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COVER—"Scotch Hall," plantation home of the Capeharts on the banks of Albemarle Sound in Bertie County. The right wing is modern. In 1849 a Northern tutor resided at "Scotch Hall" and later used it as the setting of his book *Bertie*. It and the author's *Nag's Head* are the first North Carolina novels of "local color." See pages 12-44 for "The Mysterious Case of George Higby Throop (1818-1896); . . ."

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EVIDENCE OF MANUAL RECKONING IN THE CITTIE OF RALEGH*

By J. C. HARRINGTON

One lucky day in 1950, while sifting the earth from archeological excavations at the old fort site on Roanoke Island, North Carolina—earth that had lain undisturbed for more than three and a half centuries—three little metal disks were found (Figures 1 and 2). At many archeological sites, such a find, although interesting, would not be noteworthy. But at Fort Raleigh, where most of the recoveries had been fragments of Indian pottery, such a find was sensational. To an archeologist, nothing is quite as exciting as finding coins or other objects on which words and names and dates can still be read.

For want of a better name, and with the innocence of the unlearned, we called these little disks “tokens,” but later were reminded that they were similar to an object found several years earlier at an Indian site near Cape Hatteras, some fifty miles down the coast. The Cape Hatteras “token” had been identified as a casting-counter made by Hans Schultes of Nuremberg. Most likely it had been carried there by an Indian who had secured it from the colonists; or possibly he had picked it up at Fort Raleigh after the settlement was abandoned. A more interesting speculation is that it furnishes a clue to the mystery of the Lost Colony, for the Croatoan Indian village shown on John White’s map is not far from the site where the object was found.

* “City of Raleigh” was found to be spelled several ways in contemporary manuscripts, but most commonly “Cittie of Raleigh.” In this article the accepted spelling of “Raleigh” is used.

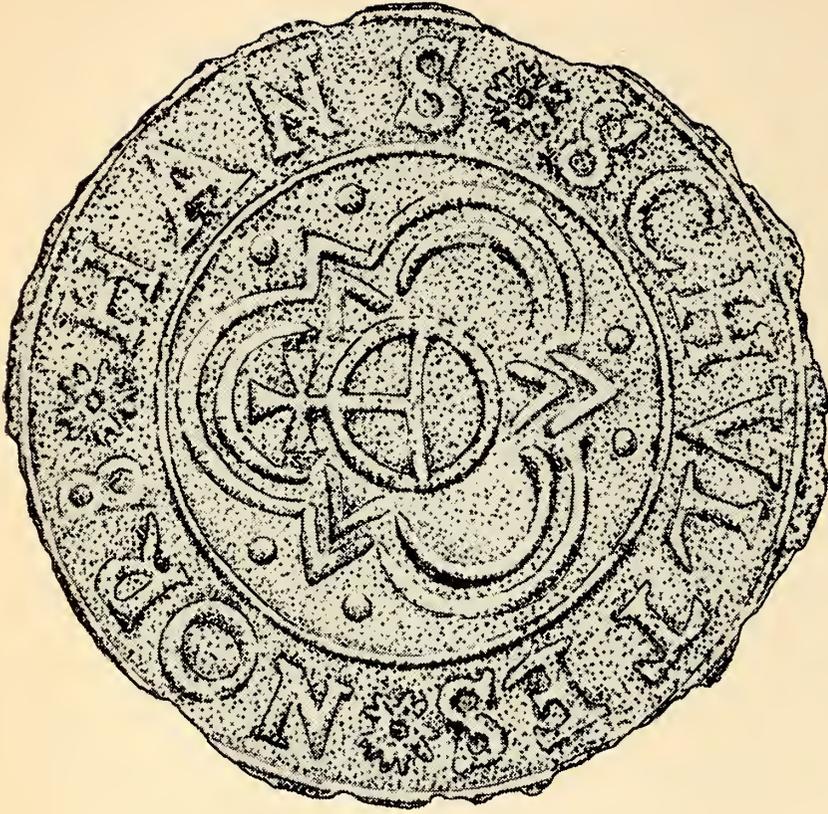
For the benefit of those who are as unfamiliar with "casting-counters" as the diggers at Fort Raleigh were in 1950, these thin disks were part of the equipment used in medieval Europe for manual reckoning.¹ This forerunner of the modern adding machine was actually similar in principle to the abacus. At the time that Sir Walter Raleigh's colonists came to America in 1585, this system of ocular arithmetic was very much in vogue, particularly in England. The storekeeper, the money changer, the land owner who had sheep to count and wool to sell and taxes to pay, and even the vicar hurrying home from church to tot up the tithes, each had some sort of counting-board or counting-cloth, and a little box of metal counters.

Had these folks of Tudor England not been handicapped with the clumsy Roman numeral system, with which simple mathematical computations were quite as impossible as nuclear physics would be without calculus, they would have had less need for their counting-boards. In fact, the entrenchment of this simple device may very well account for the reluctance on the part of the sixteenth century Englishman to take up the Hindu-Arabic numeral system. But even familiarity with a less cumbersome numeral system would not have helped a great deal, unless the people who had occasion to make calculations also had paper and pencil at hand. The pencil, however, was something new, and it was well into the seventeenth century before the use of paper and pencil was at all common. Manual arithmetic, in fact, did not die out in England until the end of the seventeenth century, and it is interesting to note that while the 1668 edition of Recorde's *Arithmetic* carried a chapter on this subject, it was omitted in the 1699 edition.²

Many references to counters and counting-boards are found in the early records, particularly in wills and inventories, and a number of contemporary prints depict them in

¹ Francis P. Barnard, *The Casting-Counter and the Counting-Board* (Oxford, England, 1916), hereafter referred to as Barnard, *The Casting-Counter*. Much of the data on casting-counters used in this article is taken from this exhaustive study which is based upon his collection of some 7,000 specimens.

² Barnard, *The Casting-Counter*, 265.

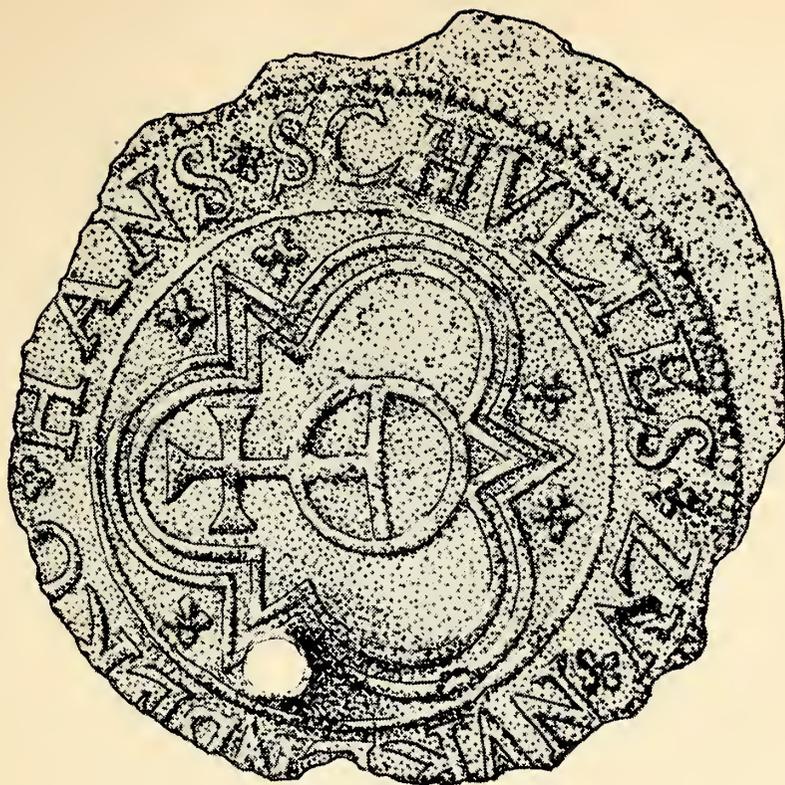


REVERSE



OBVERSE

FIGURE 1—COMPOSITE DRAWING OF THE TWO IDENTICAL COUNTERS FOUND AT FORT RALEIGH, WITH PIERCED HOLES OMITTED. (3 TIMES ACTUAL SIZE.)



REVERSE



OBVERSE

FIGURE 2—DRAWINGS OF THE THIRD OF THREE COUNTERS FOUND AT FORT RALEIGH. (3 TIMES ACTUAL SIZE.)



FIGURE 3—ILLUSTRATION FROM MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO'S *Officia*, 1531,
SHOWING A MAN OF OBVIOUSLY HIGH STATE USING A COUNTING-TABLE.

actual use (Figure 3). For example, we read in a 1515 account of "The kitchin clarke Jengling his counters," and more than a century later, in John Earle's *Microcosmography*, "His box and counters prove him to be a man of reckoning."³ The idea of the counting-board as a means of performing arithmetic manually was known both in ancient Greece and Rome. In England, it appeared as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, and, like so many other innovations of that period, was probably introduced from France.

The manner in which the casting-counter and counting-board were used is quite interesting, and actually rather simple in principle. The basic requirement was a table, or bench, on which vertical and horizontal lines were marked or painted. Fancier tables had the lines inlaid, while the simplest method was to mark the lines on a plain table with chalk. Many old prints show church or government officials using such tables, and, although very few specimens have been preserved, their details are fairly well known from both the old drawings and written descriptions. Sometimes a cloth was used in place of a table, with the lines embroidered, or woven into the fabric. Like the counting-board, few of these cloths have survived, whereas great quantities of the little metal casting-counters are still to be found in European collections.

In operation, the numerical value of the counter was determined by its position on the board. Usually horizontal lines represented 1, 10, 100, 1000, etc., and spaces between the lines counted 5, 50, 500, etc. Some boards were marked off vertically into pence, shillings, pounds, 20 pounds, etc., while others followed the decimal system. There seems to have been an almost infinite number of arrangements and methods used, and Robert Recorde, describing the arithmetic of 1542, concludes ". . . for the dyuers wyttes of men haue inuented diuers and sundry ways almost vnumerable."⁴ An experienced operator could achieve unbelievable speed in the use of his equipment. No wonder there was resistance to the introduction of the Hindu-Arabic numeral system, as preferable as that system seems today.

³ Barnard, *The Casting-Counter*, 86.

⁴ Barnard, *The Casting-Counter*, 265.

Casting pieces were bought in sets, and in England such a set was known as a "cast," or a "set." The owner usually kept his set of counters in a bag, purse, small bowl, or a special cylindrical container. The number of counters in a set varied, but was usually a hundred, which provided ample pieces for even the most lengthy calculations. The French called these little metal counters "jettons," derived from the verb *jeter*, one meaning of which is "to push." For many years "jettons" were made largely in France, but about 1525 the city of Nuremberg became the center for their manufacture, and remained the chief source until this method of computing began to die out more than a century later.

Common as this system of reckoning was in the life of Englishmen of 1585, it comes as a surprise to find that the pathetic group of colonists who tried so valiantly, though unsuccessfully, to plant a colony in Virginia, carried among their stores at least one set of casting-counters. This fact is not learned from the records, however, for the few records left from that first New World colonizing experiment by the English do not discuss such everyday things. Like food, clothing, household utensils and the like, anything as common as casting-counters was simply taken for granted. The few settlers on Roanoke Island who could write, or had time to do so, had their hands full preparing formal reports and describing the outlandish customs of the natives.

When the Raleigh colonists landed on the northern end of Roanoke Island on that summer day in 1585 they set to work immediately to build a palisaded earthen fort and a group of simple cottages nearby. But when Drake stopped by on his way to England a year later, his generous offer to take the colonists back was too tempting to resist, and the settlement was abandoned.⁵ Raleigh's hopes, however, could not be dimmed so easily, and a bigger and better effort was

⁵ For a good account of the history of Fort Raleigh, see Charles W. Porter, III, *Fort Raleigh National Historic Site — North Carolina*, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 16, Washington, D. C., 1952. Also see his article, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina: Part of the Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies of 1585-1586 and 1587," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XX (January, 1943). Hereafter cited as Porter, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, . . ."

made the following year—1587. This latter group, better known today as the “Lost Colony,” rebuilt the earlier settlement and really got down to the business of colonizing America. But it too failed, for a new colony, to succeed, must have replenishments of supplies and personnel. These could not be sent when needed most, because England had to keep every able-bodied man and every ship at home to ward off the threat of Spain. When three years later, with the defeat of the Spanish Armada, a relief party finally was sent to Roanoke Island, no trace could be found of the unfortunate band who had been left to “hold the fort.” Only the word “Croatoan” carved on the trunk of a tree gave a clue as to what had happened. But the clue was not followed up, and the Lost Colony remains one of the most intriguing mysteries in American history.

The site of this early settlement, now Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, is administered by the National Park Service, and thus preserved among the other places where outstanding events in our country’s history are commemorated. Here, each summer, the story of those ill-fated ventures in settling the New World is dramatically and impressively told through Paul Green’s symphonic drama, *The Lost Colony*.

Through the years the site was known only by tradition, for there were no maps or records that gave the exact location of the original settlement, and the fort and cottages had long since disappeared. So the National Park Service turned to archeology as a means of identifying the site and learning whatever the buried remains might reveal. Excavations were started in the spring of 1947 under the direction of the author. The first digging was done at the traditional fort site, where slight irregularities in the ground suggested the outline of a four-cornered fort. In systematically studying the historical records prior to archeological explorations, Charles W. Porter had noted a superficial resemblance between the surface indications on Roanoke Island and the fort built on the island of Puerto Rico by the very same colonists on their way to Virginia.⁶ A drawing of the Puerto Rican fort had been left

⁶ Porter, “Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, . . .”

among the works of John White, but this famous collection of early colonizing records, now in the British Museum, failed to record anything about Fort Raleigh, other than to provide an excellent map of the coast line in the vicinity of Roanoke Island.

Remains of the fort were found in the very first exploratory trench. Rather than a stockade, as those of us who had seen too many Western movies had anticipated, the fort had been a simple earthwork, with an earthen embankment surrounded by a ditch. During the 1950 season the fort area was completely excavated and the earthwork reconstructed.

While excavating these ruins, a small number of European and Spanish West Indies objects left by the colonists were recovered, along with fragments of Indian pottery. In fact, it is probably just pure luck that anything of European origin was found, for almost any object left by the settlers would have been gathered up by the Indians. In excavating the fort ditch, campfire remains were discovered at various levels, in many of which were found broken Indian vessels, showing that the Indians went there from time to time. Obviously, the ghosts of the white men did not deter them from using the half-filled ditch of the fort as a shelter if they happened to be in the vicinity on a cold winter day.

Finding these casting-counters at Fort Raleigh was really not too surprising, although it could never have been assumed, had they not actually been found in the ground, that anyone among the little group of colonists would have come equipped to carry on the business and trade operations that these objects imply. But, after all, it was confidently expected by those who planned this enterprise that the colony would be a success, and that there would be the need for fiscal and trade records in which arithmetic would be involved. They must certainly have anticipated extensive trade with the Indians; and as soon as the colony was firmly established there would surely be shipments of goods back to England, as well as trade between the settlements that were expected to develop throughout the new colony of Virginia. All of this would call for a system of reckoning, and casting-counters

and the counting-board would obviously be needed. It is not unlikely, too, that at least one imaginative member of the group would have brought a supply of these counters as trinkets to be traded to the Indians.

Two of these three counters, and the one from the Cape Hatteras Indian site, are not just similar, but identical (Figures 1 and 2). Close examination shows the same irregularities in the dies used in stamping the designs and letters on each of the three specimens. The third counter from Fort Raleigh, though similar, had been made with a different set of dies. All four are made of a cheap alloy of copper, zinc, and lead, known as "latten." As plainly recorded on the counters themselves, they were all made by Hans Schultes of Nuremberg, about whom more will be said later.

These counters are extremely thin, especially in comparison with coins, and the edges are quite irregular, as the drawings show. They were made by holding a metal die against the surface of a thin circular blank, known as a "flan," and striking it sharply with a hammer, or mallet. The "flan" was then turned over and struck with a second die.

No attempt was made to have the obverse and reverse designs placed in a definite relationship, as on coins, and it is apparent that no particular care was taken in centering the die on the flan. Unlike coins, in which uniformity is important, these counters were obviously mass produced. The design is in low relief, for it was necessary that the counters be relatively smooth so that they could be moved easily and rapidly over the cloth or board. Thinness was also an advantage when overlapping the pieces on the board, which was often done to save space when working out long and complicated computations.

Producing them by the thousands, as the Nuremberg manufacturers did, it is easy to picture a production line operation. First, there is the worker who cuts out the disk from a sheet of metal; the second workman flattens it by beating with a hammer, for this alloy is reasonably malleable. Next, the man with the first die impresses the design on one side, and he is followed by a lower-paid employee, possibly an apprentice, who turns the flans over and pushes them on to the workman

with the second die. These little factories must have been noisy places, but they had to be operated efficiently to permit the finished product to be sold at the low price that these Nuremberg counters brought on the European market.

On the obverse of each of the counters is a design composed of three open crowns and three lis arranged around a rose within an inner circle. Outside this circle, on the two identical Fort Raleigh counters and the Cape Hatteras specimen, is a legend, in German, which reads "HANS SCHVLTES EATI." On the third Fort Raleigh specimen we find a more typical legend: "GLICK KVMPPT VON GOT IST WAR," which might be translated as "True good fortune comes from God." Such legends were common on the Nuremberg counters, and it was during the period of Hans Schultes's operations that short legends became popular. Some of the legends were religious, but many included simple everyday mottoes, maxims, and proverbs.

The reverse of each counter contains a *Reichsapfel* within a double treasure of three curves and three angles set alternately, all within an inner circle. Around the outside, on the three identical counters, is "HANS SCHVLTES NORB." "Norb" is an abbreviation for Norberg, one of the many ways "Nuremberg" was spelled in sixteenth century records. On the third Fort Raleigh counter the legend reads "HANS SCHVLTES ZV NVRENBURG."

Each of the three counters found at the Fort has one or two holes punched through it, while the one from Cape Hatteras is unpierced. At first it was thought the holes were put there by Indians so that the little disks could be strung as a necklace or bracelet, or possibly sewn on a garment. Many examples in European collections also have similar holes, however, so the blame must be placed on the English rather than the Indians. In any event, the counters could not have been used for their original purpose after the holes were punched, for the burr on the back of the hole would have hindered the ready movement of the counters over the board.

There can be no doubt of the identity of the maker of these counters from Fort Raleigh and the Cape Hatteras Indian site, or of the place and approximate date of their manufac-

ture. Hans Schultes is known to have operated a shop in Nuremberg during the period of 1550 to 1574. He was only one of a large number of manufacturers of counters working in Nuremberg at that time, and was not, in fact, one of the most important. The Nuremberg manufacturers liked to put both their names and the name of their city on the counters they turned out. This served as good advertising, and Herr Schultes made the most of this practice, using his name on both sides of some of his products as evidenced by three of these four examples found along the North Carolina coast.

In earlier times, possibly from the beginning of the thirteenth century until around 1525, counter-making was confined largely to France, where it apparently originated. But when Nuremberg took over, it took over in earnest. As might be expected, the French displayed more taste and greater versatility in their products. Their "jettons" were struck in a wide variety of metals, including gold, silver, brass, copper, bronze, and lead, and occasionally they were even gilded or plated. The more practical Germans, on the other hand, turned out their products in great quantities, using a cheap base alloy. The intrinsic worthlessness of these Nuremberg counters explains why so many of them have been saved to this day. French examples, often made of more valuable metals, were far more likely to be melted down for the metal, and are relatively scarce, therefore, in present day collections. These Nuremberg counters have had relatively little appeal to coin collectors, which can be accounted for by their commonness and their crudeness, in addition to their not being true coins.

But even though the Nuremberg manufacturers may not have turned out "museum pieces," they certainly showed no restraint in variety of designs. Unlike coins, in which conformity to a specific pattern is desired, variety in counters seemed to be a selling point. Apparently the sole criterion guiding the German maker was salability. In addition to the cheapness of their product, which obviously was the primary appeal to the European purchasers of that day, the Germans also courted the English market by the use of popular English design elements, such as the rose and the fleur-de-lis.

Several counters of this same type have also been found in the excavations at Jamestown, Virginia, showing that their use continued well into, if not all the way through, the seventeenth century. Actually, there were relatively few found at Jamestown, considering the great quantity of other materials recovered in the excavations. This is consistent with the historical evidence that the casting-board and casting-counter were dying out during the seventeenth century. The Jamestown examples also confirm the historical evidence of Nuremberg's dominance, if not monopoly, in this field, for every example bears the name of a Nuremberg maker.

Hans Krauwinkel, probably the most prominent of the Nuremberg manufacturers, is the earliest of those represented in the Jamestown collection. He was carrying on his business a little later than Schultes, roughly 1580 to 1610.⁷ A Hans Krauwinkel counter (with a hole punched near the edge) was also found by Dale Stewart when excavating the Indian site of Potawomeke on the Potomac River.⁸ The latest examples found at Jamestown are the ones made by Wolfe Lauffer (also spelled Lafer and Laufer), who operated between the years 1618 and 1660.⁹ These examples from Jamestown, which cannot be described in detail here, are almost identical in design, material, and method of manufacture with the earlier Hans Schultes specimens from North Carolina.

The three counters¹⁰ dug up at the site of England's first colonizing venture in the Western Hemisphere are not much in the way of a jetton collection, especially when compared with Barnard's 7,000 specimens. But these little objects have a unique historical significance, for they are among the very few objects from the site of Fort Raleigh that unquestionably go back to the period of its founding and brief existence. It

⁷ Barnard, *The Casting-Counter*, 66.

⁸ On exhibit in the United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

⁹ Barnard, *The Casting-Counter*, 70.

¹⁰ Several additional casting counters have been recovered in the excavations at Jamestown during the fall of 1955. All are of Nuremberg origin and one is identical with the two Fort Raleigh counters and the one from the Hatteras Indian Site. Most of the Jamestown counters were found in deposits associated with material dating from the early part of the seventeenth century.

is from just such fragments of historical evidence that the archeologist and historian are able to piece together much of what we know about our early colonial sites. Whether there was a budding Einstein among that first group of English colonists, or just a "clarke" who liked to "jengle" a few counters in his pocket, lessens in no way the primary historical importance of these little metal disks, which have been waiting nearly four centuries to add their bit to American history.

THE MYSTERIOUS CASE OF
GEORGE HIGBY THROOP (1818-1896);
OR, THE SEARCH FOR THE AUTHOR OF
THE NOVELS *NAG'S HEAD*, *BERTIE*, AND
LYNDE WEISS

By RICHARD WALSER

North Carolina came tardily into the history of American fiction. Before the middle of the last century, few novelists at all had used the State for background and character, and fewer still of these were native born.¹ Even in the works of fiction which appeared, practically no notice was taken of life as it actually existed in North Carolina. The writers preferred going across the Atlantic or back into history and legend for their materials. The situation was unaltered until suddenly in 1850 there appeared, unheralded, a novel of contemporary times in the State with this bumptiously indigenous North Carolina title: *Nag's Head: or, Two Months among "The Bankers." A Story of Sea-Shore Life and Manners. By Gregory Seaworthy.*² The following year the pub-

¹ The first novel published in North Carolina was *Letters of Adelaide de Sancerre to Count de Nance*, a translation from the French of Mme. Marie Jeanne (de Heurles Laboras de Mézières) Riccoboni; first issued in Paris in 1766, it was brought out in New Bern in 1801 by the printer Francois X. Martin. First novel by a resident North Carolinian was Winifred Marshall Gales' tale of English life, *Matilda Berkely, or Family Anecdotes*, published in Raleigh in 1804 by the author's husband Joseph Gales. John Pendleton Kennedy's famous Revolutionary novel *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835) was the first work of fiction to employ a partial North Carolina setting. Robert Strange's historical tale, *Eoneguski, or The Cherokee Chief* (1839), was the first novel to use full North Carolina characters and setting. The first native North Carolinian to write in the novel form was Calvin Henderson Wiley, whose two historical works both employed the North Carolina scene, *Alamance* (1847) and *Roanoke* (serialized 1849). For more detailed information, see Richard Walsler, "North Carolina Literary Firsts," *North Carolina Libraries*, VII (June, 1949), [1]—3.

² . . . Philadelphia: A. Hart, late Carey and Hart, 1850. 180 pages. The copyright page tells us: "Entered according to the act of Congress, in the year 1851 . . . in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania." The year 1851 in this notice is difficult to explain. Either it is in error, or else the publisher had planned purposely to delay registering the book. In the author's second book is printed a letter from Washington Irving indicating that Irving had read a copy of *Nag's Head* during the second week of September, 1850. The dedication of *Nag's Head* is to Park Benjamin, well-known editor and publisher of the day, and reads: "MY DEAR SIR:—When, at the idle suggestion of a friend, I had whiled away some of the else unoccupied hours of a five months' passage homeward, by writing a book, you were pleased to pat

lisher issued a second novel, again with a blatant North Carolina title: *Bertie; or Life in the Old Field. A Humorous Novel. By Capt. Gregory Seaworthy, Author of "Nag's Head."*³

In these two long-forgotten books, North Carolina received her first contemporary fictional treatment by one who wrote of the life he knew and of which he had been a part. They are, in brief, the first North Carolina novels of "local color" and thus are highly significant in the literature of the State.

It is sad to relate that, in spite of their literary import, their publication caused no great stir anywhere, that North Carolina did nothing more than ignore them, that in the passing of a century they have almost completely dropped from sight, and that even the very name of their author was lost—if it was, in fact, ever acknowledged at all.

the shy bantling encouragingly on the head, and to say a friendly word to the Publisher. May I, in acknowledgment of that kindness, present another, the youngest, to your Burchell-like caresses [Mr. Burchell was a benevolent, kind-hearted protector in Oliver Goldsmith's novel *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766)], in the belief of its fewer imperfections, and with the conventional, but hearty, assurance that I am Yours, always, GREGORY SEAWORTHY, MERRY HILL, *Bertie Co.*, N. C." The wording of this dedication also presents difficulties. Perhaps by "the youngest," the author means that *Nag's Head* was written prior to the novel Benjamin had praised and that, as a result, it was then offered for publication. If so, the second novel may conceivably have been held for publication till after "the youngest," i.e., *Nag's Head*, had appeared. If by "the youngest," the novelist means he was induced to write another book following Benjamin's encouragement, then *Nag's Head* is the author's second written but first published novel. But this seems unlikely; for *Nag's Head*, with its obvious artlessness, bears the definite marks of a first novel; and, in spite of these matters, it certainly seems to be his first book. Among the extremely rare copies of *Nag's Head* are those in the Peabody Institute Library of Baltimore, the University of North Carolina Library, and the Sondley Collection of the Pack Memorial Public Library, Asheville. It was issued in paperback at 50c; see O. A. Roorback, *Bibliotheca Americana* (1852), I, 385.

³. . . *With a Letter to the Author from Washington Irving*. Philadelphia: A. Hart, late Carey and Hart, 126 Chestnut Street, 1851. 242 pages. The copyright page also carries the date 1851, though the dedication to the publisher A. Hart is signed from Philadelphia, December 15, 1850. In a note to "MY DEAR READER" the author writes: "Do you know that publishers still cling, with the tenacity of first love, to the time-honored custom of writing a preface? It is verily so! And even my *Prolegomena* will not pass muster in this behalf. Wherefore, though you will not read this preface, and do not care a straw *why* I have written another book, I may as well say, briefly, that I was mainly encouraged so to do by the reception of 'NAG'S HEAD,' and by kind letters from older brethren, among which is the following:—

‘SUNNYSIDE, Sept. 17th, 1850.

‘MY DEAR SIR:—

‘Though I received in due time your letter dated August 11th, your book did not reach me until within a week past. I thank you most heartily for the pleasure afforded me by the perusal. You have depicted scenes, char-

Who is this Captain Gregory Seaworthy anyway? Obviously the name is a pseudonym. Very well, we say. Then who *is* he and how did he come to write these two contemporary novels about coastal North Carolina in the middle of the nineteenth century? Until a few years ago the question could not have been answered with any authority. But now the curtains are ready to be drawn, and the man revealed. Before we part them, however, it will be well to review the novels to see if we can ourselves discover any clues of identification.

Though in broad terms *Nag's Head* may be called a novel, it really is merely a journal of a more than two months' stay on the sand banks of North Carolina during the summer of (presumably) 1849. It will be obvious to any reader that the book is written from first-hand experience. There is no plot, no sustained characterization. Frequently interrupting the progress of the journal are brief stories purporting to be told by the author to his acquaintances, or by them to him. Only a few of these have any local or literary interest. The first-person narrator is a Northerner (p. 180) now employed as a tutor to the children of a wealthy North Carolina planter. Even at the seashore he has his "little school-room" (p. 40), his "little family" (p. 30) with their daily lessons. The schoolmaster implies that he wrote his journal during the sojourn at the beach (p. 123).

acters, and manners which were in many respects new to me, and full of interest and peculiarity. I allude more especially to the views of Southern life. We do not know sufficiently of the South; which appears to me to abound with materials for a rich, original and varied literature.

'I hope the success of this first production will be such as to encourage you to follow out the vein you have opened, and to give us a new series of scenes of American life both by sea and land.

'With best wishes for your success,

'I remain, very truly,
'Your obliged friend and servant,
'WASHINGTON IRVING.'

From the foregoing it is safe to assume that *Nag's Head* is the novelist's first published book, *Bertie* his second. A third, and presumably the last, is *Lynde Weiss* (1852). Like its predecessor, *Bertie* was issued in paper covers at 50¢. It, too, is extremely rare. There is a copy at the University of North Carolina Library. One of the two copies at the New York Public Library is in mint condition with its original three-color (blue, gold, black) title-cover, at the top of which is the serial label: "Library of Humorous American Works. . . ." In making this study, I have used photostats of *Nag's Head* and *Bertie* owned by Professor Roger P. Marshall, of Raleigh.

NAG'S HEAD:

OR,

TWO MONTHS AMONG "THE BANKERS."

A STORY OF SEA-SHORE LIFE AND MANNERS.

~~~~~  
 " Là, nous trouverons sans peine,  
 Avec toi, le verre en main,  
 L'homme après qui Diogène  
 Courut si long-temps en vain !"

J. B. ROUSSEAU.

" I was born to speak all mirth and no matter !"

BEATRICE.

~~~~~

BY GREGORY SEAWORTHY.

James Gregory.

PHILADELPHIA:

A. HART, LATE CAREY AND HART.

1850.

A "quiet sort of man" (p. 160) and a bachelor (p. 102), the tutor has nevertheless "roamed over many a clime of 'the big world'" (p. 25) and has once served on a man-of-war (p. 32). His love for, and familiarity with, the sea undoubtedly accounts for the pseudonym Gregory Seaworthy; clearly our author has often shipped before the mast. He has knowledge of Provincetown and Nantucket (p. 23); of Lake George, Saratoga, Lake Champlain, and Burlington, Vermont (p. 106); of Boston, the New England coast, and the small seaport town of Frankfort, Maine (p. 86). One section (pp. 48-69) of the book which smacks peculiarly of the partially autobiographical tells the melancholy tale of an adopted though proud youth who petulantly leaves his devoted foster-father, of Washington, D. C., his "more than mother" (p. 55), and his adopted sisters, after an incident of seeming interference in his love affair by his sweetheart's parent. Going aboard a fishing boat in Baltimore, he reaches Philadelphia and finally Boston, where as a "green hand" at \$8 a month, he signs the articles of a ship sailing around Cape Horn for Valparaiso—an outward-bound voyage of 120 days. Returning home, he rushes to be reunited with his sweetheart and finds her dying. So the story ends. While the extremely sentimental portions of the tale doubtless are fabricated, there is an unquestionable realism of geography and life aboard ship. The sailing terminology here as elsewhere in *Nag's Head* is pronounced.

Throughout the book our author shows himself possessed of a literary turn of mind, punctuating the journal continually with both little-known and well-known bits of poetry, as well as with many Latin quotations and French phrases. The author inserts lyrics of his own (p. 83, 180) and also an original patriotic poem "The Old North State" (p. 100).⁴ Not only is he a writer of poems, but a discriminating reader of local works. He is familiar with such North Carolina books as Calvin Henderson Wiley's (p. [13]) *Roanoke* (serialized 1849), a novel which has part of its setting on the sand banks; the poems (p. 122) of William Henry Rhodes (1822-1876)

⁴ The non-original insertions are studiously enclosed within quotation marks; the three original poems are not.

of Bertie County; and Hugh Williamson's (p. 102) *History of North Carolina* (1812). Our friendly though bookish and retiring narrator is impressed by the South, is uncritical of his associates there, and is pleased that during his seven months' residence in North Carolina he has found "the condition and treatment of the slaves a thousandfold better" than he expected (p. 142). In *Nag's Head* he records many conversations with the Negro servants, writes affectionate word-portraits of several of them (pp. 143-147), then exclaims: "May the day soon come when they shall all peacefully be made free!" (p. 148). He admits that the blacks are "contented and happy" (p. 147), that their punishments are generally less than they deserve. All in all, the writer is delighted with his North Carolina environment.

Nag's Head opens "on the afternoon of a pleasant day in July" (p. 14) on the banks of the Perquimans River at Hertford. In preparation for an overnight trip to the sand banks, a schooner is being loaded with all the necessities for the summer visit of a planter's entire household: furniture, luggage, "baskets, axes, beds and bedding, cart-wheels and bodies ruthlessly divorced, parasols, a venerable umbrella, and a bottle of Sand's sarsaparilla" (p. 15); also, ducks and hens. At the beach his residence is to be "a little world of itself" (p. 41): a cow (p. 80); three horses, two dogs (p. 41); of the twenty people in the household, a third are Negro servants. The planter is moving his family to the ocean side to escape "the malaria, and fevers, and heat of Perquimans" (p. 25). Along go the children with their tutor. To provision the planter and his neighbors with fresh vegetables during their stay, chartered packets run twice a week between the plantations and the beach. "One of these *plies* between ELIZABETH CITY and NAG'S HEAD. Another comes from HERTFORD; another from EDENTON, and another from SALMON RIVER, OR MERRY HILL; the latter being owned and employed by a wealthy gentleman for the convenience of his family and friends" (p. 80).

Meanwhile, when the loaded schooner arrives at its destination, it anchors half a mile off shore and sends its passengers and provisions to land in yawls and scows. After a

walk through the sand, the vacationist reaches a small five-apartment "story-and-a-half cottage, shingled and weather-boarded, but destitute of lath and plaster" and "surrounded by a dwarfish growth of live-oak." On its "eastern side, it has a comfortable piazza, where the family gather of an evening for a social chat, and for the enjoyment of the sea-breeze. It commands a wide view of the ocean; and there is scarcely an hour of the day when you cannot see one or more vessels sailing by . . ." (p. 24).

To Gregory Seaworthy a peculiar feature of this summer resort is "the fact that a very large proportion of the visitors are actual residents in private dwellings" (p. 79) owned by the "Planters, merchants, and professional men" (p. 80) from the mainland. Nearby, the one hotel, which is located about three miles from the fresh-water ponds (p. 149), is patronized mainly by the unmarried. Close to the hotel is a little chapel, at which clergymen from Elizabeth City and Hertford officiate (p. 37). Evidently the colony is quite large at the time of Seaworthy's visit, for he hears some of the old-timers moan for the days of Nag's Head as it *was*—when only three families had summer residences there and it "was respectable to be seen in homespun" (p. 97). He visits the original settlement and finds it abandoned (p. 98). Alas for the old-timers! Now in the late 1840's Nag's Head has become fashionable!

The average vacationist goes bathing to "occupy the time until breakfast" (p. 118). Then "there is a bowling-alley, where the boarders from the hotel and the residents from the hills" [or "up-guines," as the local inhabitants call the sand dunes (p. 97)] "meet at nine or ten in the forenoon, and remain until the dinner hour" (p. 160). Perhaps, instead of bowling, the vacationist may go fishing or fox-hunting (p. 47), or riding or walking or visiting (p. 118). Dinner and a siesta always occupy the afternoon (p. 47), followed by another swim (p. 118) and tea and dressing for the evening (p. 47). If young, the summer resident will then take another walk on the beach with a "fair form, a bright eye" (p. 118). On to the hotel he goes, where at "length, sometimes as early as eight o'clock, but oftener at

nine, or a later hour, the musician makes his appearance. The twang of the strings, even as he tunes [the violin], is enough to call the little folks around him; and it is not long before the ladies make their appearance; the sets are formed, and the long-drawn '*Balance, all!*' gives the glow of pleasure to every face" (p. 160). "You dance until you begin to think of Dr. A----'s last advice and prescription, and are afraid to look at the clock, and then you *dig* your way, with desperate, teeth-set energy, through the dry, yielding, cringing, shrinking, nerve-depressing sand, homeward. There arrived, you step stealthily up the stairs . . . and go to bed. And now do all good things conspire to lull you to repose" (p. 118).

For special amusement the summer resident may climb "the heights (sand-hills) called Jockey's Ridge" or, "with his cab and bays," drive "a bevy of ladies" along the beach (p. 121). He may go on a picnic and fishing trip to the fresh-water ponds (pp. 149-153). Some other time, he may sail over to Roanoke Island and visit the site where "RALEIGH's second expedition" made a "settlement"; perhaps he will unearth "glass globes, containing quicksilver, and hermetically sealed and other relics occasionally discovered there" (p. 126). On Roanoke Island, too, he may see "a beautiful lawn containing a 'grapery,' underneath which you can stand and pluck the most delicious clusters" (p. 127). Closer home, he may walk over the sand banks observing "the gradual entombing of whole acres of live-oaks and pines by the gradual drifting of the restless sands from the beach" (p. 45). Often he may remain indoors when violent storms break over the banks (pp. 32-36).

The visitor also interests himself in the lore, traditions, and history of the area. He listens to old-timers tell of the many wrecks along the beach (p. 71), of rescues (pp. 101-117), of pillaging the wrecked vessels and of "wicked deeds on that low sandy coast, of lanterns tied to a horse's head, and of windows that looked seaward being illuminated at night" (p. 71). He learns the origin of the name of Nag's Head: how the "headland then bore some resemblance, in the sea-approach, to the head of a horse, and hence its name" (p. 97). He hears the tale, told by old Adam Etheredge, of

Ellen Baum of Roanoke Island and her marriage to a rich Boston merchant's son who survived a wreck on Nag's Head (pp. 127-141). Seaworthy admits he has not learned much of the native inhabitants. "To say the truth," he writes, "I have seen but little of them. . . . I have seen them mending their nets, I have chatted with them, and yet I know but little of their character and habits." But he has been told the bankers are "miserably poor . . . have most singular prejudices concerning medicine . . . [are] peculiar . . . isolated from the social intercourse. . . ." They are jealous of strangers, "but are clannish, and therefore honest and social among themselves" (p. 162).

Only one mishap mars Seaworthy's stay at Nag's Head—recurrent attacks of the fever. Though he is much alarmed at his illness and is affectionately nursed, he notices with chagrin that his friends do not share his perturbation. When he remarks on the Carolinians' "sallowiness of complexion so common everywhere, and especially among the residents of the eastern counties" (p. 75), the reply he gets is: "Bless your heart, my dear sir, *it's nothing at all but the chills and fever! We're RAISED on it here!* I'm rather *partial* to a chill, myself!" (p. 76). Seaworthy lists the illness in his chapter on amusements, concluding "That ever I should have forgotten the staple of fun—the State-patronized FROLIC—THE CHILLS AND FEVER! *chacun à son goût!*" (p. 161). He leaves Nag's Head on September 29 (p. 178).

His short novel is poorly organized and has little literary merit, but it possesses a sprightly humor and lively style. Its principal attraction lies in its value as social history, in its depiction of the activities of summer visitors to Nag's Head in the late 1840's.

Bertie, on the other hand, is quite well organized, contains definite elements of plot and situation, and presents several rounded characterizations. Unlike *Nag's Head* it is written in the generally accepted manner of the novel form, though like its predecessor it is full of local geography and local customs and events. In spite of the fact that the first-person narrator, still named Gregory Seaworthy, is no longer a Northern schoolteacher but now is nephew to a rich South-

BERTIE:

OR,

LIFE IN THE OLD FIELD.

A HUMOROUS NOVEL.

BY

CAPT. GREGORY SEAWORTHY.

AUTHOR OF "NAG'S HEAD."

"Leves, non praceter solitum."—HORACE.

"Faith, thin! it's a pairt o' me systim, sir!"—THE IRISH TUTOR.

WITH A LETTER TO THE AUTHOR FROM
WASHINGTON IRVING.

PHILADELPHIA:

A. HART, LATE CAREY AND HART.

126 CHESTNUT STREET.

1851.

ern planter in Bertie County, North Carolina, there, nevertheless, are present many revealing details of him as author.

The narrator has passed so much time away from the South that he seems a Yankee (p. 22), has "made five voyages" at sea during which he "rose to the berth of mate of one of the finest merchantmen in New York" (p. 99), and has been "many a mile" wandering (p. 63). He enjoys steering a ship (p. 35), has often been aboard an American man-of-war (p. 22), and knows many parts of the world and many regions of the United States, including the Hudson and Champlain Canal in New York State (p. 228). He uses nautical language throughout the book, is partial to Latin quotations, makes frequent references to Shakespeare and Cervantes (p. 64) and other great writers, has read Kennedy's *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (p. 47), and inserts an original poem "Molly Bell" (pp. 122-123). He keeps a journal (p. 40) and writes his book during his "leisure hours at sea" (p. 240). In many of his characteristic remarks, such as his continually stressing the hospitality of the South (p. 167), Captain Seaworthy of *Bertie* is like schoolmaster Seaworthy of *Nag's Head*.

More revealing, however, in its autobiographical significance, is the minor character of Mr. Haynes, a Northern tutor employed to teach the children from the surrounding Bertie plantations. Haynes, a romantic portrait painted sympathetically from a lachrymose palette, has written a novel, has traveled widely and is "not at all Yankeeish or provincial" (p. 110). He is "a small, pale, slightly formed young man of an almost unnatural brilliancy of eye . . . [and] has an expression of calmness, thought, *power* of mind, and greatness of heart" (p. 123). This man, with his "long, wiry, black hair," feels he can "do some better service to society than to teach," says, "I fret in my fetters; and the impatient spirit is fast gnawing its way out of its frail "clay tenement,"" (p. 125)⁵ and has written his book (*Nag's Head*,

⁵ For the borrowed phrase, "clay tenements," the author footnotes the name of John Weiss (1818-1879), noted pastor of the First Congregational Church of New Bedford, Massachusetts, during 1848 and later. Probably the author heard the famous minister at New Bedford; probably, too, the title of *Lynde Weiss* resulted from his acquaintance with the preacher.

perhaps?) to set his "northern friends right in regard to the state of society at the south" (p. 125). Though at first he has difficulties securing a publisher, any of whom he says is reluctant to pay for American books at a time when English reprints come free (p. 129), a Philadelphia firm (A. Hart?) later takes his manuscript (p. 203). He sees the good side of slavery but would free the slaves (p. 127); he pleads for "charity and liberality on both sides" (p. 128). His past is dim. He has gone to "-----College" (p. 145), where he roomed in a "hotel" (p. 146). He becomes ill, "bleeding profusely at the mouth" (p. 186); and his mother and sisters come to nurse him (pp. 195-196). Though he spends over two months on the beach at Nag's Head seeking to improve his health (p. 204 ff.), he dies of consumption (p. 229 ff.) shortly before his book arrives from the publisher (p. 232).

Both of these partially autobiographical characters are subordinate to the principal figure of the novel, around whom most of the events turn. "Professor" Funnyford Matters of Steventown, Maine (p. 25), is typical of that bragging Yankee comic well known in the popular literature of the day. He is a "practical hydrologist" (p. 242), one who constructs cement cisterns to insure pure drinking water on the Bertie plantations. A humorous person, he is in turn awed by and delighted with the South. His speech has "the unmistakable twang of eastern Maine," as in such expressions as "Haow dew yaou dew?" (p. 21). Though surprised at the wealth and culture and extensive holdings of Southern planters, he argues that the plantations are too large and the farm equipment too primitive (pp. 107-108). He concedes that the conditions of slavery are exaggerated in the North and joins with his new Southern friends in hoping for patience, good feeling, and understanding on both sides (pp. 103-107). He complains that the Southern masters are too tolerant and the slaves too easy-going. "They are so 'mazin' lazy and slow. They don't airn their grub, some on 'em. I wouldn't have some on 'em as a gift'" (p. 170). He admits that the most severe overseers are from the North. Incidentally, he is the only character in the novel to use the word "nigger." A practical economist, he criticizes Southern patro-

nage of Northern merchants, manufacturers, and mechanics (pp. 178-179).

"Professor" Matters is present during most of the action of *Bertie*, whose plot concerns the love affairs of some half dozen couples. It need not be detailed here. Matters marries a rich country widow but at the end of the story is leaving his new home because of his many unruly stepchildren (p. 236). It is unbelievable in so short a novel, perhaps, but true that the book concludes with five weddings (p. 241). Of more significance to our present study, however, are the author's pages on local geography, customs, and events.

The opening scene is Norfolk, with Seaworthy and Matters heading toward Bertie and Cypress Shore, the plantation of Colonel John Smallwood (well-known family name in Bertie County at that time), which is six miles (p. 57) from Merry Hill post office. (Cypress Shore is the fictitious name of Scotch Hall, then and now home of the Capehart family.) On a small boat they are towed through the Dismal Swamp Canal (p. 39) and pass a hotel not far from Lake Drummond (p. 45). Two days later they arrive at "the pretty village of Edenton" (p. 52). Seaworthy proceeds to Plymouth, thus passing very near Cypress Shore, which "is not two hundred yards from the head of the sound, between the mouths of the Roanoke and the Chowan" (p. 52), and within walking distance of "the mouth of the Cashie" (p. 91). He continues to Windsor "to execute a commission for a New York merchant to his factor in Bertie" (p. 55). On March 29, 1849 (p. 56), after a three hours' ride on horseback through the pine woods, he arrives at Cypress Shore.

O! those Carolina roads! extending leagues on leagues, with never a crook discernible by the eye, flanked by thick-set pines that have been blazed and scarred by surveyors and tar-makers; level as a house floor, and sometimes as hard; musical at times with the hunter's horn, the hounds in full cry, or the notes of a thousand birds, thrown into fine harmonic relief by the low bass of the wind as it sweeps through the lofty pines. . . . There are few things that waken for me more pleasant, and by'r lady! sadder recollections, than the remembrance of divers walks and rides (not to make the remotest allusion to the person or

persons—isn't that lawyer-like?—with whom they were enjoyed) through the magnificent pine-forests of "the good old North State" (pp. 56-57).

He is greeted by the Colonel, the Colonel's maiden sister Aunt Corny, a niece and adopted daughter Molly, and the personal servant Grief. The Colonel's son Robert is away at Brown University, another niece and adopted daughter Kate at school in Richmond. Of Cypress Shore itself, the narrator writes:

I paused a moment at the gate for a view of the old family mansion. The northern front is not nearly so attractive as the southern. The trees which had been recently planted, at my last visit, were now finely grown; and it was evident that another month would make the spacious lawn one of the most beautiful spots in the world. The house was large, painted white, and furnished with dark-green shutters. Huge chimneys were built at both ends outside the house; and, on the northern side, a broad piazza, supported by a half a score of columns, extended along the whole length. A hospitable deal bench ran along the weatherboarding; and at one end of the piazza was a sort of shelf attached to the balustrade, on which a neat unpainted bucket, with shining hoops and bail of brass, was always standing. In a hole of this same shelf, fitted for the purpose, was the ewer; and near this, on a roller, was a towel white as the snow. Through the centre of the building ran a hall, some ten or twelve feet in width. I may be permitted to say here, for the benefit of my northern reader, who may not have seen the south, that, for three-fourths of the year, the hall and the porch of a southern mansion are in constant requisition. You sit, lounge, or take your siesta in either. Both, but more commonly the piazza, serve you for your promenade. In the hall you very frequently see the appliances for sporting—guns, belts, pouches, horns—while on the walls you will perhaps see engravings of celebrated horses. In the piazza, the dogs consider themselves privileged; and even the hounds sometimes intrude. The youngsters romp there; and there the hobby-horse performs his untiring gallop (pp. 69-70).

Beyond the house lies the beautiful sound, on a calm day with "not a ripple on its broad surface. To the right were the mouths of the Roanoke and the Cashie. They were bare-

ly discernible among the low cypresses that lined the shore" (p. 161). Steamers and sailing boats are often gliding past. In the distance is the familiar light-boat guarding the entrance to the Roanoke (p. 212).

The plantation of Colonel Smallwood, who had come to Bertie from Virginia (p. 99), spreads over ten thousand acres (p. 75). Employing some 250 Negroes, it has an annual yield of about a hundred bales of cotton and fifty thousand bushels of corn (p. 76). Among the animals are "horses, mules, sheep, and cows" (p. 70). The slaves are happy, for they are provided with allowances, good quarters, and a hospital (pp. 198-199). For six to eight weeks every spring the Colonel's interest turns to his near-by shad and herring fishery, where he has built twenty fishermen's cabins as well as a guest house in which he entertains his friends (pp. 72, 76). Most of the fishing is done at night with torches ablaze (p. 87).

Among the Colonel's neighbors are the family of Dr. William A. Jeffreys of "Underwood" plantation (pp. 55, 188); Mr. and Mrs. Archibald Buckthorn (p. 82, 102); Amos Sayles, merchant and postmaster at Merry Hill (p. 82); and Squire and Mrs. Butterton of "Bachelor's Bay," a plantation house "two or three furlongs from the mouth of Salmon Creek, directly on the bank, and perched airily on an eminence on a little point, perhaps two hundred and fifty yards above what is known to the sailors as Gravestone Point. It overlooks quite a reach of the beautiful little river, and gives a fine view of the graver and statelier Chowan" (p. 101).

The families of these eastern Bertie residents lead no dull lives. When not visiting and dining with one another, they go fishing in Salmon Creek (p. 223) or fox-hunting (p. 68). There is "the excitement of the mail-days," when "a score of country gentlemen" lounge about the store, talking and "awaiting the arrival of the mail" (pp. 131-132). On court-days they go to the county seat to observe a variety of activity: a side show, "the same being a deformed dwarf, whose picture roughly sketched on canvas," Seaworthy remarks, "was quite enough to disgust me" (pp. 156-157); a "demure, spectacled, sanctified-looking" book-peddler; a

saddler and a shoemaker displaying their goods; a man "selling a horse at auction"; an open-air oyster stew; a tent sheltering "an ample stock of cakes and candy and nuts" (p. 157); plentiful apple-brandy and beer (p. 158); a dinner at the hotel at which there are "beef by the half-ox, whole hecatombs of fowls, vegetables innumerable" (p. 159); and "grave consultations on all sorts of topics" (p. 158). The proceedings of the court itself seem to be of minor importance. On another day the gentlemen return to Windsor for Muster Day, when the local military, "some fifteen mounted, and possibly fifty in the ranks of the infantry" (p. 168), parade to the music of "a shrill, squeaking, squealing, screaming, broken-winded clarionet" (p. 169). On still another, they meet at the Windsor Hotel for a "public dinner" to honor a celebrity, such as the one tendered "Professor" Matters, who is met by a deputation outside town and escorted by a "procession" to the hotel (pp. 187-194). Exciting, too, are the big quarterly church meetings at one of the rural churches, where everyone has his fill of preaching and shouting and feasting and visiting (pp. 180-186).

During the winter, Christmas is the season for grand frolic. Not least among the entertainments are the noise and music made by the Negro mummers "for his worship the John Kooner" (p. 218), a servant who, dressed in rags and wearing a mask, "goes through a variety of pranks" (p. 217). In summer, "about the middle of July," the Colonel transports all his household and friends to Nag's Head in a schooner loaded with "furniture, live-stock, and passengers" (p. 204). At the beach the summer residents visit "Roanoke Island, the Fresh Ponds, and the Inlet" (p. 207), and do not return to Cypress Shore till the last of September (p. 208).

"O! those days at Cypress Shore!" (p. 164) exclaims Capt. Gregory Seaworthy. But soon he is away to become master of a vessel out of New York. He sails over to Edenton and catches a coach to "hospitable old Hertford, which town," he writes, "I devoutly pray may be immortal." There at "the Eagle Hotel (let me commend it to everybody)" he pauses (p. 235) before proceeding to Elizabeth City, where he dines, and continues his journey northward. About a year

later he returns to Cypress Shore and is married to Helen Jeffreys, daughter of the doctor at "Underwood" plantation.

The author states in his "Prolegomena" (p. [v]):

Some are dropping honey,
Others dropping gall;
I am merely funny—
When I write at all.
Simply to amuse you
Do I choose to write;
All herein that's better
'S accidental—quite.

Bertie, is, indeed, a "funny" book, not only in its portrayal of "Professor" Matters, but also in its tone and style—occasionally illustrated, I hope, in some of the foregoing excerpts. But there is much that is "better," too. The scenes of plantation and village life in Bertie County in 1849 provide us, as does *Nag's Head*, with some excellent slices of obviously ungarnished social history. All in all, *Bertie* is the most accomplished work of its author. One reviewer was sufficiently enthusiastic to comment, "This is one of the best American novels of the day."⁶ Another wrote, "Bertie is a North Carolina story, the hero of which is a knowing Yankee, self-styled a Professor, who manufactures hydraulic cement and constructs rain-water cisterns. His adventures in the old North State are made the means of giving a lively and entertaining account of the habits and character of its people and the conditions of its slave population"; he added that the book is "very readable" and furnishes us "with an opportunity of noticing the disposition to encourage Southern literature exhibited by Mr. Hart," the Philadelphia publisher.⁷

One year later, a third and last novel appeared: *Lynde Weiss; An Autobiography. By Geo. H. Throop, Author of "Nag's Head," "Bertie," etc., etc.*⁸ In "A Word to the Reader,"

⁶ "Editors' Book Table," *Godey's Lady's Book*, XLII (June, 1851), 393.

⁷ "Notices of New Works," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVII (Sept., 1851), 584.

⁸ . . . Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1852. 188 pages, illustrated. A new edition was issued from Philadelphia in 1873 by Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, still carrying Throop's name on the title page. It is interesting to speculate what the "etc., etc." is intended to convey. If there are other books of the author, they have not yet been identified.

LYNDE WEISS;

An Autobiography.

"O! more than blest that, all my wanderings through,
My anchor falls where first my pennons flew."

O. W. HOLMES.

BY GEO. H. THROOP,
AUTHOR OF "NAG'S HEAD," "BERTIE," ETC. ETC.

PHILADELPHIA:
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO.
1852.

signed by "Gregory Seaworthy" from Philadelphia, February, 1852, the author quotes Carlyle in telling us that his book was written "amid inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow," and asks for the reader's "patience with the shortcomings" of the new work. Since *Lynde Weiss* does not contain references to North Carolina, there is no reason for any full discussion of it in the present study. It does, however, match the Gregory Seaworthy pseudonym with an author's name; and it presents internal clues leading to the discovery of biographical information about the writer, though in no wise is it straight autobiography, as the title indicates.

Lynde Weiss, son of a well-to-do lumberman, loses his mother when he is an infant. He lives with his father, a housekeeper, an aunt, two sisters, and a brother in Boylston, a village "a mile and a half from the mouth" of the Bouquet River, which empties into Lake Champlain (p. 16). Boylston nestles "cosily in a little valley, there being barely room enough between the river . . . and the hills for a single street on each bank" (p. 26). Lynde (pronounced "lined," p. 50), a kiddish prankster in the local school, loves pretty Jessie Grayson, the preacher's daughter. Because of his stern father, Lynde feels more at home with the family of the noble woodcutter, Paul Warren. Though expelled from the academy for playing tricks, Lynde later enrolls at Clinton College. Before withdrawing because of family financial losses, he excels in the classics and begins "to write verses, and to send them, under fictitious signatures, to the newspapers" (p. 74). Of an original oration, he tells us, "It had (as did my other productions) a spice of humour, and was very tolerably written" (p. 75). He took, he says, "unwearied pains in writing, using as few words as possible of Greek or Latin derivation, and substituting, wherever it was practicable, the simple Saxon English" (p. 76). When only seventeen, Lynde teaches a term at a country school (p. 75), and afterwards for a while at an academy in Washington, D. C. (p. 85). Though he has once been a fractious student, he becomes an assiduous schoolmaster. Yet, after disturbing personal affairs, he takes a whaler out of New Bedford and sees the Azores

and Rio de Janeiro. The novel closes with ridiculous mid-nineteenth-century melodramatics. When his father's fortunes are restored, Lynde returns home. There he is routed by a villainous rival for Jessie's hand and accused of murder. Saved at the last moment, he unmasks his rival, and all ends happily.

While it possesses a more definite plot line, *Lynde Weiss* is little better organized than *Nag's Head* and has not nearly the compactness of *Bertie*. Many of the interludes, such as the Washington schoolteaching experience and the voyage on the New Bedford whaler, have practically no relevancy to the plot and obviously are inserted simply as remembered life incidents. Like the first two books, *Lynde Weiss* is strongly, though by no means completely, autobiographical.

It is important that we understand that the three novels are unquestionably the work of the same pen. First, there is a similarity of style: the first-person narrator, the many italizations, the use of foreign words and expressions, the copious literary references, and the staccato conversation and sentence movement. Second, all three contain at least one voyage at sea described by one who was knowledgeable about sailing and who was proficient in "seaworthy" language. Third, all are sympathetic toward the ill-paid, obscure country schoolmaster: the schoolteaching narrators of *Nag's Head* and *Lynde Weiss*, the Mr. Haynes of *Bertie*. In *Lynde Weiss* the hero remarks that "teachers are seldom consciously unjust" (p. 48), deploras the use of the "rod," and complains that teachers, with their "capacity of endurance of hardship and toil," are paid only "a beggarly pittance to do what the parents were too lazy, or stupid, or weak, to do themselves—to govern the child" (p. 49). Fourth, two of the novels have characters speaking an odd New England dialect. Here is "Professor" Funnyford Matters of *Bertie*: "Whoa! hold on, yaou darned fool! I do b'lieve yaou'll run intew that 'ere carriage, spite of all I kin dew" (p. 59). Now we have schoolmaster Jonah Wigglesworth of *Lynde Weiss*: "There, naow! git yer seats, all on ye! I'm goin' fur to read the *rewls!*" and a bit later, "I declare tew man! . . . them 'ere boys pester me tew death. I say, there yaou! LYNDE! c'm 'ere to me!" (p. 50-51). The spelling and execution are uniquely the same. Final-

ly, it is certainly more than coincidental that two of the novels have a mention of the tiny seaport of Frankfort, Maine (*Nag's Head*, p. 86; *Lynde Weiss*, p. 178), that *Lynde Weiss* and at least one of the North Carolina novels show an acquaintance with Washington, D. C., with the New England Coast and New Bedford, and with the area around Lake Champlain.

Eureka! we shout—the evidence is sufficient! We know the name of our novelist, and it is George H. Throop! Perhaps we would be right; but if so, we must refute the testimony of almost a century of bibliographers and reference-book writers. A formidable group of them has been most unjust to Throop, if his name is indeed the one we seek. In spite of the Seaworthy-Throop coupling in the front pages of *Lynde Weiss*, there would seem to be some sort of grand conspiracy, however innocent, to deny Throop the fruits of his labors.

O. A. Roorbach, in *Bibliotheca Americana* (1852, pp. 52, 385), first distrusted the Gregory Seaworthy name and lists *Nag's Head* and *Bertie* without assignment of author. Olphar Hamst, in *Handbook for Fictitious Names* (London, 1868, p. 118), gives *Nag's Head* and *Bertie* under Seaworthy, then leaves bracketed blank space to show that the real name is not known. Without citing any authority, William Cushing, in his *Initials and Pseudonyms: A Dictionary of Literary Disguises* (1885, pp. 263-264, 443), tells us that *Nag's Head* is the work of James Gregory, an "American (?) writer" using the pen name of Gregory Seaworthy. In spite of this testimony, persistent research indicates that James Gregory is only an injurious bit of Cushing's imagination or misinformation. While no such American novelist apparently ever lived, Cushing, with this stroke, established a course of error. The Library of Congress, observing the relationship of *Nag's Head* and *Bertie*, catalogued its copy of *Bertie* under James Gregory. This slip is repeated by James Gibson Johnson in *Southern Fiction prior to 1860: An Attempt at a First-Hand Bibliography* (1909, p. 32), which has no mention of *Nag's Head*. Later, again following Cushing, others listed *Nag's Head* under James Gregory: James Kennedy, W. A. Smith, and A. F. Johnson, in *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseu-*

donymous English Literature (1928, IV, 147), and Lyle H. Wright, in *American Fiction 1774-1850* (1948, p. 113).

Misleading, confusing, and frustrating, we say; but even more so is the situation regarding *Lynde Weiss*. O. A. Roorbach, in *Bibliotheca Americana* (1852, p. 336), lists it without naming an author. The original damage, which no one has sought thoughtfully to repair, was done by Nicholas Trübner, in *Bibliographical Guide to American Literature* (London, 1859, p. 456), where he lists the novel under "T. B. Thorpe." Since that time, Thomas Bangs Thorpe (1815-1878), well-known American frontier humorist, has been getting wide-spread credit for a novel which he simply did not write. To confound matters further, Trübner gives the year 1854 as the publication date for *Lynde Weiss*, a fault repeated by many who copied him. The roll of those who foundered in Trübner's wake is appalling: S. Austin Allibone, in *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (1871, III, 2412); Francis S. Drake, in *Dictionary of American Biography* (1876, p. 908); *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (1889, VI, 105-106); P. K. Foley, in *American Authors 1795-1895* (1897, p. 293); a previously mentioned group of stumblers, Kennedy, Smith, and Johnson, in *Dictionary of Anonymous . . .* (1928, III, 410); W. J. Burke and Will D. Howe, *American Authors and Books 1640-1940* (1943, p. 775); and others. The Library of Congress gives its support by crediting Thorpe with *Lynde Weiss* and printing this amusing note on its catalogue card: "Wrongly attributed by the publisher to Geo. H. Throop." Furthermore, Franklin J. Meine, in his sketch of Thorpe in the usually reliable *Dictionary of American Biography* (1936, XVIII, 509), bestows authoritative sanction upon the error by honoring *Lynde Weiss* among Thorpe's "other published works." It is inconceivable that Mr. Meine had read the book; but whether or not, Thorpe had no hand in writing it.⁹ Of all the biographers and bibli-

⁹ To help me eliminate Thomas Bangs Thorpe as a possible author of *Lynde Weiss*, I have been fortunate in having the assistance of two Thorpe scholars. Dr. Milton Rickels, who wrote a dissertation on Thorpe at Louisiana State University, states in a letter dated Jan. 11, 1953: "To begin with, there is nothing in *Lynde Weiss* which I can relate to Thorpe's

ographers, only John Foster Kirk, in *A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (1889, II, 1436), had the temerity to believe the wording on the title page of *Lynde Weiss*. For a century, the only other link between *Lynde Weiss* and the North Carolina novels has been a hastily scrawled penciled notation dated 12/30/7 (probably 1887) and hidden away at the University of North Carolina Library among the papers of the unpublished Bibliography of North Carolina by Stephen B. Weeks: "Throop, George H. (Gregory Seaworthy; tutor for several years [*sic*] in family of Mr. Capeheart [*sic*], 'Scotch Hall' in Bertie Co.)."

At this point, the case looks good for Throop against those guiltless usurpers Seaworthy, James Gregory, and T. B. Thorpe; and most of us interested in early North Carolina literature would probably be willing to let the matter rest. Even so, the "facts" about Throop were not known. Who was he and where did he come from? It was the phrase in *Lynde Weiss* on the location of Boylston—"a mile and a half from the mouth" of the Bouquet River—which eventually led to the acquisition of the "facts." A map of New York state showed just such a town—Willsboro. An inquiry was dispatched forthwith. Yes, it was learned, a Throop had been among the prominent settlers in the early days of Willsboro, the most unconventional one of his family a wanderer

own knowledge and experience. . . . Nothing in his own life seems in any way related to the material of *Lynde Weiss*." On June 3, 1953, he wrote: "I have located about fifty letters of his [Thorpe's] which discuss in much detail his writing activity, and nowhere do they contain any reference to the title *Lynde Weiss* or describe any work which could fit the book. I have been able to follow his career in some detail from 1839 to 1853, and have found no contemporary references to *Lynde Weiss*." Dr. Rickels, who is now preparing a biography of Thorpe, also argues against Thorpe's authorship on the grounds of dialect, literary style, geography, and possible autobiographical content. It was Dr. Rickels who supplied me with the location of a Throop poem, "Fixing Up for Christmas!" in *The Spirit of the Times*, XXIII (Jan. 7, 1854), 554. A second scholar, Mrs. Virginia Herron, submitted a master's thesis on Thorpe at Alabama Polytechnic Institute. She wrote me on Feb. 4, 1954, that she, too, was puzzled by the supposed Thorpe authorship of the book but that during her studies she came to the point "When I considered that I had established the fact that *Lynde Weiss* was not by Thorpe." Mrs. Herron supplied me with the words of another Throop poem, "Oh! Sweet Mary Moran" from *The Spirit of the Times*, XX (Feb. 23, 1850), 1.

named Higby. Then it was that the tangled, forgotten career of George Higby Throop began to come to light.¹⁰

The Throop family in America stems from William Throope (1637-1704),¹¹ a Puritan who first settled at Barnstable, Massachusetts, before removing to Bristol, Rhode Island, in 1680. His descendant was George Throop, Sr.,¹² our novelist's father, who was born in Bristol¹³ in 1774. By 1801 he had formed a partnership with Levi Higby at Willsboro, N. Y., where they operated a forge for iron manufacturing,¹⁴ a potash factory, and a store.¹⁵ A notable figure in a rich lumbering area, he was twice married and had six children: George, Jr., Charles, Mary Burt, Lucia, Caroline, and Higby.

Higby, who by the time he began to write had added his father's name George and relegated his given name to a middle initial, was son of his father's second wife.¹⁶ Shortly

¹⁰ For uncovering most of the Willsboro history of the Throops, those to whom I am greatly indebted are Mrs. Marion C. Mason, Librarian of the Paine Memorial Free Library, Willsboro, N. Y.; her husband, Mr. R. E. Mason of Essex, N. Y.; and Mr. Albert Hayward of Essex. On May 14, 1953, Mrs. Mason wrote me: "Throop's description of Boylston, N. Y. is a perfect fit for Willsboro"; and on Nov. 24, 1953, "It [*Lynde Weiss*] is a curious combination of fact and fiction. The descriptions of places and background are entirely accurate, while his characters nearly all have real names. . . . The description of Vermont towns is also entirely right." Mrs. Mason was able to identify most of the place names and characters of *Lynde Weiss* from out of her knowledge and readings of local history and with the additional help of a local historian, Miss Sarah Lyon. Throop, she asserts, used many Willsboro family names for his fictitious purposes: West, Van Ornan, Lynde, etc.

¹¹ Herbert D. Throop, *Throop Genealogy, with Special Reference to the Throops of Grenville County, Ontario, Canada* (Ottawa, [1931]), 1.

¹² Winchester Finch, "The Throope Family and the Scrope Tradition," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XXXVI (January, 1906), 107.

¹³ "My father had been, until of age, a resident, as he was a native, of the State of Rhode Island. He was bred an anchor-smith, and he attained his majority just in time to take the tide of emigration which was then beginning to set towards Northern New York." *Lynde Weiss*, 25.

¹⁴ Winslow C. Watson, *The Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley, Being an Account of the Settlement of the Town of Willsboro . . .* (Albany, N. Y., 1863), 90.

¹⁵ H. P. Smith, *History of Essex County* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1885), 446-447.

¹⁶ Alice Higby Downs, *History of an Old Homestead in Willsboro, Essex County, N. Y.*, 22. The original longhand copy of this unpublished manuscript, written before 1927, is now in the possession of Mr. Charles H. Rowley, Jr., of Willsboro. There are several typed copies in the Willsboro area, from which references in this study have been taken. The manuscript is particularly rich in Higby and Throop family history.

after his birth in 1818, she died.¹⁷ It is quite possible that he grew up in the manner about which we are told in *Lynde Weiss*. At any rate, he "was considered rather eccentric and inclined to melancholy."¹⁸ During 1835-1836 he attended the University of Vermont at Burlington, and possibly later a New England college.¹⁹ The Census of 1840 shows a "male" of Higby's age still at his father's home. For the next seven years his history is blank; but it must have been during this time he pursued a schoolmaster's career and made several ocean voyages, at least one of them out of New Bedford, where he almost certainly was in 1848. His father, with whom he had had some serious altercation if various partially autobiographical portions of the novels can be trusted, had died September 18, 1845.²⁰ To Willsboro the schoolmaster seldom returned, and he was remembered there as "a teacher possessed of high accomplishments, a composer of music and often of words and music. He composed the song 'Molly Wood' while on a visit"²¹ to his native village. In *The Essex County Republican*, a newspaper in near-by Keeseville, N. Y., his "Obituary" appeared on March 26, 1896:

Found dead in his room at Bloomery, West Va. on the morning of the second of March, 1896 George Higby Throop aged seventy seven years. He was the youngest child of the late George Throop of Willsboro, where his childhood was passed. A man of more than usual talent both literary and musical. He wrote both prose and poetry and wrote music for many of his songs in his younger days. For many years he had devoted himself to teaching in the Southern States until incapacitated by deafness and advancing age.

In feeble health the last few years he had often expressed himself as only waiting God's pleasure to go from this world gladly....

¹⁷ The hero-narrator of Throop's third novel writes: "I had lost my mother in early infancy." *Lynde Weiss*, 12.

¹⁸ Alice Higby Downs, *History of an Old Homestead*, 22.

¹⁹ According to the records at the Alumni Council, University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, Burlington, where his folder includes little beyond that his profession was "teaching." Neither Brown University, which Throop writes about in *Bertie*, nor Harvard University, which he was later reported to have attended, has any record of Throop.

²⁰ Alice Higby Downs, *History of an Old Homestead*, 22.

²¹ Alice Higby Downs, *History of an Old Homestead*, 22.

Various bits of information in *Nag's Head* and *Bertie*, previously noted, indicate that Throop was in North Carolina for some seven months in 1849, from March through October, and perhaps longer. He is enthusiastic about Hertford, and it is likely that for a short while he was teaching in a plantation household of that area. But such is only conjecture. There is no doubting, however, that he spent an impressionable period at Scotch Hall, seat of the Capehart family in Bertie County. Besides the Stephen B. Weeks notation, and the geographical accuracy and local familiarity evident in *Bertie*, additional support has recently been uncovered.

Scotch Hall (the Cypress Shore of *Bertie*) was so named by William Maule about 1727.²² In 1817 the plantation came under the ownership of Cullen Capehart (1789-1866), whose son was the first George Washington Capehart (1810-1885). In 1836 a son, William Rhodes Capehart, was born to George Washington and Susan Bryan (Martin) Capehart. By 1849, when the lad was thirteen years old, a schoolmaster from the North came to Scotch Hall to tutor him. At that time Cullen Capehart had thousands of acres of eastern Bertie. He provided a doctor and a hospital for the many Negroes and owned a tufted hill and summer residence at Nag's Head, to which he took his family and a group of the servants during the hot months.

Unfortunately, much of the library and most of the plantation record books at Scotch Hall were lost many years ago; but luckily, a recent questioning of one who formerly lived there has been possible—Mrs. Mary Grant (Capehart) Wells of Baltimore, a niece of the student whom our novelist taught.²³ She was told that there were those who thought George Higby Throop had written a book about life at Scotch Hall. The questions and answers follow:

²² I am indebted to Dr. W. P. Jacocks of Chapel Hill and Mrs. G. W. Capehart of Bertie County for carefully prepared data on the Capeharts and Scotch Hall.

²³ This conversation was recorded in a letter written to Dr. W. P. Jacocks by Mrs. Wells' daughter, Mrs. Mary McKay, and dated from Baltimore, April 20, 1953. Mrs. Wells resided at Scotch Hall from 1879 to 1890.

- Q. Did you know that they thought the author of the book was a former tutor at Scotch Hall?
- A. . . . I never heard of a Mr. Throop, but there was a Mr. Thorpe who came to tutor Uncle [William Rhodes Capehart].
- Q. About what year?
- A. I don't know. Uncle was about ten years old [1846] when he was sent to Edenton to school.
- Q. When he had a tutor, was he younger or older?
- A. Oh, he was older. It was after he was at school in Edenton . . . [making the year about 1849].
- Q. Where did Mr. Thorpe come from?
- A. From the North, somewhere.
- Q. How did he happen to come to Scotch Hall?
- A. Grandpa [the first George Washington Capehart] used to write his commission merchant to send him a tutor.²⁴
- Q. How do you know these things?
- A. I've heard Grandma [Susan Bryan Capehart (1815-1883)] tell about the tutor that got beat up by Jim Tayloe, and didn't have but one suit of clothes and had to go to bed so Aunt Betty could mend them. Aunt Betty was Grandma's sewing woman.
- Q. Who was Jim Tayloe?
- A. He was the son of Uncle Tayloe who lived in Washington, N. C., and he was such a bad boy that his mother thought it would be good for him to study with Uncle. It might improve him. So he was sent to Scotch Hall for that reason. I remember Grandma telling of the time Jim Tayloe and Mr. Thorpe got into an argument and Jim climbed out the window, yelling for Sam, the dining-room boy. Grandma heard him and went out in the yard and ordered him back in the school-room, which is the second-floor room over the dining room. And they didn't have any more trouble that I know of. I reckon that was the time Mr. Thorpe had his britches torn, and had to go to bed so Aunt Betty could mend them.
- Q. How do you happen to know this, when no one else seems to know anything about it?
- A. I reckon it's because I was with Grandma so much of the time and she used to tell me so many things.
- Q. Why doesn't Uncle George [brother of Mrs. Wells, the second George Washington Capehart and present owner of Scotch Hall] know these things?

²⁴ At that time, the principal Capehart commission merchant was Bill Elliott, with headquarters in Baltimore. There were others, too, in Boston and possibly Philadelphia, but their names have been lost. In *Bertie* the author speaks of a play he had seen in which "a gentleman advertises, or writes, for a private tutor" (p. 88).

A. Uncle George was just a little fellow when Grandma died—he wouldn't remember much that she said; besides he wouldn't have been with Grandma as much as I was.

We wonder why the novelist, whose *Lynde Weiss* relates several school pranks, did not use the Jim Tayloe episode in one of his novels. Perhaps the memory of it was too bitter. Nevertheless, the only really troubling detail of Mrs. Wells' recollections concerns, of course, the tutor's name. Since her memory is quite clear and accurate in other matters, the logical explanation is that, in eastern North Carolina parlance, the difficultly enunciated *Throop* was dropped to the easily pronounced *Thorpe* or some other such similar sound. This reasoning may also account for Thomas Bangs Thorpe's mistaken association with *Lynde Weiss*.

After he left North Carolina, a few of Throop's movements are traceable through dates in the novels. *Bertie* was signed from Philadelphia in December, 1850; *Lynde Weiss*, again from Philadelphia in February, 1852. Perhaps Throop traveled to Philadelphia from his teaching posts to conclude publication arrangements, and signed his prefaces from there. At any rate, he must have been in Georgia in 1853; for a poem of his, copied from the *Savannah Daily Morning News*, appeared in *The Spirit of the Times* in early January the following year. In this poem, "Fixing Up for Christmas!" one of the characters mentioned is Grief, the name Throop gave the personal servant in *Bertie*. From that time till his last years, the record is lost. Doubtless he was following his profession here and there in the South, most of the appointments, we suspect, of short duration. One report has him teaching at Kedron, West Virginia, prior to the Civil War.²⁵ There is nothing else known of him before or during the North-South struggle.

Later, in the early 1870's, Throop became a familiar figure in northeastern West Virginia.²⁶ Little was known there of

²⁵ Letter to the *Hampshire Review*, Romney, West Virginia, dated from Charleston, West Virginia, January 19, 1954, and written by E. B. Watson, who recalls that his mother so told him.

²⁶ For the West Virginia period of Throop's life, I am indebted particularly to Miss Margaret I. Keller, editor of *The Hampshire Review*, weekly newspaper of Romney, W. Va. She located the obituaries of Throop and

his early life, for he rarely spoke of it; but a few were aware that he had been reared near Lake Champlain and had spent much time in New England. Almost no one knew of his career as a novelist. He was rather a "mysterious stranger . . . about five feet, eleven inches, spare, with blue eyes, his brown hair turning gray. He wore a moustache."²⁷ In Hampshire County and nearby, he taught in various schools—Capon Valley, North River Mills, Gore, Jersey Mountain, and others—but rarely stayed till the end of the term. In 1876 at Old Kedron he conducted a normal for prospective teachers. At these places and elsewhere, those who sat under him later assumed prominent roles in the educational development of the region. They always considered Throop an efficient and highly educated instructor, a great teacher. An exception to his usual habit of leaving before the conclusion of the term was his sojourn at Bloomery Furnace, where he stuck it out even though the school had the reputation of being the worst in the county. As was the custom of the day, Throop collected tuition from his students or, boarding with their parents, deducted the fee from his bill. Occasionally he "curtained off one corner of his schoolroom and did light housekeeping there, when necessary, and often kept the coffee pot on the stove during school hours, which gave rise to the expression, 'Throop still has his coffee!'"²⁸ He always liked a glass of hot milk before retiring.

In addition to his fame as a teacher, Throop was locally acclaimed as a poet and song writer, highly proficient as a singer and musician. He composed much of the music which he used in his schoolwork, and many students copied the lyrics down in their notebooks. Songs still remembered are

inserted in her paper on January 13, 1954, a request for additional information. Those who quickly and generously responded are Mrs. Pearl Clark, Winchester, Va.; E. W. Noland and Rev. P. Stein Hockman, Romney, W. Va.; Floyd Hockman and Homer E. Hockman, Augusta, W. Va.; J. F. Hockman, Hoy, W. Va.; Robert J. Largent, Paw Paw, W. Va.; Mrs. Lillian Martin, Pleasant Dale, W. Va.; E. W. Michael, Bloomery, W. Va.; R. K. Taylor, Holloway, Ohio; and E. B. Watson, Charleston, W. Va. From all these sources I have attempted to arrange the details so that they present as chronological account as possible of Throop's last years.

²⁷ Maud Pugh, *Capon Valley, Its Pioneers and Their Descendants 1698 to 1940* (1946), II, 72. Hereafter cited as Maud Pugh, *Capon Valley*.

²⁸ Maud Pugh, *Capon Valley*, II, 73-74.

“The Billow,” “When My Ship Comes In,” “Follow Me,” “Lightly Row,” “Riding in a Sleigh,” “Hampshire County Girls,” and especially “Fairy Belle.” When he was no longer able to teach, he continued to have music classes in schools and churches.

But Throop was not a happy man. He had become an habitual drinker, generally silent and melancholy. His debility kept many parents from sending their children to his classes, though his pupils went unharmed; they simply smiled at this weakness as they did his other eccentricities. One who knew him recalls:

He was a frequent and welcome guest at my home in Slanesville, W. Va. He had one weakness, liquor, and often he would become despondent and would go on a “spree” for several weeks.

He used to come to my house when he was trying to sober up. My father, being a physician, would prescribe for him and help him straighten up.

As soon as he got back to normal, he would go back to his school. Sometimes he would go for many many months before indulging again. He never drank any while teaching.

I remember one night, when I was a young lad, I was in my father’s office, and Prof. Throop was there, just getting over one of his “sprees,” and he remarked to my father, “Doctor, I am not a drunkard, I am just a periodical drinker.”²⁹

During periods of despondency, after disappearing from the community for an interval, he would always return, bedraggled in appearance, his clothing torn. Like the doctor, his friends would help him get back in shape. Never, however, did he reveal where he had been.

What was the tragedy in Throop’s life? An unresolved quarrel with his father? His failure to achieve renown in his profession? For it was said he had once held a professorship in a New England college and had been dismissed. Was it a constitutional instability? His inefficacy as a man of literature? The very denial of his name as a poet and novelist (as illustrated in this paper)? Or was it the unrelenting remembrance of some torment he had experienced? Another who vividly recalls Throop tells this story:

²⁹ Letter to me from R. K. Taylor, Holloway, Ohio, January 31, 1954.

One evening [about 1890] he told me to come to his room. I did so. He told me that he was convicted and tried for murdering a man who boarded at the same hotel he did. He was convicted and sentenced to be hung but 3 weeks before the date of his execution the man that did the murder robbed a bank and [was] mortally wounded and before he died he confessed to killing the man and of course [he, Throop] was set free. He showed me a book he wrote about his trial and conviction of the murder. It was written under the name of Thorne not Throop. It was a book of about 350 pages and was about the size of McGuffey's Sixth Reader. It was a very interesting book.³⁰

In his old age, we wonder, was Throop beginning to imagine more than poems and novels? But was his tragedy, perhaps, none of these things, but instead an emotional one which kept his spirits always in some stygian depression? For Throop had been married. When asked about it, he always said that his wife was "extinct."³¹ After Throop and Jessie Grayson (the name he gave his heroine in the novel *Lynde Weiss*) had parted, a son was born about whose existence the father was unaware. Several years before his death Throop learned for the first time that he had a son living and prospering under the name Edward H. Palmer. Throop's wife had remarried; her son had been adopted by his stepfather, whose name he had taken; and in the intervening years he had become prominent in a Boston paper merchandising company.³² About 1888, after Palmer learned of the impecunious condition of his father, he arranged a meeting and made provision for an allowance of \$20 a month on which the elderly man could live.

The financial problems settled, Throop chose to spend his remaining days in Bloomery, the site of his last school. A small hamlet in eastern Hampshire County, the village of Bloomery had in those days "an iron-furnace, a woollen-mill, a tannery, 3 stores, and mines of brown hematite."³³

³⁰ E. W. Michael, Bloomery, W. Va., to E. W. Noland, Romney, W. Va., January 27, 1954. No such book by Thorne has been identified.

³¹ Maud Pugh, *Capon Valley*, II, 73.

³² F. H. Winter, of Carter, Rice and Company, Boston, wrote me on March 2, 1954, that Palmer's son Harry, now dead, was also connected with the company. There is a grandson, too, but his address is not known.

³³ *Lippincott's Gazetteer of the World* (1893), 664.

At first Throop lived with the Kellys in Sandy Hollow, then at the Heironimus home. In his quarters he had many books, which he read and studied. He was heard to express his regret that he had not gone into the ministry—and the years slipped away quietly and serenely.

On Wednesday, March 4, 1896, *The Hampshire Review*, at the county seat in Romney, contained this account of the "Death of Geo. H. Throop":

A telegram was received here by Prof H. H. Johnson, on Monday, stating that Geo. H. Throop was found dead in bed, that morning, at Bloomery, where he has been living for the past three or four years.

Prof. Throop was well known in this county, particularly among the older teachers in the public schools. He was a New York man, by birth and was a fine scholar and an accomplished musician. He was a kind hearted, gentlemanly man, but had the misfortune to be addicted to strong drink, which prevented him from occupying the place in the world his talents and education fitted him for.

He has a son in Boston, a member of the wholesale paper firm of Carter, Rice and Co. Further than that we know nothing of his family.

The following Wednesday, March 11, *The Review* headed its news item "An Aged Pilgrim at Rest":

George H. Throop closed his earthly career on the 2nd inst., at the residence of G. H. Heironimus, in Bloomery, W. Va., and was buried from his residence on the 4th. Almost eighty years of age, he had found a pleasant home in that Christian family for a longer period than he had spent in any one place since emerging from his childhood's home. A weary-footed wanderer for many years, he had taught school in nearly half the States of the Union. An accomplished scholar, he had made some ventures in authorship. He was the author of two or three works of fiction, mostly composed of personal experiences picked up in a very varied course of life. He had been a sailor and a soldier, as well as a pedagogue and author. His last resting place is beside the beautiful Indian stream he loved so well, and of which he has celebrated in delightful verse. It will be marked by a suitable stone raised by an enlightened sense of duty and affection.

H. H. J.

But for sixty years no stone was raised to Throop in the cemetery of the old Presbyterian Church on Bloomery Run, where he requested to be buried.³⁴ No tangible evidence of his life remains except several rare copies of three long-forgotten novels, and the unforgettable esteem of his students who always were ready to say he was a "great teacher." His books and papers have not been located.

It may be that, with much more effort in pursuing clues and a bit of audacity in interpreting the novels, we could fill in many of the now-vacant years of Throop's life. The reader of this paper, with what has been put before him, may have himself indulged in some valid interpretation. Nevertheless, the initial purpose of our search has been simply to find the name of him who wrote *Nag's Head* and *Bertie*, the first North Carolina novels of "local color," and to learn a few facts of the author's life. These things we have done. The next step, of course, is to read the two novels—charming though naive little stories about eastern Carolina more than a hundred years ago. It is regrettable that their rarity prevents our pleasure. Even so, for the present, the mysterious case of George Higby Throop is closed.

The investigation illustrates a situation different from the problem usually encountered in establishing authorship. Usually it is the puzzle of an enigmatically or erroneously worded title page which must be solved. Here the title-page wording is correct, the information gathered from references not only false but demanding time-consuming activity to refute.

³⁴ "There are two graves just inside of the gate that leads to the church and Prof. Throop's grave is nearest the gate to the right." Letter to me from E. W. Noland, Romney, W. Va., March 3, 1954. In August, 1955, the Pioneer Teachers Association of Hampshire County, West Virginia, ordered a marker to be placed at the Throop grave.

THE MOVEMENT OF NEGROES FROM NORTH CAROLINA, 1876-1894

BY FRENISE A. LOGAN

The movement of Negroes from the South after Reconstruction to other areas of the United States and outside the country was the result of socio-economic and political conditions which had plagued that area since 1865. The great urge to migrate was not confined to any one Southern state. The factors causing the movement were southwide, among them being the general restriction of civil rights, the extravagant rumors of "good living" and high wages in the states outside the South, and the discontent brought on by the operation of the land tenure and credit system.

North Carolina in 1876 and in the years following was but a facet of this southwide situation. Indeed, the determination of the whites "to redeem the state from ignorant Negro, carpetbag and scalawag rule" as manifested in the frenzied white supremacy campaign of that year caused wholesale trepidation among the Negroes of North Carolina. And this fear, coupled with the complete Democrat victory in the November elections of 1876, led a large portion of that group to evince more than a fleeting inquisitiveness in the feasibility of emigration. As a matter of fact, the apprehension that "legislation under Democratic auspices" would be inimical to their rights and interest became so pronounced during the first months of 1877 that a Democratic member of the state legislature, Montford McGehee of Person County, felt compelled to assure the Negroes that the duty of government was not only to protect all its citizens, "but," he added, "a wise government will use all the legal methods to impress its citizens with its readiness and willingness to protect."¹ The editor of a prominent Democratic paper in the "black city" of Tarboro underscored McGehee's words when he told the Negroes that the Democratic party of North Carolina was not only in a position to be the best friend they ever had, but that it would be.²

¹ *Greensboro Patriot*, January 10, 1877.

² *Tarboro Southerner*, January 12, 1877.

The Negroes, however, demanded more than mere words; and when members of the Democratic party early in 1877 introduced on the floor of the General Assembly bills "to rid the eastern counties of black domination," the Negro electorate of that section nearly swamped its "tan" representatives in the House with petitions on colonization and emigration.³ Following the passage of the county government law on February 27, 1877, a group of Negro citizens of Burke County wrote Governor Vance a letter seeking his aid in assisting them to colonize. In reply, the governor said:

Your note received in which you express your desire for my influence in aid of a plan for the colonization of your race, and your great fears of oppression. I cannot give aid to any such scheme. I think your fears are idle. So far as I am concerned, and the party with which I act, I know that there is no intention to oppose your people or deprive them of a single legal right.⁴

It appears that the Negroes of North Carolina were not reassured by the words of the governor, and in the years between 1877 and 1880 an increasing number quit the state. Indeed, by the beginning of the latter year, the movement had assumed such proportions that James H. Harris, a prominent Negro politician of North Carolina, felt it necessary to issue a call for a state meeting of "representative colored men" for the expressed purpose "to investigate the causes contributing to the emigration of colored people from the state." The meeting, which assembled at Raleigh in mid-January of 1880, enumerated six grievances "of which the colored do justly complain."

1. especially [in] the rural districts, where the land owners exact exorbitant rents for their lands and necessary supplies, thereby sucking the life's blood from the colored sons of toil.
2. That the colored people have just cause for complaint of the

³ The petitions came chiefly from Nash, Franklin, Halifax and Granville counties. *The Observer* (Raleigh), February 8, 1877.

⁴ *Greensboro Patriot*, March 21, 1877. For a discussion of the "Negro aspects" of the county government law, see William A. Mabry, "The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction," *Trinity College Historical Society Papers*, Serial XXII, No. 2 (1940), 17-22.

nefarious law known as the landlord and tenant act as amended by the legislature of 1876-77, thereby opening a broad channel for the unscrupulous landlords to defraud their colored tenants out of their earnings . . .

3. That they complain of the justices of the peace being elected by the legislature, and from a class of citizens who too often have no sympathy with the colored laborer, and who are appointed against the will of the people, thereby taking from them their constitutional privileges of electing their own officers . . .
4. That, in many of the counties, colored men are not permitted to act as jurors, notwithstanding the bill of rights declare that every man shall have the right to be tried by a jury of his peers.
5. That in all the school districts, they are denied the right to select their own committeemen, and are thus deprived of the privilege to select and appoint their own school teachers.
6. That, in many counties of this State, under the operation of the present judiciary system, colored people do not get fair and impartial trials, and that evidence that convicts a colored person fails to convict a white person charged with similar offenses.⁵

These grievances, although formulated in 1880, had been long in existence and apparently explain why large numbers of North Carolina Negroes rejected the advice of a Negro Baptist newspaper, the *National Monitor*, which in the previous year had urged them to work and pray where they were and "to trust in God for the rest."⁶

Some North Carolina Negroes, particularly during the first ten years of Democratic rule after 1876, evidenced an interest in Liberia, and it was, perhaps, inevitable that they would turn to the fading American Colonization Society for aid. Founded in 1817, this organization, although receiving the support of public and private agencies, had been unable to carry out effectively its purpose—the colonizing of American Negroes in Africa. Thus by the 1850's as a result of internal dissension, spirited opposition on the part of the free Negroes, and the cost of transporting and maintaining the emigrants, the American Colonization Society ceased to be a major fac-

⁵ *Raleigh Signal*, January 21, 1880.

⁶ *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), May 1, 1879.

tor in the efforts to solve the problem of what to do with American Negroes.⁷ Nonetheless, it continued even after the Civil War to urge and assist Negroes to emigrate to Liberia. In the 1870's, therefore, following the rise to power of the Democrats in all the Southern states, a small number of Negroes showed some interest in Liberian emigration, and turned to the American Colonization Society.⁸

The extent of that interest with reference to the Negroes of North Carolina can be seen through an examination of the letters they wrote to the American Colonization Society during the period under consideration. Although not extensive, there were small groups, both in the rural and urban areas, who "talked up going to Liberia." In Charlotte in 1877, for example, the talk of a Liberian exodus from that city prompted the president of Johnson C. Smith (then Biddle) University, Dr. S. Mattoon, to submit a series of eight questions to the Society, hoping "thereby to enable the Negroes to act understandingly or to abandon the agitation of the question." The questions covered such matters as the cost of transportation to Liberia, aid to individual Negroes by the Society, and by the Liberian Government, and conditions aboard ship. The president stated that he was deeply interested in the matter of colonization, but he thought it important that the Negroes "should know just what they can do, and not spend time on that which cannot be accomplished."⁹

Although the American Colonization Society's records do not reveal whether a reply was ever sent to Dr. Mattoon, some interest and agitation in the Liberian exodus continued.¹⁰ Local mass meetings were held in such towns as Concord,

⁷ John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1947), 234-238.

⁸ See, for example, Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration* (Washington, 1918), 147-159. Hereafter cited as Woodson, *Negro Migration*. See also George Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1952), 153-168.

⁹ Letter dated July 4, 1877, American Colonization Society Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Hereafter referred to as American Colonization Society Papers.

¹⁰ American Colonization Society Papers, letters from E. Etheridge, Colerain, Bertie County, July 24, 1880; Dennis Thompson, New Bern, July 26, 1880; James A. Wright, Monroe, January 20, 1883; E. Gough, Charlotte, January 29, 1883; G. B. Green, Forestville, July 1, 1885; A. Davidson, Hunterville, March 6, 1887.

Durham, and Raleigh,¹¹ and at least one state-wide Liberian emigrant mass meeting was scheduled for August 15, 1877, in Greensboro.¹²

Despite the meetings, the large masses of Negroes of the state manifested little interest in the movement to Liberia, for less than 400 left North Carolina. According to the records of the American Colonization Society, between 1876 and 1894 only 318 Negroes left North Carolina for the African country. For several reasons the movement of Negroes from North Carolina, as well as from other Southern and Northern states, to Liberia was inconsiderable. In the first place, Negro leadership was generally hostile to the scheme, and in the second place, many of the whites, especially those with agricultural interests, for obvious reasons opposed emigration to Liberia.

From the outset, Negro leaders of North Carolina spoke out against the Liberian movement. In 1877, Bishop J. W. Hood of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, a bitter foe of the African exodus, apparently made a strong anti-migration speech in Concord, for the white newspaper of that city editorially observed that "the Bishop is certainly severe in his denunciation of colonization, and the vivid picture which he drew of black Liberia, with her thousand contagious diseases, the sweltering heat of a tropical sun, and her poor, half dead population, withering away like dew before the morning sun, was not calculated to inspire many sable bosoms with the desire to migrate."¹³ Among the other Negro leaders, James H. Harris and James O'Hara were equally as vociferous in opposing the Liberian emigration.¹⁴

The hostility of the Negro leaders of the State, coupled with determined white opposition in the agricultural sections of eastern North Carolina, considerably reduced the number of potential emigrants to the African country. That the white attitude toward Liberian emigration was motivated largely

¹¹ American Colonization Society Papers, letters from P. P. Erwin, Concord, April 27, 1877; Albert B. Williams, Raleigh, February 1, 1877; and W. L. Kornegay, Durham, October 8, 1888.

¹² American Colonization Society Papers, circular dated August 15, 1877.

¹³ Quoted in *Tarboro Southerner*, February 23, 1877.

¹⁴ See *Raleigh Register*, November 1, 1877.

by economic interest may be seen by the numerous editorials in the Democratic press of eastern North Carolina deploring the possible loss of "laborers just on the eve of pitching our crops."¹⁵ The threatened reduction in the large surplus of cheap labor caused one paper to declare frankly that the whites ought not to sit idly by "and watch it destroyed."¹⁶ Actually the whites made efforts to discourage the "back to Africa" movement. As early as 1876, Charles H. Williams, a Negro from Seaboard, North Carolina, wrote the American Colonization Society that "demagogues and unprincipled white men" in his community were telling the Negroes that they were emigrating to a land where the practice of "inhuman barbarism" and the existence of slavery prevailed.¹⁷ Another method, possibly more realistic and certainly equally as effective in preventing the Negroes from emigrating, was simply to prohibit the Negroes from selling their crops before harvest time. And even if the Negro tenants were permitted to sell "in the field," the whites would not pay them a just and fair price. In short, the whites felt it was not economically practical to allow the Negroes, particularly in the rural areas of eastern North Carolina, to go to Africa or anywhere else. There was much truth in the bitter complaint of one Negro: "The whites do not want us to go, and will not do anything to assist us that we might go."¹⁸

Though the above reasons partly explain the failure of the Liberian colonization during the period under study, the major factor was simply that the bulk of the dissatisfied Negroes of North Carolina, notwithstanding their approval of emigration, preferred to live elsewhere in the United States rather than in Africa.

As it has been pointed out, the return of former Confederate leaders to political power, recurrent agricultural depressions, exploitation by landlords and merchants, and extravagant rumors of "good living" and high wages outside

¹⁵ *Warrenton Gazette*, January 23, 1880. See also the *Tarboro Southerner* and the *Kinston Journal* for the months of December, 1879, and January, 1880.

¹⁶ *Warrenton Gazette*, January 23, 1880.

¹⁷ American Colonization Society Papers, letter dated September 14, 1876.

¹⁸ American Colonization Society Papers, letter from Charles W. Jones, Pasquotank County, July 28, 1876.

the South encouraged the movement of Negroes from that section. The first large inter-state migration from the South after the Reconstruction period occurred in 1879. Thousands of Negroes left the Southern states, particularly Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. Under the leadership of Moses Singleton of Tennessee and Henry Adams of Louisiana, the movement was channeled largely into Kansas. And although the exuberant claims by both men relative to the number of Negroes they sent into Kansas may be open to question, there can be little doubt that they lured thousands from the South. The concern with which the whites viewed this movement is further proof of its extent and scope.¹⁹

Although some of the Negroes emigrating to Kansas in the 1879-1880 exodus were undoubtedly from North Carolina, it appears that the bulk of North Carolina Negroes moved into Indiana.²⁰ Over a thirty-day period, Johnston and Wayne counties reportedly lost 6,000 to that state.²¹ Little wonder, then, that the *Indianapolis Sentinel* was aghast over "the large number of negroes" who poured "daily" into the city.²² The Negro who has been credited with master-minding this early exodus from North Carolina, Sam L. Perry, was particularly active in Greene, Lenoir, Wayne, Wilson, Edgecombe, and Halifax counties. The white newspapers of the state were quick to brand the activities of this Negro as "politically inspired." They said that Republicans were intent on carrying Indiana in the 1880 presidential election; hence the effort to pack the state with Negro Republicans from North Carolina.²³ In answer to this charge, one out-of-state newspaper observed that "the colored emigrants know whether or not they have been deceived. . . . They know, too, whether the laws of North Carolina bear hard upon them or

¹⁹ Woodson, *Negro Migration*, 127-146; Walter L. Fleming, "'Pap' Singleton, the Moses of the Colored Exodus," *American Journal of Sociology* (July, 1909), 61-83; John G. Van Deusen, "The Exodus of 1879," *Journal of Negro History*, XX (April, 1930), 111-129.

²⁰ For a study of the Negro Exodus from North Carolina in 1879, see Joseph H. Taylor, "The Great Migration from North Carolina in 1879," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXI (January, 1954), 18-33.

²¹ *Wilmington Morning Star*, January 15, 1880.

²² Quoted in the *Wilmington Morning Star*, January 7, 1880.

²³ *Chatham Record* (Pittsboro), December 11, 18, 1879; February 19, 1880; *Lenoir Topic*, January 8, 1879; *Kinston Journal*, February 12, 1880.

not, whether they receive pay for their labor are are treated humanely by their white employers.”²⁴ Whatever the motives, political or otherwise, Perry’s activities caused one paper to confess that the “exodus feeling is worked up to a fever heat, and in some sections nearly all are leaving.”²⁵ With the aid of a Negro preacher named Williams, Perry “worked up” this “fever heat” by picturing Indiana as a paradise for Negro laborers, and depicting most graphically the wrongs heaped upon the Negro farmers of North Carolina, particularly by the Landlord and Tenant Act. In support of Perry’s denunciations of this law, a contemporary newspaper wrote that as a result of it, it was no secret why the Negroes were “eager to leave North Carolina for homes in the West.” It went on to say that “if the white owners of land in North Carolina have taken this method to get rid of their colored neighbors, they are in a fair way to accomplish it.”²⁶ Perry, then, appeared to be attacking a real grievance.

The whites, realizing the wide following of Negroes that Perry was amassing, attempted to counter his charges by admitting that although some of what he said was true, he was greatly exaggerating the entire matter. Thus, the *Kinston Journal*, in reply to a charge by Perry that the whites cheated the Negroes out of their wages, declared that “we would pay no attention to such a statement, but for the fact that the mass of the crowd showed by their actions that they endorsed the sentiments, showing the deep prejudice existing in their minds against the white people. . . .”²⁷ The paper admitted, however, that perhaps a few whites were guilty of Perry’s charges, but that it was demagogical to infer that this was a general practice.²⁸

William H. Kitchin, the white United States Representative from the Second Congressional District of North Caro-

²⁴ “The Exodus into Indiana,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 49 (January 17, 1880), 362. Hereafter referred to as “The Exodus into Indiana.”

²⁵ *Kinston Journal*, December 4, 1879.

²⁶ “The Exodus into Indiana,” 362.

²⁷ *Kinston Journal*, July 10, 1878.

²⁸ *Kinston Journal*, July 10, 1878.

lina—the so called “black second”²⁹—who had won a questionable victory over the Negro, James O’Hara, in the 1878 congressional election, denied the assertion by Perry that the Negroes in North Carolina were given “the bad treatment.” He said that “the very best relations existed between the whites and blacks, and there was never any complaint of ill treatment by the latter, as on the contrary, they said they were perfectly content.”³⁰ Ample contemporary evidence, some of which has been cited in this study seems to refute in a most convincing fashion this very optimistic picture of Negro-white relations in North Carolina in the early 1880’s. Another example may be cited as a case in point. The *Warrenton Gazette* opined that “the exodus . . . shows a bad state of affairs; it shows that they [the Negroes] are dissatisfied, and whenever this is the case the labor is unreliable.”³¹

Although the 1878-1880 emigration fever in the Second Congressional District of North Carolina was the last that threatened to depopulate that portion of North Carolina until 1889, the interstate movement of the Negroes was not halted. The continuing agricultural depression and economic exploitation of the Negro farm laborers served as a steady stimulant to either permanent or temporary emigration. Thus, we learn from the white newspapers of eastern North Carolina of the persistent trickle of Negroes quitting the state, interestingly enough not for the West, but for the deep South. On January 7, 1880, the *Wilmington Morning Star* reported that “five car loads of colored people passed through here yesterday morning en route to Georgia, where they are to work in the turpentine lands.”³² A year later 250 farm hands left Edgecombe County to work in the turpentine forests of South Carolina for \$200 a year, “expenses paid and rations furnished.”³³ The *News and Observer* reported in 1883 “a very considerable exodus of colored men

²⁹ Composed of Edgecombe, Wilson, Greene, Wayne, Lenoir, Jones, Craven, Northampton, and Halifax counties (Public Laws, 1876-1877, 275, sec. 12 Act of March 12, 1877).

³⁰ *Tarboro Southerner*, January 15, 1880.

³¹ *Warrenton Gazette*, January 9, 1880; and the *Raleigh Signal*, January 28, 1880.

³² *Wilmington Morning Star*, January 7, 1880.

³³ *Tarboro Southerner*, January 27, 1881.

from the eastern part of the state to the newly opened turpentine fields of Georgia and Alabama, and that this year these men are doing what they have never done before—taking the women with them which course seems to indicate their purpose to remain.”³⁴

The second largest, if not the largest, exodus of Negroes from North Carolina occurred in 1889. Similar to its predecessor, the causes were the “oppressive” mortgage and lien bond system, the agricultural depression (of 1888) coupled with generally lower wages paid to Negro agricultural workers, the county government law, and the enactment of a new series of racial legislation. The immediate cause of the 1889 exodus, however, was the passage of the 1889 election law by the General Assembly. That the statute would energize the emigration movement was voiced by the *Raleigh Signal* approximately a week before the bill’s final reading. The *Signal* warned the Democrats to “think twice before committing the State to a policy which may strip the land of its best, most reliable, most peaceable laborers.”³⁵ On the morning of the day the bill was ratified, the same paper again advised the General Assembly not to pass it, for “the Negroes of the State are alarmed and indignant at this proposition to disfranchise them, and if this bill becomes a law many thousands of colored people will leave the State during the next two years.”³⁶ On March 21, 1889, two weeks after the law was voted through the state legislature, the *Signal* once more spoke of an aroused Negro citizenry:

The colored people are becoming very much excited in regard to moving out of the State. The more intelligent class say an attempt has been made to disfranchise the poor and uneducated man, both white and colored. . . . Therefore they are advising every family to leave the State that can raise the means to do so. This is the fruits of the recent unconstitutional new election law.³⁷

³⁴ *News and Observer* (Raleigh), January 30, 1883. These migrations from North Carolina to the deep South re-enforce the theory that economics as well as a denial of civil rights prompted the withdrawal of Negroes from the state.

³⁵ *Raleigh Signal*, February 28, 1889.

³⁶ *Raleigh Signal*, March 7, 1889.

³⁷ *Raleigh Signal*, March 21, 1889.

The first mass reaction by the Negroes to the election law of 1889 came about six weeks after its enactment. On April 26 of that year, as a result of a call by a Negro minister, L. L. Ferrebee, a large group of Negroes assembled in Raleigh with "but one sentiment expressed and that was in favor of organizing and going to the Southwest."³⁸ The intense interest of the Negroes over the convention was noted by the *News and Observer* when it observed that on the morning of the opening session, "the colored populace was present in battalions . . . the old women and the children were there too."³⁹ The journal also pointed out that the eastern part of the state was "heavily represented."⁴⁰

Under the chairmanship of J. C. Price, "a coal black" Negro,⁴¹ the convention organized, calling itself the North Carolina Emigration Association, and adopted resolutions which declared that the situation of the Negroes in the state "was more precarious now than ever before; that they were subjected to legislative enactments which kept the Negro at the mercy of the landlord; that they were at a disadvantage in every contest; that when the judges were just, the juries were not; that the disposition to divide the educational fund in a proportion to amounts paid in by the races was unjust, and a direct attempt to keep the Negroes ignorant; that the county government system was impious and unjust and was especially designed to keep Negroes from participating in government; that in every campaign, the Democrats proclaimed that this was a white man's country and that the Negro must be kept down."⁴² As a consequence of the above resolutions, a further resolution provided for the appointment of a state committee to visit a desirable section of the United States "seek out a good place, lay claim to the lands, consult with the President of the United

³⁸ *State Chronicle* (Raleigh), May 3, 1889.

³⁹ *News and Observer*, April 27, 1889.

⁴⁰ *News and Observer*, April 27, 1889.

⁴¹ Hope Chamberlain, *This Was Home* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 263.

⁴² *Proceeding of the [North Carolina] State Emigration Convention*, Raleigh, North Carolina, April 26, 27, 1889. See also the *State Chronicle*, May 3, 1889.

States” and report to the organization before they take any definite action in moving.⁴³

Of these resolutions, the *News and Observer* caustically remarked that “from the character of some . . . adopted, level headed citizens, white and black, will conclude that it is high time for the members of the convention at least to emigrate and to the greatest possible distance.”⁴⁴ Notwithstanding this effort to dismiss the convention as of no great import, the whites of Raleigh were impressed by the determined seriousness of the Negroes. Again the *News and Observer*: “The Negroes to all appearances are preparing to sweep the whole population of their race from the State and land them in the far west.”⁴⁵ The paper then attempted to assure its readers that the Negroes were “moved by a dissatisfaction which we are sure very few of them could explain and fewer still show to be based on any reasonable ground either of the undesirability of the present condition of affairs in North Carolina so far as they are concerned.”⁴⁶

“Reasonable ground” or not, nearly 50,000 Negroes emigrated from North Carolina in 1889. In most cases, the destination was Kansas, Arkansas, Texas, or Oklahoma.⁴⁷ On November 14, 1889, the *New Bern Daily Journal* painted the following picture of a group of “exodusters” preparing to quit the state:

At Kinston yesterday the town was crowded with negroes anxious to shake the North Carolina dust off their shoes and try their fortunes in some other state. It is said that there were about 1,500 enthusiastic “exodusters” in the town. At the depot an interesting spectacle presented itself in the huge mass of luggage piled on the platform. Old meat boxes, various other boxes, barrels, trunks of all shapes and sizes, were piled ten feet high on the platform. The train could not accommodate all who wanted to go . . .⁴⁸

⁴³ *State Chronicle*, May 3, 1889.

⁴⁴ *News and Observer*, April 27, 1889.

⁴⁵ *News and Observer*, April 27, 1889.

⁴⁶ *News and Observer*, April 27, 1889.

⁴⁷ *Annual Cyclopedia*, XIV, 1889, 612; *Lenoir Topic*, January 22, 1890; *Tarboro Southerner*, December 11, 1890.

⁴⁸ *New Bern Daily Journal*, November 14, 1889.

Two weeks later when another 500 left Kinston, the *Tarboro Southerner* conceded that "the exodus fever seems to be very prevalent in that section."⁴⁹ The towns of Tarboro and Wilson also were stricken with the "exodus fever." In the former, the *Southerner* received a large number of complaints from the white citizens "about the large crowd of negroes obstructing the sidewalks when talking with emigrant agents and their lieutenants."⁵⁰ The movement from Tarboro continued on into January of 1890, for on January 2, the *Southerner* reported that "another contingent for Texas left this morning . . . not many as before, but still too many."⁵¹

The opinion of the North Carolina whites on the exodus of Negroes from the state was divided. Daniels states that the large landlords in the eastern part of North Carolina were extremely alarmed over the movement since the Negroes were the main source of the labor supply for their "broad acres."⁵² It is, therefore, not surprising to observe that they employed various methods to halt the emigrations. One such method was the newspaper. Some of the white press in eastern North Carolina sought to dissuade the Negroes from emigrating by picturing the plight of those already in Kansas and Indiana in the worst possible manner. For example, the *Wilmington Morning Star* wrote:

Nine of the negro "exodusters" from North Carolina have died of scarlet fever, and many others are sick. The rascals who beguiled the ignorant and credulous negroes to leave the Sunny South for the bleak winds and deep snows of Kansas, deserves to die of scarlet fever, or anything else that is bad.⁵³

Terrible pictures were painted of Indiana. The *Tarboro Southerner* was of the opinion that,

The most heartless atrocity ever perpetrated on an ignorant and deluded people was the exodus movement from the Second Congressional District to Indiana. Agents and missionaries were

⁴⁹ *Tarboro Southerner*, November 28, December 12, 1889; *Lenoir Topic*, January 22, 1890.

⁵⁰ *Tarboro Southerner*, December 19, 1889.

⁵¹ *Tarboro Southerner*, January 2, 1890.

⁵² Josephus Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor* (Chapel Hill, 1939), 181.

⁵³ *Wilmington Morning Star*, January 6, April 7, 1880.

sent amongst them to fill their heads with delusive tales about the price of labor and improved living generally in Indiana—all false as hell in its blackness.⁵⁴

The paper went on to say that “even Perry, the colored instrument, who seduced so many, is struck with awe at the magnitude of his crime. . . . He told the Senate committee if he had two lots, the one in hell, and the other in Indiana, he’d sell out the latter and live in the former.”⁵⁵ Under the title of “A Returned Exoduster,” the *Goldsboro Messenger* quoted a Negro woman, Maria Bryant, as saying that the North Carolina Negroes in Indianapolis “were treated like dogs.”⁵⁶

The *Wilmington Star* quoted at length a letter written by “a Presbyterian colored preacher on the exodus” who described the migration as “the most grievous and saddest display of ignorance, indolence and improvidence” he had ever witnessed. He went on to say that in North Carolina “the colored people have a good chance and a good climate and yet some want to go to Indiana and freeze to death for want of food, clothing and work.”⁵⁷ The *Tarboro Southerner* reprinted in full a letter from James B. Robinson, a Negro who left Tarboro for Arkansas. From Little Rock, Robinson wrote:

In Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, people from North Carolina are faring bad. . . . Tell all who want to come West to pay their way, if they don’t, hell fire will be their portion. I have not the time to tell you about Mississippi; but tell all to keep away from there.⁵⁸

Thus a large portion of the white press of the state made serious effort to discourage the movement of the Negroes from North Carolina not only by picturing the horrors of “the Nawth,” but by reiterating the plea to the colored that “their true home was among the Southern whites, who are the only people under Heaven who understand them and

⁵⁴ *Tarboro Southerner*, March 4, 1880.

⁵⁵ *Tarboro Southerner*, March 4, 1880.

⁵⁶ Quoting the *Chatham Record*, January 29, 1880.

⁵⁷ *Wilmington Morning Star*, January 13, 1880.

⁵⁸ *Tarboro Southerner*, December 26, 1889.

feel kindly for them.”⁵⁹ Similar feelings were expressed by other white papers in the “black counties.”⁶⁰

Supporting the white press in its attempt to keep North Carolina Negroes “at home” were the Negro leaders of the state. Indeed, the majority of the Negro leaders of the state appeared lukewarm toward *all* emigration schemes. This was so in spite of the strenuous emigration and colonization effort of John H. Williamson. On December 9, 1877, Williamson, a Negro member from Franklin County, in the lower house of the 1876-1877 session, introduced a resolution requesting and instructing North Carolina’s senators and representatives in Washington to urge the passage of a law setting apart territory beyond the Missouri river “for the sole and exclusive use and occupation of the colored race.”⁶¹ Williamson said that he introduced the resolution because he considered the legislation and policy of the whites hostile to the Negroes, and that the members of his race could not hope for anything like justice in North Carolina. In addition, he declared that “the origins of the negro race, his color, physical formation, ignorance and poverty formed the principal hobby for Democratic politicians to indulge in during political excitement.”⁶²

Two months after the initial introduction, Williamson’s proposal was made the order of the day in the House. The lengthy period between its introduction and consideration, instead of dampening, appeared to have whetted the curiosity of the Negroes of Raleigh, for “when the hour arrived the galleries and a portion of the lobbies were packed by a dense crowd of colored people of both sexes.”⁶³ During the debate, Williamson, apparently, made a brilliant speech in support of his resolution, for a white correspondent who covered the debate on the resolution wrote that the Negro “made a tearing political speech, in which he dwelt upon the wrongs of his race in not receiving their share of political

⁵⁹ *News and Observer*, May 1, 1889.

⁶⁰ See for example, the *Tarboro Southerner*, December 15, 1876, February 9, 1877, January 16, 1890; *Warrenton Gazette*, February 9, 1877; *Carolina Watchman*, January 7, 1886.

⁶¹ *House Journal*, 1876-1877, 115; *Greensboro Patriot*, February 14, 1877.

⁶² *Greensboro Patriot*, February 14, 1877; *Tarboro Southerner*, February 16, 1877.

⁶³ *Greensboro Patriot*, February 14, 1877.

rights and honors . . .”⁶⁴ Although Williamson’s resolution was defeated sixty-eight to twenty-four,⁶⁵ the entire affair was described “as a big day, in the House, for our American citizens of African descent.”⁶⁶

Williamson’s stand on emigration was atypical rather than typical of the Negro politicians. Since their positions, to a large extent, depended upon Negro voters, they naturally took a conservative attitude toward the movement of Negroes from North Carolina. In keeping with this sentiment, on September 17, 1877, James H. Harris, “in conjunction with other leading colored men” of the state, issued a call for a state convention “to consider the educational, moral and national interest” of the Negro race, “and to devise some plan for our advancement in these respects.”⁶⁷ The meeting was held in Raleigh on October 18-19, with forty counties represented, and 130 representatives. Among the more prominent Negro leaders present were James H. Harris, J. T. Reynolds, James E. O’Hara, John H. Williamson, and W. P. Mabson.⁶⁸ Under the chairmanship of James H. Harris, the convention passed a resolution opposing as well as considering “all colonizing schemes impracticable and should be discouraged.”⁶⁹

In addition to the active opposition to Negro emigration by the Negro politicians, the Negro church and press of North Carolina also sought to discourage it. Thus the organ of the colored Baptist, the *National Monitor*, urged the Negroes of the state “to stand their ground against the exodus,” and to work and pray where they were “and trust in God for the rest.”⁷⁰ The Baptist Educational and Missionary Convention of North Carolina, in its meeting, Octo-

⁶⁴ *Greensboro Patriot*, February 14, 1877.

⁶⁵ *Greensboro Patriot*, February 14, 1877.

⁶⁶ *Greensboro Patriot*, February 14, 1877.

⁶⁷ *Raleigh Register*, October 4, 1877.

⁶⁸ *Raleigh Register*, November 1, 1877.

⁶⁹ *Raleigh Register*, November 1, 1877. Three years later another group of “representative colored men” met in Raleigh on January 15-16 and resolved the “in view of the fact that large numbers of our laboring population are leaving our State, migrating to the Northwest, seeking homes among strangers and in an incongenial clime, we deem it a matter of most serious consideration to the people of North Carolina to arrest this gigantic evil, . . .” *Raleigh Signal*, January 21, 1880.

⁷⁰ Quoted in the *Carolina Watchman*, May 1, 1879.

ber 22-27, 1889, criticized "agents of sub-agents, who are doubtless prompted to agitate this movement solely for the fee that is in it."⁷¹ The Convention felt that the methods employed by these men were "impracticable, untimely, and injurious to our people." And then it added this significant statement:

We do not condemn emigration in a general sense; we believe in it. We commend it, when we can go as free people and upon our own accord, especially when we find a place where our condition can be bettered.⁷²

Speaking of the movement of some North Carolina Negroes to Arkansas, the *New York Age* failed "to see the desirability of Arkansas over North Carolina for the reception of any large number of colored men." It pointed out that,

The civil, political and industrial conditions of that state are identical with those of North Carolina and other Southern States where the evils complained of and sought to be overcome are present. It appears to us just like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire.⁷³

In addition to the use of propaganda by both the white and Negro press of the state as well as the concerted effort of Negro politicians, clergymen and merchants to dissuade the Negroes from leaving North Carolina, the General Assembly also attempted to stem the movement. Significantly, most of the measures tried by the legislature were designed to curb the activities of emigrant agents operating within the state. Thus on January 26, 1881, the state senate attempted to check the exertions of the emigrant agent by passing a bill which imposed a tax of \$500 on persons engaged in hiring or employing laborers "going beyond the limits of the State."⁷⁴ The bill failed to get through the House. On March 11 of the same year, however, the legislature passed an act which prohibited under heavy fines all

⁷¹ *Raleigh Signal*, November 14, 1889.

⁷² *Raleigh Signal*, November 14, 1889.

⁷³ *New York Age*, March 30, 1889.

⁷⁴ *Senate Journal*, 1881, 130.

individuals from inducing Negroes to quit the state who had agreed by writing or verbally to serve their employers. The penalty extended also to Negroes who allowed themselves to be "enticed away" by the ever active out-of-state agents thus violating their contracts.⁷⁵

Notwithstanding this bit of success, the opponents of Negro emigration continued to agitate for additional restrictive legislation as Negroes kept leaving the state. "Stay the tide of emigration," the *Tarboro Southerner* urged, "by making the dissension sewers and trouble breeders shut their mouths and cease their lying."⁷⁶ On April 3, 1890, the *Southerner* directly accused the emigrant agents of fomenting the exodus fever:

. . . short crops, bad treatment, politically or otherwise, had nothing to do with the movement. The glowing accounts of other localities and the seductive promises of the agents who received many dollars per head did the work.

As long as the negroes can be persuaded to leave in paying quantities, the agents will come for them. If the people do not want them to leave, the agents must be kept away.

In the meantime the radicals at the North will continue to assert and proclaim that the darkeys leave because of ill-treatment.⁷⁷

A year later a landlord in Perquimans County continued the complaint against the unceasing activity of the emigrant agents, and urged the legislature to curb them. He went on to say that,

We are bothered by people from other states persuading away our laborers, which ought to be a criminal offense. A good many never get back, and those who do return tend to demoralize those who did not go away.⁷⁸

Egged on by such proddings, the opponents of Negro emigration in the North Carolina legislature of 1891 were able to

⁷⁵ *Public Laws*, 1881, 303. Act of March 11, 1881. See also William H. Battle, *Battle's Revisal of the Public Statutes of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1873), 70.

⁷⁶ *Tarboro Southerner*, January 16, 1890.

⁷⁷ *Tarboro Southerner*, April 3, 1890.

⁷⁸ *Fifth Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 1891, 81.

push through both houses a bill which, as a result of its stringent provision, was "guaranteed to keep emigrants away." The law declared:

That the term "emigrant agent," as contemplated in this act, shall be construed to mean any person engaged in hiring laborers in this state to be employed beyond the limits of the same.

That any person shall be entitled to a license which shall be good for one year, upon payment into the state treasurer for the use of the state, of one thousand dollars, in each county in which he operates or solicits emigrants, for each year engaged.

That any person doing the business of an emigrant agent without first having obtained such a license shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be punished by fine not less than five hundred dollars and not more than five thousand dollars, or may be imprisoned in the county jail not less than four months, or confined in the state prison at hard labor not exceeding two years for each and every offense within the discretion of the court.⁷⁹

It is significant to note that this law applied only to those counties with large Negro populations.⁸⁰

Perhaps in anticipation of the deleterious effect the law would have on the activities of emigrant agents in the state, groups of Negroes made "last minute" departures. On January 8, 1891, for example, a month before the law went into operation, the *Greensboro Patriot* reported "a large immigration of negroes . . . into Oklahoma . . . where they expect to have freedom, social and political."⁸¹

If the supporters of the emigrant agent law viewed it as a "stopper" on the activities of the agents within the state, they were, apparently, destined to be disappointed. A year after its ratification a Greensboro newspaper deplored the seeming indifference of the state in enforcing its provisions. The paper declared that "at least two thousand negroes have left the state in the past six days and are being hired by hundreds by agents from Georgia and South Carolina. . . . Though this is in defiance of the law not a single arrest has been made."⁸²

⁷⁹ *Public Laws, 1891*, Act of February 6, 1891, 75.

⁸⁰ *Public Laws, 1891*, Act of February 6, 1891, 75.

⁸¹ *Greensboro Patriot*, January 8, 1891.

⁸² *Greensboro Daily Record*, January 11, 1892.

The emigrant statute remained on the books for two years; then in September of 1893 the North Carolina Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional and void.⁸³ With Chief Justice Shepherd delivering the opinion, the court held that since the law applied to certain counties in the state, it violated Article III of the North Carolina Constitution, which, although authorizing the legislature to tax "trades, professions and franchises," provided that such taxes had to be uniform in their application. "The act under consideration," said the Chief Justice, "if intended to impose a tax in the legal significance of the term, very plainly falls within the inhibition of the organic law as interpreted . . . by this court, for it cannot, with the least show of reason, be contended that the principle of uniformity is not violated when the same occupation is heavily taxed in one county; while in an adjoining county it is entirely free and untrammelled."⁸⁴ The court also declared the act void "for the unreasonableness of the license fee."⁸⁵ Thus once again the state's highest tribunal had demonstrated its racial liberalism. Whether the Supreme Court's ruling would have materially stimulated the exodus movement during the period under consideration will never be known, coming as it did approximately a year before the overthrow of "Bourbon democracy" in North Carolina.

Notwithstanding this, one fact is clear: during the long, uninterrupted rule of the Democratic party in North Carolina from 1876 to 1894, the emigration of Negroes from the state was a constantly recurring phenomenon. While census data on nativity does not tell the whole emigration story, it is revealing. In 1890 there were 116,400 Negroes native to North Carolina living in other parts of the United States as compared to 93,390 in 1880.⁸⁶ Subtract from the first figure 17,885 Negroes (who had migrated into the state between the 1880

⁸³ *State vs. Moore*, 133 N. C. 697 (1893).

⁸⁴ *State vs. Moore*, 700, 701.

⁸⁵ *State vs. Moore*, 700, 710.

⁸⁶ United States Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Population*. Volume I, Part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 577. Hereafter referred to as Census Bureau, *Eleventh Census*. See also the *Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Population*. Volume I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 490.

and 1890) decade and there is found to have been a net loss of 98,515.⁸⁷ Thus the widespread concern with Negro emigration between 1876 and 1894, especially in the "black counties" of the Second Congressional District, was not altogether unwarranted. The percentage of Negroes in the total population of Lenoir County, for example, decreased from 52.6 in 1880 to 42.8 in 1890. Jones County witnessed a similar decline in its Negro population. Indeed, the increase of the Negro population of North Carolina had dropped from a high of 35.65 per cent during the seventies to an amazing low of 5.6 per cent in the nineties! Apparently considerably perturbed by this growing loss of cheap labor, one white North Carolinian, in 1890, perhaps, expressed the view of a majority of his fellow citizens when he said:

It is generally admitted that the whites cannot do the work for which the negro seems adapted by nature. For example, white men can raise some cotton alone, but if we were dependent upon the whites for pickers, over one-half of the cotton would rot in the fields untouched every year. It would be the highest folly to remove the greater portion of the competent labor and muscle of the South.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Census Bureau, *Eleventh Census*, 579.

⁸⁸ Plato Collins, "The Negro Must Remain in the South," *North Carolina University Magazine*, 10, No. 3 (1890), 146.

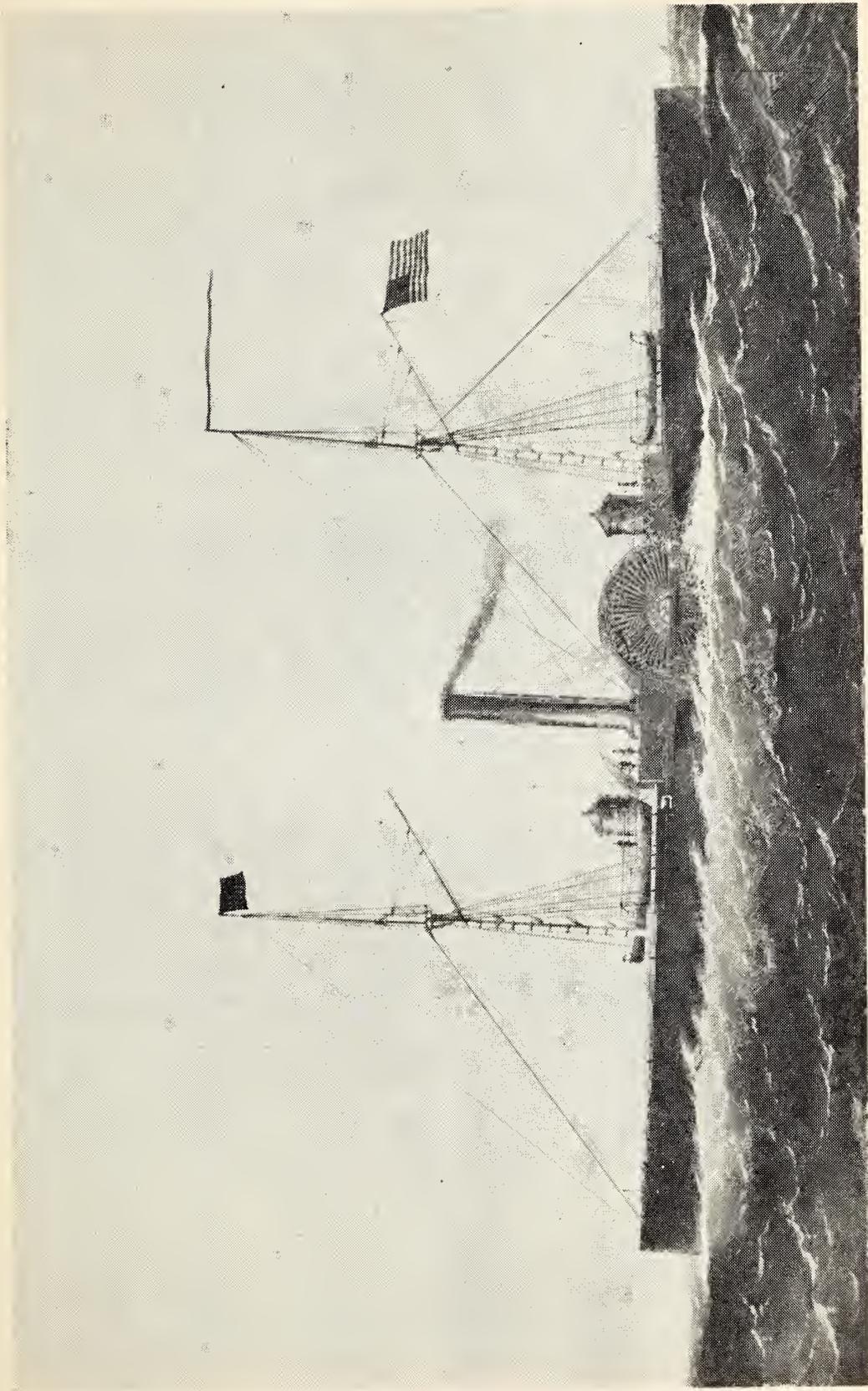
THE LETTERS OF STEPHEN CHAULKER BARTLETT
ABOARD U.S.S. "LENAPEE," JANUARY TO
AUGUST, 1865

Edited by
Paul Murray and Stephen Russell Bartlett, Jr.

Stephen Chaulker Bartlett, born at North Guilford, Connecticut, April 19, 1839, was a medical student throughout most of the Civil War. Frequent references to Yale Medical School in his letters indicate that he was enrolled as a student in that institution prior to September, 1862. From September, 1862, to September, 1863, he was engaged in the reading of medicine at a government hospital near Chester, Pennsylvania. He transferred his studies in October to Knight United States Army General Hospital, New Haven, Connecticut, where he took the examination for a commission as assistant surgeon in the United States Navy. He was commissioned by order of Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles on December 31, 1864, and was soon thereafter assigned to the receiving ship "North Carolina" in New York Harbor. He became Acting Assistant Surgeon on board the "Lenapee" January 12, 1865. This ship arrived at Cape Fear River shortly after the fall of Fort Fisher, was active in the siege and bombardment preceding the fall of Wilmington, February 22, and remained in the vicinity throughout the spring and summer of 1865. Dr. Bartlett was detached from the "Lenapee" by an order from the Navy Department in Washington, September 22, 1865; he was honorably discharged from naval service on November 23, 1865.

After his return to civil life he received a diploma from Yale Medical School dated January 11, 1866. He engaged in the practice of medicine at Naugatuck and Waterbury, Connecticut; was married on September 22, 1869, to Julia Belden Pickett; died on February 3, 1879, and was buried in the family plot in North Guilford cemetery.

The letters here presented make up a fairly complete narrative of Dr. Bartlett's movements during the seven months



U. S. S. "LENAPEE"

of his active service, January-August, 1865. With the exception of those of the evening of February 12, April 4, 14, 30, and August 9, they were copied in the hand of Julia Bartlett with frequent omissions and changes in salutations and closings, some contractions of lengthy descriptive passages, and occasional omissions of purely personal items. Dr. Bartlett was careful to avoid leaving the impression that he was the center of the action, and forty-three years later Julia Bartlett leaned still farther in the direction of traditional New England taciturnity concerning personal matters. The copies were made, presumably in 1908, for the purpose of submitting to the Pension Bureau proof of Dr. Bartlett's service.

Julia Bartlett was aided considerably in assembling materials on Dr. Bartlett's service by her son, Stephen Russell Bartlett (1877-1953) who later preserved the original letters, the copies, and other manuscript materials substantiating the above statements in the attic of his home at Hingham, Massachusetts. At his death all these materials came into the possession of Dr. Stephen Russell Bartlett, Jr., grandson of the original writer.

The editors have restored most of the salutations and closings to the form in which they were originally written. In a few cases where the meaning in the copies is obscure or there is clear evidence of error, they have restored a few short passages to the original form. The result is that the five letters specified above and at least three-fourths of the others are reproduced exactly as they were originally written. Passages omitted deal entirely with personal and family matters.

Though Stephen Chaulker Bartlett was a competent surgeon, the letters contribute little to medical knowledge or to the history of medical practice. Of the "fevers" mentioned, it is known that typhoid, malaria, dysentery, and measles were common at that time. Since the causes of none of these were known, methods of prevention and sanitation were far from effective. It is interesting to note, however, that Dr. Bartlett ordered the "Lenapee" dropped down to Southport

in hope that the fresh sea air would help in treating the fevers. By this move he avoided the anopheles mosquitoes that would have increased the incidence of malaria on board. The dirt and filth against which he complained at Wilmington undoubtedly helped to spread typhoid and dysentery, since they are now known to be transmitted through fecal contamination. Quinine was available at that time as a specific in the treatment of malaria, though physicians were often unable to distinguish malaria from typhoid and often confused both with "yellow fever." In the absence of available specifics for fevers other than malaria the usual medication was based on plentiful dosages of opium and calomel.

The letters have historical value in presenting at close view a picture of life on board the "Lenapee," one of the principal vessels in the attack on Wilmington, January-February, 1865. Those that deal with the days following the bombardment give a clear glimpse of the wreck of ordinary living conditions in the lower Cape Fear in 1865, "contrabands," refugees, the homecoming of "mean-looking Rebels," the retention in unhealthful Wilmington of homesick Yankees, and the beginning of a new era in the history of the nation and the state. If there are those who can still feel resentment against individuals who quietly performed the duties falling to them in the waging of the Civil War, the complete absence of resentment in the thinking of this young surgeon should be a gentle rebuke to them. If there are others who would criticize him because he became so absorbed in the fighting that he for a time lost sight of his major responsibility, they should be reminded that not many young men just taken from civilian life have an opportunity to see and report upon such exciting developments. The fact that he was impelled by no other motive than the sharing of the excitement with his homefolks impart to his letters a warmth of human interest seldom encountered in historical documents.

Jan 7 1865

On board Regg Ship North Carolina¹

My Dear Parents

I reported on board this ship on Friday. I have been engaged in examining recruits since I came here, tomorrow I have charge and prescribe for all the Sick the other Dr's being absent, I mess with the surgeons. I shall be assigned to a ship within a few days.

S. C. Bartlett A. A. Surg.

Sunday Afternoon

On board Steamer State of Georgia

My Dear Parents

As soon as I had finished my letter yesterday and sealed it an orderly called for Dr Bartlett stating the Admiral wished to see him. I went on deck and saw the Admiral. he says B I have given you a splendid Ship "The State of Georgia" I went on board that night. The State of Georgia is a large vessel and has a crew of 300 men and she is now ready for sea. I have a splendid State room. I cannot come home as I am busy getting in medical stores and must be here to see to them myself. The vessell will sail on Tuesday. It is believed by the Officers that we sail for Wilmington

S. C. Bartlett A. A. Surg U. S. N.

New York Jan 14th 1865

Dear Parents

I sail this afternoon for Savannah, Georgia.

I have been detached from the Steamer Georgia and ordered to the Steamer "Lenapee"²

S. C. Bartlett
Surg U. S. N.

U. S. S. Lenapee Jan 15 1865

Dear Parents

Yesterday we left the Navy Yard and anchored off the Battery and again we sail to Sandy Hook We will not go to sea until Tuesday as the ships compasses are out of order.

Commander Magraw³ called me to his cabin and showed me his

¹The "North Carolina" was an unserviceable ship stationed as a Union receiving ship in the New York Harbor. James Russell Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers (The Navy in the Civil War, New York: Scribners, 3 volumes), 1883. I, 242. Hereafter referred to as Soley, The Blockade and the Cruisers.*

²The "Lenapee" was one of 27 side-wheeler steamers, "double-enders" of 974 tons, each carrying 8 guns except the "Algonquin" which had 12 guns. The "Sassacus," mentioned often in these letters, was the same type vessel and gave its name to the group. Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers.*

³This is the spelling used in all the letters except that of February 21, 1865, where McGraw is used. There are numerous McGraws (but no Magraws) listed in the index volume of *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*

orders. We go first to Wilmington (I think another attack will be made soon) When we are through there we sail to the South Atlantic Squadron⁴ which is our ultimate destination. I have ten men on the sick list The Captain is sick & two of his officers. My position is responsible. The Commander informed me that as I was one of the Staff Officers I had the liberty of his room any time. I must close as a boat leaves now

Yrs S. C. Bartlett

Beafort N. C. Jan 26th 1865

U S. Steamer "Lenapee"

My Dear Sister

On the morning of Jan 19 we left Sandy Hook and reached this port on Sunday afternoon the 22nd. While off Hatteras a heavy gale of wind and rain set in continuing until midnight on Saturday. The muzzles of our heavy Parrott⁵ Guns dipped in the water at every roll. We had no fire in our ward room and everything was firmly secured. The rudder rope parted and the ship was for a time at the mercy of the storm the sea breaking over her & deluging with water and then she sprang a leak, the paddle wheel gone heavy and if the storm had not subsided we would have been lost as we put out to sea 200 miles from the shore. We are now taking in coal and making repairs. There is a large fleet here and our ship looks as well as any of them. I went on shore today: visited a Contraband⁶ school and Refugee Camp. Was introduced to Ensign Dayton who shot the Rebel Col. Lamb⁷ who has since died.

Today we sail for Wilmington expecting to take part in a great Battle as our steamer is of light draft and fitted for River service as well as for sea. There are 1000 Rebels⁸ commanded by Gen Hoke to oppose our forces.

(Washington: Government Printing Office, 69 volumes, 1880-1901). Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.

⁴ The South Atlantic Squadron, at this time under the command of Admiral John Adolphus B. Dahlgren, was centered at Charleston. Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers*, 105-120.

⁵ Robert Parker Parrott, ordnance expert and superintendent of an iron and cannon foundry at Cold Springs, New York, "perfected the cannon called by his name which showed such wonderful durability in the Civil War." *Encyclopedia Americana* (New York, 30 volumes, 1948), XXI, 346.

⁶ Refugee slaves were commonly known as "contrabands."

⁷ Colonel William Lamb of the Thirty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, was principally responsible for the conversion, 1862-1864, of Fort Fisher into the "Gibraltar of America." He was fatally wounded in the taking of the fort by the Federals, January 15, 1865. James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River, 1660-1916* (Raleigh, 1916), 333, 386, 494-495. Hereafter cited as Sprunt, *Chronicles*. Between the last mentioned pages is a diagram of the attack on Fort Fisher in which many of the vessels mentioned by Dr. Bartlett may be identified.

⁸ There is considerable variation among reporters as to the number of men in the land forces on both sides. The report of Major-General Alfred

Enclosed you will find a wire which ran into Ft Fisher magazine and blew it up I must close now as the boat leaves with the mail. Write when you can

Yours S C Bartlett
Act Ast Surgeon USN
U S S "Lenapee"
South Atlantic Blockading Squadron
Port Royal
S. C.

January 29 1865
Off Ft. Fisher N. C.

My Dear Parents —

We are making every preparation to go up the River. There are only 4 or 5 steamers that can. They are double enders and of light draft and rudders at both ends. The River banks are lined with Batteries and [one] on Fort St Phillip⁹ of 15 guns within two miles of us. The River bed is full of Torpedoes.¹⁰ I think that you can draw my bounty — Try by all means. It is my desire to have my remains taken home if I should be killed Write soon I may remain at this place some time yet

S. C. Bartlett act ast Surg U.S.N.
U. S. S. Lenapee

Feb. 3 1865
Cape Fear River N. C.

Dear Sister

We are about 3 miles below Ft Anderson and in line of battle. Ten vessels will take part in the fight—all double enders like the "Lenapee" There is even one monitor the Montauk. The river is very shallow Some of our ships have been aground. The Montauk went up within 300 yds of the Fort but they did not open upon her as it would be of no use. The Montauk could not elevate her guns so as to bear on the Fort. She got aground and remained until high water and then got off. On our side of the river are General Terry's forces. They are within 300 yds of the Rebels

H. Terry in *Official Records*, Series I, XLVI, Part I, 403, gives the following figures: aggregate present, 9,632; aggregate present and absent, 23,954. Sprunt, *Chronicles*, 495, says that Confederate General Robert F. Hoke had 4,500 troops and Federal General Terry had 8,000.

⁹ The massive ruins of St. Philip's Church are only a short distance above Fort Anderson. Federal Writers' Project, *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: 1939), 308. Hereafter cited as Federal Writers' Project, *North Carolina Guide*.

¹⁰ Actually floating mines, used frequently by both sides in the Civil War in inshore fighting. In this engagement they were neither so numerous as the Federals feared nor so effective as the Confederates hoped. Sprunt, *Chronicles*, 499-500.

and a continual musket firing is kept up and every once in a while cannoning is heard. At night, we can see the camp fires and with a glass we can see them throw up entrenchments. Occasionally the "Rebs" open fire on us with their long range Whitworth¹¹ guns throwing shot and shell away beyond us. Our guns are loaded with grape &c as the shore is but a short distance from us. We have our boarding up, our men armed with pike cutlasses and Revolvers to prevent boarding. We have also a torpedo catcher rigged on our bow and we have our crows nest up on the mast head. With a glass we can see the Rebs working on Ft Anderson and when they get it done we will try to take it. The Tawny will go ahead. It is expected she will be blown up by torpedoes the channel is so narrow that but one vessel can operate at a time. The "Lenapee" is second and with our heavy Battery she is expected to silence the Fort while the land forces makes the assault. General Sherman is at [illegible] which is but 30 miles below us and he is marching on Wilmington.¹² This will be the theatre of active operations for some time to come. If we occupy Wilmington Jeff. Davis will be obliged to vacate Richmond. There has been a large fire seen in the direction of Wilmington and it is supposed they are burning Cotton. The Rebs have a Torpedo Boat and a sharp lookout is set for it every night. In my department every thing is in readiness. My instruments are sharpened and every thing prepared for action. I think we shall remain here some time, and you may direct your letters to U S S Lenapee North Atlantic Blockading Squadron¹³ off Wilmington at the same time direct some to

Port Royal S. C as that is our
ultimate destination
S. C. Bartlett A A Surgeon USN
U S S "Lenapee"

¹¹ The so-called Whitworth guns were presented to the Confederate Government by an English manufacturer through Colonel Lamb. As ammunition they used bolts designed by Captain Charles P. Bolles of the Fayetteville Armory. Sprunt, *Chronicles*, 311.

¹² It is evident from many references in the *Official Records* that a plan had been concocted somewhere in the higher echelons to bring Sherman from Savannah to join in the land attack on Wilmington. The clearest proof for this is a letter written from Sherman at Savannah to Admiral D. D. Porter, January 21, 1865, *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 104. In this letter Sherman offers the extreme rainfall as his reason for not proceeding at once to Wilmington, but also reveals his lack of enthusiasm for the plan in his advice to Porter not to hurry to attack Wilmington, "for they will surely remove everything of value. You already have all that is of any value to you." The "30 miles below us" error is natural for one who heard more of military gossip than he knew of the geography of South Carolina.

¹³ The North Atlantic Blockading Squadron for Virginia and North Carolina was set up in September, 1861. Due to shortage of ships it was not

Cape Fear River N. C.
 Sunday Feb 5th 1865

Dear Sister

We have advanced up the river a short distance and have been engaged in shelling the woods. We are about two miles below the Rebel Ft Anderson and can plainly see the Rebs at work upon it and we occasionally send a 100 lb shell directly into the Ft. We can see the shell strike and then hear it explode. In return they open upon us with their long range Whitworth guns sending shot and shell entirely beyond us and some of them come very near us. One of them went entirely through the steamer "Tawny" just ahead of us. However they wont molest us unless we fire upon them, as yet we have no order for a general engagement. The Steamer Tawny and the "Lenapee" are to run past the Ft and to shell at the same time. The Channel is very narrow and runs very near the Fort, but few ships can operate at a time and very hot work is expected. A fire cannot be concentrated upon the Rebs works as at Ft Fisher You see that I have a fine chance to serve my country and I rejoice that it is so and would not exchange my situation for any other. If I succeed in passing—safely I shall always think of it with pride and if I die in the attempt it will [be] but a Glorious death.

I have been appointed on a medical Board of Survey. The Board sits every day and yesterday we examined a Leut Commander I have also visited the Flag Ship "Malvern," saw Admiral Porter and was introduced to the Fleet Surgeon. It is quite warm here & seems like summer.—We have a Band of Music on Board and we entertain all the officers who visit us. in the evening we sit on the qtrdeck smoke and listen to the music and have a good time generally. I have not heard from home yet—and I think it is about time Write and give all the news I shall write often and let you know of my situation

Direct your letters to S. C. Bartlett

A A Surgeon USN

U S S "Lenapee"

North Atlantic Blockading Squadron

Cape Fear River N. C.

effective until more than three years later. On October 12, 1864, Admiral David D. Porter assumed command of the squadron. Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers*, 90-105.

“U S S Lenapee”

Sunday Feb. 12 1865

Cape Fear River N. C.

My Dear Sister,

We are still in the face of the enemy. There has been a Continual roar of artillery and scream of shell for a week past. No general engagement has taken place yet, but one vessel ascends up and opens fire on Ft Anderson, and retires for another, so we continually harass the Rebs. and try to prevent them from building batteries, mount guns on the Fort. We sent our 100 lbs Parrott shells directly into the Ft and could see them explode throwing up dirt & sand in large clouds, we also shell the other side of the River as there are Batteries on both sides. The Rebs opened on us with their Whitworth guns sending shot and shell through our rigging and all around us but as yet no has been hurt. Now I have distinct recollection of a shell passing within four feet of my head. I must say my feelings were not very pleasant at the time, but as all positions are alike on a man of war I concluded to take things as they came hit or miss. Fort Anderson is a formidable work and covers acres in extent. Has casemated guns, and situated on a high Bluff at the bend of the river. It is being strengthened every day. We are in easy range of their fire all the time but they do not fire on us much as they wish to be let alone and prepare themselves for a general engagement. On the opposite side of the River is another Fort and it is reported that our land force took it yesterday at the same time we were shelling it. A Rebel Ram came down the river but kept a good distance from us. Lt. Cushing¹⁴ went up the river last night but the enemy fired upon him and he was obliged to return. We have our orders to prepare for a general engagement and our line of attack, our position and we are waiting for signals to advance. The Lenapee has the heaviest Battery in the Squadron and is in the advance I would like to inform you of our maneuvers and that of the land forces but there is an express order against it. Before you get this the fight will be over and I hope to live through it to fight another day. I have all my instruments ready for the bloody work and am myself prepared to amputate limbs with neatness and dispatch. The Officers treat me with respect and I think have all confidence in me. I have a good hospital steward who knows his business and will be of much service. Leaving New York with 15 men on the sick list have now but two. If I live to return

¹⁴ Lieutenant William B. Cushing was one of the naval heroes of the Civil War. The best known of his exploits, North and South, was the sinking of the ironclad “Albemarle” in Roanoke River near Plymouth in the early morning of October 28, 1864. Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers*, 101-105.

from this Glorious Navy shall be able to meet anything that comes along. I am enjoying myself and the weather is delightful. We have a Band of Music composed of Contrabands and Banjos. They play well and we entertain on board. Capt Magraw left us today. Lieut. Commander Barnes takes his command. We have fighting officers on board. G. H. Pendleton ex[ecutive] officer was captured by the Rebs, was a prisoner 15 mos. Ensign Tillson also a returned prisoner, Ensign Sanbord, commander [of] the Columbia¹⁵ was captured by Rebs while fighting with all his men [who] were killed in St Johns River. Horide Murphy our Pilot was captured on the Water Witch¹⁶ he having killed four men and was wounded, Mr. Bickford our first mate was on the vessel which captured the Alabama.¹⁷ With these brave officers I hope we may distinguish ourselves.

It is a very easy and pleasant thing for one to sit at his comfortable home and read of shelling forts and running batteries, and say what the Navy ought and must perform but I assure you it is not so pleasant to come down here amidst the plunging shot and screaming shells, deadly torpedos, sharp shooters, and fight your way out to Wilmington.

Did you receive the picture of the 'Lenapee' and my picture. Enclosed you will find a torpedo wire such as are used in blowing up vessels.

S. C. Bartlett USN
A A Surgeon
U S S Lenapee

Sunday night Feb. 12 1865
Cape Fear River N. C.

Dear Parents,

We have just received orders from the Flagship "Malvern" that a general engagement will take place. At eight o'clock tomorrow the signal will be given, ships will move into line of battle and move up the river. All day we have been preparing for action, getting up shot and shell and preparing the ship for action. There has been but little firing to-day but tomorrow

¹⁵ The U.S.S. "Columbine" and "most of those on board" were captured in St. John's River, Florida, May 23, 1864. *Official Records*, Series I, XXXV, Part I, 393-396.

¹⁶ The U. S. gunboat "Water Witch" was captured in Ossabaw Sound, Georgia, June 3, 1864. *Official Records*, Series I, XXXV, Part I, 404. The difference between the official accounts and the stories told by Dr. Bartlett indicates that the officers were more concerned with impressing the raw recruit than they were in telling the exact truth of the engagements.

¹⁷ The "Alabama," most famous of the Confederate commerce destroyers, was sunk off the coast of France, June 19, 1863, in a fight with the "Kearsarge." Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers*, 206-213.

there will be enough of it. About ten vessels will go into the fight and the Monitor Montauk. I have written one letter to-day but I have a chance to send this by the U.S.S. Bat which will bear dispatches and the wounded immediately after the fight.

Your aff son

S. C. Bartlett A. A. Surg. USN

USS Lenapee
N A B Squadron
Cape Fear River N. C.

Write soon I have not heard from home yet. I shall remain in this squadron for some time yet.

I would wish you to send me some papers as we do not get one here once in two or three weeks. We have no news here and a paper a week old is considered new. I would like to know if you got my picture and that of the "Lenapee". Did Rogers graduate?

Yours

S.C.B.

Cape Fear River Feb. 15th 1865

My Dear Parents,

The attack on Ft Anderson is not made yet as a storm [is] making the river rough and the wind the wrong way. I do not know when the fight will come off but I think when it is clear and the wind favorable. There is more or less firing all the time, in return the enemy open on us sending shell all around us. Some of the vessels have been struck! the Monitor¹⁸ has been several times as she is very near the Fort sometimes. The other day we went within 1700 yds. of the enemy throwing our 100 lbs shell directly into the Ft.

The Rebels have set the woods on fire below the Ft. The woods are Pine and the fire covers acres in extent. They do this so as to have a good range for their guns and to prevent our land force from advancing upon them. They have Batteries on both sides at night the sky is lit up by fire for miles on both sides of the River. There is more or less firing between the land forces [and] Rebs and we can distinctly hear the rattle of musketry as well as artillery; in fact we can see both parties as the River is narrow. At night the sight is splendid: the burning woods, the artillery firing on shore and last of all when the squadron

¹⁸ Probably the "Montauk," the only monitor in the attacking squadron and the leading ship in the bombardment of Fort Anderson on February 17 and 18, 1865. Daniel Ammen, *The Atlantic Coast (The Navy in the Civil War)*, New York; Scribners, 3 volumes, 1883), Part II, 242. Hereafter cited as Ammen, *The Atlantic Coast*.

opens fire you would think you were in the infernal region. I am enjoying myself much and feel that I am fortunate in being ordered here. I would like to inform you of all our movements but there are strict orders against it and I see very little in the paper in regard to them—however I think that in a few days we will make news for them.

General Grant has been here and has returned. The land forces have been increased and are quite large. About ten vessels will engage in the fight—all double enders like the Lenapee can steer at both ends, as the river is so narrow we cannot turn around and if we are sunk our decks would be out of water as it is not deep. When a general engagement takes place we are to go within 1300 yds. of the enemy and anchor and give it to them; we have our sharp shooters in our crows nest ready to pick off the Reb's gunners.

Yrs S C Bartlett A A Surgeon USN

Do write soon I have not heard from you yet. I must close as mail leaves now.

Direct to N. A. B. Squadron U S S Lenapee
Cape Fear River N. C.

Cape Fear River N. C. Six miles from
Wilmington opposite a Rebel Casemated
Iron Battery Feb 20th 1865

Dear Parents

A Signal from the FlagShip "Malvern" "Letters." I know I must have some, a boat is sent: returns with two letters and paper Feb. 8, 11th The first news I have received from home. Fort Anderson is ours. After 24 hours bombardment the Enemy evacuated.

2 P.M. 17 We were signaled to engage the Ft. The "Lenapee" got under way taking the advance: two other vessels following the Montauk being ahead of us: the enemy opens; the water is thrown upon decks by a shell which fell short: we move so as to keep out of range. Another shell comes directly over our decks and striking the Str. Pequot just back of us killing two men and wounded some. During this time the Montauk had the range and we also sent shell after shell directly into the Ft. We engaged the enemy until darkness set in & then dropped down the river. Early in the morning 18th Signals up for general engagement. The enemy opened on us first but we slowly advanced firing all the time. I took my position on the hurricane deck near the pilot house where I could see all that is going on. Capt Barnes ordered me below to my station but I obtained permission to remain on deck until blood was shed so that I could have a fair view of the

fight and remained on deck all day as no one on our vessel was injured. The sight was most magnificent. 3 vessels were ahead of us at first, 6 behind us.¹⁹ The vessels moved into line splendidly and poured broadsides into the enemy; the enemy replied. After we got our position we anchored, continued firing, the fort opens up at regular intervals. Soon we were signaled to go up nearer: up the Lenapee goes past the "Sassacus" Ahead of all and near the Monitor. Now the Ft opens upon us for we are within 700 yds. of them and they are determined to sink us or blow us up but we give them broadside after broadside. During the time the enemy blows 3 shell over our decks throwing pieces all around but none were injured. Night now set in. We anchored and retained our position the firing being kept up on both sides, the screaming of shells, loud roar of heavy artillery, flashing of guns, bursting of shells was a sight well worth seeing; all night long firing was kept up; our troops could be seen advancing along the banks of the river being protected by us during the engagement; not a man or an officer left his station nor had they any food; about 12 o'clock at midnight we got aground and the enemy stopped firing. Just before morning the vessel swung around so that but one gun could bear on the enemy and when it would light up we expected the enemy would take advantage of our position. As the morning began to break the first Lieutenant said to me Dr we will get . . . from the Rebs. I replied we must give them the same. The Montauk soon after hoisted a signal that the Fort was ours. Captain Barnes ordered the men to man the rigging and three cheers were given for the victory which was continued by all the vessels in the river.

We moved and removed obstructions and about 30 torpedos. Soon we came to a line of stakes and saw we have arrived at the second line of obstructions with the channel blocked by a Blockade Runner sunk. The River is quite narrow and we are about six miles from Wilmington.

We have been fighting all the afternoon. The enemy have a casemated iron Fort and with a continual firing today we have not been able to silence it. The Rebs keep up a regular fire. The U S St Sassacus and the Lenapee are in advance. The Sassacus has been struck and is leaking badly tonight. We have not been injured yet although shell have struck all around us, and I really

¹⁹ Daniel Ammen was commander of the "Mohican" in the bombardment of Fort Fisher, January 14 and 15, 1865. He was also mentioned as having been to Savannah in a letter from Sherman. Later Ammen, as a professor at the Naval Academy, was detailed to write the official history of the naval war along the Atlantic coast. In this work five vessels are listed in the bombardment of Fort Anderson on February 17, sixteen on February 18, 1865. Ammen, *The Atlantic Coast*, 242, 258.

believe that a shell came within two feet of me and burst just over the side of us. I assure you I dipped my head as well as others who were near me for you have no idea what an ugly scream they give. The Rebs have set the woods on fire and the river is well lit up.

I received a letter from Walter²⁰ today. You do not say whether you have received my picture.

Tomorrow we commence fighting and I fear that some of us will be hurt as we cannot operate as well as at Fort Anderson. The army is advancing up the river near us.

S. C. Bartlett A. A. Surg. USS Lenapee
North Atlantic Squadron
Cape Fear River N. C.

Eve Feb 21st 1865

Six miles from Wilmington
In front of Iron clad Battery
Cape Fear River N. C.

My Dear Sister

Yesterday afternoon we had another fight I had several narrow escapes—in the evening we had a most exciting time. The enemy sent down the river about 100 torpedoes. The Shawmut was injured by one of them also the Osceola & Pequot. One of them exploded killing two men from a boats crew and wounded several. I could plainly see them float past our vessel—if they touch a vessel they explode. They are made of wood and contain 100 lbs of powder. Our boats crew picked up one of them and we have it on board. The enemy are burning cotton and every evening the sky is lit up for miles around. They have a line of obstructions above us two Blockade Runners sunk in the Channel. The river is narrow and the channel not deep. The Montauk cannot come up and assist us as she draws too much water she was of great help to us at Ft. Anderson as she can fight at that range. This afternoon Admiral Porter came on board and we immediately opened upon the enemy replied and sent a shell directly over us which burst scattering pieces all around us.

The Admiral left for the "Sassacus" just ahead of us. By the way The "Sassacus" and "Lenapee" are called the fighting ships of the squadron and it is a fact we have been in advance all the way up the river and the first to engage the enemy. Our Battery is the heaviest in the Squadron. Our 100 pounds Parrott are just the thing (if they do not burst). In the attack on Ft Anderson the Lenapee expended 400 100 lbs Parrot Shell. The report is very loud and we are all quite deaf for we have been con-

²⁰ A brother, Walter Bartlett.

tinually firing every day for two weeks. All the glass in the ship is broken and all the fancy work is dropping off as the concussion is great. This afternoon we had a splendid engagement, the enemy made some splendid shots and it is a wonder we were not hit, they kept up a regular fire although we sent shell into their Fort at the rate of 8 or 10 a minute They being casemated we could not silence them We are at anchor and do not move but retain our position. When we cease firing the enemy also stops. Another Fort is in sight just above this: The Rebs have cut away the woods so they could see and get the range.

It will be some time before we get to Wilmington as we will have to silence batteries on every bluff and remove torpedoes as we advance. I think they are forwarding all the Troops in defence of the city and will make it a sort of last ditch. Our troops advance with the gun boats and are continually fighting with the enemy—at times we can see them. I feel that I was very fortunate to be assigned to this ship and to have an opportunity to see so much active service. We will remain in the Squadron. We have a new commander John S. Barnes. He is much more liked than Capt. McGraw was and I see he is anxious to distinguish himself and vessel. Tomorrow we engage the enemy and perhaps will silence the Fort.

Did Win Witter graduate and did McFarland?

It is very warm here in fact Summer.

I should be glad to receive N. Y. Papers.

North Atlantic Squadron

Cape Fear River N. C.

S. C. Bartlett A. A. Surg.

U S Str Lenapee

Eve Feb 22nd 1865

Dear Brother

This has been a glorious and eventful day to us Wilmington is ours. Last night the enemy evacuated their last strong hold. For two long days we bombarded them at short range and protected our army that they might advance. I have had many narrow escapes from the enemys shell and torpedoes. Their works were well casemated and guns were regularly worked. There is great rejoicing among the Army and Navy Officers for most of the time they have been at the guns night & day, and it seems good to have rest and take our regular meals.

Today we fired a National Salute of Twenty One Guns.²¹

²¹ This procedure was ordered in all military posts by General U. S. Grant as a double recognition of Washington's birthday and the surrender of Wilmington. Sherman seemed to be virtually alone in attaching small significance to the taking of the city.

The people are glad to see us and all claim to be for the Union
 They have no provisions The last Fort captured is called
 Fort Iron Island

Your Brother
 S. C. Bartlett A A Surg. USN
 U S S Lenapee
 North Atlantic Squadron

March 17th 1865
 Wilmington N. C.

My Dear Parents

Yours March 7th is just received. You write you are glad to receive letters from me I assure you that I am as much rejoiced to hear from home. There is nothing that looks like home here and everything to make a man think of home, and I hope you will continue to write even if you do not hear from me.

Since I wrote last the "Lenapee" went up the river Cape Fear to communicate with Sherman if possible. The river is very narrow and crooked but deep: Somewhat resembles a Canal. We went up as far as Magnolia a large town of two houses a tavern and saw-mill. We could get no further up our boat being so long we could not even turn the river was so crooked, but as we steer at both ends we made our way back to town. I broke off the branches of magnolia and cypress with perfect ease from each side of our decks. We passed rice fields, then swamps. I also saw many pretty flowers and Birds were singing for the weather is very warm here. We went up by the Rebel picket and while there they captured a squad of our men several miles below us: we could hear the drum beat but they kept a good distance from us for they well knew that we are in the habit of sending our compliments at the distance of three or four miles: no doubt they remembered Anderson Ft Philip, and Fort Strong. We landed several times and helped ourselves to sheep cattle hogs &c for the country up here is full of them and we certainly dont go hungry. There are many fine plantations. We obtained two beautiful looking Glasses six feet by four and they now adorn our ward room and we spend our spare time looking at the beautiful gilt frames, *Not the glasses,*

The last time we went on shore about 15 miles from town Mr Pendleton our Executive Officer was accidentally shot by one of the men I was near him at the time and the first to reach him. He was struck in the neck and fell like a dead man. I stopped the blood. Got him on board ship and removed the Ball: he is not dangerously hurt but I recommended he be sent home to recover. We did not stop to take our stock on board: they are left

for the crows and negroes. We reached Wilmington in safety and are at the foot of Market St. Wilmington has changed much since we came here. The stores are being opened and there is a large amount of shipping here. Several Thousand Union prisoners have been released and they are naked. I have seen Officers almost naked: You have no idea how they look. The Rebs set a building on fire where our prisoners were confined and several were burned up: this a fact.²² I know it to be so. The people are all for the Union and are glad to see us here for they are almost starved. All the slaves have left them: they now refuse to work and the masters almost make them. Most of the men enlist. A large number of the citizens hid away from the Rebs have come back but I must say the place looks deserted and desolate and not very attractive. There is much sickness and it is stated 50 die a day: It is mostly fevers. When I came up the River I had but two sick. Now I have about fifteen. I am feeling very bad today for one of my men died of Fever. It is the first patient I have lost: but I feel that I did all I could for him and three more men who were apparently worse have recovered. For a time I attended the sick on the USS Maratanza but now they have a surgeon. Wilmington is an unhealthy place at the best of times and the inhabitants say they fear a pestilence now. The streets are quite filthy and wharves laden with dirt. There is a swamp opposite the city for miles above and below so that I shall not be in want of material for practice especially if we have Yellow Fever in Summer. I saw John Bradley the other day. He is the same old fellow and has seen some hard fighting. I am verry sorry to hear father is so unwell and you must write more about him. I hear from my New Haven friends often. Mulina has written me. It has been very stormy here and damp and foggy Some of our small boats have communicated with Sherman and brought down two Rebel boats with refugees men and women almost naked and starved. General Terry was on board the ship today: is here quite often: I have seen Gen. Hawley and several Con-

²² There was great dissatisfaction in both armies at Wilmington as a concentration point for Federal prisoners, and General John M. Schofield refused to accept several detachments for exchange. After about 200 of these escaped into the Federal lines, an order from Grant required Schofield to "receive all prisoners that the rebels may deliver to you and forward them to Annapolis." There are numerous references to prisoners in Wilmington in the *Official Records*, Series II, VIII, but no mention is made of a fire. This again is prime material for gossipmongering and exaggeration, and it could be that some such incident occurred. There are, of course, the generally known facts that most of Wilmington west of the Cape Fear River was burned in December, 1864, and that much cotton and military stores were burned just preceding the surrender. *Official Records*, Series II, VIII, 289.

necticut men. Write soon and send postage stamps as I cannot get them here

Yours S C Bartlett upon USS Lenapee
Wilmington N. C.

You will find illustration of Cape Fear River fight in Harper's Weekly & Frank Leslie's Paper of March 11 & 18 but they do not look much like anything I have seen. From Ft Strong I counted 70 new made graves.

April 4, 1865
Wilmington, N. C.

My Dear Sister;

Yours of March 11 is recd and papers. I see that Edis Palladium rec'd my papers which were sent to them. I am at the Naval Hospital most of the time. It is pleasantly located on second street, surrounded by pleasant grounds and shade trees. There are also a variety of flowers. There are large rooms and it is well adapted for the sick. The house was owned by Margaret Davis, a wealthy lady and was deserted. I am now Senior Surgeon and in charge of the Hospital. There are two surgeons with me and I have nurses. The "Lenapee" is Flag Ship now and we have a new Commander, Thomas S. Phelps, the fourth since we came out. I am very fortunate in being on this vessel. As you know it is general headquarters of the fleet and I hear of all that transpires. Captain Phelps is a nice man and a gentleman.

I wish you could come to Wilmington and see all the sights. I think Walter would use his eyes out he would see so much. If he were here I would take him down to Fort Strong. There he would see the heavy guns, some of them dismantled. He would see the ground torn up and houses completely riddled by our shot and shell. He would see Rebel graves and in the magazines he would still find stacks of rebel ammunition which has not been removed. By way of amusement the other day some officers and myself took a shell out and put it in a house nearby and set it off, I tell you it made a noise and things fly around generally. I found a box of rebel tourniquets some of them with blood on and I shall send them home some time. Our officers are still engaged in removing obstructions from the river and there are still torpedoes and a transport was sunk by one of them the other day.

The Enemy sent down 200 one night when we were engaging Fort Strong and as they passed we sank them with our rifles. I have had some narrow escapes in the river below here, and I hope to live to come home sometime to relate particulars.

I am somewhat deaf yet from cannonading. Both of our 100 lbs were cracked and are unfit for use. we are to have new ones soon. We send picket boats up the River often and they bring us fresh meat etc.

Wilmington was once a beautiful city but now it is not very attractive. There are many fine mansions. Some of them are deserted and in ruins. I was in a large house to-day. the Negroes were breaking up chairs and tables for firewood, books were lying on the floor, and marble top tables broken-If you wish any relics I could find any quantity of them.

I have made many acquaintances here and some very wealthy people. I am called to see sick people. I take no pay but have received some presents from them. I am attending upon a young lady who has Typhoid Fever and hope she will recover. Her people are very wealthy and place much confidence in me.

Many of the people are dying of fever which has assumed an epidemic form. Spares no one rich or poor. A poor woman sent for me to see her child which was dying but I was so completely worn out that our Officer said that I should not go, that I must take care of myself and the crew first -if I went it would do no good so I did not go.

Chaplin Jacob Eaton of T Conn. died of fever; he was sick but four days. Four army surgeons have died within a week, one of them head surgeon. Men drop down there lips become black, tongues swell and protrude from there mouths, and they become delirious and die. There is but little help for one if he gets down. Two officers from the "Maratanza" are sick. One of them, Lieutenant Taylor, is from New Haven and is acquainted with many people that I know. I have lost three men from fever but have many sick.

The boy Glover is in our Hospital. He has got the itch and I see him every day. I told him that I was from No. Guilford and he seemed glad to see me.

You have no idea of the misery and suffering here. There are thousands of people, refugees from South Carolina, hungry and naked. Some of them were once wealthy and prominent people. Thousands of Contrabands in same condition. I had no idea of the calamity of War until now, one must see to know and feel.

Your affectionate brother

A.A.Surgeon U S N

USS Lenapee Wilmington, N.C.

You need not send New York papers as I can get them here now, but write often as I am anxious to hear from home. How

is Father now? Does Sam Dudley attend Legislature this Spring?

Medicus

“me - a gay and festive cuss”

April 14, 1865

USS Lenapee

Wilmington, N. C.

My Dear Sister;

Yours of March 28 is on hand and gave me much pleasure. In fact all letters from home are interesting and if you only knew with how much interest I watch every mail and the contents of the mail bag as it is emptied upon our table, for all mail first comes on board the Flag Ship and then is distributed through the fleet, you would write often.

The sickness is on the decrease and cases are not so malignant as at first. I have had several cases of fever. Commander Phelps and our Executive officer and Mate have all been attacked and have been under my treatment. Also many of our crew have been sick. So you see that I have great responsibility resting upon me. And that practice of medicine is a real thing with me. I am also gaining much experience which will be of much value to me whenever I settle down to private practice. As the Lenapee is Flagship I am often called to see sick on the various transports which come in every day. I attended the sick on the General Lyon when she was here, and Captain Ward took dinner with us. He is from New Haven and I was well acquainted with his family. I sent some things home by him. I have written to his friends It is very hot weather here but we keep up our awnings and are in the shade. I wish you could see our Hospital and the beautiful flowers and the various shade trees. We have several fig trees and the small figs are just coming out. We have many kinds of roses and a man who keeps everything in order.

Most of the wealthy people are leaving, some to Europe others to New York. All who have means will leave for there is very little business here. The War has nearly ruined everything. The Plantations are all deserted, and also the niggers are too independent to work. They are very lazy and with the idea of freedom they think they are free from work. We have a Negro family living in one of our buildings at the hospital, and I ordered him to harness his horse and dray and bring us some wood from the wharf. He wished to know what I would pay him for it. I told him to get up wood immediately if not I would take his horse and dray from him and when he brought the wood up to come to me for pay. He brought the wood up and

was announced to my presence for pay. I just informed him when he paid rent for staying at the hospital I would pay him for his service.

The Lenapee fired a salute of 100 guns when we heard of the evacuation of Richmond and we made a larger display of flags. The cars are running to Goldsboro and I think that the road will be open to Charleston soon. I think I will take a trip to Goldsboro soon just to see the country. There was a theatre last night for the benefit of sick soldiers and some of the first people in town were present. Among them I saw General Hawley and wife, General Abbot, General Dodge and many other distinguished persons. There were many naval officers present and made a large display of gold lace for you know that the naval uniform is more gay than that of the army. Most of the officers were present with Ladies, and I must say that my fair one was as pretty as they make them down this way. Our First Lieutenant told me that she was the most stylish lady present. I can say that she was of one of the first families in the city and perhaps one of the wealthiest.

I expect to go on a picnic next week down to the seashore with a company of ladies and gentlemen. I have had many invitations to parties and balls but have had little time to attend them all, but now as the sickness is on the decrease shall have more time. Write soon

Your affectionate brother
S.C.Bartlett USN

Naval Hospital
Wilmington, N. C.
April 30, 1865

My Dear Brother;

I have just received letters from home of April 4th and 11th, and also of January 25th with papers. You need not send New York papers as they can be obtained here. The Lenapee still lays at the foot of Chestnut St. while on the other side you will see the Charleston depot broken down now and buildings in ruins. The road is not open yet but will be soon and then I will take a trip to Charleston.

We heard of the assassination of President Lincoln and all the Army and Navy officers are in mourning. Johnston has surrendered his army, and it is said that his army will come to Wilmington to be disbanded. Sherman is expected in this city soon and will come on board our ship, for all distinguished officials visit the ship. A salute will be fired.

The sickness is on the decrease now although I have several men sick -and I can see that the climate has a great influence upon the men. All sickness assumes Typhoid tendencies. I must exert myself to prevent fever at first for if a man is sick two days there is great danger of fever. This is a fine place for the practice of medicine. And one cannot help but learn for you will see sick on every hand. But the terrible sickness is passed and you have no idea of the suffering sickness and death which has been here. It neither spares Youth, Old Age, Citizen and Soldier; in fact all attacked died and many even the second day of sickness. In one week seven army surgeons died and the chief medical director. This is passed and now we are expecting Yellow Fever when the season arrives. But it can be no worse than the sickness we have just passed through.

Wilmington is not a very pleasant place, there are two things which I dislike—the hot sun and the sand, for there are not many shade trees. There are many fine buildings here and most of the stores are open. You do not see that enterprise as in the North and I do not believe that the people are true to the Union. There are a large number of Niggers here, and I am utterly disgusted with them. They are lazy, dirty, good for nothing set. They have all left their masters and will not work. Many of them are sick and dying. Several Ladies from the North have just arrived and opened schools for them. The southern ladies do all their own work now, and many a young lady is having to cook and wash etc., but yet they find time to flirt with Yankee officers.

The War is now closed but I do not know how soon I can come home, perhaps soon. This ship may remain at this place for a long time yet, as she is just in commission and a regular built naval vessel: but as our Captain is anxious to go North, I think he will use his influence to leave this place. I hope so for I do not wish to remain here all summer.

Write soon and let me know all the news. How is Father now? I hope he is not working himself to death, George. I have not heard from him. You or he should study for *the pulpit*. Do you hear from Malina? Perhaps it would be wise to take him on to N.G. on a visit if the war ends. I think the hospital will be broken up. I hear from my N.H. friends quite often.

Your affectionate brother
S.C. Bartlett USN

May 8th 1865
 U SSt "Lenapee"
 Wilmington N C

Dear Brother

Your letter of Apr 22^d is at hand. I write in a hurry as our Pay master will leave for the North and will take this letter. Things are about the same as usual. I doubt that I can write anything of interest. I have many sick on my ship and it takes all my time. I do not know when I can come home. I wish to leave this miserable place. Enclosed please find what was taken for my picture.

Write soon

Your aff Brother

S. C. Bartlett A A Surg USN

UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION
 U S Str "Lenapee"
 Wilmington N C
 May 17th 1865

Dear Brother

Your letter of 4th inst is received with papers. I think I will receive letters more regular now as a line of steamers will run in a few days regularly. The City is full of Rebs from Johnstons army They look mean enough in their dirty gray uniforms. General Sherman passed through here the other day. I saw him and as he came aboard the ship fired a salute.

It is very warm here just such weather as we have in July at the North. White people do not pretend to go out much except morning and evening but you will see plenty of darkies lying around in the Sun, enjoying themselves as free and enlightened citizins as they think themselves now, for you know that slavery is done away with here and the old Master cannot get any thing done unless he pays them for it. I would not make Wilmington a place of resident for life if the most splendid mansion was given me, and I shall rejoice when my time comes to leave this place. I spend most of my time at the Hospital. I have many sick to attend to and it requires all my time. Typhoid Fever, Billious Fever remittent and every other form of Fever is common here and if I remain here all summer I shall be posted on Fever. I was sorry to see my name in the paper and do not thank the one who put it in.²³ This is only a Temporary

²³ At first glance, this would cause one to conjecture that Dr. Bartlett had received some special recognition in regard to his work. It seems more likely that he was genuinely embarrassed by the over-zealous effort of a newspaper reporter to expand him to heroic proportions, since Stephen Chaulker is not among the numerous Bartletts listed in the index volume of the *Official Records*.

Hospital and I am not detached from the ship. This was established merely to accommodate what few sick we had on ship at the time. As to the appointment that is nothing as I was on the Flag Ship it devolved upon me to take charge of the Hospital. The Maratanza Yantic and other vessels have gone down the river to look out for the "Stonewall."²⁴ Blackberries are ripe now and we have them on table every day. You will have to wait till August before you can get them. I would like to be at home by that time and help pick them. Will you send my white vest: also my prescription Book you found in New Haven by mail.

S C Bartlett A A Surg
U S S "Lenapee"
Wilmington N. C.

UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION

U S S "Lenapee"
Wilmington N. C.
June 22nd 1865

Dear Sister-

Letters from home have been received up to the 12th inst. and my Note Book. My vest has not arrived yet. You seem desirous that I should come home but see little hope of leaving this place, the land of cotton negroes and resin yet. The N A B & S A B²⁵ Squadrons have been united and reduced from 400 vessels to 90 and we are as yet left, the others all gone North, but as all ports are open on the 1st of July I hope we may even change location which at present not desirable: as mail leaves soon I must write Good Night.

Write soon and often
Your aff Brother
S C Bartlett A A Surg USN

UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION

Wilmington N C July 17 1865

My Dear Sister

Yours of July 12 is recev'd.
We have just arrived from Smithville,²⁶ which is near Ft. Cas-

²⁴ The "Stonewall," a little known Confederate raider, was obtained and released through negotiations with the Danish government. William P. Roberts, "James Dunwoody Bullock and the Confederate Navy," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIV (July, 1947), 315-366.

²⁵ North Atlantic and South Atlantic Blockading. See the letters of January 15 and 26, of this article.

²⁶ Present day Southport. Federal Writers' Project, *North Carolina Guide*, 289.

well. We have just been down to breathe the fresh June sea air: and I am very sorry that we cannot remain there: for you have no idea of the heat in Wilmington. Not one breath of air. The Therm. stands 105 in the Pilot House. I have many sick and will have all summer: many of my men have been down with the fever as well as Officers. As yet I have not seen a sick day: never enjoyed better health but if I am to remain in this place and work as a Slave as I have done I shall be played out

Your Brother

S C Bartlett A A Surg
U. S. S. "Lenapee"

UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION

Wilmington N C
July 29th 1865

Dear Sister

As I have been at work all the time and had my hands full I have found but little time to devote to myself. I cannot write you any news for we have the same hot air we had months ago. 105 in the pilot house 98 under the hurricane deck. We are lying in the river which is quite narrow: the city on one side and one vast malarial Swamp on the other and above us the hot Sun with not one breath of air. I have a large number of sick men as well as Officers: our Commander has been quite sick but is better: in fact all have been sick but myself. I have many cases of Jaundice and all the crew are yellow as well as myself. It is very sickly in Wilmington although the City paper denies it: however we have no Yellow Fever yet but the fever we have is about as bad: most of my men have chills and Fever.

I was not aware I had such a constitution as I have. I have not taken one dose of medicine and do not intend to although I give calomel by the spoonful to others. I wish I could write something about coming home: I cannot see that at present: our ship is bound to remain here for some time yet. I wish you would send me a paper containing a list of graduates at the Medical School: and do write every week as your letters do so much good: give me all the news: is Lois Fowler married: Where is Cornelia Fowler and do you hear from New Haven.

Write soon

Your aff Brother

S C Bartlett A A Surg USN

“USS Lenapee”
Wilmington N. C.
August 9th 1865

My Dear Sister;

It is now some time since I have heard from home. I hope you are all well and to hear from you soon. I have not written of late for the reason that my professional duties occupy most of my time.

The hot weather still continues but I am used to it now and can stand it as well as the natives. I think that I can live in any climate without fear of sickness. I have not been sick a day although I have been among fever and with sick daily.

I have had much sickness on the ship mostly intermittent, billious, and Typhoid fever. I ordered the ship to Smithville a pretty little town near Ft. Caswell by the seashore, but we remained there but one week on account of so much fighting among the negroes and whites. There is a row all the time between them and someone is shot daily. We are obliged to remain at Wilmington to keep things quiet. While at Smithville I visited Ft. Caswell and many places of interest. Wilmington has changed much. The wharves are loaded with cotton, resin, turpentine, and the river full of shipping. Railroad communication is open to all points north and south. The sickly season is now at hand but it is far less sickly now than in the Spring. I would not advise northern men to come here at present for all who come are sick.

You do not see any old men here. I believe they all die before the age of fifty. Such a yellow looking set of people you never saw, not like the healthy looking people North. If Wilmington is the sunny south I do not wish to live in it. I much prefer the cold North.

Tell Walter that alligators are quite common here. Our men killed one fifteen feet long. I have been living on figs of late. They are in abundance and very fine to eat. There many kinds of fruits here.

I do not know when I can come home but I think that it will be soon, for many surgeons who have been on leave are ordered now to relieve those who have been on duty. I think that they will give me a leave of absence soon, as I have been at work a

long time and in a sickly place. Write soon and give me all the news. Who graduated at the Medical College this term?

Your affectionate brother

S.C.Bartlett

A.A.Surgeon U.S.N.

U.S.Steamer Lenapee

Wilmington,N.C.

UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION

U S S "Lenapee"

Smithville N C Aug 29 1865

My Dear Sister

You will see we have changed our location to off Smithville which is a pretty little place by the seaside: from our ship we can see the mounds of Ft. Fisher 10 miles distant: in the other direction we can see Ft. Caswell. I ordered the ship down here on account of sickness; most of our crew have intermittent Fever and Billious remittent, lying in the river at Wilmington and near the rice fields has caused much sickness among us. In the City of Wilmington during the last two months 500 children have died beside older persons. I would not advise a newly married people to come here if they wish to raise children. We have lots of clams and fish of all kinds Tell Walter I fish from the Rebel iron clad N Carolina²⁷ which is sunk near us but most of the decks are out of water.

Direct your letters to Wilmington N. C.

Your aff Brother

S C Bartlett A A Surg US Navy

²⁷ The "North Carolina" was a Confederate ironclad ram constructed in 1862 and should not be confused with the ship of the same name mentioned in footnote 1. It was later anchored off Smithville, where it was "gradually destroyed by the teredo, or sea-worm, and sank at her moorings." Sprunt, *Chronicles*, 479.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Raleigh Register, 1799-1863. By Robert Neal Elliott, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 133. \$1.25.)

It is no easy task to go through the files of an old newspaper and extract from its pages a clear story not only of the publication itself, but also of its relation to the times in which it served.

Mr. Elliott has done this admirably. In so doing, he makes a valuable contribution to the preservation and clarification of the history of the state. Its value is enhanced in view of the fact that *The Raleigh Register* was the most influential newspaper in North Carolina during the ante-bellum period.

Founded in 1799 to combat Federalism in North Carolina *The Register* was launched by Joseph Gales, an immigrant printer, who "brought to North Carolina all the zeal and experience of a crusading editor."

Under the direction of founder Gales and later of his son, Weston, *The Register* set the tone for a large segment of the state press for nearly half a century. The paper became the leading advocate of Jeffersonian principles in the State.

With the death of Weston Gales in 1848, *The Register* passed into the youthful hands of a third Gales. It soon began to slip downward and in 1856 it was sold to an outsider, John Syme. In 1863 it was removed to Petersburg, Va., where it continued as *The Petersburg Register*.

This study, a Ph.D. dissertation in the Department of History at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, is Volume 36 of the *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*.

George W. McCoy.

Asheville.

Duke University Library, 1840-1940, A Brief Account with Reminiscences. By Joseph Penn Breedlove. [Library Notes, no. 30, April, 1955] (Durham, North Carolina: The Friends of Duke University Library. 1955. Pp. vi, 81.)

When the author of this volume recalled to his memory his own experiences during his more than forty years service as librarian of Duke University he must have marveled at the tremendous growth of the institution during the last ten years of his active connection with the institution. One is amazed that a small college library can be built into a library ranking with the best in so short a time.

This is a record of one hundred years. The first fifty years seems to have been mainly a rivalry between two, or perhaps three, societies in building up their libraries. When the institution now known as Duke University had been in existence for nearly fifty years there "were only two small libraries . . . and they belonged to the two literary societies." Mr. Breedlove introduces the evidence to show that Union Institute Society did give the matter of a library consideration as early as 1840, and that Trinity College did have a small library in 1860. When John Franklin Crowell was elected president of Trinity College in 1887, he persuaded the three societies on the college campus to combine their books with the college library to form a better unit. According to his own statement he cataloged every book in them with his own hands. Trinity College was moved to Durham in 1892 and the first year in Durham seems to have been a lean one for the library.

President Crowell made a beginning for the library but it was under the administration of John C. Kilgo that the first significant development was made. The first librarian was appointed shortly after Kilgo was appointed President in 1894 and President Kilgo showed that he had a sincere interest in the development of the library. He was responsible for the increase of the library collection through many gifts.

Mr. Breedlove was appointed librarian in 1898, and in June, 1900, it was announced that James B. Duke had presented funds with which to build a library building. The new building was ready in December, 1902, and at the in-

sistence of President Kilgo the librarian went on vacation with the assurance that Kilgo would supervise the moving of the library collection into the new building. The president supervised the first couple of loads, turned the job over to colored labor, and went hunting. Needless to say, Mr. Breedlove returned to find the books in a state of confusion. This experience was in contrast to the orderly removal Mr. Breedlove tells about when the library was moved to a new building in 1927, and then to the present building in 1930.

One is impressed by the way the author keeps his own contributions in the background and points up those made by others such as Presidents Crowell, Kilgo, and Few, as well as Benjamin Powell, Lilliam Griggs, William R. Roafe, William Boyd, Eric Morrell, and Harvie Branscomb—to mention only a few about whom Mr. Breedlove tells.

Special chapters are devoted to The Woman's College Library, The Law School, and The Hospital Library, all of which are coordinated libraries, and The School of Religion and Departmental libraries which are a part of the General Library.

Three appendices are devoted to the tabulation of statistics for the years 1930-1940, a directory of library personnel from 1864 to 1954 (apparently), and faculty committees from 1890 to 1952. The organization of *The Friends of Duke University Library* as of 1954 is given on the inside of the back cover.

Wendell W. Smiley.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

The Biltmore Story. By Carl Alwyn Schenck. (St. Paul, Minn: American Forest History Foundation, Minnesota Historical Society. 1955. Pp. ix, 224. Illustrated. \$3.95.)

Dr. Carl Alwyn Schenck, who served as forester for George W. Vanderbilt, has preserved for us in his memoirs his recollections of the beginning of forestry in this country, and an account of life at the famous Biltmore Estate as he saw it from 1895 to 1909.

He arrived at Biltmore during the early development period, before the "huge castle" had been completed. He was charged with the responsibility of placing under management the primitive forested portion of the property, some 120,000 acres. His were pioneer efforts to practice the business of private forestry in America. Meanwhile his forester contemporaries, Gifford Pinchot and B. E. Fernow, were establishing public forests.

Schenck tells of meeting many important visitors and relates his impressions of authors, diplomats, and college presidents; of mountaineers and notables; of moonshiners and scientists. In so doing he shows that he was a keen observer and a careful chronicler.

His story of the establishment of the first forestry school in America in 1898 is of interest to educators as well as foresters.

Financial reverses led to the disposal of the Pisgah Forest area and to the closing of the Biltmore House.

At about this time Schenck broke with Vanderbilt. Ousted from his school headquarters, he continued a peripatetic school for several more years, traveling and instructing his students at many places in this country and abroad where forest practices could be observed to advantage.

Lack of interest in his practical lumbering-forestry school, combined with competition from Cornell's four-year undergraduate school and Yale's graduate school of forestry, brought about the closing of the Biltmore Forest School in 1913.

The author has written in a lively, entertaining manner, and Ovid M. Butler has done a capable job of editing his material. A carefully compiled index adds to the usefulness of the book.

Lenthall Wyman.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina. The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, February 20, 1744—May 25, 1745. Edited by J. H. Easterby. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1955. Pp. xi, 626. \$12.50.)

The proceedings recorded in this fourth volume of the South Carolina Commons House Assembly continues the same excellent standards that have characterized the earlier publications. This volume covers the second part of the Journal of the House which served the three years following its election in 1742.

The House was concerned primarily with domestic legislation except for the election of William Bull, Jr., as speaker. The usual legislative topics included such items as the annual appropriations acts, public improvements, and governmental operations. The most interesting matters included questions of quit rents, quarantine, debts and debtors, increased bounties on silk, cotton, indigo, and other products, illicit trade between state ports and the Spanish colonies, and an election law (later disallowed by the King) which increased the qualifications of both voters and members of the House and reduced the term for the general assembly from three years to two. In general, relations between the Assembly and the Governor and his Council were harmonious, although there were constant struggles for power between the two groups.

One of the most pressing problems concerned the growing threat of war and attack from Spain and France. A conference was held to draft plans to strengthen the Charles Town fortifications and to encourage the Creek Indians to attack the French garrison at the Alabama Fort (Ft. Toulouse). Peter Henry Bruce, Royal Engineer, was dispatched to complete the fortifications, but his plan was considered beyond the colony's financial ability, and the British government was asked to dispatch additional troops and ships.

This series, ably edited and accurately indexed, continues to provide rich materials for economic, social, military, and political history of the colonial period. It will always be of absorbing interest to the specialist.

Ball State College,
Muncie, Indiana.

Horace W. Raper.

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms. Collected and edited by Mary C. Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, and T. C. Duncan Eaves. Volume IV, 1858-1866. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xxv, 643. \$8.50.)

The fourth volume of the correspondence of William Gilmore Simms is of less interest to the purely literary scholar than the others have been, but it is of greater interest to the historian. It covers the period from just before the outbreak of the Civil War through the first year of reconstruction. Since Simms was a close friend of Senator James H. Hammond and of Congressman William Porcher Miles and was a respected adviser to both of them on matters of Confederate policy, constitutional formation, and military defense, these letters are unusually rich in the portrait they draw of the state of mind of a Southern man of letters flinging himself into the cause of the Confederacy, only to see that cause consistently imperiled (as he thought) by bad leadership and finally destroyed by military failures.

These were years of personal tragedy for Simms. During this period the death of his wife and of four of his children, the destruction twice by fire of his plantation home, "Woodlands," and the collapse of the cause to which he gave his unqualified allegiance took place. His literary work came almost to a standstill during this time, only one novel, *The Cassique of Kiawah*, being completed. Yet his continued correspondence with New Yorkers such as James Lawson, E. A. Duyckinck, and William H. Ferris demonstrates the extent to which he considered himself to be a portion of a confraternity of literary men who transcended sectionalism and even war itself in their devotion to a world of letters.

The editing continues the extremely high level which has already been set for the series. It is done with such care and thoroughness that one repeatedly marvels at its excellence as he reads this volume. There is no longer any room for doubt that the addition of the fifth and final volume next year will bring to a triumphant conclusion one of the major

scholarly tasks undertaken in the field of Southern life and letters in our century.

C. Hugh Holman.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

Notes on the State of Virginia. By Thomas Jefferson. Edited and with an Introduction and Notes by William Peden. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xxv, 315. Folded map laid in. \$5.00.)

From the voluminous writings of the versatile Jefferson only one full length printed book emerged under his authorship. This was his very important and highly controversial *Notes on the State of Virginia*, first printed in Paris in 1785, followed by an unsatisfactory French translation in 1786, and by the London edition put out by the well-known printer and bookseller, John Stockdale, in 1787. There were later editions and many reprints in the early years of the nineteenth century and in 1853 there appeared the Randolph edition, produced by Jefferson's relative, Joseph W. Randolph. Despite the continued interest in Jefferson there has been no new edition of the *Notes* since 1894 when Paul Leicester Ford's appeared, one hundred copies being then privately printed for the Historical Printing Club of Brooklyn while the *Notes* were also included in Ford's third volume of the *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. Surely, after a period of sixty years a new and separate edition was needed and this need has been most satisfactorily met by William Peden, Professor of English at the University of Missouri. This new edition is published by the University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia.

In an excellent introduction of fifteen pages, Professor Peden recounts the genesis of the *Notes* and something of their subsequent history. The questionnaire from Marbois (not sent directly to Jefferson); the formulation of Jefferson's answers by the end of 1781; Jefferson's doubts as to the wisdom of publication because of his strictures on slavery, established religion, and the Virginia constitution; and the events

leading to publication in 1785, 1786, and 1787 are all detailed. There is no mention, however, of the first American edition, the pirated one of 1788, nor of the second American edition of 1794 printed for Mathew Carey. *The Library of Congress Card Catalogue* lists ten reprints or new editions between 1800 and 1803 coming from the presses of Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newark, New York, Boston, and Trenton. It would have been interesting to have had some account of these especially since the editor includes a pertinent paragraph on Federalist employment in these years of the *Notes* as a political weapon against their author.

Jefferson long planned to revise the *Notes* and consequently made numerous marginal corrections and additions in his personal copy of the Stockdale text of 1787. This annotated copy was acquired by the University of Virginia in 1938 and from it Professor Peden has made his new edition. The editing has been done with meticulous care throughout. An example is the correction of Jefferson's citation for the *Odyssey* (p. 288). Jefferson's original footnotes, his later additions and corrections, and the editor's notes are made clearly distinguishable. Unfortunately, except for the introduction, the current vogue for relegating footnotes to the back of the book has been followed by the publishers. In his own notes the editor has cited a wealth of recent monographic material on the varied phases of Jefferson's activities. The Appendix of 1800 dealing with the controversy about the Mingo chief, Logan, is included (pp. 226-258) as is also Jefferson's revision of the Virginia map of 1781 made by his father and Joshua Fry. There is also an adequate index, the first one to be prepared for a separate edition of the *Notes*.

This excellent new edition of a valuable work is rendered most serviceable for scholars and should be of interest to the layman in view of the manner "in which the lengthening shadow of Jeffersonianism . . . has left its mark on our land" (p. xxv). The editor is correct in claiming that this is "a book for *today*."

D. H. Gilpatrick.

Furman University,
Greenville, S. C.

Early Days of Coastal Georgia. By Orrin Sage Wightman and Margaret Davis Cate. (St. Simons Island, Georgia: Fort Frederica Association. 1955. Pp. 235. \$6.00.)

The title of this work has only a slight relation to its content. There is a six-page essay on "The Historical Background of St. Simons Island"; but it is listed in the last line of a three-page table of contents and was not discovered by this reader until he had already covered the remaining 223 pages of the book. The book is essentially "a collection of pictures . . . of Coastal Georgia scenes." About half of these pictures present remains or partial restorations of structures used in the colonial period. The others are photographs of individual Negroes and various objects indicating a unique and somewhat primitive way of life among the descendants of Negro slaves who lived on and in the vicinity of St. Simons Island. The pictures seem to have been made over a period of several years and are not always clearly identified as to their historical significance.

Each of the full-page pictures exemplifies both the mechanical perfection of modern photography and the skill developed by Dr. Wightman in his chosen hobby. Accompanying each picture is a sketch prepared by Mrs. Cate. The only effort of unity or correlation is a loose arrangement according to location. Since many of the subjects are closely related there is considerable repetition in the sketches. The arbitrary rule of one page to each sketch evidently caused the author to include in some a certain amount of *trivia* and to curb her enthusiasm for interesting stories in connection with others. Extremely poor proof reading is made more obvious by the belated insertion of a partial list of *errata*.

The book is noteworthy in two respects. In the first place, it is an example of the worthwhile contribution that can be made to the understanding of our cultural past by individuals and groups who might be properly designated as "hobby historians." With the recent growth of interest in relating localities to general historical development the old distinction between amateurs and professionals in the field of history has lost much of its validity. It is to be hoped that the

new breed of hobbyists will allow their enthusiasm to be guided into productive channels by observing the basic mental discipline and forms of presentation developed by their professional co-workers. Though this book is entirely lacking in references and bibliographical data it was written with some attention to details of fact and to distinguishing between fact and mere conjecture. In this respect it is an improvement over the average run of studies in local history.

The book is also unique in devoting half its pages to pictures and using print merely to explain and interpret the pictures. There is room for an infinite variety of opinions on the value of this device. There can be no disagreement on the propositions that it preserves the appearance of historical remains that cannot themselves be preserved and it brings to the historical craft a useful ally in the photographer.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

Guide to the Manuscripts of the Kentucky Historical Society.
By G. Glenn Clift. (Frankfort, Kentucky: Kentucky Historical Society. 1955. Pp. iv, 185.)

As a rule one of the first steps in bringing manuscripts under control is to prepare a guide, which ordinarily identifies and describes records generally by collections or records groups. This particular work, however, might more aptly be called a calendar, inasmuch as it describes individual documents. The holdings of the Kentucky Historical Society are not extensive, being "characterized by very small groups" that seldom contain more than five items. Unfortunately, many of the valuable manuscripts collected by the society from 1836 to 1880 have "found their devious ways into other collections."

The state, county, and municipal archives are included in one inventory along with private and unofficial manuscripts. One exception is that the Governor's archives (previously described in other publications of the Society) are not included. The entries are arranged alphabetically so that one

may turn quickly to a desired item. Two noteworthy entries relate to a few papers of Henry Clay and J. J. Crittenden. Included also is a large group of land grants.

This limited, multilithed publication, though not available to scholars generally, presumably will be available in a number of libraries and records depositories.

W. Frank Burton.

Brown Summit.

Early American Science: Needs and Opportunities for Study.
By Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. (Williamsburg, Va.: Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1955. Pp. vii, 85. \$1.25.)

In 1952-1953 the Institute of Early American History and Culture held a series of conferences to consider needs and opportunities for research in hitherto neglected areas of colonial history. The present volume surveys the field of American science before 1820. In an introductory essay the author urges a wider study of this subject and suggests the following aspects of American science which need further consideration: biographies of individual scientists; histories of individual sciences; science education, the avenues by which scientific ideas were disseminated among colonial students as well as from Europe to America; popular conceptions of science; and the interrelations of society and thought with early American science.

As aids for such studies the author includes bibliographies for the history of science in America, a list of periodicals containing articles on that subject, and a list of fifty American scientists with selected bibliographies of their work. It is evident from this essay and painstaking bibliographical survey that, though by 1820 American science had not come to maturity, its foundations had been laid. All students of American civilization will agree with Mr. Bell that this is a significant subject for research, and that much remains to be done yet before the complete story of it will be known.

David L. Smiley.

Wake Forest College,
Wake Forest.

Constitutional Development in Alabama, 1798-1901: A Study in Politics, the Negro, and Sectionalism. Volume XXXVII of the James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. By Malcolm Cook McMillan. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Pp. viii, 412. \$2.50.)

In a very thorough and detailed volume Professor McMillan chronicles the changes in the constitution of Alabama through six conventions, from the days of the rustic frontier to those of a semi-industrial order. He finds influences of great variety and scope controlling the evolution of the state's constitution and catalogs and analyzes these in systematic order. Especially influential were ideas freely borrowed from other states and the changing relations with the federal government (including the trials of secession and reunion). "The presence of the Negro in large numbers," maintains the author, "has been the most important factor in the constitutional history of the state." Certainly it was the most troublesome factor.

The state adopted its first constitution in 1819, with full white manhood suffrage and with apportionment of representation on the basis of the white population rather than the federal three-fifths ratio. In 1868 manhood suffrage, including Negroes but excluding many proscribed whites, was instituted, with total population as the basis of apportionment. In 1901 a new constitution practically eliminated the Negro vote, which had become a source of serious corruption, and greatly reduced the white vote. The author shows how the political problems of the Negro caused dissention in every convention and interfered with reasonable settlements for other problems. This was notably true of the Constitution of 1901, which is still in effect, although amended approximately a hundred times. He finds a distinct and lasting sectional conflict in the state, but is rather vague in defining "north Alabama" and "south Alabama" and in relating the sectional conflict to its geographical basis. The book is highly factual, and the author does not indulge extensively in sweeping conclusions. He does, however, tend to evaluate the constitutions of the state in terms of "democracy," which to him seems to have some positive moral value for its own

sake—"democracy" being measured quantitatively as the percentage of the people participating in elections. The reviewer is highly skeptical of this.

The book contains somewhat less than the usual quota of misplaced commas, misspellings, obscurities, and thin spots and, in general, represents a good job of writing and publishing. It is well-documented and scholarly and will be of lasting value to historians as a reference book.

James F. Doster.

University of Alabama,
University, Alabama.

The Lost Account of the Battle of Corinth and Court-Martial of Gen. Van Dorn. By an unknown author. Introduction and informal essay on the battle by Monroe F. Cockrell. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1955. Pp. 78. Map and Illustrations. \$1.50, paper.)

As the title page indicates, this book is a potpourri of materials concerning the campaign, the battle of Corinth and its participants. Mr. Cockrell, one of the students and enthusiasts of the 1861-1865 conflict comprising the Chicago Civil War Round Table, assembled this volume primarily to present a brief essay on the battle by an unknown author. First printed in 1899, only one copy of the pamphlet has survived to the knowledge of Mr. Cockrell. This he located in the attic of a farmhouse near the City of Corinth. The unknown author's account is vividly and authentically written, with an obvious background of thorough study in the *Official Records*, and as he indicates, personal interviews with a score or two of participants and approximately fifty letters from others on the spot.

Following this battle account is a summary, also by the unknown author, of the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry that investigated the conduct of the Confederate commander at Corinth, Major General Earl Van Dorn. This is by comparison much less a contribution since the complete proceedings of the court, exciting to read in their entirety, are in the *Official Records* (Series I, XVII, Part I, pp. 414-459), the unnamed source of the unknown authority. The complete

roster of Confederate forces engaged in the battle, also compiled by the author, is inserted next and is probably no more of a contribution. A two page biographical sketch is then confronted dealing with Colonel W. P. Rogers, Confederate hero killed while leading his men to the top of the breastworks of Fort Robinette. The Colonel's own daughter contributed this not-always-objective statement. Mr. Cockrell's study of the Corinth contest concludes the volume and makes the contribution of defining the relation of the battle and auxiliary engagements to the war in the West.

LeRoy H. Fischer.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College,
Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Jefferson Davis: American Patriot, 1808-1861. By Hudson Strode. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1955. Pp. xx, 460. \$6.75.)

In this newest biography of Jefferson Davis, Professor Hudson Strode of the University of Alabama has given the most intimate and interesting study of the Confederate President that has been made to date. In this, the first of two volumes, the author has taken issue with the usual textbook summarization—Davis “was not only a faulty politician but a cold human being and an irascible, driven leader, who lacked the ability to steer the Confederacy to success”—and portrays Davis as a real and vital human being. Certainly, by the use of fresh, new and unpublished sources of private and personal family letters, he has succeeded in brightening the hitherto dim view of Davis's personal life.

Young Jeff was born in a four-room log house in western Kentucky. His father, Samuel Emory Davis, had fought in the Revolutionary War in South Carolina and Georgia; and later, after having failed as a farmer near Augusta, moved his family first to Mercer and then to Christian County, Kentucky. Before the boy was two years old, however, the Davis family was on the move again. This time it was down the Mississippi River to Bayou Teche in Louisiana, and then to Wilkinson County, Mississippi.

From the very beginning, young Jefferson was influenced by his older brother, Joseph, who saw great potentialities in the young boy and who throughout his life was solicitous of him. Mr. Strode has given us a keen insight into the formal education of the boy and of the personal relationships within the family. His schooling began in a Kentucky boy's school near Springfield, which was run by Dominican friars. Going to this school was quite a hazardous 700 mile trek for the seven-year boy up the Natchez Trace. Despite his two year stay, the Dominican fathers refused to indoctrinate him; in fact, Davis never felt inclined to join any church until he was past fifty and President of the Confederacy, at which time he became an Episcopalian. He later attended an academy near Natchez, and by the time he was thirteen he was considered ready for university life.

Transylvania University was selected since it was considered the best school west of Princeton. Davis made good grades in his work, was quite popular, and made many friends, including George W. Jones (later Senator from Iowa), Henry Clay, Jr., and Albert Sidney Johnston. In 1824, at only sixteen years of age, he accepted a commission to West Point although he had no interest in a military career. Despite his intelligence, Davis was not an outstanding cadet, for he refused to comply with the strict discipline of the school (120, 70, and 137 demerits in his first three years) and graduated twenty-third in a class of thirty-three. Included among his classmates were four future leaders of the Confederacy (Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, Albert Sidney Johnston, and Leonidas Polk) as well as five others who likewise became Confederate generals.

Upon graduation, Jeff was assigned to duty at Jefferson Barracks in Missouri, and for the next seven years he was involved in Indian affairs, chiefly the Black Hawk War. He was considered by many to have a promising military career, although this was insufficient to win the father's approval of his first love affair. Mr. Strode's story of Davis's love for Sarah Knox Taylor is quite touching and poignant, for "Old Rough and Ready," Col. Zachary Taylor, did not consider that either a lieutenant's pay or Mississippi climate suitable for

a successful marriage. Davis consequently resigned his commission, and married Taylor's daughter in June, 1835, without her father's consent or presence. Three months later his wife was dead, and Davis's whole world collapsed about him. Overcome by grief, he was forced into seclusion. The loss of his wife changed his nature from a buoyant personality to that of a stoic—a fact that led to much misunderstanding in later years, especially when it was interpreted as disdainful coolness.

Davis was virtually a recluse for the next seven years, and only through the tender proddings of his older brother, Joseph, was he brought back into an active life. He was given 1,800 acres of uncleared land to start his own plantation, Brierfield (later to be involved in a legal suit due to cloudy title), and the use of his brother's extensive library. By his middle thirties, Davis had recovered his health, found a second wife (Varina Howell), and entered into a new career. In 1845 he was elected to the House of Representatives. With only six months service in the House, Davis resigned his post to take command of a Mississippi regiment of troops in the Mexican War. He found himself under the command of his former father-in-law, General Taylor (now completely reconciled) and distinguished himself at Monterey and Buena Vista. According to one biographer, "Davis won fame second only to General Taylor."

Returning home in 1847, Davis was appointed to the United States Senate and until 1861 was a leader in national affairs. Mr. Strode does not hesitate to discuss the controversial issues of the day, but does so through the personal eyes of Davis. He discusses Davis's controversy with Clay over the Compromise of 1850; his grief over the death of President Taylor; service as Secretary of War; aid to Douglas on the Kansas-Nebraska Act; the 1860 split of the Democratic party; and secession. Probably Davis's greatest contribution was made while he served as Secretary of War under Pierce during which time his "reconnaissances of routes" for the projected railways to the Pacific was suggested.

Davis felt that the South was forced by necessity into secession; although he did not want it, he never doubted its

constitutionality. All too clearly he saw the inevitable results, and said "Civil war has only horror for me." When his own state seceded, he bade farewell to his fellow Senators with "no defiance, no bravado in the words—only the quiet determination to play the manly part if forced to combat."

Upon his return to Brierfield, Davis expected to serve the Confederacy through the command of armed forces, believing that he could better serve in the military rather than in public administration. He felt he lacked the equipment of the practical politician and his wife Varina "knew he was both too sensitive and too high-toned for political scheming." Nevertheless, destiny pointed its finger at Davis, for on February 10, 1861, while he was helping his wife prune her rose bushes, he was informed that he had been elected to the presidency of the Confederacy.

Having only four days to prepare his inaugural address Jefferson Davis arrived in Montgomery, Alabama, the capital, amidst applauding optimism with the inaugural band playing "I Wish I Was in Dixie." Thus, he faced his mountainous task—administering a country, without army or navy, to withstand possible invasion.

Mr. Strode does not discuss whether Davis was the man for the post. Possibly in the second volume he shall have to elaborate on Davis's statesmanship.

Jefferson Davis makes a readable story in the vivid prose of Strode, but this reviewer doubts that it can rank with McElroy as the definitive study of the Confederate leader.

Horace W. Raper.

Ball State College,
Muncie, Indiana.

The Southern Claims Commission. By Frank W. Klingberg.
(Berkeley: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 261.
\$3.50.)

In spite of the fact that the Civil War continues to command the studious attention of historians, it is not often that significant and previously unused materials form the core of such studies. Professor Klingberg's monograph, however, is

based on new sources of information found among the unknown and unused records of the Southern Claims Commission scattered throughout government agencies in Washington. From this fruitful mine of new material he has skillfully told the story of those Southern Unionists at the top economic level, and has traced their attempts to obtain compensation from a government to which many men of substantial means were loyal in the midst of war and revolution.

The status of Southern Unionists, and especially of the large planters who remained loyal, was most difficult and confused throughout the war and the decade that followed. Loyalty to the Union demanded treason to the Confederacy, but even when such loyalty was admitted or established, compensation was very difficult, and for some years virtually impossible, to obtain. The claims of such Unionists were of indefinite legal status until the establishment of the Southern Claims Commission in 1871, and until that time furnished a testing ground especially in the courts, for the struggle between private and public rights. For until 1871 claims were admissible, except for the difficult matter of private claims before Congress, only from states "not in rebellion," and the Southern Unionist was without a remedy, in spite of military receipts or executive promises, as Congress, through a number of acts, had made residence the test of loyalty. The bill which eventually, on March 3, 1871, established the Southern Claims Commission was more of a sectional than a party measure, but it is clear that as Radical control of Congress was threatened, support for the measure increased under the persuasion that it was best to control what could not be prevented.

Eight chapters of the total of eleven recount the story of the creation, organization, and the decade of operation of the commission authorized by the law of March 3, 1871. This act provided for the appointment of three commissioners by the president to receive and examine claims for quartermaster and commissary goods taken or furnished for the use of the army. President Grant promptly appointed to the commission three Radical Republicans of Whig lineage, who proceeded to set up rules and procedures which were strict but reason-

able, and who at all times appear to have conducted the complicated business of the commission with fairness and decided ability.

Ability was needed to administer the act, for confusion and uncertainty, by the nature of the business, was evident from the beginning. A rigid test of loyalty was devised and rigidly applied at first; an applicant's guilt was assumed until his innocence could be proved, and his Unionism must have been one of duration as well as of degree. The test of property caused other difficulties and necessitated eventual refinements of policies and procedures in the interests of justice.

From the evidence furnished by the records of this commission many conclusions of interest and importance are made. This study is largely confined to Unionists from the seceded states who claimed amounts of \$10,000 or more. Of a total of 22,298 claims, 701 were for amounts of \$10,000 or more. Of these 701 claims, 191 were allowed as loyal and were paid in part, but the claimants received less than five million dollars of the more than sixty million claimed. In no sense did the Southern Unionist conduct a successful raid on the treasury.

The large claimants are revealed to have come from every section and from every class, but the group under special study was concentrated in three large areas: the large plantation area in the rich river lands along the Mississippi River; the tidewater area of Virginia; and along the path of Sherman's march in Tennessee and Georgia. The states of Virginia, Louisiana, and Mississippi lead the roll in the number of successful applicants, furnishing 125 of the 191 claims allowed in part. The well-known areas of Union sentiment in the hill country of Alabama and Mississippi and in the Appalachian Highlands are sparsely represented in this study, because no large plantations flourished there, or because the Union armies did not penetrate there.

From this study we learn something of the quantity as well as the quality of Southern Unionism. Professor Klingberg concludes that because of the limitations prescribed by statute and by the rules of the commissioners "it is probable that for every man or woman who filed an honest claim, there

were at least four who, with equal qualifications of Unionism and property, failed to do so." This seems to be a reasonable verdict.

The records of the Southern Claims Commission furnish a wealth of social and economic information about the South during the war. Here is evidence concerning crops, prices, the plentifulness of supplies in the Confederacy, and of many other aspects of the war years. In short, in the words of the commissioners themselves, the testimony "presented a vivid and crowded panorama of the war in those sections that were the actual theaters of military operations."

After the war, as well as during it, the Unionist is revealed as an ardent Southerner even if a Unionist; the Southern Claims Commission was never an agency for the subsidization of Republicanism in the South. Professor Klingberg concludes that the economic and political liquidation of the Southern Unionist was a failure in statesmanship. Northern Radicalism proved the secessionist right, at least in his fears, and tended to destroy such vestiges of Unionism as remained.

Professor Klingberg has not merely presented his significant materials, but he has sifted them and analyzed them to logical and suggestive conclusions. He enables the reader to share these conclusions not only by his clarity of expression, but by a map of the distribution of claims of \$10,000 or more, and by eight tables and three appendixes, one of which consists of the standard eighty questions asked of each claimant or witness.

Even in so good a book errors have crept in. Some are likely very largely mechanical errors, as where (p. 81) the middle initial of Senator "Parson" William G. Brownlow is incorrectly given. John C. Breckinridge is described as being a brigadier general in the Confederate army in the spring of 1861 (p. 13), whereas he was still a member of the United States Senate, attended the special session which opened in Washington on July 4, 1861, and was not commissioned by the Confederacy until November 2, 1861. But most curious of all is the confusing and incorrect statement (p. 10) that ". . . the first convention in North Carolina, called in November, 1860, voted strongly for the Union and, on its adjournment on

December 22, made no provision for reconsidering this decision." There was no convention in North Carolina in November, 1860, nor did the governor call an extra session of the convention, as is implied by the language of the next sentence on the same page. But errors such as these in no wise impair the validity of the conclusions of this study.

Professor Klingberg has had something to say and has said it in excellent style. Faultlessly documented, thorough in research, valid in generalization, sound in interpretation, his study of the Southern Claims Commission is a model monograph of top rank. Every reader of this work will be pleased to know that the author has under way a wider study of Southern Unionism, and will doubtless be persuaded by this study that no one is better equipped to undertake it.

Frontis W. Johnston.

Davidson College,
Davidson.

American Indians Dispossessed. By Walter Hart Blumenthal. (Philadelphia, Pa.: George S. MacManus Company. 1955. Pp. 200. \$3.75.)

The extinguishment of the Indians' rights to their lands constitutes one of a dominant—though a somewhat neglected—phase of the history of our country. It furnishes many interesting comparisons with the practices of other countries in dealing with the native peoples inhabiting a domain which they claimed or over which they wished to extend their jurisdiction. The American Indian had little conception of the ownership of land. To him, land was like air and water—it was necessary to life itself—but it was not something to be sold or bought. This original concept of the Indian underwent an abrupt change, as the conquest of the American continent moved rapidly westward from the Atlantic seaboard. No less than 720 cessions of lands were secured from the Indian tribes in the period from 1784 to 1894. It seems unlikely that many of these cessions were made with the willing consent of the Indians. They put their marks to treaties which invariably involved the relinquishment of land, but rarely did

they do so voluntarily. Few, if any land cessions were ever made by the Indians entirely of their own volition.

The story of the dispossession of the Indians, in its multiple forms, will excite the sympathies of scholars and lay people alike. One of the latter group has given here for fellow laymen a brief recital of some of the high lights of the fraudulent Indian land problem, a story of tragic elements with a strong mixture of bribery, coercion and chicanery.

Gaston Litton.

University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Oklahoma.

Woodrow Wilson. By H. Hale Bellot. (London, England: The Athlone Press. 1955. Pp. 22. \$.50.)

This may well be the finest single interpretative essay on Woodrow Wilson and his contributions to American political history. Dr. Hale Bellot, Professor Emeritus of American History at the University of London, has obviously studied Wilson's writings and speeches and read the vast body of literature bearing on him and his times. The result is a brilliant synthesis and interpretation, sympathetic yet unencumbered by adulation. The author thinks that Wilson was undoubtedly a great man; like some biographers of the war president, however, he is impressed and often puzzled by the contradictions between Wilson's profession and practice. Professional Wilsonians will not like Dr. Hale Bellot's candor, but historians will be grateful for his wisdom and understanding.

Arthur S. Link.

Northwestern University,
Evanston, Illinois.

Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1835-1845, Volume III. Edited by Robert H. White. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission. 1954. Pp. x, 797. \$4.00.)

Tennessee had three governors during the period covered by Volume III of *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee*: Newton Cannon, 1835-1839, a Whig; James K. Polk, 1839-

1841, a Democrat; and James C. Jones, 1841-1845, a Whig. The texts of their messages provide the core for Dr. White's volume, but the volume contains much more than a dry compilation of governors' messages and papers. Indeed, in this latter respect the title of the series being prepared is quite misleading, for the series relies on newspapers, government records and numerous other materials to supplement and explain the governors' messages. Dr. White is actually writing a political history of Tennessee; in the present volume he gives lengthy narrative and interpretative treatments to public issues such as banking, currency, internal improvements including railroads, the humanitarian movement, and education; and is making a distinct contribution to the study of his state's history. Since no altogether adequate history of Tennessee exists, White's over-all contribution (he has projected ten volumes covering governors' messages since the year 1796) is both notable and colossal. The Tennessee Historical Commission is to be congratulated for sponsoring such an undertaking.

Tennessee was by no means a pivotal state in 1835-1845, but it was the home of Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk, and, therefore, its internal politics took on an importance all out of proportion to its national significance. General Jackson no longer held office, but he was still a powerful influence in his state and in the nation. He was, of course, no longer as influential as he had been. The Whig reaction in Tennessee to Jackson assumed national importance, however, and the state's experience of a Whig governor, a Democrat, and another Whig within a decade was watched closely by the United States. In fact, the Presidency of the United States was exchanged just as rapidly from 1840 to 1848. As Dr. White says, "In no other ten-year span of Tennessee's history have there been waged such partisan political contests." A leading reason for this conclusion is that the state possessed James Chamberlain Jones, the Whig, a demagogue of the first order, a crowd entertainer, and a person of very striking physical appearance. Like Abraham Lincoln, Governor Jones "cashed in" politically on his appearance, his homespun philosophy, and his joke-telling ability. Jones adopted or per-

haps instituted vote-getting tactics that were devastating to Polk; he was a most intriguing figure in the eyes of Tennesseans and others; he abundantly deserves a full-length biography.

Weymouth T. Jordan.

Florida State University,
Tallahassee, Florida.

American Epoch. By Arthur S. Link. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. xx, 724. \$6.00.)

American Epoch is a survey of the history of the United States since 1890. It is a challenging interpretation of the cultural, social, political, and economic history of this period, organized and written in a way that makes good reading. Mr. Link is perhaps too modest about his work when he says in the preface: "I have said very little that is new. Indeed, I will be satisfied if I have succeeded in assembling, assimilating, and organizing the excellent sources and literature of this period." The author has evaluated these sources and reached conclusions even on the most controversial issues. This adds zest to the book. In general, however, the author's interpretations and conclusions will be more palatable to liberals than to conservatives. The progressive movement and social justice get considerable attention.

A few examples of interpretation will show the author's point of view: on the credit side of the Great Depression and the later policies of Hoover was a transition to "a larger measure of federal leadership" (p. 373); while the New Deal is seen as "the enactment of a program that marked the full flowering of the humanitarian-progressive movement . . ." (p. 403); the "TVA might well prove to be the New Deal's most important contribution . . ." (p. 432); if the United States had provided leadership from 1936 to 1939 war might have been prevented (p. 466); as to the Yalta agreements, "Roosevelt and Churchill . . . acted in the only manner that was historically possible" (p. 564). The American economy at the end of the Democratic era "was neither capitalistic nor socialistic, competitive nor monopolistic, business controlled

nor laboristic. It was a 'mixed' economy, a combination of many elements . . . each appealing to the political power" (p. 602). Moreover, people of both parties like this "mixed" economy and look to the government to make it work (p. 602). As to agriculture, the Brannan Plan is "farsighted and probably the best solution to the farm problem . . ." (p. 641). Truman gets approval for a "farsighted foreign policy" (p. 626) and his "most significant contribution . . . in extending the horizons and enlarging the goals of the American progressive movement" (p. 627).

This book provides a means to a better understanding of American civilization since 1890.

Hubert A. Coleman.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr Christopher Crittenden participated in a colloquium on "The Role of the Historical Society in Modern America," as part of the rededication ceremonies of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, October 7-8; attended the meetings of the Southeastern Museums Conference at Nashville, October 12-15; and also attended the meetings of the National Trust for Historic Preservation of which he is a member of the board of directors, at Nashville, October 20-22.

At Raleigh, December 5, Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. W. S. Tarlton spoke jointly before the Division Executive Committee, United Daughters of the Confederacy, discussing the State's historic sites program.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent of the Department of Archives and History, represented the Department at the unveiling of the James W. Cannon historical highway marker near Charlotte on September 17; was the featured speaker at the annual dinner meeting on October 10 of the Currituck County Historical Association; and accompanied Mr. Norman Larson, Historic Site Specialist for the Alamance Battleground, to Burlington on October 26, where both met with the Alamance Historical Society and spoke to the group. Following the meeting those attending went out to the battleground and unveiled two historical markers. Plans are being worked out co-operatively between the local groups and the Department of Archives and History for the further development of the battleground. On November 15 he spoke to the Julian S. Carr Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Durham, on the restoration of the Bennett House.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator of the Department of Archives and History, attended the Social Studies Conference on September 17, which was held at Duke Uni-

versity; cut the ribbons at the museum's exhibit at the opening on October 10 of the Harnett County Bi-Centennial Celebration; and was re-elected secretary-treasurer of the Southeastern Museums Conference which met on October 12-15 in Nashville, Tennessee, to which meeting she was accompanied by Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips and Miss Barbara McKeithan. On November 29, Mrs. Jordan gave an illustrated talk on "Restoration in North Carolina" to the Johnston County Historical Society, and on December 3, she acted as hostess for the Department of Archives and History in conjunction with the Department of Public Instruction at a Junior Historian Workshop. On December 7, Mrs. Jordan gave a talk, "Myths and Legends," to the Twigg Book Club, Raleigh.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History, brought back from Gastonia on September 13 the records of the North Carolina Democratic Executive Committee during the time former Governor R. Gregg Cherry was chairman (1938-1944). He also acquired the records of the Gaston County American Legion Post. These records which have been presented to the Department require approximately twenty feet of storage space in the Record Center. On October 11, Mr. Corbitt attended the Duke University Commonwealth Studies Lectures in Durham; represented the Department on October 14 at the opening ceremonies of the Rowan Museum, Incorporated, in Salisbury; spoke to the Baldwin family reunion at Ellerbe on October 16; and made a talk at a special meeting of the Wayne County Historical Society in Goldsboro on October 27. On November 4 Mr. Corbitt attended the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina, accompanied by Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn of his division; and on November 19 was present in Greenville at the unveiling of the plaque commemorating the Pitt Association.

The Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History held a meeting on November 18 at which time the

Director, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, and heads of the various divisions made reports of activities for the past several months.

The American Association for State and Local History held its annual meeting in Williamsburg, Virginia, September 26-27. Members of the Department of Archives and History staff who attended were: Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips.

The Society of American Archivists met in Nashville, Tennessee, on October 9-11. Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mrs. Julia C. Meconnahey of the Department attended the meetings.

The Southern Historical Association held its annual meeting in Memphis, Tennessee, November 10-12. The Department was represented by Mr. D. L. Corbitt and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, who made a talk on "The State Archivist and the Scholar."

Dr. Florian Beghart Rath, Director of Haus-, Hof-und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, was a guest of the Department of Archives and History, October 13-14, where he visited and studied the work of the various divisions. Dr. Rath was on a tour sponsored by the United States Office of Education and was accompanied by an interpreter, Dr. H. M. Spitzer.

The Tryon Palace Commission met in New Bern November 2-3. Members of the Department of Archives and History staff who attended were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton.

The Town of Bath celebrated its two hundred-fiftieth anniversary on October 1-4. "Queen Anne's Bell," a pageant by Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington, was presented on October 4 in a special waterfront theater. Members of the cast included Governor and Mrs. Luther H. Hodges as

well as other state figures and a large group of local and county citizens. The Glebe House in Bath contained a historical display and special services were held at the churches for the occasion. A new book about Bath, *A History of Colonial Bath*, was written by Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., for the anniversary celebration.

The regular fall meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina was held at Duke University, Durham, on November 4. At the business session the following officers were elected: Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College, President; Dr. Paul Murray of Greenville, Vice-President; and Dr. M. L. Skaggs of Greensboro, Secretary-treasurer. At the afternoon meeting Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent of the State Department of Archives and History, spoke on the historic sites program; and Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill gave a talk on the history of the Society. Following the dinner Dr. Robert H. Woody, President of the Society, read a paper giving a preliminary evaluation of the late Charles S. Sydnor.

The annual meetings of the several cultural societies opened with the business session of the North Carolina State Art Society. The meetings which are held yearly by eight cultural groups began on November 30 and closed on December 3. Dr. Robert Lee Humber, Greenville, was elected President of the Art Society to succeed the late Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington of Warrenton, who had served the group as president for 25 years. Tributes were paid to Mrs. Arrington and also to W. T. Polk, both of whom until their deaths were active in the society's affairs. The four directors who were elected to serve for two-year terms are: Mr. Gregory Ivy, Greensboro; State Auditor Henry Bridges Raleigh; Mrs. J. H. B. Moore, Greenville; and Mrs. Elizabeth Mack, Charlotte.

Officers elected at the board of directors' meeting which was held following the morning session were: State Treasurer Edwin Gill, Raleigh, Executive Vice-President; Mrs.

Frank Taylor, Goldsboro; Mrs. John Allcott, Chapel Hill; and Mrs. Jacques Busbee, Steeds, all Vice-Presidents. Mrs. James Cordon, Raleigh, was re-elected Treasurer. Re-elected to the executive committee were Dr. Clarence Poe, Raleigh; Dr. Clement Sommer, Chapel Hill; Dr. C. Sylvester Green, Winston-Salem; and Mrs. Isabel Bowen Henderson, Raleigh. Mr. Gregory Ivy, Greensboro, was elected to fill the vacancy created by Dr. Humber's election to the presidency.

The luncheon meeting for members and guests was presided over by Attorney General W. B. Rodman, and Mr. Walter Sharp, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, made the address.

The evening session which featured Mr. E. P. Richardson, Director of the Detroit Art Institute, as speaker, was presided over by Dr. Robert Lee Humber. Purchase award winners announced were: Miss Margaret Crawford, Raleigh, a graduate student at the Woman's College, for her painting, "Painting"; Mr. George P. Arnold, Milton, "Sea and Rocks"; and Mrs. Edith London, Durham, for her ink drawing, "Trees."

Following the address a reception and preview of the North Carolina Artists' Exhibition was held for members and guests at the College Union, North Carolina State College.

Dr. Robert Lee Humber Greenville, was elected Chairman of the Roanoke Island Association at the annual business meeting on November 30. Other officers elected were: Mr. Russell Grumman, Chapel Hill, Vice-President; Mr. Isaac P. Davis, Winton, Secretary; and Mr. Chauncey Meekins, Manteo, Treasurer. Honorary Vice-Presidents elected were: Mr. W. D. Carmichael, Jr., Chapel Hill, former Governor R. Gregg Cherry, Gastonia, former U. S. Comptroller Lindsey C. Warren, Washington, and United States Senator W. Kerr Scott, Haw River. Mr. Martin Kellogg was named General Counsel. A report was given by Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, Chairman of the new theater project committee, and progress

on the Elizabethan Garden was reported by Mrs. Roy Homewood, Chapel Hill. Directors elected at the session were: Mr. Lawrence Swain, Mr. Harry Buchanan, Mr. Hugh Morton, Mr. Guy H. Lennon, Mrs. Roy Homewood, Dr. C. Sylvester Green, Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, Mr. M. Keith Fearing, Mr. Bruce Etheridge, Bishop Thomas Wright, Mr. John Parker, Mr. Chester Davis, Mr. Melvin Daniels, Mr. Miles Clark, Mr. Sam Selden, Mrs. Fred Morrison, Mr. Edmund Harding, Dr. Robert Lee Humber, Mr. Chauncey Meekins, Mr. Isaac P. Davis, and Mr. Russell Grumman.

The Cannon Awards in recognition of distinguished work in the field of history and historical preservation were presented at the fifteenth annual meeting of The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, which was held on December 1. A panel on current restoration projects in North Carolina featured the morning session of which Mr. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro was the moderator. Mr. James A. Stenhouse made a report on the restoration of St. Thomas Church in Bath and other restoration projects. Others taking part in the discussion and the projects reported on included: Mr. Norris Hodgkins, the Alston House; Mrs. John A. Kellenberger, Tryon Palace; Miss Elizabeth Moore, the Barker House; Mrs. P. S. McMullan, the Iredell House; Mrs. Sterling Gary, the Halifax Gaol; Dr. Douglas L. Rights, Old Salem Restoration; Mrs. Raymond Maxwell, the Old Norcomb House; Mrs. Gettys Guille, the Maxwell Chambers House; and Mrs. Roy Harrell, the Elkin House.

At the luncheon meeting Mrs. Luther H. Hodges brought greetings to the society in the absence of the Governor, and Mrs. George Little, State President of the Garden Clubs of North Carolina, made a talk, "Report on Elizabethan Garden at Fort Raleigh." Mrs. Roy Homewood, Chapel Hill, presided and members of the Garden Committee gave the "Blessing and Dedication Ceremony of the Elizabethan Garden." Others who took part in the program were: Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, Edenton; Mr. Paul Green, Chapel Hill; Dr. Robert Lee Humber, Greenville; Mrs. Sam Hutaff, Fayette-

ville; Mrs. Corbett Howard, Goldsboro; and Mrs. Graham Edgerton, Raleigh.

At the evening meeting the Cannon Awards were presented to the following persons: Mrs. Frank Smethurst, Raleigh, who helped lay the groundwork for the formation of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities; Mr. Don Shoemaker, Nashville, Tennessee, for his work in the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Association and aid in restoring the Wolfe home; Mr. William P. Sharpe, Raleigh, for his work in publicizing the history of the state; Mr. Robert H. Frazier, Greensboro, for his work as President of the Friends Historical Association; and Mr. Edmund H. Harding, Washington, for his work in historical preservation and the recent Bath pageant.

The society decided to retain the present officers and not to hold an election this year. These are Mrs. Charles A. Cannon, Concord, President; Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, Edenton, Vice-President; and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch, Raleigh, Secretary-Treasurer.

The fifty-fifth annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association was held on December 2, at which time Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, Pendleton, was elected as President to succeed Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Chapel Hill. Dr. Green presided at the business meeting after which Miss Lois Byrd of Lillington made a talk "How We Celebrated Harnett County's Centennial," Mr. Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill talked on "The Valley of Humility," and Mr. David Stick of Kill Devil Hills gave a review of the non-fiction books of the year. Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, Forest City, gave a talk on "History and Progress of the Western North Carolina Historical Association." Presentation of the literary awards was made following the speaking. Dr. Paul Murray made the R. D. W. Connor Award to Mr. Paul Conkin of Nashville, Tennessee, for his article, "The Church Establishment in North Carolina, 1765-1776"; Mrs. W. M. Peterson made the AAUW Juvenile Award to Mr. and Mrs. Latrobe Carroll of Asheville (second time winners) for *Digby, the Only Dog*; and Mr. William S. Powell presented

Mrs. Nettie McCormick Henley of Laurinburg the award in the field of history for her book, *The Home Place*, and the Roanoke Island Historical Association for its historical work, particularly its presentation of "The Lost Colony." Both of the latter awards were presented by the American Association for State and Local History. The Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award was not given this year as the judges voted to make no award.

Other officers who were elected at the morning session were: Mrs. Taft Bass of Clinton, Dr. M. L. Skaggs of Greensboro, and Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson of Rocky Mount, all Vice-Presidents; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Raleigh, was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer.

Mr. John Harden, Greensboro, presided at the subscription luncheon, and Mr. Walter Spearman reviewed North Carolina fiction of the year. Mr. Hugh Morton, Wilmington, presided at the dinner and Dr. Fletcher M. Green made the presidential address.

The announcement of the winners and the presentation of the Mayflower Cup and the Sir Walter Raleigh Award were made at the evening meeting at which Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, Cullowhee, presided. An address by Mr. Bruce Catton, New York, editor of *American Heritage*, was the high light of the session. Mrs. Preston B. Wilkes, Jr., Governor of the Mayflower Society in North Carolina, presented the winner, Dr. Jay B. Hubbell, Durham, with the Mayflower Cup, for his book, *The South in American Literature, 1607-1900*, judged the best non-fiction work of the year. Miss Clara Booth Byrd, Greensboro, President of the Historical Book Club of North Carolina, presented Mrs. Frances Gray Patton, Durham, the Sir Walter Raleigh Award for *Good Morning, Miss Dove*, which was judged the best work of fiction for the year.

A reception for guests and members followed the evening session.

The North Carolina Poetry Society met on the afternoon of December 2, with Mrs. W. H. Vestal, Winston-Salem, presiding. The response to the call to order was made by Mr.

Thad Stem, Jr., Oxford. Mr. James Larkin Pearson, Guilford College, North Carolina's Poet Laureate, gave a reading of poetry and other North Carolina poets of published volumes answered a roll call including: Mr. Luther Hodges, Winston-Salem; Mr. Ray Shute, Monroe; Miss Mary Louise Medley, Sanford; and Miss Lucy Cobb and Miss Sidney Anne Wilson, both of Raleigh.

Dr. J. E. Hodges, Maiden, was elected President of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians to succeed Mr. William S. Powell, Chapel Hill, at the annual meeting of the group which was held on December 2 in the assembly room of the Department of Archives and History. Other new officers include the following who were elected Vice-Presidents: Mrs. Taft Bass, Clinton; Mrs. N. A. Edwards, Goldsboro; and Mr. Leon McDonald, Olivia.

The Smithwick Cup, donated by Mr. and Mrs. S. T. Peace, Henderson, was presented to the winner, Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett, Greensboro, by Mr. Manly Wade Wellman, Chapel Hill, for her book, *Greensboro, North Carolina: County Seat of Guilford*.

Awards of Merit (certificates) were made by the society to the *Greensboro Daily News* and *The Franklin Press* of Franklin. Members of the society receiving merit awards were Miss Ethel Ryan, Greensboro; Mrs. G. D. B. Reynolds, Albemarle; Mr. Victor C. King, Charlotte; Mr. Wade H. Phillips, Lexington; Miss Elizabeth G. McPherson, Washington, D. C.; Mr. John Elliott Wood, Elizabeth City; Miss Nancy Alexander, Lenoir; Mr. Raymond M. Taylor, Washington; Mr. Hugh B. Johnston, Jr., Wilson; and Mr. F. C. Salisbury, Morehead City.

Mr. Wellman reviewed the nine books which were entered in competition for the Smithwick Cup, and Mr. Malcolm Fowler, Lillington, spoke on "History of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians." The meeting concluded with the adoption of a new constitution which was presented by a committee headed by Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, Forest City.

The forty-fourth annual meeting of the North Carolina Folklore Society was held on the afternoon of December 3, with the following new officers elected to serve for the coming year: Mr. Russell Grumman of Chapel Hill, President; Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby and Mr. Richard Walser of Raleigh, Vice-Presidents; and Dr. A. P. Hudson of Chapel Hill, Secretary.

Miss Flora McDonald, for 20 years home agent of Moore County, exhibited and talked on "Rare Quilts from Moore County"; Dr. Warner Wells of Chapel Hill made a talk on "The Folklore of the Hiroshima A-Bomb"; and Mrs. Betty Vaiden Williams of Raleigh sang "A Garland of North Carolina Folksongs" and accompanied herself on the autoharp.

The Central Carolina Colony of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina entertained at breakfast for Dr. Jay B. Hubbell, of Durham, winner of the Mayflower Cup for 1955 and Mrs. Hubbell, and Mr. and Mrs. Preston B. Wilkes of Charlotte, at the S and W Cafeteria on December 3.

Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt, Lieutenant Governor of the Central Carolina Colony, presided. Mr. Richard Walser of Raleigh opened the meeting with the reading of the Mayflower Compact.

New members introduced were Mrs. Hunt Parker and Mrs. Betsy London Cordon. Mrs. W. G. Allen and Miss Daisy Waite acted as general chairmen of the breakfast, assisted by Mr. and Mrs. M. R. Dunnagan and Mr. and Mrs. William Wise Smith. Officers for the society are: Dr. Leavitt of Chapel Hill, Lieutenant Governor; Miss Daisy Waite of Raleigh, Vice-Lieutenant Governor; Mrs. W. G. Allen of Raleigh, Secretary and Treasurer; and Miss Jane Wilson of Durham and Mrs. William Wise Smith of Raleigh, members of the board at large.

Notes from the Department of History of the University of North Carolina include the following: Mr. Leon Helguera, doctoral candidate in history, served as Instructor in History for the Fall Semester at the University of Tennessee; Mr.

Lewis M. Purifoy, doctoral candidate in history, has been appointed Instructor in History at West Virginia University; and Dr. James W. Patton, Professor of History and Director of the Southern Historical Collection, was elected President of the Southern Historical Association at the annual meeting in Memphis, November 10-12. Other faculty members who attended the meeting and participated in the program were Dr. Harold A. Bierck, Dr. James L. Godfrey, Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Dr. George V. Taylor, and Mr. William Geer. Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton had an article, "The Pacifism of Thomas Jefferson," in *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXXI (autumn, 1955), and Dr. James L. Godfrey had an article, "Onward from Success: The Tory Victory," in the same issue.

Three members of the Department of History of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina appeared on the program of the American Historical Association which met in Washington, December 28-30. Dr. John H. Beeler gave a paper, "Strategic Distribution of Castles in Norman and Angevin England"; Dr. Richard Bardolph participated in a panel discussion in regard to segregation and desegregation; and Dr. Richard N. Current read a paper, "Lincoln and Fort Sumter."

Mrs. Susie S. Taylor has been appointed Instructor of History at Western Carolina College, Cullowhee.

Dr. William S. Hoffmann joined the Social Studies Department of Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone, as Associate Professor in September; Dr. Ina Van Noppen and Mrs. Carrie Winkler attended the meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Memphis; Dr. Julian C. Yoder attended a meeting of the National Council for Geography Teachers at Indianapolis; and Dr. D. J. Whitener and Mr. John M. Justice attended the meetings of the Western North Carolina Historical Association in Asheville.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon of Meredith College gave a paper "Eugene Talmadge: Last of the Bourbons," at the meeting

of the Southern Historical Association in Memphis; and Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace presented the annual report of the Secretary of the Co-operative Research Committee at the meeting of the North Carolina College Conference.

Dr. David L. Smiley, Assistant Professor of History at Wake Forest College, attended the meetings of the Southern Historical Association in Memphis.

News items from Duke University include the following: Dr. John R. Alden, Dr. Paul H. Clyde, Dr. Harold T. Porter, Dr. Richard L. Watson, and Dr. Robert H. Woody participated in the program of the Southern Historical Association at the meeting in Memphis; Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., has edited *Bishop Cannon's Own Story* (Durham, 1955); Mr. Alfred P. Tischendorf had an article, "Note on British Enterprise in South Carolina, 1872-1886," in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (October, 1955); and Dr. Robert F. Durden had the following articles published, "Lincoln's Radical Republican Envoy to the Hague and the Slavery Question," in the *Lincoln Herald* (winter, 1954), and "The Ambiguous Antislavery Crusade of James S. Pike," in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (October, 1955). The Trinity College Historical Society opened its sixty-fourth year on September 29 with a talk by Mr. Hugh L. Keenleyside, Director General of the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations. On October 11-13 the Society, in conjunction with the Duke University Commonwealth Studies Center, presented Mr. Frank H. Underhill, Professor of History at the University of Toronto and Curator of Laurier House, in three lectures on "The British Commonwealth: An Experiment in International Relations." Dr. Lester J. Cappon, Director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, read a paper, November 8, on "Channing and Hart: Partners in Bibliography." The Duke University Library has been made a depository for official publications of the Dominion of Canada.

Dr. H. H. Cunningham of Elon College has been appointed Governor of the North Carolina Province of Pi Gamma Mu, National Social Science Honor Society.

The Currituck County Historical Society held a dinner meeting at the Shawboro community building on October 10, with Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent of the Department of Archives and History, as principal speaker. Mr. Burwell B. Flora, President, presided, and Mrs. Frank Roberts, Secretary, presented a report.

The Rowan Museum, Incorporated, held its formal opening ceremonies on October 14 in Salisbury. Mrs. Gettys Guille, President, presided, and Dr. Carey H. Bostian, Chancellor of North Carolina State College, made the address. Mr. J. H. Blackwelder of the Rowan Board of County Commissioners accepted the key to the museum. An open house followed the program.

The Wayne County Historical Society presented charter membership certificates to its members at a meeting on October 27 in the courthouse in Goldsboro. Mr. Hugh Dortch was in charge of the program and Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson, President of the Halifax Historical Restoration Association, spoke to the group. Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the Department of Archives and History made a short talk, and Mrs. C. W. Twiford presented the certificates.

The Sandy Creek Baptist Church in Randolph County was the scene of the Shubael Stearns Bi-Centennial Celebration on November 13, when a large group of interested people gathered to honor a dynamic Yankee preacher who established the church. Dr. Olin T. Binkley, of the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, brought the morning message and Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, of Wake Forest College, made the historical address in the afternoon following a picnic luncheon on the grounds. A monument was unveiled at the site of the original church and a plaque at Stearns's grave was also unveiled. Sandy Creek Church has

been called "the mother church of the Southern Baptist Convention."

The Pitt County Courthouse in Greenville was the scene of the dedication ceremonies of The Pitt Association Memorial Tablet by the Pitt County Historical Society on November 19. Judge Clarence V. Cannon of Ayden presided; Judge Dink James of Greenville extended the welcome; Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern, representing the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, representing the State Society for Preservation of Antiquities, extended greetings; and Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville introduced Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History, who made the address.

A large bronze tablet commemorating "The Pitt Association" was presented by Miss Jesse Roundtree Moye of Greenville, culminating the work of a number of years during which time efforts were made to verify the historical significance of the occasion of July 1, 1776, when 88 Pitt County citizens signed a resolution of protest against the policies of the British crown. Following the ceremony luncheon was held at the Woman's Club for special guests and members of the society.

Members of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians were guests at a tour of Raleigh on September 18, sponsored by the State Department of Archives and History. The tour began at the State Capitol, included the John Haywood House, the churches around Capitol Square, the birthplace of Andrew Johnson, various cemeteries in the city, a number of the colleges, the Joel Lane and Andrew Johnson houses, the Governor's Mansion, and Wakestone. Following the tour a picnic luncheon was held at Pullen Park.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association sponsored a tour for the same group on October 16, led by Mr. J. A. Stenhouse and Miss Mary Louise Davidson. Points of interest on the tour included the Hezekiah Alexander House, Rosedale, Sugaw Creek Church, the W. T. and Joseph Alexander

houses, Freedom Spring, Cedar Grove, and other points. Luncheon was held at Huntersville and the tour resumed afterwards.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association held its October meeting in Asheville, at which time Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely received the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Award as the outstanding author in western North Carolina during 1955. The trophy was presented by the Lipinsky family for Mrs. Stokely's book, *The French Broad*, one of a series on American rivers. Mr. Thomas Pearson, Chairman of the Wolfe Award Committee, made the presentation.

Mr. Samuel E. Beck gave a paper, "The Founding and Development of the Museum of the Cherokee Indian," and Mr. Hiram C. Wilburn gave a report on the historical marker program. The business session was presided over by Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City, President of the Association. Mrs. Ralph Wheaton of Asheville, sister of Thomas Wolfe, spoke briefly, and Mr. Morris Lipinsky was recognized on behalf of his family, donors of the Wolfe Award.

Columbia University is preparing for publication a new and complete edition of the papers of Alexander Hamilton. The editors wish to locate any letters to or from Hamilton and any other Hamilton documents that are in private hands. Any person possessing such documents or having knowledge of the availability of such material should contact Mr. Harold C. Syrett, Executive Editor, The Papers of Alexander Hamilton, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

The Trustees of Colonial Williamsburg, who recently announced the establishment of The Williamsburg Award, presented the first award to former British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill, on November 30. The award, which is "given for outstanding achievement in advancing basic principles of liberty and justice," will be made as the occasion warrants to any person who makes an outstanding contribution to the historic struggle of men to live free and self-respecting in a just society. Recipients may be natives of any

land and work at any occupation, for the only requirement will be clear and eminent achievement.

Books received during the last quarter include: Willard Thorp, *A Southern Reader* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955); J. H. Easterby, *The Colonial Records of South Carolina*. Series 1. *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, February 20, 1744-May 25, 1745* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955); Malcolm Fowler, *They Passed This Way, A Personal Narrative History of Harnett County* (Harnett County Centennial, Inc., Centennial Edition, 1955); Ethel Stephens Arnett, *Greensboro, North Carolina: The County Seat of Guilford* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955); Wendell Holmes Stephenson, *The South Lives in History, Southern Historians and Their Legacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955); Elisabeth S. Peck, *Berea's First Century, 1855-1955* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1955); William H. Townsend, *Lincoln and the Bluegrass, Slavery and Civil War Kentucky* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1955); Oscar Williams Winzerling, *Acadian Odyssey* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955); Cecil K. Byrd and Howard H. Peckham, *A Bibliography of Indiana Imprints, 1804-1853* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1955); Wylma Anne Wates, *Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution, Books G-H* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955); Robert Allen Rutland, *The Birth of The Bill of Rights, 1776-1791* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955, published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia); W. L. McDowell, *The Colonial Records of South Carolina, Series 2. Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710-August 29, 1718* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955); Allen P. Tankersley, *John B. Gordon: A Study in Gallantry* (Atlanta, Georgia: The Whitehall Press, 1955); Lucile M. Kane and Kathryn A. Johnson, *Manuscripts Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Guide Number

2 (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1955); Alonzo Thomas Dill, *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955); Sadie Smathers Patton, *Buncombe to Mecklenburg, Speculation Lands* (Forest City, North Carolina, Western North Carolina Historical Association, 1955); D. J. Whitener, *Local History, How to Find and Write It* (Asheville, North Carolina: The Stephens Press, 1955, published for The Western North Carolina Historical Association); William Bell Clark, *Ben Franklin's Privateers, A Naval Epic of the American Revolution* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955); David Lockmiller, *Enoch H. Crowder, Soldier, Lawyer, Statesman* (Columbia: The University of Missouri Studies, 1955); Sarah Simms Edge, *Joel Hurt and the Development of Atlanta* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Kingsport Press, 1955); Samuel Thomas Peace, "Zeb's Black Baby," *Vance County, North Carolina. A Short History* (Henderson, North Carolina, 1955); and John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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