laughter, my father the very center of the merriment, we would fly down the track from front street to back; then plowing up the unbroken snow beside the beaten track, drag our sleds or chairs up to the starting point and slide down again.

The neighborhood boys and girls, up and down the street, would come with their sleds to join in our sport, and whenever the snow began to cover the ground, they were just as eager as we were for our father to get home before the sliding was over.

It was surprising how many people there were who dropped in to see my father on the days between his trips and the varied missions upon which they came.

There was an old gentleman up Spruce Street, an early merchant of Winston and former mayor, Martin Grogan ("Squire" he was called), who loved to drop by on a summer evening and talk with my father. He was never at a loss for a subject of conversation, but the one topic upon which he could converse upon for hours was the subject of Greenbacks.

I didn't know what he meant by Greenbacks but I trembled as I listened to his dire prophecies of what would happen to our country if those who advocated Greenbacks did "get in" (or did not "get in")—I don't remember which.

I trembled, too, as adroitly he turned the conversation from Greenbacks to the Judgment Day—a subject in which both he and my father were keenly interested. In my childish imagination, the Judgment Day was one of two most dreadful things that could possibly happen; and from conversation far over my head I gathered it was imminent without warning at any moment. The other dreadful thing was the return of the Cholera.

It was from stories handed down from my father and mother that I knew all about the cholera scare in Tennessee of the early eighteen-seventies, and I shuddered at the mere thought of the dread epidemic ever threatening our North Carolina home.

My father, as Superintendent of the American Bible Society for East and Middle Tennessee, was living in Jonesboro, Tennessee, when the epidemic of cholera began to spread eastward from West Tennessee and with my mother and their young son and infant daughter refugeed to Rural Retreat, in Wythe County, Virginia.

So vividly did my parents portray the dreadful weeks of the cholera epidemic that I felt as I heard them talk that I, too, had lived in Jonesboro that sultry, rainy summer when everything in the house molded, when overnight the grass grew in the village streets and in the gardens vegetables hung lush and rank, and household after household suddenly became stricken with the strange black sickness—vomiting and raging fever.

Day and night could be heard the mooing of cows unmilked and untended, straying along the village street, the barking of dogs unfed, the tolling of church bells not only for the burial of the dead but for the digging of graves for the stricken and dying.

One man, while listening to the tolling of the church bell for the friend whose grave he was digging, was suddenly attacked with the disease and so rapidly did it run its course that he was buried in the very grave he had been digging for his friend. The man in whose care my father left his house when he refugeed to Virginia died and was buried with the key to the house in his pocket.

My father's family physician, Dr. Dadrick, and his good wife (the parents of Mrs. Robert B. Glenn, wife of North Carolina's Governor Glenn) remained in Jonesboro all through the epidemic, ministering to the sick and dying, and through their letters which I have found among my father's papers, the impressions of my childhood have been deeply strengthened of this terrible scourge.

And thus I bring to a close these childhood recollections of my father. It has not been easy to lay bare these intimate memories and I have done so only in the hope that they may enable students of my father's work as a builder of the public school system of our State to have a fuller, richer understanding of his rare, innate qualities of mind and spirit as best shown within the circle of his family.

## BOOK REVIEWS

James K. Polk, Jacksonian, 1795-1843. By Charles Grier Sellers, Jr. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1957. Preface, illustrations, description of sources, and index. Pp. xiv, 526. \$7.50.)

This volume, appropriately described in the Preface as both biography and history, is devoted entirely to the pre-presidential career of Polk, revealing him as a hardworking politician with boundless ambition but with no suggestion that he will ever achieve the high office. Eugene I. McCormac's *James K. Polk: A Political Biography*, is cited as covering his later career adequately.

Polk's Scotch-Irish ancestors had like so many of their compatriots made their way to Maryland's Eastern Shore and from there had gone to the frontier. After a stay in western Pennsylvania they moved down the valley of Virginia to Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. Though the Polks left Mecklenburg when James was only eight, his biographer feels that his brief stay there coupled with his growing up on the Tennessee frontier made him the stanch Jacksonian that he remained throughout his life.

The Polks were by no means obscure frontiersmen. They belonged rather to the planter, farming, land-speculating, office-holding group who played important roles in local, state, and even national affairs. James's frail health in his early years shut him off from more robust activities and turned his energies to law and politics.

After his graduation from the University of North Carolina in 1818 his is largely a political biography. He began by studying law in the offices of the famous lawyer-politician, Felix Grundy, at Nashville and was admitted to the bar in 1820. Already he was serving an apprenticeship in politics as he was clerk of the Tennessee Senate from 1819 to 1823. He was elected to the lower house of the Tennessee legislature in 1823, and two years later he entered the national House of Representatives where he served fourteen years, the

last four as speaker. A term as governor of Tennessee followed after which he suffered defeat in 1841 and 1843 as the Whigs took command and Polk's career in politics appeared ended. On this note the book ends.

The first part of the book provides an interesting account of frontier North Carolina and Tennessee in all aspects, but it becomes more and more a description of the political issues, personalities, and campaigns in state and nation in which Polk was playing an increasingly important role.

C. W. Tebeau.

University of Miami,  
Coral Gables, Florida.

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O. Henry in North Carolina. By Cathleen Pike (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Library. 1957. Pp. 29.)

This is another in the useful North Carolina Biographical Series of the University's Library Extension Publications. Its Foreword and five short chapters give an account of William Sidney Porter's schoolhouse, boyhood, and drugstore youth in Greensboro, a statement of his connections with the State during the Texas and the New York years, a list of the North Carolina memorials to him, and a very cursory treatment of the impact of the scenery, life, and culture of his native state upon his stories. The first two chapters furnish some new-found facts about O. Henry's early life (e.g., that he was a registered druggist), and the last shows how the experiences at Aunt Lina's school and Uncle Clark's drugstore reappear in his stories—to their benefit. It is well that we know also where this famous son lies buried and what memorials have been raised to him, as given in Chapter 4.

Now, O. Henry is important for his stories and whatever helps the reader to a richer appreciation of them is a good thing. The last chapter does this: it shows to some extent wherein his living and visiting in North Carolina lent color and irony and pathos to his work. It is unfortunate, however, that the scope of the pamphlet did not allow a fuller treat-

ment of this subject. And it is likewise unfortunate that the author had not the chance to point up O. Henry's unique pathos built, as it was, upon his rather whimsical sense of irony—and derived ultimately from his Greensboro days, when caricature was his hobby. The writing in this piece is clear; it lacks the distinction that its subject deserves. One hopes, however, that it may serve to renew interest in the work of an exceptional craftsman, in these days too often neglected.

Thomas B. Stroup.

The University of Kentucky,  
Lexington.

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The Cokers of Carolina. By George Lee Simpson, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. 237. Illustrated. \$5.00.)

This is the biography of a South Carolina family which has had an extraordinary influence not only on life in their state, but possibly in the whole South. This family stems from Caleb and Hannah Lide Coker who were married in 1830. The centers of Coker activity have been Society Hill and Hartsville. Caleb Coker and his wife underwent the characteristic experiences of an ante bellum southern couple who began life on meager resources, and undertook to stabilize their conditions by farming and merchandising. Caleb's history was somewhat more important because of his store-keeping activities. Even in those days of factorage supply he served a tremendously vital purpose in making merchandise available locally. Through his limited records both his biographer and the reader are able to catch a glimpse of life in the early cotton belt as it concerned supply and credits.

The numerous brood of Caleb Coker reached maturity during the war years. Three of the boys were caught in war from the outset, and the experiences of these three constitute a thrilling chapter of the anxieties and griefs which befell southerners during these tumultuous years. Charles Coker was killed at Malvern Hill; William was captured at Gettys-

burg; and James was seriously wounded at Chattanooga. The story of Hannah Coker's journey to Chattanooga and her return with the wounded James sounds like an ancient saga.

Once the war was over and James and William were back home, the Cokers began to unravel the tangled threads of their lives. The Coker story through the Reconstruction days involved not only the enormous social and political struggle going on about them, but the tremendous effort necessary to make a come-back in the cotton South.

Two things seem to have set the Cokers apart from their neighbors. They had a deep respect for education and scientific knowledge, and they seem to have been free of defeatism and bitterness. Certainly the reader does not detect bitterness in this book. Even in the field of racial upheaval the Cokers seemed to have kept an even keel, as they did in most of the Tillman period.

The struggle of the Cokers to re-establish themselves in the New South involved about all the woes to which southern farming was heir. It was clearly evident that the old system of cotton alone would not sustain the region. Something more than cotton, Negroes, and mules was necessary. There was a considerable casting about for an industrial outlet. In 1890 this family embarked upon a venture which in many respects was an astonishing undertaking. They believed that paper could be made from pine pulp, and today the paper mill at Hartsville confirms this faith. In fact, nearly all South Carolina at this moment of industrial revolution confirms the Coker faith in paper and the common pine.

Two chapters of this book stand out over all the rest; they are the ones which deal with David R. Coker and the development of pedigreed seed, and the collapse of the rural way of life in the sand hills of South Carolina. The author was able to strike at the heart of two fundamental southern problems. Without specifically defining the woes of the South in this century, he does give his reader a concept of change. Possibly few men in the South saw more clearly the fate of the old line cotton business than did D. R. Coker. Out of all the

members of this numerous family, "Mr. D. R." saw what was coming, and made genuine progress in preparing the cotton industry for this moment. In doing so, however, he helped virtually to remove from the small farmer's field the cotton patch and helped to make it a heavily mechanized crop—or world market and production conditions prepared the way. There is no way of knowing how much Coker plant breeding has meant to the South. Coker tobacco, oats, corn, and grasses have gone far toward revolutionizing southern farming.

Today the Coker empire is rather extensive. It not only encompasses the seed breeding plant, but the oil industry, the store and the bank, the paper mill, and the cone manufacturing industry. Through the solid efforts of all the family this empire has been held together, and now in the hands of the third generation it is prospering.

Members of the family have strayed from the Hartsville fold to become botanists, political scientists, chemists, medical doctors, and businessmen. Few southern families can lay claim to such solid accomplishments, nor can they take satisfaction in the absence of so few blacksheep as can the Cokers.

The author had great respect for his collectivized subject. Often-times, it seems to this reviewer, he might have done the Cokers a greater service if he had been more analytical and critical of phases of their history. Too, there are places where the writing drags; this is especially true in the earlier chapters where the author becomes bogged in the details of family background. He did have access to family records, incomplete though they were. Despite some of these shortcomings, Mr. Simpson has made an interesting exploration into the background of a southern family which has displayed unusual intelligence, and a tremendous amount of determination to remain decent and successful.

Thomas D. Clark.

University of Kentucky,  
Lexington.

*The Land Called Chicora: The Carolinas under Spanish Rule with French Intrusions, 1520-1670.* By Paul Quattlebaum. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 153. \$3.75.)

This volume reminds us that nearly one hundred and fifty years before the permanent settlement of Carolina the Spanish had explored the coast, built a fort, and established a temporary town. In 1520 Lucas Vázquez de Ayllon, a member of the Royal Council of Hispaniola, sent out a voyage of discovery, and it is believed that contact with the land of Chicora, stretching possibly from the Cape Fear to the Savannah, was made first in the region of Port Royal, South Carolina, on Santa Elena's Day, 1520. Nearly a year later the expedition entered Winyah Bay; in 1523 Allyn received a patent from Charles V of Spain with authority to plant and govern a colony in the new land. In 1526 he sailed from Hispaniola with a fleet of six vessels and some five hundred men, touched at the river Jordan (which the author believes to have been the Cape Fear), and then proceeded to Winyah Bay where the first Spanish settlement north of Mexico, San Miguel de Gualdape, was founded on lower Waccamaw Neck. A scourge of malaria brought death to Ayllon, and treachery brought an end to the colony. Some twenty years later De Soto was an unwelcome guest in the land of Chicora. Then in 1562 came Jean Ribaut, representing the Huguenots of France, to build Charlesfort on what is now Parris Island. This was the beginning of a bitter rivalry, accentuated by religious differences, which was to result in the defeat of Ribaut and René de Laudonnière by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the Spanish governor of Florida. The attempt to hold St. Elena for Spain was abandoned in 1587 when the Spanish felt compelled to consolidate their forces at St. Augustine.

The author includes a brief sketch of the early English explorations and the first settlements. He discusses the unsuccessful missionary efforts of the Jesuits, and he has two chapters on the Chicora Indians and their way of life. Mr. Quattlebaum, a resident of South Carolina who has spent a

lifetime in the region he discusses, is especially interested in the local geography, and he has used his experience as an engineer and his familiarity with nautical instruments to piece together the fragmentary evidence found in old maps and drawn from the confused accounts of early narrators. It is obviously a labor of love, and a good summation of a little-known period of our history.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University,  
Durham.

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The Colonial Records of South Carolina. Series I, Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, September 10, 1745-June 17, 1746. Edited by J. H. Easterby. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1956. Illustration and index. Pp. xii, 291. \$8.00.)

The competent editorial hand of J. H. Easterby has brought forth another excellent edition of the colonial records of South Carolina. In this instance, the deliberations of the Commons House of Assembly is presented for the period September 10, 1745, through June 17, 1746. Large pages, clear type, and a good index characterize this as another fine volume in the series.

Although this work represents but a small portion of the immense editorial job which Mr. Easterby and staff have undertaken—that of editing and publishing the entire available previously unpublished colonial records of his state—it is nonetheless an interesting and absorbing unit of colonial history. The gentlemen who assembled in the Commons to discuss their colony's affairs were concerned with defense on the western frontier and on the coast; they deliberated over economic affairs, such as the decision to abandon the bounty on indigo after the crop had proved successful; they tackled such diversified problems as taxation, immigration, counterfeiting, and cattle disease. The South Carolina Commons wrangled with the Upper House, with Governor Glen,

and with each other. In short, this legislative body seems to have acted in the tradition of American legislatures.

Yet this record of deliberations abounds in the fine touches of humor and serious business which make such records important to the student of American history. Whether we delve into these pages for teaching, research, or for simple reading pleasures, our gratitude to Mr. Easterby is bound to be endless.

Henry T. Malone.

Georgia State College of Business Administration,  
Atlanta.

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The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume V, 1867-1870.  
Collected and edited by Mary C. Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, and T. C. Duncan Eaves. (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 571. Illustrations. \$8.50.)

This volume brings to a successful conclusion one of the biggest and most important scholarly undertakings in the field of nineteenth-century Southern literary culture. Each of the four preceding volumes has been an impressive picture of a man central to that culture and, through its elaborate annotation, a valuable picture of the principal currents in Southern literary, cultural, and social history. This concluding volume consists of the letters of Simms for the last three and a half years of his life, of additional letters which came to the attention of the editors too late for inclusion in their proper places in the earlier volumes, and of two very valuable indices—one a general index, which replaces the “temporary” indices to each of the earlier volumes, and the other a most useful index of references to Simms’s voluminous works. It thereby becomes a useful key volume to the entire set.

The letters themselves show Simms in the concluding years of his life, writing desperately in an effort to maintain the basic needs of his family, aiding his son and his sons-in-law in re-establishing a healthy economic life under Reconstruction, and combating his growing illness, almost certainly cancer. His temper is healthy, his spirits good, his fortitude

sufficiently strong to remove his sad story from the realm of the pathetic to that of the tragic.

Students of Southern life and literature in the nineteenth century owe to Mrs. Oliphant, the late Professor Odell, and Professor Eaves a debt of deep gratitude for their excellent work in collecting and editing these valuable letters. They have performed their task with great skill and have maintained the highest standards of scholarly excellence.

C. Hugh Holman.

University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill.

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Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution. Books C-F. Edited by Wylma Anne Wates. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1957. Pp. vii, 278. \$6.00.)

The term indents, as used in this volume, applies to interest-bearing certificates issued after the Revolutionary War by the South Carolina Treasury in payment of a relatively small number of claims outstanding on May 12, 1780, when Charleston was occupied by the British, and of larger debts contracted afterwards as the war progressed. On each stub remaining in the Treasurer's books after the indent was detached there was entered the name of the recipient, the service rendered, and the amount paid. These entries on the stubs represent summaries of thousands of individual debts, accounts of which had been received, audited, and approved. They reveal much as to how troops were recruited and supplied, of the exercise of power while the civil authority was largely in abeyance, of the fiscal policy of the government after its restoration, and of the activities of hundreds of men whose military service is not recorded elsewhere.

This is the twelfth volume in the series to be published since 1910 and it is anticipated that one additional volume will be sufficient to complete it.

William S. Powell.

University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill.

A Bibliography of John Marshall. By James A. Servies. (Washington: The U. S. Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of John Marshall. 1956. Pp. xix, 182. \$1.50.)

This bibliography gives a list of all the collections of Marshall writings, with brief annotations. Then in chronological order, it gives the other letters and papers with an indication of the source for each. All Marshall's Supreme Court decisions, and his dissents, are noted as well as his legislative, diplomatic, and personal papers. The contents of important letters and papers are stated in a few words.

More than half the volume is devoted to "Works About John Marshall," including the well-known biographies by Beveridge and Corwin, monographs in which Marshall was of secondary importance, such as Abernethy's *Burr Conspiracy*, others in which the great jurist's name enters only incidentally, and a host of essays and addresses. A three and a half page "List of Abbreviations" gives some indication of the breadth of the work. Other noteworthy features are the chronology of events of Marshall's life and the thirty-six page index.

This is an extremely useful book, and should stimulate and facilitate future historical writings concerning Marshall. No competent historian working on any phase of our early national history will dare to disregard it.

Gilbert L. Lycan.

Stetson University,  
DeLand, Florida.

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The Legend of the Founding Fathers. By Wesley Frank Craven. (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. 191. Footnotes and index. \$4.50.)

Despite the diverse racial, religious, and cultural origins of the American people there has developed a common na-

tional tradition as to the causes and significance of the nation's origins. To show how this tradition or legend of the founding fathers was created and the various influences which have maintained this tradition at various stages in our history is the major concern of the author. The result of this effort is a thoughtful and stimulating study in which the author does not attempt to assess the historical validity of this tradition but rather seeks to show American interest in its development. The six chapters which comprise this work were originally prepared as lectures and delivered in 1955, as another in the fine series of Anson G. Phelps Lectures in Early American History at New York University.

Professor Craven finds two groups of founding fathers who have contributed to this legend—those associated with the early settlement of the colonies and those who participated in the American Revolution. While not neglecting the contributions of this latter group to the shaping of the legend, the author is most concerned with the part the pre-Revolutionary settlers contributed to the legend.

The author finds the roots of the legend of the founding fathers in New England's concept of its own founding. For a number of reasons, the autocratic Puritan founders of the New England theocracy had become invested by their mid-eighteenth century descendants with the robes of seekers after religious and political liberty. By the time of the Revolution the New Englander's view of his own founding fathers had become the accepted popular concept of the founding fathers in the thirteen colonies. This concept of the founding fathers as seekers after religious and political liberty filled the needs of the propagandists of the American Revolution who, using this already well-defined legend, could call upon the American people to die for the liberties their fathers had braved the wilderness to secure.

The most original and certainly the most interesting portion of Dr. Craven's study is that which shows how this legend has fared at the hands of Americans since the days of the Revolution. As immigrants poured into the country in the

nineteenth century, there was no effort by these new Americans to reject the legend of the founding fathers but a conscious effort, almost ludicrous at times, to identify themselves with the legend. The rise of such organizations as the Daughters of the American Revolution at the close of the nineteenth century, the author states, grew out of the fear that the rising tide of immigration might overwhelm the national traditions. The job which these organizations assigned for themselves, however, was not to stop the flow of immigration but to educate and indoctrinate the newcomers in the established national traditions. The twentieth century brought with it the challenge of the debunker to our national traditions. This challenge failed, however, and the author believes that by mid-century the legend stood as sound and vital as ever.

Herbert R. Paschal, Jr.

East Carolina College,  
Greenville.

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Counterfeiting in Colonial America. By Kenneth Scott. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 283. \$5.00.)

Counterfeiting in all countries is as old as money itself, and the English colonists in America were familiar with such crimes as "forging the coin of the realm" and the severe punishments inflicted in the mother country upon offenders. Counterfeiting prevailed in the colonies, from the days when Indians counterfeited wampum by dyeing the lower-valued white beads a darker color, to the Revolution, when the British Government and the Tories found it an excellent device for depreciating Continental and state currencies and undermining the national economy.

Mr. Scott, who is Professor of Modern Languages at Wagner College, has been doing research on colonial counterfeiting for many years and is a recognized authority in this field. He has produced a scholarly, readable, and exciting history of a somewhat neglected but important phase of colonial

economic and social life. He has shown how coins of all sorts—English, French, Spanish, Massachusetts “pine tree shillings,” and other coins were clipped and counterfeited. He has given many details about the counterfeiting of paper currency: the individuals and groups who were engaged in “money making”; the techniques used by counterfeiters, the sums emitted by some of the larger operators of this “colonial racket”; the punishments meted out to those counterfeiters who were apprehended, and the effects of the circulation of counterfeit money on the economy of the colonies.

Of the scores of counterfeiters whose activities are related here, most were engaged in counterfeiting paper currency, though there were always those who “tampered with coins.” In the seventeenth century most of the counterfeiters operated on an individual basis, but by the middle of the eighteenth century much of the counterfeiting was being carried on by organized and co-operating groups, some of which carried on their nefarious activities in more than one colony. More than one-third of the volume is devoted to the activities of these gangs. There are chapters on: “John Potter and the Rhode Island Counterfeiters in 1741”; “Samuel Weed and the Derby Gang”; “Owen Sullivan and the Dover Money Club”; and “The Pittsylvania and Morristown Gangs.” There are also interesting chapters on “Women Money Makers”; “Silversmiths as Counterfeiters”; and “John Bull Turns Counterfeiter.”

One of the earliest counterfeiters in the colonies was Peregrine White, Jr., son of Peregrine White, “Mayflower” baby and first-born New Englander of English parentage. Perhaps the largest operator of the counterfeit racket was Samuel Ford, who was so successful that his associates called him “the treasurer of three provinces” (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania). A contemporary described Ford as “the most accomplished villain that the country has produced.”

Counterfeiters came from all social and economic classes: farmers, sailors, weavers, carpenters, bakers, school-masters,

merchants, doctors, deacons, justices of the peace, legislators, printers, blacksmiths, and silversmiths (including some noted ones such as Samuel and Gideon Casey, Abel Buell, and Garrett Onclebag).

There were "money makers" in every colony, more perhaps in New England and the Middle Colonies than in the South. Counterfeiting "posed a constant threat to the credit and commerce of the provinces." North Carolina had fewer counterfeiters than most of the colonies, but throughout the late colonial period there were constant complaints of the circulation of bogus currency.

In 1734, soon after Governor Gabriel Johnston arrived in North Carolina, he was apprised by several of the leading merchants and traders of the numerous and great inconveniences to trade and commerce caused by "the great Multiplicity of Counterfeit Bills of Credit issued by Vagabond and Idle people passing from one part of the Government to another." On January 15 of the next year, Johnston addressed the session of the legislature, warning the members that the matter of the currency of their bills could no longer be neglected "without the entire Ruin of the Country." He urged the legislators to do something to prevent the industrious planter from being robbed of the fruits of his labor "by the Tricks and Frauds of profligate and abandoned persons." Professor Scott gives a facsimile of "A counterfeit twenty shilling North Carolina bill of the emission of 1735, perhaps one of those forged by Thomas Hamilton Scott." He also reproduces a twenty shilling North Carolina bill of 1783, which carries the interesting warning "Counterfeiters Beware."

In some colonies, notably New York and Virginia, counterfeiting was a capital offense, and the currency put out by the money makers in those colonies carried such ominous warnings as: "'Tis Death to Counterfeit" and "To Counterfeit is Death." In a few instances, notably that of Owen Sullivan in New York in 1756, counterfeiters were put to death. In most cases, however, they were placed in the pillory, had their

ears cropped, or were given a public whipping. But the severe punishments meted out to offenders failed to solve the problem of counterfeiting.

Hugh T. Lefler.

University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill.

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*Rebels and Redcoats: The Living Story of the American Revolution.* By George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin. (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company. 1957. Pp. 572. Introduction, notes, bibliography, index, and maps. \$7.50.)

In recent years the American Revolution has had increasing popularity as a subject of historical study in the United States, and many excellent books have been written about it. Now another has been added to the list: *Rebels and Redcoats: The Living Story of the American Revolution*, by George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin. Primarily a military history, it covers the same ground covered by other histories of the war, leading the reader through a detailed account of each of the major battles and campaigns from Lexington to Yorktown. Though it contributes nothing that is startling in the way of interpretation or information, it is nevertheless unlike anything else in print. For it tells the story of the war, whenever possible, in the words of those who lived it, and therein lies its justification and its charm.

As the result of extensive research, mainly in printed sources, the authors have gathered together in this volume a large and diverse collection of original accounts, many of them little used before. These accounts, skillfully woven into the authors' own well-written narrative, constitute perhaps one-half of the text. They have been extracted from a variety of sources—letters, diaries, official reports and journals—and they include the writings of all manner of men: Americans, Britons, Frenchmen, and Hessians; the highest ranking officers and the lowliest soldiers; and civilians, too, male and female, patriot and tory. Some of the accounts are deadly serious,

some are full of the soldier's lusty humor, some are downright bawdy, some are grisly. If some are more interesting than others, few are dull, and one gains through them a sharply realistic and intimate picture of the war. On the whole, the quality of selection is excellent.

There are things about the book that give to the reviewer his coveted opportunity to quibble. Since it deals almost exclusively with military history a more appropriate sub-title might have been "The Living Story of the Revolutionary War." It is a very long book, perhaps excessively so (490 pages of finely printed text). Had the authors been willing to sacrifice some of the detail they could have produced a shorter, easier to read and probably more effective work. The authors separate the accounts taken from the sources from their own narrative by little stars at the beginning and end of each passage, and the source of each of these passages is appropriately indicated in the notes. But the text is studded with other quotations (designated in the standard way) for which no sources are indicated at all. All quoted passages, it seems, should have warranted footnoting, no matter how designated in the text. Generally speaking, the maps are well-done and helpful, though the map of New Jersey (p. 205) places the village of Trenton on the wrong side of Assunpink Creek. One last thing—John Adams was not "always an advocate of independence" (p. 150).

But these are only minor criticisms of a well-executed and worthwhile book, one, indeed, that should have wide appeal. The historically minded layman should find it vastly interesting; the Revolutionary specialist will find it useful; the teacher of history will find it an unfailing source of anecdotes with which to enliven lectures.

Robert L. Ganyard.

The University of Houston,  
Houston, Texas.

Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals, 1776-1784, of Adjutant General Major Bauermeister of the Hessian Forces. Translated and annotated by Bernhard A. Uhlendorf. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 640. \$9.00.)

The writer of the ninety-four letters and diaries presented here, Carl Leopold (later von) Bauermeister, was in a good position to report at firsthand many of the momentous events and decisions of the "American War." He was a general staff officer, serving as first adjutant to all three Hessian commanders-in-chief, Leopold Phillipp von Heister, Wilhelm von Knyphausen, and Friedrich Wilhelm von Lossberg. For some time between 1779 and 1782 he was aide-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton. Only once did he command a body of troops, namely at Eagle Hill, in the Philadelphia campaign. In 1783 he was authorized by Generals von Lossberg and Guy Carleton to negotiate in person with Congress for the return of German prisoners and deserters who had settled in the Philadelphia area or were employed in the iron works at Mount Hope, New Jersey.

Bauermeister, an intelligent man, a keen and relatively unbiased observer, and a professional soldier, reported to his superior, the Minister of State of Hesse Cassel, on the military events in America and also on the social, economic, and diplomatic aspects of the war. It is interesting to note that before the war ended, Hesse Cassel sent to America 16,992 officers and men out of a total population of less than three hundred thousand. More than one-third of the virtually seventeen thousand did not return to Germany. Some had been killed in action or had died from wounds or disease, but by far the greatest number had deserted or had else "escaped" from American prisons to settle in this country and could not be persuaded to return to their homeland at the close of the war. Yet Bauermeister had written in 1781: "The Hessians are becoming accustomed to the American climate, but not to the extent of preferring this air in any respect to that of the Fatherland."

The Hessians, as revealed in these interesting and highly informative letters and diaries, were not the ogres many schoolbooks paint them to be. In the beginning of the war they were feared by the civilian population, but later on they were gradually better liked and more civilly treated than were the British. Legends of the Hessians being guilty of a great deal of plundering have survived to this day, but the Hessians looted no more than did the British—or the patriots when Tory property was concerned. Bauermeister's letters and diaries contain many remarks about pillaging, marauding, and plundering—always uttered in condemnation of the offense.

Bauermeister not only gives a full account of the much-maligned Hessians, but also comments critically on such subjects as British laxity and negligence and the interrelation of British commerce and warfare. In contrast with most personal accounts of the Revolution, his narrative contains a great deal of information about the movements and activities of the British naval forces, especially in the West Indies. He felt that unless British military and naval leaders displayed more efficiency than they had shown in most of their campaigns "England may lose everything." At the same time, he declared that the "stubborn and inexperienced rebels are too lucky." Until the British surrender at Yorktown, in October, 1781, he believed that the rebels might be brought to terms of submission. Yet he wrote: "To conquer the Americans completely and impose arbitrary terms is thought to be improbable."

Bauermeister was interested in almost every aspect of the war. He commented about American uniforms, guns, wagons, military supplies, and the fighting quality—or lack of it—displayed by Continentals and militia. Commenting about George Washington, he wrote: "Everyone is captivated by this general . . . even though he is not a good strategist" and "does not always follow through." Time and again, Bauermeister referred to prices and the depreciation of paper currency. He gave a vivid account of the activities of various Tory leaders, among them John Butler of New York and David Fanning of North Carolina. He wrote about the sectional jealousies in America, the bickerings of Congress, and

General Washington's relation to Congress. On several occasions he commented about American suspicions of French sincerity, and declared that these suspicions were well founded.

Bauermeister had little to say about the causes of the war. He seemed to be doing a job that had to be done and he was reporting to his superiors in Germany what he thought they wanted to hear. As early as October, 1777, he stated his hope that "this miserable war will soon end." He estimated that if the rebels had, in addition to their own soldiers, "twelve thousand men generated in the German way," they would win a quick victory. He had little praise for the undisciplined American troops. Yet he wrote: "The Americans are bold, unyielding, and fearless. . . . They have their indomitable ideas of liberty, the mainsprings of which are held and guided by every hand in Congress."

Hugh T. Lefler.

University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill.

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*The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson.* By Robert D. Bass. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1957. Pp. viii, 489. \$5.75.)

Publishers have a nasty little way of putting authors on the spot through their dust jacket "blurbs." To declare any book "definitive" goads every reviewer to work with diligence to prove that jacket wrong, sometimes even to the point of digging out innocuous minutiae which have little to do with the main current of the narrative.

Doctor Bass was a brave man to select as the subject of a biography Banastre Tarleton, for "Bloody Tarleton" was possessed of a personality that only a biographer or a mother could love.

The story begins during the American Revolution, the arena in which Tarleton gained his greatest fame and suffered his greatest disgrace. His green-coated British Legion plundered, despoiled, and killed with abandon and enthusiasm. Even to-

day the name Tarleton conjures up a picture of brutality and needless slaughter. His comeuppance came that January 17, 1781, when, at a place called Cowpens in South Carolina, Daniel Morgan administered the cocky cavalry leader a thrashing that was to haunt him the rest of his days.

With the cessation of hostilities and his subsequent return to England, Banastre Tarleton lived a life that revolved just outside the pale of respectability. On a bet he seduced Mary Robinson, ex-mistress of the Prince of Wales, and then became so enamoured of his conquest that he found it difficult to break away from her for many years. He became as debauched as any of the gay crowd who ran with the royal princes, so much so that the *London Morning Post* said of this young roué that his "chief boast is that he has killed more men and ruined more women, than any other man in Europe. . . ."

Mary Robinson, a talented actress and writer, became his great love, and it was Mary who wrote his speeches when Tarleton became a member of Parliament. As a legislator from Liverpool he fought the abolition of the slave trade in the interests of his sea-faring constituency. But once outside the solemn halls he spent much of his time in gambling, many of his losses being covered by Mary's literary earnings. In Parliament he prided himself on being something of a military expert, although the largest body of troops he ever led had been defeated at Cowpens and after leaving America never again did he lead troops into battle. Eventually, possibly because of his friendship with the royal princes, he was made a full general. Nevertheless, he was never assigned to a really important command.

Always "the unfortunate day at Cowpens," hung about his neck like the albatross. The publication of his *Campaigns of 1780-1781, in the Southern Provinces of North America* was his apologia and in it he bit the hand that had protected him. Lord Cornwallis, who was his champion after the defeat at Cowpens, was saddled with the blame by the ungrateful Tarleton. The readability of his *Campaigns* apparently is due largely to the deft strokes of the pen of Mary Robinson, but true to his nature, Tarleton was to discard the woman he lov-

ed and in middle age was to marry a young girl with money.

In interest, this book starts slowly and gathers momentum as it progresses. That portion covering the period of the American Revolution moves at a languid pace and contains some errors, albeit of a minor nature. The research here does not seem to have been as thorough as in the later chapters. It is only after Tarleton returns to England that the book takes on life, slowed only by the author's penchant for printing long passages from Mary Robinson's writings or complete letters of Banastre Tarleton. The latter, however, are of value; Dr. Bass has turned up a number of hitherto unknown Tarleton letters which are not readily available to the historian.

The author's facile pen draws a well-delineated picture of the gay social whirl of London's "younger generation" in the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, it is Mary Robinson who most often carries the narrative, with Tarleton apparently just coming along for the ride.

Contrary to Dr. Bass's statements, Williamsburg was not the capital of Virginia in 1781; Cornwallis was not the pursued, but the pursuer in the Virginia campaign; theater curtains did not part, but rose in the eighteenth century; and the orchestra was not called that, but was referred to as the "pit." To enumerate other errors of a like nature would seem picayunish and indicate that this reviewer had picked up the gauntlet thrown down by the publishers when they used the adjective "definitive." This is a good book, and *is* the final word of Tarleton's life in England, but his role in the American Revolution is yet to be fully done.

Hugh F. Rankin.

Tulane University of Louisiana,  
New Orleans.

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Mighty Stonewall. By Frank E. Vandiver. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1957. Pp. xi, 547. Maps, illustrations, notes and index. \$6.50.)

In the brief space of one year, Thomas Jonathan Jackson, once a none-too-successful teacher at the Virginia Military

Institute, demonstrated that he was a rare military genius. From the spring of 1862 to the end of April, 1863, he defeated a succession of Federal armies in a brilliant campaign in the Valley of Virginia, went to Richmond to help defeat and immobilize McClellan's Peninsula Campaign, fought at Cedar Mountain, and Second Manassas, captured Harper's Ferry, joined Robert E. Lee at Sharpsburg, and served valiantly at Fredericksburg. His achievements inspired the South, threw terror into the North, and won the lasting admiration of students of military science for all time to come.

For many years Colonel G. F. R. Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* has stood as the standard military study of Jackson and his campaigns. A work of high merit, it seemed so definitive that no one attempted to replace it. Freeman, in *Lee's Lieutenants*, gave considerable attention to Jackson. But neither Freeman nor Henderson succeeded in integrating the strange personality of Jackson—who bore both the nicknames of “Stonewall” and “Tom Fool”—with his military achievements. Dr. Vandiver has now succeeded where both previous military students failed. His study of Jackson places “Tom Fool's” strange quirks—his odd diet, his eccentric mannerisms, his unusual religious devotion—in perspective while displaying “Stonewall's” sense of logistics, strategic imagination, and tactical skills. The result is a rounded, full-fleshed biography which is at once fascinating to read and penetrating in its scholarship. Vandiver's lucid analysis of campaigns and dramatic descriptions of battles can take rank among the best writing on the Civil War.

William B. Hesseltine.

University of Wisconsin,  
Madison.

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Fiction Fights the Civil War: An Unfinished Chapter in the Literary History of the American People. By Robert A. Lively. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 230. Bibliography, footnotes, and index. \$5.00.)

“The Connecticut lady who laid aside the description of Sherman's march in *Gone with the Wind* with an explosive

‘Those damn Yankees’ puts in forceful context the process I seek here to analyze,” writes Robert A. Lively in this discerning and provocative treatise on Civil War novels. “One cannot doubt”, he adds, “that Southern traditions of the Civil War have been more firmly fixed in the American consciousness by Miss Mitchell’s best seller than by Douglas Southall Freeman’s minute examination of the career of Robert E. Lee.”

Professor Lively is a historian, but this does not mean that he objects to people turning to fiction for ideas about the past. Indeed, his examination of 512 novels about the Civil War has given him a wholesome respect for the novelist as historian. All the major interpretations that successive generations of historians have applied to the conflict, he states, are to be found in works of fiction; and, what is more important, the appearance of these interpretations antedated, sometimes by many years, their exposition in history books. The implication is not that the historians appropriated the ideas of the novelists—Professor Lively seems to think that historians generally are disdainful of historical novels—but rather that they moved at a slower pace in their search for an understanding of the Civil War. Historians had to proceed more slowly because they could accept as truth only what they could establish by the standards of their discipline; novelists on the other hand were free to use their imagination. And what the good novelist discerned intuitively, in Professor Lively’s opinion, was often closer to the truth than what the historical scholar dug out laboriously from masses of records. The advantage of the novelist is summarized thus in a passage about Southern novels:

Even dreams spun from the realm of romantic illusion have their place with such achievements, for in the artist’s vision there may be captured a truth more accurate than fact, because it is conceived in the spirit which informs the fact. Stately gentlemen of unblemished honor, loyalty beyond the fear of death, unwavering conviction of righteous purpose—these qualities seem lost forever except in the pages of such books as these, which bring us again to the time before the Union was divided, before blue and gray were faded, before the bright hope, unrealized, collapsed in early sorrow.

As the above comments indicate, Professor Lively is a bold scholar. His daring is quickly manifested when in his first chapter he selects from the 512 titles the fifteen "best Civil War novels." Space will not permit complete listing of his favorites, but they include De Forest's *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty*, Faulkner's *The Unvanquished*, Glasgow's *Battle-Ground*, Caroline Gordon's *None Shall Look Back*, Kantor's *Long Remember* ("The best modern novel produced in the North about the war."), Lytle's *The Long Night*, Tate's *The Fathers*, and Stark Young's *So Red the Rose*.

Writing about the war is not a phenomenon peculiar to any period, according to the author, though the peak decade for Civil War novels was 1900-1909, when 110 were published, and the nadir was 1870-1879, when only 17 appeared. "The unusual times were the years when Civil War novels were not being published" in considerable quantity.

The author analyzes some of the better novels. He also essays a comparison of northern and southern works. Northern novelists, he finds, tended to portray the war as "more a calamity in individual lives than a national or regional experience." Even so, "they succeed in outlining important underlying forces of the time" and their work, because it seeks to point up the war's lasting effects on the nation, has "a vitality, a social usefulness, which is evident less frequently in southern portrayals of the war as a catastrophic punctuation point of the majestic phases of an old litany."

A distinguishing feature of southern novels about the war, he notes, is the emphasis on family. This exaggerated consciousness of kin, and all the customs and loyalties associated with it, appears, not only among Stark Young's aristocratic McGehees, but also in Andrew Lytle's yeomen McIvors. "The dissolution of manners, of group pride, or of family loyalty becomes evidence of defeat more devastating than the result of purely military action."

*Fiction Fights the Civil War* is a thoughtful, well-written, and richly interpretive book. It would be a credit to a writer of twice the years of its youthful author. Its merit is so excep-

tional as to mark him as one of the most promising of the excellent crop of historians produced during the period following World War II. He will bear watching.

Bell I. Wiley.

Emory University,  
Emory University, Ga.

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Lincoln's Commando: The Biography of Commander W. B. Cushing, U.S.N. By Ralph J. Roske and Charles Van Doren. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1957. Pp. x, 310. \$4.50.)

William Barker Cushing was dismissed from the Naval Academy in March of 1861, a few months before he was to graduate. Four years later his reputation for bravery and individual deeds of daring was unequaled by anyone, North or South, who fought in the Civil War. How he wangled his way back into the Navy, pleaded for, planned, and successfully executed numerous missions (several of them unauthorized) it told in detail in *Lincoln's Commando*. Brief attention is given to his forebears, his family, and his post war career.

The high point of Cushing's career was the sinking of the Confederate ram *Albatross* at Plymouth, North Carolina, for which he received \$56,000 prize money, a Congressional vote of thanks, and the frenzied acclaim of the Union. Less significant but equally hazardous were his raids into most of the navigable inlets and rivers of the North Carolina coast.

Dullness is impossible in a book that undertakes the Cushing story. By generously quoting Cushing's letters, the authors give us a fair glimpse of the man. On receiving his first assignment and before any action, he wrote a cousin: "Wherever there is fighting, there we will be, and where there is danger in the battle, *there will I be*, for I will gain a name in this war." On his first visit home after the war began, he arranged for his letters to his mother to be published in the local paper as soon as she had read them. Following a minor engagement in the Nansmond River in which he acquitted himself well,

he wrote his mother: "I am no braggart, but I challenge the world to furnish a more determined fight, or a victory more richly deserved." The authors are at their best with a quiet humor concerning Cushing's exaggerations and his bombast.

Despite its inevitable interest and reasonably good writing (one scene of suspense is pure pulp) the book is a failure as a historical work. It begins with "Acknowledgments", the usual thanks to persons and libraries, and it ends with an index. The intervening 303 pages abound with facts and quotations the sources of which, with four exceptions, the authors play hide and seek. "D. S. Freeman said in his R. E. Lee" and "Wells wrote in his diary" account for two. "Stewart, his official biographer" probably refers to Charles W. Stuart, who wrote two articles on Cushing for the *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings* (Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 11 and 111). Cushing's home town newspaper, the *Fredonia Censor*, is mentioned without date as the source of two quotations. The book is innocent of footnotes or bibliography.

The authors' credentials are presented on the dust jacket. Ralph Roske is a *summa cum laude* graduate of DePaul University and now teaches history at Humbolt State College. Charles Van Doren is a *cum laude* graduate of St. John's College and presently teaches English at Columbia University. These abundant professional talents were not well used in this book.

Winston Broadfoot.

Duke University,  
Durham.

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Still Rebels, Still Yankees, and Other Essays. By Donald Davidson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 284. Wood engraving by Theresa Sherrer Davidson, and index. \$4.50.)

Right away, what will impress any reader of this book is that there are few stylists like Donald Davidson around anymore. Delightfully, the sentences ripple along with a lucid rhetoric reminiscent of that characterizing the best old South-

ern orators. This is as it should be; for the ideas expressed in these seventeen essays are straight out of the Old South. The author, a confessed traditionalist and a regionalist without shame, is spokesman for the "golden days," when men lived off the land and a folk culture was abroad.

At present Professor of English at Vanderbilt University, Donald Davidson was one of the original agrarians. His colleagues have dispersed to the North and East, but loyal Davidson is still in Tennessee, preaching those doctrines which energized him in 1930 (see *I'll Take My Stand*).

Professor Davidson has arranged his essays carefully. He begins by defending poetry and by mourning its demise; he moves through Yeats and Hardy and Stark Young, particularly praising Hardy's dependence on the tradition, which with Davidson is by now synonymous with the only enduring and worthwhile essence of life; and then he goes into the folk tradition itself. All these pages are enlightening and even convincing.

It is only when Davidson begins to comment on the modern South that he invites suspicion. His explanation of why America's greatest contemporary novelist, William Faulkner, comes out of (of all places) Mississippi is that tradition has made it possible for Faulkner not to be "confused by the division between head and heart." This is carrying a devotion too far. And by the time Davidson is ready to comment on W. J. Cash's great work *The Mind of the South*, there is a mood of ridicule.

The reasons for these excesses soon become apparent: an old-fashioned detestation of Negro progress, and a violent envy of the nontraditional North. Professor Davidson would, of course, deny both. At any rate, it seems a pity that such a fine literary hand must be governed by prejudice and bias, especially in a cause with which many historians and writers can sympathize.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,  
Raleigh.

The United States: The History of a Republic. By Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1957. Pp. xvi, 812. Preface, appendix, illustrations, maps, and index. \$7.95.)

General histories of the United States come from the publishers in an ever growing flood. In recent years many of them have been the result of collaborative authorship; a practice with advantages and pitfalls. Too often, especially with collections of readings in American history, the method of collective authorship seems more designed to seek wider adoption than to present the cream of several men's special knowledge.

This book, the reviewer hastens to say, does fall into the latter category rather than the former. The authors present in a generally chronological fashion the progress of the United States from its origin in the stirrings of Europe's early commercial revolution to its role in the turbulence of the present cold war. The style of writing is fluid and easy, neither the academic jargon which might be expected from distinguished scholars nor the basic English so often fed to the television-conditioned reader. The lucidity of style is unmarred by apparent breaks as each of the three authors contributes his part. This is also a compliment to the over-all editing of the book.

The charts and maps are clear, well-chosen, and properly placed in the text. Many times readers of history books find it a wearing task to keep one finger continually marking the page where a map is placed as the text races pages ahead. The cartoons, prints, and photographs are fresh and properly illustrative. The only criticism of the latter group lies in the selection of certain pre-Civil War Negro scenes which the reviewer feels may furnish too much sympathy for the Abolitionist point of view to suit the Southern reader.

Actually, the book is a balanced portrayal of the various forces at work in the shaping of the United States. Nowhere is there an obvious attempt to present any special point of view, not even Mr. Hofstadter's Social Darwinism. For this

reason it is a good general account of the whole sweep of the history of the country, enlivened with personal vignettes which explain the political and social activities of the past and present. There is always an attempt to portray the political developments against a social background which makes this book superior to many general histories of the United States. The appendix contains interesting and helpful charts of the various presidential elections and important party victories to aid further the reader in assessing the sometimes tangled web of political activity.

The reviewer feels that this is one of the superior general histories which have come before the public in the past few years and one which may be read with pleasure by the average interested citizen.

Joseph Davis Applewhite.

University of Redlands,  
Redlands, California.

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The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860. By George C. Groce and David H. Wallace. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. xxvii, 759. Introduction and key to sources. \$15.00.)

This is a purely biographical dictionary, listing artists alphabetically and presenting as nearly as possible the following information: full name, dates, places of birth and death, subject matter of work (in some instances location), and places of residence and exhibition. It will be used primarily as a reference work by those students who are doing research in early American art.

The volume has a complete Introduction by the authors as well as a key to abbreviations and citation of sources. It not only includes painters and sculptors but also engravers; lithographers; wood-carvers; cameo-, seal-, and silhouette-cutters; and others in the many related fields. It supplies in a compact, comprehensive style the most complete data obtainable on more than 10,000 artists. Primary sources have been used in all possible instances, and each entry is documented. The

term "in America" includes artists who traveled or visited in this country as well as those who were born here or spent their productive years here. On the reverse side the term is also applied to artists who were born in America, who went abroad and pursued their artistic activity during the period selected.

Dr. Groce and Dr. Wallace state that this work cannot be considered "definitive"; nonetheless, it is an excellent dictionary. They are to be congratulated for their contribution to the New-York Historical Society's lengthening list of superior publications.

Elizabeth W. Wilborn.

State Department of Archives and History,  
Raleigh.

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The Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets. Edited by E. G. Swem. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc. For the Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, Williamsburg. 1957. 23 volumes. \$11.50 for the set, \$.50 per volume.)

1. A Selected Bibliography of Virginia, 1607-1699. By E. G. Swem, John M. Jennings, and James A. Servies. Pp. 72.

2. A Virginia Chronology, 1585-1783. By William W. Abbot. Pp. 76.

3. John Smith's Map of Virginia, with a Brief Account of its History. By Ben C. McCary. Pp. 11, folded map.

4. The Three Charters of the Virginia Company of London, with Seven Related Documents: 1606-1621. With an Introduction by Samuel M. Bemiss. Pp. 128.

5. The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624. By Wesley Frank Craven. Pp. 57, illustrated.

6. The First Seventeen Years, Virginia, 1606-1624. By Charles E. Hatch, Jr. Pp. 118, illustrated.

7. Virginia under Charles I and Cromwell, 1625-1660. By Wilcomb E. Washburn. Pp. 64, folded map.

8. Bacon's Rebellion, 1676. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker. Pp. 60.

9. Struggle Against Tyranny and the Beginning of a New Era, Virginia, 1677-1699. By Richard L. Morton. Pp. 80, folded map.

10. Religious Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. By George MacLaren Brydon. Pp. 51, illustrated.
11. Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century. By Henry Chandlee Forman. Pp. 79, drawings and photographs.
12. Mother Earth—Land Grants in Virginia, 1607-1699. By W. Stitt Robinson, Jr. Pp. 76.
13. The Bounty of the Chesapeake; Fishing in Colonial Virginia. By James Wharton. Pp. 78, drawings.
14. Agriculture in Virginia, 1607-1699. By Lyman Carrier. Pp. 41, drawings and appendices.
15. Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic in Virginia, 1607-1699. By Susie M. Ames. Pp. 76.
16. The Government of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker. Pp. 61, photographs.
17. Domestic Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. By Annie Lash Jester. Pp. 91, photographs and index.
18. Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia. By Ben C. McCary. Pp. 93, drawings.
19. How Justice Grew. Virginia Counties, An Abstract of Their Formation. By Martha W. Hiden. Pp. 101, charts, photographs, and index.
20. Tobacco in Colonial Virginia; "The Sovereign Remedy." By Melvin Herndon. Pp. 53, drawings.
21. Medicine in Virginia, 1607-1699. By Thomas P. Hughes. Pp. 78.
22. Some Notes on Shipbuilding and Shipping in Colonial Virginia. By Cerinda W. Evans. Pp. 77, appendices.
23. A Pictorial Booklet on Early Jamestown Commodities and Industries. By J. Paul Hudson. Pp. 78, drawings.

The Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission (which published this series), Dr. E. G. Swem (the editor), the Committee on Publications, the authors of the individual booklets, and all others concerned have reason to be proud of this fine series on seventeenth-century Virginia, issued in connection with the 350th anniversary celebration of the first permanent English settlement in the New World. The purpose evidently has been to present in easily readable form a number of booklets that visitors at the celebration and others might purchase at reasonable cost and read in order to gain a good idea of Virginia life during that period. This purpose has been successfully achieved in a useful series of twenty-three separate publications, each selling for only fifty cents. Various phases of the subject are covered, giving a well-rounded picture.

Most of the booklets contain illustrations that enhance their value and interest. The over-all format is good.

Obviously in any series the different items vary in quality, but in the present instance it does seem that more uniformity might have been attained. Some of the authors are adequately identified, some are not. Some of the booklets have introductions, bibliographies, and indexes, while others lack one or more of these. A critical bibliography and an index, at least, would seem to have added to the value of all the booklets except one or two, which perhaps do not need these features.

Christopher Crittenden.

State Department of Archives and History,  
Raleigh.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina General Assembly at its regular 1957 session made the following appropriations for the Department of Archives and History:

	1957-1958	1958-1959
I Administration	\$135,611	\$122,841
II Records Control	47,994	36,664
III Historic Sites	161,904	62,193
IV Cutten Silver	14,234	—
V Merit Salary Increments	1,198	6,644
Total Requirements	360,941	228,342
Less Estimated Receipts	14,406	11,656
General Fund Appropriation	346,535	216,686

The total budget for 1956-1957 was \$200,133. The decrease in the appropriation for 1958-1959 under that for 1957-1958 is explained by the fact that a number of specific appropriations were made for Historic Sites for the earlier year but not for the later.

The new appropriation includes three new employees—a Public Records Examiner, an Archivist I, and a Photographer. The first two will be employed in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts and the last will work half-time for the Division of Archives and Manuscripts and half-time for the Division of Museums.

The appropriation also includes salary increases for all members of the staff according to a graduated scale set up by the State Personnel Department. The average increase for all state employees is 11 per cent.

Included in the appropriation for 1957-1958 is a sum to purchase the fine collection of Early American silver of Dr. George B. Cutten of Chapel Hill. The fund will supplement private donations, and the collection will remain in the Hall of History, where for several years it has been on exhibit as a loan.

The General Assembly also amended two laws sponsored by the Department which were reported on in the July His-

torical News section of *The Review*—one authorizing the setting up of a committee on the disposal of records in the custody of the Department, the other dealing with appropriations of non ad valorem tax revenues to local historical societies by the various counties and municipalities of the State.

The Department of Archives and History prepared an illustrated 4-page folder on North Carolina, "Land of Beginnings," which was used to welcome the visiting governors who were entertained by Governor Luther H. Hodges in Dare County on June 27 and 28. The folder, which was produced by the State Advertising Division, gave brief historical data on significant dates and events in Dare County with emphasis on the Lost Colony and the great "Firsts" which are so famous in the development of aviation and radio. Illustrations included a reproduction of De Bry's engraving of John White's water color of "Roanoke," the Zuccara portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh, a reproduction of the painting of the "Christening of Virginia Dare," pictures of the highway marker showing the site of the first English colony in America, the Wright Memorial, and the Hatteras Lighthouse, as well as a facsimile of the John White water color of an Indian chieftain and a model of an Elizabethan galleon.

On June 2 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, spoke on "North Carolina in the War Between the States" at a meeting honoring Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America. The celebration, held at the John Graham High School in Warrenton, was sponsored by the Warren County Chapter No. 939 of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. On July 9-10 Dr. Crittenden lectured on state and local archives to the fourth annual session of the Institute on Historical and Archival Management in Cambridge, Mass., sponsored jointly by Radcliffe College and the Department of History of Harvard University. On July 23 Dr. Crittenden attended a joint luncheon meeting in Raleigh of the Board of Directors of the Calvin Jones Memorial Society, Inc., and a special committee of the Wake County Chapter of the Wake Forest College

Alumni Association. The committee and directors met to plan a campaign to raise funds for the restoration of the Calvin Jones House, the birthplace of Wake Forest College. The house has been moved from its original location and now stands on the 400 block of N. Main Street in Wake Forest. The goal which has been set is \$20,000 and interested persons may write Dr. Crittenden, President of the Calvin Jones Memorial Society, Inc., Box 1881, Raleigh.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent of the Department of Archives and History, visited the Barker House and the James Iredell House in Edenton on June 5 and discussed plans for further restoration work on these two historic houses. On June 6 he visited the house of Revolutionary War General Isaac Gregory in Camden County and discussed with a local group the possibilities of restoring the house. On July 10 Mr. Tarlton spoke to the Caswell County Historical Society in Yanceyville on historic houses and sites in North Carolina. He represented the Department at a meeting on July 22 held at "Flossie's" in Pantego. The purpose of this meeting which was attended by a group of Beaufort County citizens was to continue the discussion and planning for the restoration of Colonial Bath. During the summer Mr. Tarlton and Dr. Jay Luvaas of Duke University have made exploratory trips to Bentonville Battleground to locate trenches, earthworks, and other remains, and to plan a series of markers for the battlefield.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator of the Department of Archives and History, attended the opening June 24-26 of the Fireman's Museum in New Bern. While there she visited Tryon Palace to make plans to house the artifacts remaining from the original palace. On July 26 Mrs. Jordan, accompanied by Mrs. Martha H. Farley of the staff of the Hall of History, and Mr. Norman C. Larson, Historic Site Specialist, went to Hillsboro where they assisted the Hillsboro Garden Club in planning exhibits for the museum which is to be located in the old courthouse. On August 5-8 Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Farley worked in the National Parks Laboratory

and at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C., where they studied the planning and techniques employed in arranging modern museum exhibits.

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist of the Department of Archives and History, announces the acquisition by the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the personal papers of the late Governor R. Gregg Cherry. Totalling approximately 50 cubic feet, these papers include Cherry's personal correspondence from about 1914 to 1957, childhood and adult quotation books, political papers, World War I records, speeches and source materials, scrapbooks, and picture albums. It is expected that this significant body of papers will be arranged and made available for research in the near future. In addition, a quantity of Governor Cherry's personal possessions and mementoes, particularly World War I items, has been received by the Division of Museums.

*Historical Research in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History*, an eight-page leaflet, has been published by the Department. Copies of the leaflet, designed to give the scholarly researcher a general description of the main types of records in the Archives and statement of policies concerning their use, may be obtained without charge from Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, Box 1881, Raleigh. Another leaflet, *Services to the Public*, is designed for the genealogist and copies may be obtained from the same address.

Mrs. Madlin M. Futrell assumed the duties as Photographer on July 1. She will work half-time for the Division of Archives and Manuscripts and half-time for the Division of Museums.

During the months of April, May, and June, 722 researchers registered in the Search Room. In addition, at least 572 persons were given reference service by mail and 32 persons were rendered service by telephone. These figures do not include matters handled directly by the State Archivist. In addition to the above services, 588 photostatic copies and microfilm prints, 69 certified copies, and 335 feet of microfilm were furnished.

Microfilm copies of the population schedule of the Census of 1880 for North Carolina, purchased from the National Archives, are now available in the Search Room. Microfilm copies of the special agriculture, industry, social statistics, and other schedules of the Censuses of 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880 are now available also for public use. These special schedules were filmed in the Department.

The following manuscript volumes which had been withdrawn from public use because of deterioration have been laminated, rebound, and readied for public use: Register of the North Carolina Line of the Army of America (copied in 1791); Northampton County Court Minutes, 1792-1796; Rutherford County Court Minutes (three volumes), 1779-1786, 1786-1789, and 1789-1793; and Duplin County Court Minutes, 1791-1793.

Mrs. Fannie Memory Blackwelder, Records Center Supervisor, has compiled a 34-page mimeographed pamphlet on the policies and procedures in the Records Management Program.

Miss Mollie Lukis, Archivist in the State Library of Western Australia, visited the Division of Archives and Manuscripts for a week in August. Her interest was in the policies and practices of archival institutions in the United States, and she also spent one day each visiting the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill and the Duke University Manuscript Department in Durham. Miss Lukis elected to visit only three state archival departments in the United States, those of North Carolina, Illinois, and Maryland. While visiting the Department Miss Lukis talked at a staff meeting about her work in Australia and presented a program of color slides which showed the geographical features of the country.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Chairman of the Department of History at the University of North Carolina, received the degree of Doctor of Letters at the spring commencement at Emory University. Dr. C. O. Cathey taught at the Summer Session at the University of Wyoming, and has been promoted from the rank of Associate Professor to Professor. Dr. Hugh

T. Lefler taught in the Summer Session at Syracuse University. Dr. James L. Godfrey replaces Dr. Corydon P. Spruill as Dean of the Faculty effective September 1. Dr. Spruill will return to teaching in the Department of Economics. Mr. Charles Hale resigned from the staff of the Department of Social Science to accept a position at Lehigh University, and Dr. Hugh Hawkins resigned his position as Instructor in the Department of History for a position at Amherst College. Other faculty promotions are: Dr. Frank W. Klingberg from Associate Professor to Professor; Dr. F. N. Cleveland from Associate Professor to Professor; and Dr. Elisha P. Douglass, Dr. J. R. Caldwell, and Dr. George V. Taylor from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor.

At the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina in Greensboro Dr. Richard Bardolph has been promoted to Professor of History, and Dr. Lenoir Wright has been made Assistant Professor of Political Science.

Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, Head of the Department of History at Western Carolina College, sends the following items: Mr. Ernest M. Lander, Jr., of Clemson College served as Visiting Professor of History at Western Carolina College during the first session of summer school; and Mr. Richard J. Barker, who received a B.A. from the University of Rochester and an M.A. from Duke University, has been appointed as Instructor of History.

The Department of History of North Carolina State College announces the following faculty changes: Mr. J. Leon Helguera has been appointed Instructor of History; Dr. Burton F. Beers has been promoted from the rank of Instructor to that of Assistant Professor; Dr. William J. Block has been appointed as Assistant Professor (formerly taught at The Citadel); Dr. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., and Dr. Abraham Holtzman have been promoted from Assistant Professors to Associate Professors; and Dr. Stuart Noblin and Dr. Philip M. Rice have received promotions from Associate Professors to Professors. Dr. Noblin has also been appointed College Archivist for North Carolina State College.

Dr. Julian C. Yoder, member of the Social Studies Department of Appalachian State Teachers College and Professor of Geography, has been promoted to Head of the Department of History. He succeeds Dr. D. J. Whitener, presently Dean of the college, who resigned from the position.

Dr. Bradley D. Thompson has been promoted to Professor of History at Davidson College.

Dr. E. Malcolm Carroll, James B. Duke Professor of History at Duke University and a member of the department since 1923, has resigned as Chairman effective September 1, 1957, and has announced his voluntary retirement from teaching as of September, 1958. During the interval he will be on sabbatical leave. Dr. John R. Alden has been appointed as Chairman of the History Department to succeed Dr. Carroll. He came to Duke in 1955 from the University of Nebraska and has written extensively in the field of American colonial and Revolutionary history. He is a member of the board of editors of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and a member of the Council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture.

Dr. Alexander DeConde has resigned from the department at Duke to become Associate Professor of History at the University of Michigan. Mr. J. Bowyer Bell, doctoral candidate, has accepted a position at Georgia Teachers College. Dr. George M. Addy and Dr. Arthur R. Steele, who received the doctorate in June, have accepted positions at Brigham Young University and the University of Toledo respectively. Dr. Ernest W. Nelson and Dr. Harry R. Stevens taught at the Summer Sessions of the University of Tennessee and the University of Cincinnati respectively.

Mr. Winston Broadfoot, formerly of Wilmington, has been appointed to succeed Dr. Jay Luvaas as Director of the George Washington Flowers Collection at Duke University. Mr. Broadfoot received his LL.B. degree from the University of North Carolina, lived in Texas for a number of years, and for the past several years has been collecting materials for his private collections.

Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton, former member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History and President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association (1956-1957), has written another pamphlet, *The Kingdom of the Happy Land*. The booklet tells the story of a band of freed Negro slaves who settled partially in Henderson County (North Carolina) and partially in Greenville County (South Carolina). The first group settled "The Happy Land" about 1864 and disbanded about 1900. Mrs. Patton presents new sidelights of this little-known effort in communal living with its King and Queen ruling their subjects who built their dwellings on a part of the Col. John Davis plantation, Oakland. Biographical sketches are included and a few pictures—one of these is of Ezel Couch who contributed his reminiscences to this story.

A pre-Revolutionary house, presumably built about 1760, has been moved to Tryon and has been sufficiently restored to be used as a museum. The general design of the house is similar to those restored in colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, and is open to the public for a small fee. Exhibits have included one of household utensils, quilts, clothing, childrens' toys, needlecraft, and a combination exhibit of old tin, glass, china, pottery, slipware, and rare "treen" ware. Paintings by local artists are displayed and offered for sale. Plans are in progress for future displays, some of which will be borrowed on a temporary basis.

A recent issue of *The Gaston County Historical Bulletin*, official organ of the Gaston County Historical Society, featured stories about the postal service in Gaston County, the ceremonies commemorating the beginning of the county and the Town of Dallas, and a list of topics for historical research to be published in the future. The editor stressed the necessity for accurate information but stated that it is not necessary that the data be submitted in story form.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians sponsored a tour of Mecklenburg County on June 23, with the courthouse in Charlotte as a starting point. Points

of interest which were visited on the tour included: the birthplace of James K. Polk, 11th President of the United States; Providence Presbyterian Church which was organized before the Revolution by the Rev. Alexander Craighead; Philadelphia Presbyterian Church; Eli Hinson House erected in 1786 which has been restored; the Charlotte Mint Museum of Art erected in 1836; and the First Presbyterian Church erected in 1856. Behind this church is the oldest cemetery in Charlotte and tradition states that Dr. Ephraim Brevard is buried there. The graves of Governor Nathaniel Alexander, Thomas Polk, and many other noted persons are also to be found here.

The Society also sponsored a tour of McDowell County on July 23 beginning at the courthouse in Marion. The following places of interest were visited by those who participated: Gillespie's Gap and Monument; Cathey's Fort Marker; marker at the site of the home of Colonel Joseph McDowell; home of Jonathan L. Carson where the first Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions met; "The Glades" constructed about 1785 and used as a stage-coach stop; marker located at Old Fort commemorating General Griffith Rutherford and his expedition from that point across Swannanoa Gap; Arrowhead Monument; Old Carson Home; the Evans Cottage, Gowan's Point, and Lake Tahoma, where the group had lunch; and the last stop at Quaker Meadows.

The sixth joint summer regional meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., and the Western North Carolina Historical Association was held in Cullowhee on August 16 and 17. The program included talks by the following persons: Mr. William D. McKee of Cashiers, who spoke on "The H Volume in Jackson County"; Mr. Paul Kelly, Superintendent of Fort Loudoun State Park, Vonore, Tennessee, who spoke on "The Story of Fort Loudoun"; Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock who spoke on "Some Aspects of North Carolina's Participation in the Gettysburg Campaign"; and a panel discussion on "Cultural Centers in Western North Carolina". Other events included a reception given by Western Carolina College and attendance on Saturday evening of the outdoor drama, "Unto These Hills," at Cherokee. Mr. Gil-

bert T. Stephenson of Pendleton is President and Dr. Christopher Crittenden is Secretary of the Literary and Historical Society; and Mr. George W. McCoy of Asheville is President and Dean J. J. Stevenson of Brevard College is Secretary of the Western North Carolina Historical Association.

The *History Bulletin*, official organ of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, in the July issue had the following articles: an account of the last quarterly meeting, the proposed program for the joint summer meeting with the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., local news items relative to county meetings, a notice of the publication of *Our Heritage*, a history of the people of Cherokee County by Mrs. Margaret Freel, and a report on the activities and plans of the association.

More than thirty members and guests attended the meeting of the Carteret County Historical Society held at Cedar Point on Bogue Sound on July 27. Hosts for the annual watermelon cutting were Mr. A. D. Ennett and Mr. John S. Jones. Mr. Thomas Respass, President, presided at the business session at which time reports were presented. A paper on the history of Plymouth prepared by Mrs. T. T. Potter was read by Mrs. F. C. Salisbury. One of the projects of the society for the year was to acquire records from markers in the various old cemeteries in the county and more than 400 markers from the Ann Street Cemetery in Beaufort were recorded and put in book form by the group.

The Pitt County Historical Society met August 1 in Greenville at which time a discussion was held to formulate ideas to be developed toward the completion of a program for the bicentennial celebration of Pitt County in 1960. Mr. Frank Brooks, Vice-President, presided, and Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History talked to the group. Mr. Herbert R. Paschal, Dr. Lawrence E. Brewster, Dr. Howard Clay, Dr. Paul E. Jones (State Senator from Pitt County), and Mr. Frank Wooten (State Representative from Pitt County) made brief talks. Judge Dink James read ex-

cerpts from a law establishing the Pitt County Historical Commission which is charged with the responsibility of staging the celebration.

*Favorite Recipes of the Lower Cape Fear*, edited by the Ministering Circle of Wilmington, is now available again. The cookbook has been reprinted and mail orders can be filled by sending \$2.25 to The Ministering Circle, Box 1809, Wilmington.

A second edition of *The American Indian in North Carolina* by the late Douglas L. Rights has been published by John F. Blair. The volume, originally published by the Duke University Press, is illustrated and traces the history of the various tribes in North Carolina from the earliest records through the white man's wars and treaties. The author, a Moravian minister who became interested in Indians when he was a small boy looking for arrowheads, continued his search and research into his adult life. His book is considered one of the best works on the Indian in this state. It may be obtained from John F. Blair, Publisher, 404 First National Bank Building, Winston-Salem.

Dr. H. E. Spence, Professor Emeritus of Religious Education at Duke University Divinity School, is the author of a 36-page pamphlet, *McBride, A Mother in Methodism*. This history of Dr. Spence's home church in Camden County deals with rural Methodism from 1792 to the 1920's. Dr. Spence tells the story of the evangelistic and educational work of the church interweaving biographical sketches and reminiscences as the growth of the congregation expands. This booklet may be added to the increasing list of individual church histories which are being produced as a result of interest manifested by local groups.

The University of Chicago and the University of Virginia are sponsoring the publication of a new and complete edition of the papers of James Madison. The editors will appreciate information about the location of letters by or to James Madi-

son or his wife (Dolley Payne Madison, who was born in North Carolina), especially letters in private possession or among uncalendared manuscripts in the collections of public or private institutions. Please use the following address when writing: The Papers of James Madison, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The Society of American Historians, Inc., announces the Francis Parkman Prize of \$500 to be awarded in the field of American history and biography. The book which will receive the award must be published within the calendar year 1957 and the award will be presented during the winter of 1958. Colonial history would admit of a treatment of the English, French, or Spanish background if definitely connected with the colonies. Literary, religious, economic, political, scientific and technological, legal and constitutional history, and the history of foreign relations would fall within the field. The purpose of the award is to stimulate the writing of history as literature, thus emphasizing literary distinction in historical writing. For further information address: Dr. Rudolf A. Clemen, Executive Vice-President, The Society of American Historians, Inc., Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

The American Council of Learned Societies announces the sum of \$100,000 for fellowship grants not to exceed \$7,000 each for tenure during the academic year 1957-1958. Candidates must have the doctorate (or its equivalent) at the time of application. These fellowships are to be used to provide opportunities for younger scholars to complete research projects in the humanities. A budget must be submitted by the candidates and they must spend six consecutive months on the projects with no other work permissible. Forms may be requested from the ACLS Fellowship Program, American Council of Learned Scholars, 2101 R Street, NW, Washington 8, D. C. Applicants should apply before October 15, 1957, and should be under 45 years of age.

An additional program with \$100,000 for grants-in-aid (no grant to exceed \$3,000) has also been announced by the

same group. Grants will allow applicants to do research in a wide variety of fields and may be used for travel, clerical assistance, relief from summer school teaching, etc. Candidates should have the doctorate (or its equivalent) and must submit a budget to show need. Judging for the grants will take place in October, 1957, and February and April, 1958. Inquiries should be made at the above address.

A Special Awards Program for 1958-1959 for distinguished work in the humanities has also been announced by the Council. These awards will be presented to mature scholars who are to be nominated by academic institutions, professional societies, and the like. Individual applicants will not be solicited. Awards will be in the sum of \$10,000 to be used for at least eight months of uninterrupted work. Funds may be used for travel, research assistance, materials for research, and other similar purposes. All inquiries should be made at the above address.

Books received for review during the last quarter are: Sadie Smathers Patton, *The Kingdom of the Happy Land* (Asheville: The Stephens Press, Inc., 1957); Clifford Dowdey, *The Great Plantation. A Profile of Berkeley Hundred and Plantation Virginia from Jamestown to Appomattox* (New York and Toronto: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957); Douglas L. Rights, *The American Indian in North Carolina* (John F. Blair, Publisher, 1957); Otis A. Singletary, *Negro Militia and Reconstruction* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957); and Laura Polanyi Striker, *The Life of John Smith, English Soldier* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Published for The Virginia Historical Society, 1957).

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. David H. Corkran is Lecturer in American History at Roosevelt University, Chicago, Illinois.

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Dr. Edwin A. Miles is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Houston, Houston, Texas.

Dr. George C. Osborn is Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Florida, Gainesville.

Dr. Mary C. Wiley was for many years Head of the Department of English at the R. J. Reynolds High School in Winston-Salem, and is now writing a daily column, "Mostly Local," in the *Twin-City Daily Sentinel*, Winston-Salem.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

Dr. Henry T. Malone is Associate Professor of History and Assistant to the Dean in the School of Arts and Sciences at Georgia State College of Business Administration, Atlanta.

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Dr. Richard W. Griffin is Associate Professor of History at Athens College, Athens, Alabama.

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