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COVER—Harper House. This white-frame structure, in 1865 the residence of Dr. John Harper, housed forty-five of the Confederate wounded left behind by Johnston when he evacuated Bentonville. Most of Sherman's wounded were removed on wagons to Goldsboro. This house has been modernized. See pages 332-357. Photograph by W. S. Tarlton, April, 1956.

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CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ADVERTISING IN EARLY NORTH CAROLINA NEWSPAPERS

By WESLEY H. WALLACE

“On the whole,” observed a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1843, “there is no denying Advertisements constitute a class of composition intimately connected with the arts and sciences, and peculiarly calculated to illustrate the domestic habits of a people.”¹ Certainly advertisements in early New Bern and Wilmington newspapers prove this point, for they are colorfully and unconsciously descriptive of the “domestic habits” of eastern North Carolinians. In striking contrast with the news columns containing impersonal accounts of remote events, the advertisements are local, personal, immediate—social history unrefined.

Though not as numerous as paid public notices dealing with various forms of real and personal property, advertisements on matters cultural and social nevertheless more than made up for the lack in numbers by varied and revealing subject matter.² There were a few advertisements reflecting literary tastes, educational, religious, and professional activities—some of the same subjects dealt with in modern newspaper advertising but frequently written in an informal, more “chatty” manner. In addition, there were advertisements on subjects treated nowadays in the news and editorial col-

¹ [A. Hayward?], “The Advertising System,” *Edinburgh Review*, 77 (February, 1843), 2-3.

² Classification of advertisements as “cultural” or “social” is at best an arbitrary arrangement. Scarcely a single advertisement in early North Carolina newspapers lacks social or cultural overtones; but the effort here is to limit discussion to the more obvious examples.

umns—the stories of robberies, kidnapping, piracy, and other crimes, accounts of disagreements between husbands and wives, lists of letters lying unclaimed at the post office with an occasional side comment by the postmaster, and many other notices detailing the trivia of life in North Carolina in the last half of the eighteenth century.

A notable characteristic of advertising in North Carolina newspapers, 1751-1778, is the relative scarcity of public notices about intellectual, cultural, and spiritual matters. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that North Carolinians of those earlier days were much more concerned with the material than with the aesthetic aspects of their existence. It also seems true, using advertising as a reflection of attitudes, tastes, and preoccupations, that life in North Carolina was more difficult and less varied than in—say—South Carolina.³

LITERARY ADVERTISING

Books imported for sale or listed in the effects of estates up for settlement were infrequently mentioned in early North Carolina newspaper advertising, and, even in these few notices, details were largely omitted. In New Bern, merchant Robert Williams, importing a stock of interesting goods, specified “a great variety of new and second hand books; among which are several concordances and small dictionaries, *Martin’s* philosophical Grammer . . . &c.” George and Thomas Hooper, whose Wilmington store was located on Market Street, “*a few doors above the sign of the Harp and Crown,*” included only general references to “prayer books, [and] the newest novels,” in a lengthy list of goods imported at the end of 1773. Early in 1775, Edward Batchelor and Company of New Bern concluded an itemized list of importations with the note: “A few Setts of *Leland’s* much esteemed History of

³ See Hennig Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette 1732-1775* (Columbia, S. C., 1953), hereinafter cited as Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette*. Even a superficial examination of Cohen’s work reveals the greater emphasis in Charleston on meetings of societies, openings of schools, importations and publications of books, and a wide variety of artistic activity. Cohen does not differentiate between advertisements as such and public notices or items in other portions of *The South-Carolina Gazette*, but his listings of notices about the less materialistic subjects leave no doubt that North Carolinians can draw little comfort from a cultural comparison of New Bern or Wilmington with Charleston.

Ireland to be sold.”⁴ The word “books” without further elaboration was included in Edmund Wrenford’s executor’s notice that the personal effects of Mary Conway were offered for sale.⁵ A description of a plantation and accompanying articles for sale listed a “Variety of Books in Law, History, &c.”⁶ A similar mention was made by Frederick Gible as he prepared to sell his land and personal property prior to moving to South Carolina.⁷

Advertisements relating to newspaper subscriptions are useful in revealing the extent to which newspapers were available to North Carolina readers and in revealing the reluctance on the part of some readers to pay for their subscriptions.

The circulation of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* was certainly not restricted to the town of Wilmington or its immediate environs. Printer and publisher Adam Boyd used the columns of his own paper in 1773 to insert a notice asking that subscriptions be paid. To make this easier, Boyd said, he was listing the names and localities of persons who would collect for him. Names of well-known North Carolinians were included. Payments could be made, so the notice ran,

in *Anson County* to *Mr. Kershaw* or his Agent;—at the Court-House in *Mecklenburg* to *Mr. William Patterson*, or *Mr. Jeremiah McCafferty*;—in *Charlotte* to *Mr. John M’Knit Alexander*;—in *Rowan* to *Mr. Maxwell Chambers*, or *Mr. William Steel* in *Salisbury*;—in *Surry* to *Mr. Lanier*, or *Col. Armstrong*;—in the upper part of *Guilford* to *Major John Campbell*, or the *Revd David Caldwell*;—in the lower part of *Guilford*, to *Col. John M’Gee*.

⁴ *North-Carolina Magazine; Or, Universal Intelligencer* (New Bern), November 16, 1764, hereinafter cited *North-Carolina Magazine; Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), December 29, 1773, hereinafter cited as *Cape-Fear Mercury*; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), February 24, 1775, hereinafter cited as *North-Carolina Gazette*.

⁵ *North-Carolina Gazette*, September 2, 1774.

⁶ *North-Carolina Gazette*, July 18, 1777.

⁷ *North-Carolina Gazette*, December 12, 1777. It should not be supposed from these few examples that no other books were imported or were possessed by North Carolinians. The scarcity of notices would seem to indicate, however, that the advertisers did not consider these items as worthy of mention as some others. Elizabeth Cometti, “Some Early Best Sellers in Piedmont North Carolina,” *The Journal of Southern History*, XVI (August, 1950), 324-337, describes importations and sales of books of various kinds and in fair numbers by the Orange County firm of Johnston and Bennehan, and contrasts very briefly the Tidewater and back country reading tastes.

Boyd hoped his delinquent subscribers would pay attention to his notice, because in the following month someone would be “at these *different Places* to Receive the Money.”⁸

James Davis had subscription troubles with his New Bern newspaper. In March, 1778, Davis called his readers’ attention to the fact that the following April 3rd would round out a “year of the publication of this gazette since it was last resumed,” and he hoped his “good customers” would pay up what they owed. Those who wanted to continue to receive the paper were asked to pay half the subscription in advance. Davis warned: “These are the terms on which this gazette can be continued; and those who fail complying with them will be struck off the list without any further notice.” Apparently collections were slow, for the next week Davis changed the tone of his notice and at the same time announced an increase in the price of the newspaper. The increase was necessitated, so Davis noted, by the “great rise in every article of life, or rather fall of our money,” a familiar manifestation of wartime inflation. The subscription rate in the future would be “thirty shillings” a year, half to be paid in advance, the remainder at the end of the year. In conclusion, Davis stated flatly, “Those that fail complying with these terms cannot be served, as I am determined to keep no books. Our old customers long in arrear [*sic*] are once more called upon to make payment.”⁹

Some North Carolinians subscribed to Virginia newspapers, and perhaps to *The South-Carolina Gazette*.¹⁰ In New Bern, Richard Cogdell was apparently an agent for the two Williamsburg papers, the *Virginia Gazette* published by the firm of Dixon and Hunter, and the paper of the same name issued by Alexander Purdie. Both publishers wanted Cogdell to collect various unpaid balances on subscriptions already expired, and at the same time, asked “that 12 s. 6 d. *Virginia*

⁸ *Cape-Fear Mercury*, September 22, 1773. See also the issue of November 24, 1769, where across the bottom of the last page Boyd advertised: “Subscriptions for this Paper are taken in by Gentlemen in most of the adjacent Counties”

⁹ *North-Carolina Gazette*, March 27, April 3, 1778. For an earlier appeal for the payment of subscriptions, see the issue of June 30, 1775.

¹⁰ For mention of agents in Brunswick and Wilmington representing the South Carolina newspaper, see Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette*, 11.

Money, be paid down by those who choose to continue the same another Year; . . . ” This request Cogdell passed along to the delinquent subscribers in an advertisement in the New Bern paper. He continued: “I am advised by the Printers, that the Scarcity and Dearness of Paper is such, that unless the Money is punctually paid at the Time of subscribing, and old Arrears paid up, it will not be in their Power to serve their Customers.” Cogdell, as agent, had recommended some subscribers to the Virginia publishers. For this reason, and because these readers had paid only a dollar down, Cogdell felt he was “in some measure bound to request the speedy Payment of the Sums due.”¹¹

Just a year later, in 1778, Cogdell returned to the advertising columns of the New Bern paper to advise *Virginia Gazette* subscribers living in New Bern, or in Craven, Dobbs, or Onslow counties, to pay their subscriptions up through December 31st. He was tired, Cogdell said, of having to keep detailed accounts “*for every man, of his time of entry, what and when he pays, and what he is indebted, . . .*” The new method would permit everyone to start off with a year’s subscription beginning January 1, 1779, and for Cogdell would “*be but little trouble, and easier remembered by each subscriber.*” This notice, Cogdell pointed out, applied only to “*Dixon and Hunter’s gazette*” and did not affect the arrangements of those who subscribed to the paper published by Alexander Purdie.¹²

North Carolina printers used their own advertising columns to offer pamphlets and various blank forms, to announce the importation of new type, and to call attention to the fact that bookbinding could be done and that “*HANDBILLS, and every Thing else in the Printing Way, may be had on the*

¹¹ *North-Carolina Gazette*, July 18, 1777. Cogdell listed subscribers and expiration dates which had occurred or would occur. The list, containing many prominent North Carolina names (omitting expiration dates and the newspaper each one took), included: William Good, James Green, John Barry, Isaac Guion, David Forbs, Robert Schaw, Captain John Daly, William Randall, Philip Cheyney, Edward Whitty, Abner Nash, Major John Bryan, George Clark, James Little, William Blount, John Cort, Dugald Campbell, Shadrick Fulsher, John Carruthers, Edmund Hatch, Joseph Marshall, Jarvis Buxton, Joseph Asbury, and Jesse Cobb.

¹² *North-Carolina Gazette*, July 10, 1778.

shortest notice."¹³ These, however, were but mere sidelines to the main businesses of publishing the newspaper and printing and selling compilations of provincial and state laws.

As public printer, James Davis was naturally active in the business of printing collections of laws.¹⁴ Soon after he was established in New Bern and had begun to publish the *North-Carolina Gazette*, Davis offered for sale "THE Whole Body of LAWS of the Province of *North-Carolina*: Revised by Commissioners appointed for that Purpose, and Confirm'd in full Assembly." Davis then capped the climax by reminding his readers the acts were "Publish'd by Authority."¹⁵ Thereafter, the pages of Davis's paper seldom lacked one or more such notice.

Even in intellectual or informational matters there is likely to be competition for the attention of the consumer. Such competition was hinted at in an issue of the *North-Carolina Magazine* early in 1765. Davis, styling himself in his own advertisement as "Provincial PRINTER, appointed by the Lower House of Assembly," told his readers the laws from the previous meeting of the General Assembly in Wilmington were then in the press and would be published soon. Just below Davis's own advertisement was one which seems to have been inserted either by or on behalf of Andrew Steuart, then printing the Wilmington version of *The North-Carolina Gazette*. Perhaps because of proximity to the recently-adjourned Assembly, Steuart appears to have gotten ahead of Davis with the announcement that "THE LAWS, PASSED the last Session of Assembly, at *Wilmington*, are printed, by *Andrew Stuart* [*sic*], and ready to be delivered to the Clerks of the respective Counties." It was announced that Peter Conway would deliver the ones for the "District of *Newbern*,"

¹³ *North-Carolina Gazette*, January 7, 1774. See also *Cape-Fear Mercury*, November 24, 1769. In addition to pamphlets and blanks, Boyd's advertisement in the Wilmington paper offered to sell "Epsom & Glauber Salts by the lb. or in larger quantity."

¹⁴ The most recent study of printing in North Carolina is that of Mary Lindsay Thornton, "Public Printing in North Carolina from 1749 to 1815" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1943). An earlier and still useful account is that of Stephen B. Weeks, "The pre-Revolutionary Printers of North Carolina: Davis, Steuart, and Boyd," *North Carolina Booklet*, XV (October, 1915), 104-121.

¹⁵ *North-Carolina Gazette*, November 15, 1751.

and further that "A few Copies are left for Sale, Price 3 s. which may be had of Mr. *Richard Ellis*, Merchant, in NEWBERN."¹⁶

One of the ways to get useful reading material published was to print it by subscription. James Davis resorted to that method in a variety of publications. In using the scheme with "A Collection of all the Acts of Assembly . . . in Force and Use since the Revisal of the Laws in the Year 1751," Davis noted that he had prefaced the work with a "List of Names of those Gentlemen who subscribed for the BOOK."¹⁷ It was not enough, however, for the public just to promise to buy one of Davis's publications. An advance in the form of a partial payment was also requested. In 1777, in proposing to publish "by SUBSCRIPTION, AN exact ABRIDGMENT of all the ACTS of ASSEMBLY of this State," Davis announced the price for the volume of "about 500 pages" would be "three Dollars each, one of which Dollars to be paid at the Time of subscribing." Davis, with perhaps a hint of bitterness, went on to say: "As he is now detached from the Service of the Public as Printer to the State, in which honourable Service he has laboured *Twenty Eight* Years, he is quite at Leisure, and if properly encouraged, will publish the Book with all imaginable Expedition."¹⁸

Not all of Davis's publishing activities were compilations of laws. He also published two school books, which were duly advertised in the pages of the *North-Carolina Gazette*. The first was "*THE Rudiments of the LATIN TONGUE: Or a plain and easy Introduction to Latin Grammar . . . By THO. RUDDIMAN, M.A.*"; and the second was "*DYCHE'S SPELLING BOOK; OR A GUIDE TO THE ENGLISH*

¹⁶ *North-Carolina Magazine*, January 4, 1765. The misspelling of Stuart's name might be an indication that Ellis, as sales agent, had placed the advertisement.

¹⁷ *North-Carolina Magazine*, July 20, 1764.

¹⁸ *North-Carolina Gazette*, July 4, 1777. That Davis did not long remain at leisure is indicated by a note he added to an advertisement of the publication of laws passed by the North Carolina General Assembly in April, 1777. In this note, Davis told his readers: "Mr. PINCKNEY, who was appointed Printer to this State in *April* last, being dead, and no Prospect of the State's being able to get their Laws printed, Mr. DAVIS informs the Public, that he has undertaken this necessary Work, and will dispatch them to the several Counties as soon as possible." *North-Carolina Gazette*, October 17, 1777.

TONGUE. *In Two Parts.*” The price for the Latin grammar was two dollars, while that for the speller was half a dollar more. Davis went into considerable detail about the merits of the spelling book. The value of the first part, he noted, was that it was “proper for *Beginners*, shewing a natural and easy method, to pronounce and express both common words, and proper names; in which particular care is had to shew the accent, for preventing vicious pronunciation.” The second part, designed “for such as are advanced to some ripeness of judgment,” contained definitions of words, the method of hyphenation, and the rules for capitalization and punctuation. In addition, there was “An APPENDIX, containing many additional lessons, in prose and verse: First, in words of one syllable only; and then mixed with words of two, three, four, five, six, and seven syllables.”¹⁹

ADVERTISEMENTS RELATING TO EDUCATION

Both the Latin grammar and the spelling book, had they been available, undoubtedly would have proven useful to small scholars who earlier attended such schools as were being conducted in North Carolina. Using advertisements as criteria, the schools, however, must have been few in number, irregular in session, short-lived, and somewhat strange in curricula when compared with twentieth century public schools. Again, the use of advertisements as sources of information would leave the distinct impression that most, if not all, educational activity in North Carolina between 1751 and 1778 was concentrated in New Bern. There is not a single piece of advertising evidence extant that a school existed in Wilmington or in any other place in North Carolina in the period.

The financing and erection of a school building in New Bern were the concerns of the earliest advertisements dealing with the subject of education. Richard Cogdell, as sheriff of Craven County, ran an advertisement directing freeholders to be present at a meeting at the courthouse to attend to certain religious and educational business. Especially did Cogdell

¹⁹ *North-Carolina Gazette*, September 4, November 7, 1778.

want "the several Subscribers to the *School-House*" to attend, so that they might "elect *Two Commissioners*, and *One Treasurer*" to supervise the school construction.²⁰

Six months later, scarcely any progress could be noted in New Bern's attempt to provide itself with a schoolhouse. Apparently the two commissioners and the treasurer had been elected, and there must have been some promises to provide funds, but that was about where matters stood when there appeared an advertisement worded somewhat like an invitation to a ball. The building commissioners, ran the notice,

. . . request the Favour of the Gentlemen who so generously and largely subscribed to that useful Edifice, to pay their several Subscriptions to the Rev Mr. *James Reed*, agreeable to the Tenor thereof; as [so] the Work may go on with all Expedition.²¹

The schoolhouse did get built, though just when the advertisements do not disclose. Ten years later, Elias Hoell was using the building to conduct a school. He offered two courses of study, with the more advanced naturally costing the parents of the pupils a little more. For "Sixteen Shillings *per Quarter*," Hoell announced he would teach "Reading, Writing, Cyphering, Navigation, and Surveying," all practical subjects for a people engrossed in the acquisition of real estate and other property, and so largely dependent upon water transportation. The second course, Hoell indicated, would include "Algebra, *Euclid's Elements*, *Latin and Greek*, at Eighteen Shillings."²²

Hoell's offering may not have appealed to the residents of New Bern and Craven County, for early in the next year, a schoolmaster named Florence McCarthy announced he had "opened School in the Academy," and was advertising for students. If McCarthy taught well all the subjects he advertised, eastern North Carolina youth had an opportunity to imbibe large doses of practical and general education, including "Grammatic *English*, with due Attention to Emphasis, Pause, Cadence, and puerile Declamation."

²⁰ *North-Carolina Magazine*, [June 29?], 1764.

²¹ *North-Carolina Magazine*, December 28, 1764.

²² *North-Carolina Gazette*, September 2, 1774.

Headed by English and writing, McCarthy's proffered curriculum stressed subjects useful and scientific rather than literary and classical. The scope of study is clearly shown in the advertisement, which listed:

. . . consise [*sic*] Arithmetic, vulgar and decimal, with many practic [*sic*] and inspectional Contractions, *Italian* Bookkeeping; Mensuration in all its Parts; Navigation in all its Kinds [;] Gauging in all its Varieties; likewise by one general Method, not regarding the Casks Form. Practic and theoric Geometry; Surveying in Theory and Practice; plane and spheric Trigonometry; simple and quadric Algebra; together with the occasional Application of the Whole, to whatever else shall be found, either recreative or useful, in practical, pure, or mixed Mathematics.

The charges for the course were either four pounds or eight dollars annually, with one dollar to be paid in advance. In addition to the low price and the wealth of subject material, McCarthy went further and assured the parents that he would attend with "Viligance and Assiduity" any pupils they might send him. And then, seemingly almost as an afterthought, McCarthy's advertisement concluded: "He likewise intends opening a Night School, from 6 to 9 o'Clock."²³

It seems probable that McCarthy had no more success in educating North Carolina's youth than had his predecessor. At any rate, six months later the New Bern newspaper contained a notice that the trustees had granted permission with the result that "the Public School House of this Town is again opened." The course of study was similar to that offered by McCarthy, but added such subjects as Latin and French, geography and "the use of the Globes." The terms were the "established Price of the said School," and if this amount were not known by the reader, it could be learned from James Davis, "Printer of this Paper, and one of the Trustees."²⁴

Nothing further in relation to education appeared in the advertising columns until 1778, when the interest of North Carolinians in things French showed a marked and natural

²³ *North-Carolina Gazette*, January 13, 1775. No other reference to a night school has been found, and whether such a school was actually opened is a matter of conjecture. At least the idea of a night school was not unknown in North Carolina.

²⁴ *North-Carolina Gazette*, July 7, 1775.

increase during America's struggle with Britain.²⁵ In that year, Gaspar Beaufort, "from Philadelphia," must have thought New Bern a good location for a school devoted to the teaching of French. In any case, Beaufort gave notice that he planned to start such a school, not in the schoolhouse, but at the "house of Widow Wosley." Addressing his appeal mainly to the genteel adults, Beaufort proposed to teach those who wanted to study French "to read, right [*sic*], and speak it grammatically." Those who objected to attending school at the widow's house could also learn French, for Beaufort was willing to visit "at their own houses in the evening" where, presumably, private lessons would be given.²⁶

The ladies and gentlemen of New Bern must not have realized what a rare opportunity was theirs, for the following week Beaufort returned to the columns of the press with a complaint that he "has not met with such encouragement as he deserves, . . ." Beaufort said he planned to stay just a month more and invited those who wished to learn French to take advantage of his presence. He made it plain that New Bern needed Beaufort more than Beaufort needed New Bern, concluding his advertisement with the statement that he, Beaufort, "is wanted where he may have encouragement suitable to his merit."²⁷

Gaspar Beaufort's lack of success did not seem to deter other schoolmasters who, in the following months, advertised the opening of schools. Joseph Blyth and George Harrison made the usual appeals to parents to have their children educated. Blyth, who had the advantage of conducting his school in the "public school-house," offered standard subjects. Harrison, whose announcement appeared in the same issue with Blyth's, said only that he proposed to open a school "*on Monday next, opposite to Mrs. Dewey*"; and since the same announcement appeared in each of the two succeeding issues,

²⁵ Advertisements reflect this increased interest in several ways: French names in North Carolina; ships from France arriving or departing; changes in the nature of imported goods; desertions from the army or vessels in port. For examples, see *North-Carolina Gazette* for 1778, on the following dates: January 9, March 6, March 13, April 24, May 8, May 15, July 24, August 7, September 18, and November 7.

²⁶ *North-Carolina Gazette*, March 6, 1778.

²⁷ *North-Carolina Gazette*, March 13, 1778.

it seems doubtful that Harrison actually carried through his project.²⁸

RELIGIOUS AND PROFESSIONAL ADVERTISING

Extant advertisements relating to religious and professional matters are indeed few in North Carolina newspapers in the period, 1751-1778. The three insertions on church affairs all occurred in 1764, while the professional ones were grouped largely in 1778. Each advertisement, however, is instructive in the unconscious commentary which it makes on the life of the times.

In the same advertisement in which Sheriff Richard Cogdell directed the election of school commissioners, he notified the freeholders of Christ Church Parish to come to the courthouse for the purpose of "electing a Vestry for said Parish, and take the Suffrages of the Vesters, as the Law Directs." If the freeholder himself could not come, he must be represented by "his Deputy." Cogdell, in a *nota bene*, reminded his readers: "There is a Fine of *Twenty Shillings* on every Freeholder in the Parish who fails to attend, and give his Vote."²⁹

Two months after this notice, John Smith, the clerk of the vestry of the same church, advertised that those who had any claims against the parish should present them on October 4th. On the same day, all those who had formerly been wardens of Christ Church, and any others who were holding money belonging to the church, were urged to have their accounts put in order. When this was done, Smith stated, "the VESTRY will then sit to transact the Parochial Business."³⁰

The last of the religious notices was inserted by the two Christ Church wardens, Jacob Blount and James Davis. In pursuance of their official duties, they were informing the members of the parish that, on January 3, 1765, there would

²⁸ *North-Carolina Gazette*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1778. North Carolina educational advertising is particularly deficient when compared to similar South Carolina notices. Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette*, 33-39, lists announcements of one sort or another of 139 teachers and schools during the period 1751-1775.

²⁹ *North-Carolina Magazine*, [June 29?], 1764.

³⁰ *North-Carolina Magazine*, September 7, 1764.

“be rented, to the highest Bidder, for one Year, the PEWS of the Church in *Newbern*; . . .”³¹

There was no ethical disapproval of medical or legal advertising in eighteenth-century North Carolina but there were fewer of these notices than might be supposed. Perhaps the most spectacular of them all is the full column advertisement on page one of the *Wilmington Cape-Fear Mercury* for December 29, 1773. Though most of it is devoted to extolling the virtues of Ward’s “Anodyne Pearls,” the advertiser, one “Doctor Ward,” seemed also to be a specialist in the “curing” of “hair-lips.” He had treated successfully ten harelips “at one and the same time,” and he had “cut and cured” two cases in North Carolina. Anyone who needed references as to his work in North Carolina could consult “Robert Dixon, Esq. of Duplin . . . and Andrew Fullard of the Sound” for the facts in the cases.

Shorter than Ward’s advertisement and more restrained in language was an announcement by a Frenchman named Pambruse. Styling himself “Doctor in Physick, and one of the first surgeons in the King of France’s armies,” Pambruse proposed to set up a practice in Edenton where he might be of “service to the ladies and gentlemen that will employ me, . . .” Of himself Pambruse advertised: “I possess the art of man-midwife, I also undertake to cure all sorts of venereal distempers, ulcers, and ring worms.” To show that his heart was warm, Pambruse said that he would make no charge in treating the poor of the community.³²

In addition to treating patients for such illnesses as occurred, physicians also seemed to perform some of the functions of modern wholesale and retail drug houses by offering medicines for sale. Pambruse would sell “by small or large quantity” a limited list of drugs, while Alexander Gaston offered a considerable quantity and variety of medicines. Gaston advertised that he had just imported a “large assortment” of items, adding that because “there is a greater quantity of almost all the . . . articles, than I could consume in my

³¹ *North-Carolina Magazine*, December 14, 1764. It would be interesting to know whether James Davis, as churchwarden, approved payment to himself as printer of the paper for this advertisement.

³² *North-Carolina Gazette*, August 7, 1778.

own practice in many years, therefore [I] would be glad to supply others, . . .”³³

Attorney Hamilton Ballantine, “late of the island of Jamaica,” announced that he planned to settle in North Carolina and expected to establish a legal practice in the state. Ballantine advertised that, the “laws being now opened in their full latitude,” he would travel around to the various superior court sessions. His desires were quite modest and reasonable, for he wished only “such encouragement, as his integrity to his clients and the justness of their cause merits.”³⁴

Sometime toward the end of September, 1778, New Bern was honored by the arrival of Boyle Aldworth, a “*Limbner*.” Aldworth established himself at Oliver’s Tavern ready to ply his profession as an artist, his advertisement in the *North-Carolina Gazette* announcing to the public that he “paints LIKENESSES.” In relation to other and perhaps more practical commodities, his prices for portraiture may have seemed a little high to the town residents. Aldworth charged \$130 for “Portraits for rings,” \$100 for the same for “bracelets,” but only \$75 for portraits for “house ornaments from 1 to 2 feet.” Of course, Aldworth seemed to sneer, the last-named was only done in crayons.³⁵ Either the public was slow in responding to his appeals, or Aldworth quickly gathered in more commissions than he could handle, for after three insertions the notices stopped and Aldworth dropped from sight. He had the distinction, however, of being the only artist whose advertisements in North Carolina newspapers between 1751 and 1778 are a matter of present record.

FROM APOLOGIES TO POST OFFICES

In many instances advertisements in early North Carolina newspapers took the place of local news items, either in reports about or comments on the local scene. Sometimes the details of the event were discussed in full; upon other occasions, the advertiser seemed to feel his readers knew the basic story and all he was required to do was to supply a

³³ *North-Carolina Gazette*, May 22, 1778.

³⁴ *North-Carolina Gazette*, January 9, 1778.

³⁵ *North-Carolina Gazette*, October 2, 9, 16, 1778.

mention of recent developments. The variety in these advertisements is as great as the variety in the news columns of today's press and part of the value for the modern reader lies in learning what the earlier advertiser judged was interesting or important enough to warrant publication.

The lack of detail is tantalizing in an apology made late in 1773 by Burrel Lanier. Apparently Lanier had said or written something serious about one John Hill, and Hill's friends took exception to the report. It seems probable that the residents of Wilmington knew more of the details than are brought down to the present day, so that the public apology was all that was required to set the matter straight. Be that as it may, it seems that on November 30, 1773, Burrel Lanier appeared before Andrew Thompson, Isaac Hill, Richard Clinton, James Kenan, Richard Brocas, and Michael Kenan to acknowledge that what he had reported "in Respect to John Hill's Character" was not true. In fact, the report was, according to Lanier's advertisement, "entirely False and Groundless and without Foundation, . . ." In conclusion, said Lanier: ". . . I am heartily sorry for it, and humbly ask his Pardon, as that what I said was through Passion."³⁶

James Hobbs got Waightstill Avery and Robert Daly to witness his apology to Captain William Randel, whom Hobbs had accused "of getting his living by stealing hogs and cattle." Hobbs indicated the accusation was made in May, 1778, "at a general muster." Upon later—and perhaps soberer—reflection, Hobbs admitted the charge against Randel was "false and groundless," and he took to newspaper advertising to make "amends for the injury."³⁷

On the other hand, Willam Bryan, resenting vociferously what he thought were false statements, took to the advertising columns to hurl some charges of his own. According to the public notice, "some busy body" had circulated a report that he, Bryan, had said William Blount was going to be a candidate for election to the state legislature. So angry was

³⁶ *Cape-Fear Mercury*, December 29, 1773. Lanier's given name is spelled "Burrel" and "Burrell" in the same notice.

³⁷ *North-Carolina Gazette*, November 7, 1778.

Bryan the words of his denial seemed almost to tumble over themselves, as he stormed: "*I was not at the election, and therefore had it not in my power to refute the falsity, but do now, in this public manner, declare that, whoever says he heard me say, or even intimate, that I thought Mr. Blount intended, or would offer himself, is a liar; . . .*"³⁸

Not all the news items in advertisements were as spectacular as those of the public apologies. More commonplace was a notice that an election of "overseers of the poor" would be held at the courthouse in New Bern. Advertised for "Easter monday the 20th of this instant [April, 1778]," the election was for the purpose of choosing "seven proper persons" to perform the functions of the office.³⁹ Equally prosaic but useful was the notice given by Nathaniel Rochester and William Courtney, Orange County commissioners to supervise the building of the courthouse in Hillsboro. Pursuant to an enabling act passed by the General Assembly in 1778, the commissioners were ready to entertain bids or inquiries from persons interested in building the edifice. There may have been a wealth of local controversy concealed in the simple statement that the commissioners had "*determined to build the same with brick, . . .*"⁴⁰

It is hard to imagine a more unlikely place to report a storm than in an advertisement proposing to print a revisal of laws; yet just such a mention occurs in a notice in the *New Bern North-Carolina Gazette* for November 10, 1769. In a column-long advertisement, printer James Davis proposed to print, "by SUBSCRIPTION," an up-to-date revisal of the North Carolina provincial laws. After going thoroughly into the matter of the value of the work and the conditions under which he expected to issue it, Davis noted that he had published these proposals "some time ago, and the books were to have been delivered this fall; . . ." Davis had prepared the "work" as promised, "but unfortunately for the Printer, every sheet of it was lost in the ruins of the Printing-Office, which

³⁸ *North-Carolina Gazette*, August 7, 1778. Why Bryan should have been so angry is not clear.

³⁹ *North-Carolina Gazette*, April 10, 1778.

⁴⁰ *North-Carolina Gazette*, June 20, 1778.

was totally swept away in the late storm; . . ." The storm caused the loss not only of the book sheets which had been done "in great forwardness," but also the lists of those who had earlier subscribed to the publication. The advertisement, Davis indicated, thus served the dual purpose of informing the public of his misfortune and of asking those who were in the first lists to submit their names again.

A curious mixture of the modern "want ad" technique and the polite and wordy usage of earlier days is displayed in an advertisement by an overseer. Addressing himself "*To the LANDED GENTLEMEN,*" the unidentified advertiser then described himself as being "A Steady, sedate Man, regularly bred to the farming Business, who understands the Management and Improvement of Farms, and every necessary Branch to Agriculture, . . ." The overseer was hoping to make an arrangement to manage some gentleman's farms, or to improve the land, whether it be in fields or merely pasturage, for he knew how to raise cattle, was "thoroughly versed in the Method of grazing," and was expert at "breaking young Horses to their proper Paces fit for the Saddle, having had a sufficient Experience in *England.*" In addition to these abilities, the applicant also noted that he could "write a legible Hand," and knew how to keep books. Though the advertiser did not give his name, his readers were told that, if any interested party wrote "a Line direct to J.A.B. to be left with the Printer hereof," the advertiser would be glad to come for an interview, "and give every Satisfaction requisite."⁴¹

The position-seeking overseer, like others of his contemporaries, understood the importance of good horseflesh in a time when overland transportation in North Carolina could best be accomplished on horseback.⁴² Good horseflesh also

⁴¹ *North-Carolina Gazette*, February 24, 1775.

⁴² For the difficulties of traveling by carriage on North Carolina roads in 1775, see Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776* (edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews in collaboration with Charles McLean Andrews, third ed., New Haven, 1939), 146-147. An excellent description of the conditions of North Carolina roads is provided by Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven, London, 1936), 21ff.

meant the possibility of horse racing.⁴³ The stock of good horses could only be maintained, however, if there was proper breeding. Thus, advertisements announcing the availability of stud horses were neither lacking nor out of place in early North Carolina newspapers. The advertisements were fairly standard in form, usually including the name of the horse and part of his bloodline, followed by a description of the horse and some of his accomplishments on the race track. The stud fee was stated, as was the extra amount to be paid the groom; and the advertisement might then conclude with the statement that pasturage for the mares was available and that the mares, though well cared for, must be left at the owner's risk.

Advertisements of two such stud horses were placed in adjacent columns of the *North-Carolina Gazette* in March, 1775, by Richard Ellis and Abner Nash. In extolling the favorable points of his horse, Bajazett, Ellis struck rather closely to the accepted pattern; Nash, on the other hand, had more to say in his piece about Telemachus. The advertisement, Nash indicated, was written with the hope that the "Gentleman Farmers of this Part of the Province" could be induced to follow the lead of "their Neighbours of *Halifax, Virginia*, and other Places" in entering "spiritedly on this very profitable and public spirited Business of breeding good Horses, . . ." Nash obviously thought Telemachus a very fine horse, but honesty prevented him from exaggerating. Nash said he "hoped" his horse's "Pretensions (next to *Bajazett*, which he does not pretend to rival) will be thought to stand very fair in the Calendar of Fame."⁴⁴

Prior to May, 1774, there was no postal service between Cross Creek and Wilmington, though the desirability of such a service was apparent to residents of both communities, and must have been so to an investigator for the British postal

⁴³ For evidence of interest in horse racing, see the comment of John Brickell, quoted by Hugh Talmage Lefler, ed., *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 64.

⁴⁴ *North-Carolina Gazette*, March 24, 1775. Nash's charge was "Three Pounds the Season, payable if the Party chooses it in Corn, at 15s. a Barrel." Ellis's charge was "FIVE POUNDS the Season, . . ." For other examples of stud horse advertisements, see *Cape-Fear Mercury*, January 13, 1773; and *North-Carolina Gazette*, April 10, 1778.

authorities.⁴⁵ Following the investigation, readers of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* were informed that, the "post master general having established a post between Wilmington and Cross-Creek," the service was about to begin on a fortnightly basis. Those who wished to make use of this official method had to present their letters the "day preceding" the departure of the post rider.⁴⁶

Late in 1777, Richard Cogdell, in his capacity as postmaster, inserted several advertisements in the *North-Carolina Gazette* to publicize the fact that there were quite a few letters lying unclaimed in the New Bern post office. Usually Cogdell gave the name of the person to whom the letter was addressed, the number of letters for that person, and the date or dates the letters were received. In his first advertisement, Cogdell stated that the addressees or their agents could get the letters by paying the postage. The postmaster was something of a salesman for the postal system, as he pointed out the desirability of persons' receiving letters addressed to them. Some of these letters "may be of consequence," ran the notice, "and require to be answered by post again, which shall be punctually sent to any post-office in the united states, by Their humble servant, . . ." ⁴⁷ One of the names in this first notice was that of Captain Francis Hodgson, for whom a letter had arrived on the 8th of September. A year later, Captain Hodgson, now identified as "of the sloop *Sea Flower*," had not yet picked up his mail.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ For a brief discussion of the state of the postal system and the results of a three month investigation by Hugh Finlay see Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill, 1954), 104-105; hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*.

⁴⁶ *Cape-Fear Mercury*, May 11, 1774. A portion of the advertisement has been torn away, but from the remaining fragments the impression is given that the arrival of the mail at Wilmington from Cross Creek would make connection with postal service running north and south. Apparently the first trip of the rider was to be from Cross Creek to Wilmington, "on saturday [torn] May next," while the trip from Wilmington to Cross Creek does not seem to have been specified.

⁴⁷ *North-Carolina Gazette*, October 3, 1777. Other postal advertisements in the same newspaper are in issues for March 27, August 21, and October 9, 1778.

⁴⁸ *North-Carolina Gazette*, October 9, 1778.

ADVERTISEMENTS OF "ELOPEMENT" AND SEPARATION

Human nature being what it is, it is not surprising to find in the columns of the various North Carolina newspaper announcements that wives had parted company with their husbands who then proceeded to disclaim any future responsibility for debts incurred by the wives. Fairly typical of such notices is that of William Hales, who advertised: "*Whereas my wife Betty has eloped from me. I hereby forewarn any person or persons trusting her on my account; as I shall not pay any debts she may, after this date contract.*"⁴⁹ William Jones did not accuse his wife Margaret of "eloping," but he did complain that she was extravagant. Jones said she had "made a Practice of dealing with *Merchants* and others, and running him largely in Debt;" as a result, he warned the public not to trust her and gave notice he would not pay her debts in the future.⁵⁰

It would seem that most of the "elopement" notices were fairly routine matters, perhaps causing only a moderate amount of comment in the community. James Flett's situation started off that way, with an unexceptional notice that his wife, Katy, had departed and that he would no longer be responsible for her debts. The advertisement appeared in the *New Bern North-Carolina Gazette* on August 14, 1778. If Flett thought that was all there was to it, he was rudely enlightened when the next issue of the newspaper appeared a week later. Flett's notice was there again—a standard procedure—but in an adjoining column a contradictory item appeared, and Katy Flett found herself with a champion. How the issue's readers must have chuckled over the defense and challenge issued by a New Bern merchant, John Horner Hill, whose advertisement ran:

THE *subscriber takes this method of acquainting the public that James Flett, (taylor of this town) hath unjustly traduced the character of his lawful, prudent, and virtuous wife—And he*

⁴⁹ *North-Carolina Gazette*, September 4, 1778. A similar notice was inserted by William Wood, in the same paper on November 7, 1778. Morris Conner embellished his notice by saying that his wife had "eloped from my Bed and Board and otherways treated me ill, . . ." *Cape-Fear Mercury*, December 29, 1773.

⁵⁰ *North-Carolina Magazine*, December 7, 1764.

further adds, that he will be accountable for any transgression said Flett can make evident against his wife.—Therefore he expects the public will consider said Flett an unjust and cruel man, if he cannot prove any reason for acting in so vile a manner.

<i>Methinks I hear</i>	<i>If from truths sacred paths I've stray'd,</i>
<i>Mrs. Flett</i>	<i>Convince the world I do,</i>
<i>express herself</i>	<i>If not the world with justice may,</i>
<i>thus,</i>	<i>Transfer the same on you.⁵¹</i>

There is much room for speculation concerning a most peculiar advertisement which occupies half a column of fine print in the *New Bern North-Carolina Gazette* for April 7, 1775. In spite of the fact that legal divorce was not characteristic of the times, the word "divorce" is used in the notice, the purpose of which was to declare a legal separation. In the second place, the notice bears an internal date of August 29, 1769, though the date of this publication is 1775. In the third place, no reference has so far been found elsewhere to any Joseph or Mary McGehe or to either of the two witnesses, Robert Goodloe and Thomas Jackson. Finally, James Davis provided no explanation in this issue of his *New Bern* paper as to the reasons for the wide separation in dates, so that perhaps his own readers might have been as mystified as are later ones.

Among the few positive statements which can be made about the advertisement is that it exists in print and that its language is somewhat blunt. The whole notice, couched in legal phraseology, gives details of the property settlement which is the main part of the separation agreement. After the necessary "whereases" and "know ye's" Mary McGehe got down to the business at hand, with a statement that, having been "dissatisfied" with Joseph, she had "eloped from his Bed for upwards of eight Months past; in which Time I have been gotten with Child by another Man . . . with which I acknowledge to be now pregnant, . . ." Mary went on to say that she did not intend to live with Joseph again, and in consideration for his having given her a portion of his property, she now

⁵¹ *North-Carolina Gazette*, August 21, 1778. Hill seems to have been the winner in this exchange, for his notice was published again on August 28, while that of Flett ended with the issue of August 21, even though the "elopement" notice had appeared only two of the customary three or more times. Information that Hill was a *New Bern* merchant is in the *North-Carolina Gazette*, September 25, 1778.

held herself "as divorced from him, . . ." The settlement amounted to "one Hundred and Twenty Pounds Value in Effects," and Mary expressed her satisfaction with the settlement. Joseph McGehe, in turn, acknowledged the separation and agreed to let Mary go wherever she pleased, with neither having any further claim on the other.⁵²

CRIME REFLECTED IN ADVERTISING

Because advertisements frequently represented the only local information in early North Carolina newspapers, it is reasonable to expect there might have been paid public notices from time to time in connection with crimes and acts of violence. This was indeed the case and there were advertisements of jail breaks, an offer of a reward for apprehension of a murderer, a notice of piracy, accounts of kidnappings, and reports of armed robberies. Frequently these advertisements, interesting in themselves for the stories they tell, are also sources of collateral and equally interesting evidence on a variety of subjects.

On September 8, 1777, three white men broke out of the Craven County jail, and Joseph Leech, a justice of the peace, advertised for their apprehension. Two of the men, Michael Kelly and Matthias Farnan, were in jail for robbery; the third James Rawlins, was convicted—or accused, the record not being clear on this point—of "high treason." Rawlins was a "noted villain, and was one of the principals in the late conspiracy against the state, has lived for two years past in *Martin* county, and is very famous in the art of legerdemain; . . ." The notice went on to say that Kelly and Farnan had gotten "a pass from Mr. *Tisdale* a few days before their commitment, which it is probable they will now make use of."⁵³

⁵² The document was apparently prepared and signed in Bute County. No reference to any Joseph McGehe or Joseph Magee has been found for the period in question (1769-1775), but a "Joseph M'Gee" is listed as a "Petit Juror" on February 14, 1773, at the Bute County Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, "Bute County Records, County Court Minutes, 1767-1776" (State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina), 266. The amount of the settlement, which was probably not greater than half of McGehe's estate, would indicate that he was a man of some property and, perhaps, standing.

⁵³ *North-Carolina Gazette*, September 12, 1777. See Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 217, for a mention of a conspiracy which could be the one referred to in the advertisement.

A much less spectacular escape was that of William Alcock, who, in some unmentioned manner, got away from a Craven County deputy. Alcock's entanglement with the law was less spectacular, also, but was indicative of the times. He had been "taken on a writ at the suit of *Edward Boucher Hodges*." It may well have been debt which got Alcock into trouble; but whatever it was, John Kennedy, the advertiser, thought only enough of the matter to offer a reward of twenty shillings for Alcock's capture and return.⁵⁴

Before North Carolina severed her ties with England, the murder of two Cherokee Indians, "in the back part of the province of *Georgia*," caused Governor Josiah Martin to have an official proclamation published as an advertisement in the New Bern *North-Carolina Gazette*. The murderer was alleged to be one Hezekiah Collins, a youth of under twenty years of age, "tolerably well sett" and having "a very down cast look, and of a tawny complexion." According to the account, Collins had "absconded" from the scene of his crime and the authorities desired his capture enough to offer a substantial reward. Governor Martin said he was authorized by Major General Frederick Haldimand, commander of English forces in America, to offer in the general's name a reward of "*One Hundred Pounds* sterling," an unusually large sum in hard cash; while Martin himself offered nominally the same sum, but in proclamation money.

This high-placed and somewhat remote attention to the murder of two Indians was accounted for by the possible consequences of the act. Martin, Haldimand, and other officials seemed to agree that the murder had "Highly exasperated" the Cherokees and might "tend to interrupt the good harmony subsisting between his Majesty's subjects, and that and other tribes of Indians, unless satisfaction be made for the said violence; . . ." All of this was, however, not necessarily news to North Carolinians. The real reason for the publication of the proclamation was a case of false accusation. Earlier, Governor Martin had advertised the same information, but offered the reward for a man named John Collins; and it was only on the receipt of

⁵⁴ *North-Carolina Gazette*, April 24, 1778.

later information from Georgia that the alleged murderer was thought to be Hezekiah. Martin's notice concluded by saying that the proclamation was thus to be "*published again, and the Reward offered for the right Person.*"⁵⁵

Also from Georgia came an advertisement concerning an act of piracy. Patrick Mackay of that province composed a long notice which not only gave the details of the crime, but but also provided a very complete description of the vessel which was stolen, along with other useful and interesting information. First of all, Mackay said he was publishing the account of this "most daring and flagitious robbery and piracy" in the hope that it would be "for the public good of all commercial counties, as well as for the recovery of his own property."

The act of piracy occurred during the night of October 31, 1775, when "nine armed men came on board a schooner, then lying moored off the point of *Sappello* . . . cut both her cables (which were all that were on board) and proceeded immediately to sea." Two of the pirates were known to Mackay, who named and described them. The others were unknown to him. When the schooner was attacked there were three Negroes and a white man on board. As the pirates worked the vessel "near the bar," the white man and two of the Negroes were put off into the schooner's small boat and permitted to return. The third Negro, however, was kept on board. Since the only provisions on the vessel were a few potatoes and a little water, Mackay thought it likely the pirates might try to sell the Negro, "that they may, with the purchase money, procure accessaries."

The schooner herself was square-sterned and "painted light blue," with "bright sides, and six port holes and two quarter lights on each side." Designed to "carry about 300 barrels of rice," the vessel was "quite new, built in *South Carolina*," and was fifty-three feet long, twenty-two feet wide, with nine-foot hatches. Some of the painting had not yet been done, nor had the cabinet work been completed, "being just out of the builders hands." As for rigging, the topmasts were up but there were no crossyards; part of the canvas was new, though

⁵⁵ *North-Carolina Gazette*, January 7, 1774.

some of it was "half worn." New though she was, the "hook over her boltsprit" was gone and a hawser was used instead. Mackay then threw in the information that he had gotten the vessel at a "marshal's sale" at Savannah.

At the end of the column-long advertisement, Mackay offered appropriate rewards for the capture and conviction of the pirates and for the return of the slave. In addition, he promised he would allow a "*reasonable and generous salvage* for recovering and delivering the said schooner . . . to be awarded and determined upon by any three merchants or indifferent persons, or otherwise according to law or custom."⁵⁶

Though the word kidnapping was not used, that particularly heinous crime was chronicled by John Caruthers in the New Bern *North-Carolina Gazette* in the spring of 1778. Inserted ostensibly to offer a reward for the capture of the abductors, the advertisement nevertheless is an excellent news story as well, providing many details of the crime. On a Saturday night early in April, two men, "in disguise . . . with masks on their faces, and clubs in their hands," broke into the house of Caruthers's caretaker, a free Negro woman named Ann Driggus. The attackers "beat" the woman and "wounded her terribly and [then] carried away four of her children, three girls and a boy, . . ." One of the girls, presumably the eldest, "got off in the dark and made her escape," though the captors still held the others. Caruthers said that Ann Driggus had identified the two men, one being a "sailor lately from *Newbern*," and that both men "were on board of a boat belonging to *Kelly Cason*, and was with him about the middle of the day." Caruthers would give fifty dollars to anyone who would recover the children and seize the kidnappers so the law could take its course.⁵⁷

From the standpoint of newspaper space occupied, wealth of details published, and the side issues involved, the case conveniently labelled "The John Foy Robbery" is easily the

⁵⁶ *North-Carolina Gazette*, [December 22?], 1775.

⁵⁷ *North-Carolina Gazette*, April 10, 1778. A similar case was advertised in the same paper on October 9, 1778, by Beaufort County Justice of the Peace Thomas Bonner. His was a legal notice directing the various officers of the county to bring the culprits to justice. In this case, there were three abductors; and two children of a free Negress, Sara Blango Moore, were taken. The children were six-year-old twins, a boy and a girl.

most interesting of crimes reported in the advertising columns. The robbery occurred on the morning of February 4, 1775, and it is reasonable to suppose that before nightfall all New Bern was discussing the event. In the course of the next few days, the victim, John Foy, had drawn up an advertisement describing the crime, had enlisted the aid of Governor Josiah Martin in the matter, and had made a public apology for having made a false accusation in attempting to identify the robbers.

On Friday, February 3rd, two men stopped by John Foy's house to spend the night. The next morning, having eaten breakfast, they gave Foy "a Thirty Shilling Bill to change, in Order to pay their Reckoning." When he went into the next room to get the change, Foy recounted, "they rushed in upon me, presenting their Rifles at me, and ordered me to deliver up my keys; . . ." When he insisted he did not have the keys, Foy continued, "they made my Negro Wench bring them a Hammer, and compelled me to break open the Chest, . . ." Once this was done, the robbers stole about 375 pounds, proclamation money; and then, forcing Foy to unlock yet another chest, "plundered it of near the like Sum." To add insult to injury, the thieves also made off with a coat, leather bags and breeches, and some other articles.

John Foy's powers of observation seemed to be in full operation that day, for he gave a very thorough description of the men, their appearance, what they wore, and their horses—one of which had been stolen from Foy himself. One of the men was rather undistinguished except for a "down Look," while the other, who had "curled Locks," was described as "full mouthed, talks very pertly, and is lame in his right Knee and Leg; . . ." ⁵⁸

Taking cognizance of this "most daring Robbery," Governor Josiah Martin issued a proclamation directing law enforcement officers to assist in capturing the criminals. The proclamation repeated a few of the details of the crime, though it placed the date erroneously as February 3rd. The Governor's statement charged that the robbers, who were thought to be

⁵⁸ *North-Carolina Gazette*, February 24, 1775.

Virginians, had placed John Foy “in Fear of instant Death, . . .” The proclamation did not offer a monetary reward—John Foy had already offered a hundred pounds—but it did invoke the majesty of the law in Foy’s behalf so that the robbers might more quickly be brought to justice.⁵⁹

Sometime within a few days after the robbery, John Foy must have accused two men of having committed the crime but upon further investigation had discovered the accusation to be false. To make amends, Foy drew up a certificate in the form of an advertisement which he acknowledged before Lewis Williams and Edmund Hatch and then had published in the newspaper. In the item, Foy admitted “that I have seen and conversed with Mr. *James Ran* and Mr. *Joel Mavery*, and they are not the Men which I suspected to have robbed me, as described in the Papers of the 10th Instant.”⁶⁰

Foy’s description of the robbery continued to appear for some time; but he apparently felt that the recovery of the £750 was not likely, for on April 7, 1775, he announced that the reward would be “in Proportion to the Money they [the captors] shall find with them [the robbers].”⁶¹

Upon at least one occasion, a North Carolina newspaper printed a denial that a crime had been committed, a refutation of rumors which seemed to have gained wide acceptance and to have created a stir in the community. The advertisement itself provides an excellent description of some of the diversions enjoyed by those who were not of the elite. Accepting the advertisement as a candid statement of fact, it is not difficult to believe that the social activities of the lesser folk were boisterous and even dangerous—anything except relaxing.

⁵⁹ *North-Carolina Gazette*, February 24, 1775.

⁶⁰ *North-Carolina Gazette*, February 24, 1775. This notice is on page three and the internal date is February 22nd. The other advertisements relating to the robbery are on page four.

⁶¹ *North-Carolina Gazette*, April 7, 1775. The advertisement last appeared in the issue of May 12, 1775, and it is possible that one of the robbers was captured about that time. A news item from Dobbs County, appearing in the *New Bern North-Carolina Gazette* on July 14, 1775, contained this notation: “We hear from Salisbury, that this Province is at last delivered from that Pest of Society Joseph Pettaway, one of the Persons that robbed Mr. Foy, and who has committed [with others] . . . the most daring Robberies that perhaps have been perpetrated in America. This Man [Pettaway] made his Exit at the Gallows in Salisbury, on the 30th of June last, . . .”

Roughly a century before Samuel Clemens branded reports of his death as "grossly exaggerated," a North Carolinian named John Banks, apparently a carpenter, appeared before Justices of the Peace James Davis and Thomas Haslen in New Bern to make a somewhat similar, though more legalistic, denial. The preamble to the deposition explains why the deposition was necessary. It seems that a story "was raised and spread about," sometime around November 12th to 15th, 1774, that John Banks was "most inhumanly murdered" in the vicinity of Peacock's bridge in Dobbs County. This story, which "spread . . . to every Quarter of this and the neighbouring Provinces with surprising Rapidity and Credulity," was doing damage to the reputations of "innocent Persons, said to be concerned therein, . . ." In order to set the record straight and to prove that the "innocent Persons" were really innocent, John Banks appeared in the flesh and told, to the best of his remembrance, the events which led up to the creation of the rumors. The deposition ran thus:

THAT he *John Banks*, sometime near the 15th of *November* past, borrowed a Horse of *Jesse Accock* (for whom he was at that Time engaged to build a House) to ride to *Peacock's* Bridge, at which place Mr. *Zachariah Mason* had advertised the Public he would take a Boat out of his Pocket in which a Man should cross *Contentny* Creek, to see which, many People beside himself met: That some Time after he . . . got there, he sat in to drinking, continued to do so at Intervals that Day out, the ensuing Night, and the next Day until about 2 o'Clock, P. M. that then he went up Stairs (at *Coopers*, the Person who then lived at the Bridge) and went to sleep upon a Bed, and slept until about 3 o'Clock in the Morning, at which Time some Persons came up Stairs, and bound a Cord round one of his Legs, and drew him and the Bed to the Head of the Stairs, then slacked the Rope, and he walked down Stairs, where he found he supposes, about 20 People, mostly (to Appearance) drunk: That upon his entering the Room below Stairs, his Heels were knocked up, and some Person thrown upon him, then was permitted to rise, and the same was twice or thrice repeated, after which the Company began to exercise the same Kind of Treatment upon each other: That he then went up Stairs for his Coat and Shoes, after obtaining which, he left the House and County in as secret a Manner as he possibly could: And that he received

no Wound whatever at that Time, or at any other Time, at that Place, that endangered the Loss either of Life or Member, and he believes no other Person did at the Time before mentioned.⁶²

⁶² *North-Carolina Gazette*, October 6, 1775. The deposition was taken before Davis and Haslen on September 28, 1775. Why there was a delay of more than ten months between the event and Banks's affidavit is not clear. Perhaps it took that long for the rumors to grow to dangerous proportions, or perhaps the whereabouts of Banks was not known earlier.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1852-1902

By GRIFFITH A. HAMLIN

INTRODUCTION

The Disciples of Christ in North Carolina were in their infancy in 1852. They were less than ten years old as a religious body within the State. The following fifty years were years of struggle to establish such institutions and organizations that would enable them to do more effective work and also to take their place with the older and more established churches in the State. Sunday schools, private schools, missionary organization, ministerial training and kindred items were born and grew into some degree of maturity during that half-century.

These pages are devoted primarily to the educational activities as manifested in the establishment of numerous private schools and, finally, a permanent college. Furthermore, the Disciples of Christ were committed to establish the kind of educational institutions and practices that would be in harmony with the ideas that had been set forth by their founding fathers. Since that educational heritage did have direct bearing upon the educational pattern they would attempt in North Carolina, it is important that their heritage be understood.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL AND HIS EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS

The church known as the Disciples of Christ was founded in Pennsylvania in 1809 by Thomas Campbell and his son, Alexander. Both men had come to America from Ireland where they had been ministers of the Presbyterian church. In an age of much controversy regarding theological beliefs as expressed in creeds, both Thomas and Alexander Campbell were impressed very greatly by the philosophy of John Locke who had written that the only requirement for membership in the Church of Christ "should consist of such things, and such things only, as the Holy Spirit has in the Holy Scriptures

declared, in express words, to be necessary for salvation.”¹ Thus, the Campbells inferred from Locke that all creeds were to be abandoned, and that the Bible alone contained sufficient instructions without the use of any creed or catechism. When Thomas Campbell wrote his famous *The Declaration and Address* in 1809, setting forth the new principles to be followed by the new church, its similarity to Locke’s statements is unmistakable.

There were additional factors, of course, that were influential in determining the kind of church the Campbells would establish. During his educational preparation at the University of Glasgow, for example, Alexander Campbell became closely associated with some leaders of the Haldane movement in that city. The Haldanes were interested in returning to what they regarded to be the correct practice of the church of the first century. Such things as the independence of local congregations, weekly observance of the Lord’s Supper and baptism by immersion became openly advocated by them. Those same practices were to become an integral part of the Disciples of Christ.

Alexander Campbell did not stop with the minimum essential of evangelism. He seemed to have a very high regard for education, even regarding it as a panacea for most of the ills of society. From his investigation of penitentiary records he concluded that the tendency toward crime among illiterates was fourteen times greater than among literates. He concluded that education would very greatly reduce crime if not eliminate it completely. It must be remembered that when Campbell spoke of education, he included therein what might be called “character education.” On one occasion he defined education as “the full development of man in his whole physical, intellectual, and moral constitution, with a proper reference to his whole destiny in the universe of God.”² His interest in education led him to be a crusader

¹ John Locke, “A Letter Concerning Toleration,” Charles L. Sherman, ed., *Treatise of Civil Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937), 177.

² Alexander Campbell, *The Millennial Harbinger* (Bethany, Virginia [now West Virginia], 1830-1870), XX, New Series, Vol., 5, 1850, 123. Hereinafter cited as Campbell, *The Millennial Harbinger*.

for the establishment of common (public) schools in his State of Virginia. As a representative from Brooke County to the Constitutional Convention of 1829, 1830, Alexander Campbell introduced the only resolution calling for the legislature to establish "such common schools as will be the most conducive to secure for the youth of this commonwealth such an education as may most promote the public good."³ When his resolution was rejected by the Convention, he wrote very indignantly that Virginia, once distinguished for her eminent statesmen, now "has sent her Magna Carta to the world without the recognition of education at all—without one word upon the subject, as though it were no concern of the state."⁴ His efforts to promote common schools were not confined to the legislative halls. He welcomed every opportunity to speak before teachers' assemblies and thus to bring the need for education closer to the people. Furthermore, he worked out a curriculum that he believed should be followed by the whole system of education—through the common schools, academies, and colleges. His suggested curriculum was based upon seven "arts" which he maintained were basic for education: thinking, reading, spelling, singing, writing, calculating, and bookkeeping.

At the same Constitutional Convention in Virginia, Alexander Campbell presented another resolution in the field of education that sounds out of harmony coming from a Christian educator. He sought to include in the Virginia Constitution a clause that would make it impossible for the State of Virginia ever to grant a charter to any church group for the purpose of establishing a "Theological School." The reason was that Campbell opposed "theological speculation" as a valid method of arriving at religious truth. Only the explicit writings of the Scriptures should be the basis for a minister's education, in his estimation. Such an emphasis by Campbell was to have far-reaching influence across the United States in regard to the kind of schools and colleges that should be established by the Disciples of Christ. Should their colleges be strictly "Bible Colleges," or could they be more like "Lib-

³ *Journal of the Virginia Constitutional Convention, 1829, 1830*, 181.

⁴ Campbell, *The Millennial Harbinger*, XI, 1841, 431.

eral Arts Colleges"? In brief, the more conservative Disciples of Christ choose to establish and support "Bible Colleges." Names like Ozark *Bible* College, Cincinnati *Bible* Seminary, and, in North Carolina, Roanoke *Bible* College in Elizabeth City are typical. Such schools have not chosen to become affiliated with the Board of Higher Education of the Disciples of Christ. They have become the training centers for the group known as the "Independents" or "Churches of Christ."

It was in 1839 that Alexander Campbell announced his intention to open a new type of *Institution* on his plantation. The institution would include a printing press, a primary school, a college and a church. It seems apparent that his idea for such an enterprise came from contemporary "colony" experiments by such men as Fellenberg in Switzerland, Oberlin in France, and a great many in America. Perhaps the New Harmony enterprise, founded by Robert Owen, was the most famous in America. The printing press continued only during Campbell's lifetime, but the church and college (Bethany College) have continued to the present. Several North Carolinians attended Bethany College before a similar school was established in North Carolina.

There is much more that could be said about Alexander Campbell's keen interest and concern about education. What has been said, however, has been sufficient to indicate something of his desire for an educated ministry and laity, and also something of the kind of education that he believed was best.

CAMPBELLIAN IDEOLOGY ENTERS NORTH CAROLINA

There were three major ways by which the principles advocated by Alexander Campbell made their way into North Carolina. First of all, periodicals edited by him, beginning in 1823, soon found their way into North Carolina homes. In 1826 the first item from North Carolina appeared in the current periodical, *The Christian Baptist*, thus indicating written contact between two areas.

In the second place, and evidently much more vital, was the personal contact that Thomas Campbell, Alexander's father, made in North Carolina in his lecture tour of 1833.

For one thing, his visit to the State resulted in certain Baptist groups uniting with the Disciples of Christ. Twelve years after Thomas Campbell's visit to the State enough Free Will Baptist churches and ministers had adopted the principles of the Campbells that the Disciples of Christ consider his visit as the birth date of their organized work in North Carolina. Of the twenty-six ministers on the first roll of the Disciples of Christ in 1845, twenty-four were from the Free Will Baptists. The assimilation of the Free Will Baptists within the Disciples' fold brought many of the Baptist customs into the Disciples of Christ. One was the custom of having regular meetings of churches within a given geographical area. They were called "Union Meetings," and they usually met whenever a fifth Sunday occurred in a month. Often the previous Friday and Saturday were included too. Those Union Meetings were to become effective avenues through which the educational leaders could get to the mass constituency of the membership. Another group of Baptists who contributed to the membership and educational leadership of the Disciples of Christ were the Union Baptists. Two ministers of their church, John L. Winfield and C. W. Howard, joined with the Disciples of Christ around 1870 and became outstanding in educational work.

The third way in which Campbellian ideology entered North Carolina was through the person and work of the first educator-evangelist who was employed to work throughout all the churches of the Disciples of Christ within the State. His name was John Tomline Walsh, a Virginian, who began his work in North Carolina in 1852. His background made him well-qualified for his new duties. A number of years earlier, 1844, he edited in Richmond, Virginia, his first publication—*The Southern Review*.⁵ There are no copies of that periodical known to be extant. Indications are that it was a secular journal including articles on religion. In 1848 Walsh moved to Philadelphia where he established a medical college and occupied the chair of anatomy and physiology. Those experiences in education, administration, and writing

⁵ Griffith Askew Hamlin, *The Life and Influence of Dr. John Tomline Walsh* (Wilson, 1942), 19.

were to be of value to him in somewhat similar tasks in North Carolina. Actually, it was in 1852 when Walsh moved to North Carolina that the story of private schools and Sunday School really begins for the Disciples of Christ. Prior to that time the churches had been primarily occupied with evangelism and establishing themselves. By 1852, under competent leadership, they could begin a larger program. This is not to imply that over-night there would come into existence private schools and Sunday Schools adequate in every way to meet the needs of the people. On the contrary, the first twenty years could best be described as a period of many failures and few successes.

THE STATUS OF CONTEMPORARY COMMON SCHOOLS AND DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES IN NORTH CAROLINA

The educational efforts of the Disciples of Christ in the years just prior to, and immediately following, the Civil War can be understood better in the light of contemporary educational work by the State and by churches. The first State-wide school system in North Carolina was established by the legislature in 1839. There were many weaknesses in that first school law. It did not state how school houses were to be provided. Nothing was said about the qualifications and employment of teachers. No mention was made as to when schools should begin and what subjects should be taught; nor was any provision made for a general authority at the head of the system for the purpose of guiding and advising superintendents, committee members and teachers. In spite of the weakness, however, public schools in North Carolina had come to stay. The financial arrangement was for the State to pay two dollars for every dollar raised by the counties through taxation. The first year's budget was \$3,600, with \$1,200 coming from counties and \$2,400 coming from the State treasury. By 1850 the budget was \$158,564.⁶ One hundred and four thousand pupils were enrolled in 2,657 schools with 2,730 teachers. In 1853 an important step was taken when the legislature created the position of General Super-

⁶ Charles Lee Smith, *The History of Education in North Carolina* (Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1888), 169.

intendent of Common Schools. Calvin H. Wiley was appointed to fill that position, and he remained in office until 1865. Wiley generally is credited with founding the present educational system in North Carolina. He soon made it obligatory for teachers to be certified before employment and he also recommended books for teachers and pupils. At first the wealthier people did not patronize common schools. Those who could afford it sent their children to private schools and academies. However, with the passing of years, common schools became more firmly entrenched, and parents increasingly turned to them for the education of their children. As that happened, private schools and academies decreased for lack of patronage. That change did not take place appreciably, however, until the late years of the last century. But it was to have direct bearing upon the private schools of the Disciples of Christ and of all other religious bodies.

The beginning of denominational colleges might be ascribed to the great religious revival that swept through North Carolina in 1810 and 1811, resulting in a desire of the churches to establish colleges that would be orthodox in doctrine. The Baptists took the lead in that movement, followed by the Presbyterians and Methodists. Wake Forest opened in 1834; Davidson in 1837; Trinity in 1851. Those denominational schools were under way before the Disciples of Christ were scarcely established as an organized body in North Carolina.

EARLY FAILURES AND SUCCESSES OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The first attempt of the Disciples of Christ to establish an educational institution in North Carolina was in 1854. John Walsh was the leader in that crusade. The tentative plans called for a Female Institute to be established in Hookerton. An urgent appeal was written by Walsh in his periodical. The appeal was entitled "The Hookerton Female Institute," and it ran thus:

Why should we be behind all other denominations in the State, with reference to schools and colleges? Can any good reason be given? Why should we help build up institutions of learning

for other denominations and send our children to them to be *secularized*? We have followed this suicidal pattern long enough. We can have a female school of high order, and *we must have one*. Many brethren are now ready to act in this matter. We want no small affair. Let us have a school worthy of public patronage—one free from all *sectarianism*. And Hookerton is the place for such a school. It is central and healthy. We would suggest that all the friends of such a school, who can make it convenient to do so, attend the Union Meeting to commence on Friday before the fifth Lord's Day.⁷

Several statements in the above quotation need to be amplified. In the first place, the stated intention to make the school free from all sectarianism was in accord with the Campbellian meaning of that term. That is, the desire was for no particular opinions to be advocated as the source of religious truth. If they were to teach Christian truth, the Bible alone should be the source book for it.

The second important statement is in regard to Hookerton being central. The Disciples of Christ were confined mainly to the eastern third of the State. That was due, in part, to the fact that Thomas Campbell had preached in that area, and also because that was the location of most of the Free Will Baptists out of which the Disciples of Christ had developed. Therefore, when Hookerton is described as central, it meant that it was central to that eastern part of the State, and not to the State as a whole, for Hookerton was not over seventy-five miles from the Atlantic coast, but four hundred miles from the western boundary of the State.

In the third place, it can be seen that the Union Meetings, inherited from the Baptists, were coming to have increasing significance. They provided a very effective medium for taking any proposal directly to the constituency of the churches within a given geographical area. Such meetings have continued to be a highly effective promotional medium to the present day.

In addition to soliciting funds from the Disciples of Christ, an appeal also was sent to the Baptists. The Baptists were reminded that when they established Chowan Female Insti-

⁷ John Tomline Walsh, ed., *The Christian Friend* (Wilson, Goldsboro), January, 1854, 121.

tute in Murfreesboro in 1848, they had solicited funds from among the Disciples of Christ. Now the Baptists were given a chance to reciprocate. Plans for the Hookerton school went to far as to organize a Board of Trustees. The officers of the Board were: John P. Dunn, President; Winsor Dixon, Vice President; George Joyner, Secretary; William Dixon, Assistant Secretary. To the disappointment of the enthusiasts funds were slow to be realized, and the project finally was dropped. The Disciples of Christ had failed in their first venture to establish a school. It should be remembered that it was a rather ambitious project for such a small group—less than five thousand. Furthermore, the Disciples of Christ were a loosely-knit body without any means of assessing the members for an enterprise involving financial support.

Three years later, 1857, there was another attempt to establish a boarding school for young ladies in Farmville. Even after three thousand dollars had been pledged the school was not founded. Shortly after that second failure Walsh himself attempted to establish a school for girls in Kinston, but he, too, was unsuccessful. He claimed that he had received in pledges about nine thousand dollars, and that its failure was "a monument to our folly as lasting as the hills, or the pyramids of Egypt." Such words are reminiscent of the indignation with which Alexander Campbell had criticized the failure of Virginia to establish common schools nearly thirty years before.

THE FIRST TASTE OF SUCCESS

After the failure of John Walsh to establish a school in Kinston, the attempt was revived by several others in 1860. The school was established, and Walsh was made the principal. It is credited with being the first school established by a member of the Disciples of Christ in North Carolina for the purpose of educating young ladies. The first term began in January, 1860, and continued through June. The second term began on July 23, and closed on December 21. The official name of the school was the Kinston Female Seminary. A survey of the course of instruction indicates that it included

both elementary and higher branches of study. The list of courses and the cost were written as follows:

ELEMENTARY — Spelling, Reading, Writing, Primary Geography and Arithmetic	\$8.00
HIGHER ENGLISH — Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, History, Geology, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry	10.00
The above, including moral and mental philosophy, logic, Rhetoric, Algebra and Astronomy	12.00
THE LANGUAGES — French, Latin and Greek five dollars each	15.00
MUSIC — on Piano, with use of instrument	17.00
On Melodeon, with use of instrument	12.00
EMBROIDERY, ETC. — Five dollars each. Wax flowers	10.00
CONTINGENT EXPENSES25 ⁸

The announcement added a footnote that a few small boys of good moral character would be received under the special charge of the principal. Furthermore, it added that when parents have both boys and girls, and wish to enter the boys, they will be expected to enter the girls also; and when the girls are sent to other schools in Kinston, the boys would not be received.

After one year the Civil War began, and the Kinston Female Seminary was disbanded. During the years of the War there is no record of any private educational institution in North Carolina being conducted by a member of the Disciples of Christ. Immediately after the War there were two schools, but very little can be learned about them. One was a school conducted by Joseph Foy in Stantonsburg from 1865 until 1870. Foy's prominence as an educator, however, was to come a few years later. Likewise, another rising young educator of that period, Joseph Kinsey, conducted a school in Pleasant Hill, Jones County, just after the Civil War. But very little is known about it except that among his pupils was Furnifold M. Simmons who later became a distinguished senator from North Carolina.

⁸ "Semi-annual Announcement of Kinston Female Seminary," John Tomline Walsh, ed., *Carolina Christian Monthly* (Goldsboro), May, 1860, 120.

Such was the first phase of the attempt on the part of the Disciples of Christ in North Carolina to establish private schools. The number of failures far outnumbered the successes. The people soon were to become school conscious, however, and the final quarter of the century was to witness a rapid growth and integration of efforts.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

Students of North Carolina history are familiar with the fact that the year 1870 witnessed the impeachment of Governor William Woods Holden. The remainder of his term was filled by Lieutenant Governor Tod R. Caldwell who succeeded himself and died in office. The remainder of Caldwell's term was filled by Lieutenant Governor C. H. Brodgen. The next governor, Zebulon B. Vance, who took office on January 1, 1877, succeeded in restoring an orderly and progressive state government. Declaring that it was impossible to have an effective school system without providing for the training of teachers, Vance asked the legislature to establish a normal school for white teachers and one for Negro teachers. The legislature accepted his request. A school for white teachers was established at the University of North Carolina, and one for Negro teachers at Fayetteville.⁹

By 1884 a state teachers' organization had been established, adopting the name North Carolina Teachers' Assembly. It has had a continuous existence, developing into the North Carolina Education Association. The 1887 Teachers' Assembly met at Morehead City in a building that had been erected that year at a cost of about three thousand dollars. The major portion of that cost was borne by Julian S. Carr, North Carolina's first millionaire. The building at Morehead City served as the central meeting place of the Teachers' Assembly until its destruction by fire in 1894. In spite of all those apparent progressive movements in the direction of better public schools, it should be noted that in 1880 North

⁹ The Fayetteville school is the oldest institution in the South devoted exclusively to the training of Negro teachers, Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 501-502.

Carolina spent less than \$2.00 per child for education.¹⁰ Private schools still had their place in helping to meet the educational needs of the people. The Disciples of Christ, like other religious bodies, fostered such schools.

As a result of the Civil War there were many war orphans. In the 1873 General State Convention of the Disciples of Christ it was proposed that "a Committee on High School be organized and instructed to report a plan for establishing a High School, with an Orphan Department, at our next meeting."¹¹ The Committee appointed was R. W. King, Dr. F. W. Dixon, R. J. Taylor, J. J. Harper, George Joyner, Josephus Latham and J. H. Foy.

The next year the Committee reported as requested, and recommended a plan to establish the high school with an orphan department. *It was to be under the supervision of the General State Convention*, and not just operated privately by an individual. That was a significant and progressive suggestion by the Committee. The plan called for the formation of a stock company with the total capital to be not less than ten thousand dollars—in shares of twenty-five dollars. If any church or individual donated two hundred dollars or more to the school, it would be privileged to keep one pupil in the school free of tuition. Finally, the Committee requested that a Board of Education be appointed by the Convention Chairman to try to raise the ten thousand dollars by the next Annual Meeting. The Chairman appointed Joseph Foy, J. L. Winfield, Dr. H. D. Harper, S. H. Rountree, and Dr. F. W. Dixon to serve on the Board of Education.

The lack of anticipated support prohibited the proposed High School from being established. In 1875 the project was dropped entirely. The statement was to the effect that from the spirit manifested by the people, no school could be inaugurated "under the specific control of the brethren" for the present. Words of high appreciation were expressed regarding the teaching activities of Joseph H. Foy in Wilson

¹⁰ C. W. Dabney, *Universal Education in the South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936), I, 114.

¹¹ *Minutes of Proceedings, 1873*, Annual Convention, North Carolina Disciples of Christ, hereinafter cited as *Minutes of Proceedings*.

and Joseph Kinsey in LaGrange — two educators of the Disciples of Christ who were rising to prominence. Kinsey operated his own school, and Foy was principal of the male division of Wilson College. Sylvester Hassell, prominent Primitive Baptist leader, was president of the college.

Foy and Kinsey were not the only ones prominent in educational work during that period. Other individual Disciples of Christ were making their reputation as teachers and administrators. One such educator was Josephus Latham who served for a while as superintendent of education in Pitt County. Later he conducted a school of his own near Farmville. In May, 1876, John Walsh wrote that "Brother Latham is now conducting a school in Farmville, Pitt County, which is in a prosperous condition. He is a popular teacher whose greatest proficiency is in mathematics rather than philology or the languages."¹²

Another teacher of note was Curtis W. Howard. Originally a Union Baptist, Howard turned his attention to the Disciples of Christ under the tutelage of Joseph Foy. After his academic preparation he taught mathematics in the Kinston Collegiate Institute operated by Dr. R. H. Lewis, a Baptist. During the 1877-1878 session Howard was listed as an assistant to principal Lewis. In 1890 he became superintendent of schools for Lenoir County, maintaining that position for sixteen years.

A layman, Dr. F. W. Dixon, operated an educational institution known as Clarella Institute in Snow Hill. Dixon had been a student at Bethany College, founded by Alexander Campbell, and later he entered medical practice. Very little is known about Clarella Institute, but the records indicate that it was in operation during most of the 1870's. Each session was for twenty weeks. The course of study was probably on the elementary level.

The question might well be raised regarding the value of these various schools in the education of the ministry. Those schools were on the elementary level only, and offered no special training for the ministry. To receive special ministerial instruction it was necessary to go out of the State and attend a college such as Bethany or Transylvania. That is

¹² John Tomline Walsh, ed., *The Watch Tower* (Kinston), May, 1876, 9.

not to say that the ministers in North Carolina received no specific instruction of any kind. In spite of the lack of institutional education there were several channels through which instruction was offered especially for ministers. John Walsh used the pages of his monthly journals to include specific instructions for ministers. One such article was entitled "Rules for Preachers" in which he discussed the ethics of a minister, and the preparation and delivery of sermons. Again, in 1884, just two years before his death, Walsh wrote his "Rules of Interpretation" in which he stressed the importance of discovering the meaning of the words "as they were employed by the sacred writers of the Old and New Testament."¹³

Next to John Walsh, Joseph Foy was probably the most significant influence in helping ministers. In 1889 Foy published a manual that was destined to be used by ministers for half a century. It was *The Christian Worker—A Practical Manual For Preachers and Church Officials*. Its 189 pages were devoted exclusively to suggestions and recommended procedures for ministers in the performance of their duties. The value of such a manual was enhanced by the fact that very few of the ministers had attended an educational institution that would have taught them the formal aspects of the ministry. Eight years before the publication of his manual, Foy and Calvin H. Wiley were awarded honorary doctorates by the University of North Carolina. Among Foy's pupils were Charles Brantley Aycock, Josephus Daniels, Frank Daniels, Rudolph Duffy, James W. Hines and James Y. Joyner. The biographer of Aycock has written that Foy encouraged young Aycock to such an extent that Aycock "never failed to acknowledge the interest which this instructor took in him."¹⁴ Josephus Daniels wrote of Foy that ". . . it is doubtful if a more brilliant teacher lived in North Carolina in the seventies

¹³ John Tomline Walsh, *The Living Age* (Kinston, 1884, 1885), November, 1884, 295.

¹⁴ R. D. W. Connor and Clarence Poe, *The Letters and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1912), 19.

and eighties.”¹⁵ In his later years Foy was given a pension through the Carnegie Foundation largely because Josephus Daniels personally brought the matter to Carnegie’s attention, and the rules and regulations were waived to permit Foy to be included.

ATTEMPTS AT PERMANENCY

Beginning about 1890 there was a great revival for public education in North Carolina. The North Carolina Teachers’ Assembly, along with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, for several years had been crusading for the establishment of a normal college for women where teacher training could be obtained tuition free. The normal department of the University of North Carolina was for men only, but two-thirds of the public school teachers were women. Accordingly, a normal school for white women was established in Greensboro in 1891.

It was with the inauguration of Charles B. Aycock as governor in 1901 that a new chapter began in the history of education in North Carolina. As a result of Aycock’s work, the number of towns and cities that established schools between 1901 and 1910 increased from 42 to 118. With the increase in efficiency and standards for public instruction, private schools of inferior quality began to disappear. Only the stronger church-related colleges continued to prosper.

The Disciples of Christ in North Carolina gave evidence that they were conscious of their need for a college. In the General Convention of 1886 the Committee on Education charged that some Disciple students who go to other denominational colleges “come home prejudiced against the Church of their parents, and in some instances cannot even commune with the mothers who nursed them in infancy”.¹⁶ As a result, it was decided in 1891 that the President of the General Convention should appoint a Board of Trustees of fifteen persons

¹⁵ From a letter to C. C. Ware, April 22, 1927, from Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, N. C., pertaining to Dr. Joseph Henry Foy, C. C. Ware, *History of the North Carolina Disciples of Christ* (St. Louis, Missouri, Christian Board of Publication, 1927), 169.

¹⁶ *Minutes of Proceedings*, 1886.

whose duty it would be to erect buildings and exercise general supervision of a school. The Chairman of that Board of Trustees was J. L. Winfield. Desiring to bring about tangible results quickly, the Trustees erected what was known as Carolina Christian Institute in the Old Ford community of Beaufort County. The Institute opened September 26, 1892, and lasted for one session only. During the year of its existence it served to instruct a few older students who came there. Six ministerial students were enrolled. The Institute had only two teachers, no dormitory, and issued no catalog. It had the distinction of being the first school of the Disciples of Christ in North Carolina to which a financial contribution was made from the treasury of their General State Convention. The sum of \$60.00 was approved, and it was the first time that a Convention, as such, had given financial support to a school.

During the ensuing year the Board of Trustees sought a better location which might become a permanent establishment. Several towns offered inducements for a college to be established in their vicinity. After due deliberation, the town of Ayden was selected. The proposition offered by Ayden was one hundred dollars and five acres of land. To encourage ministerial students, the Convention approved that all ministerial students would be received tuition free. The new school was named Carolina Christian College. It opened its doors on September 18, 1893, occupying a frame building that had been erected that summer. The catalog of the college listed the faculty as Prof. L. T. Rightsell, Mrs. Rightsell, P. S. Swain, J. R. Tingle, and Mrs. Mollie Winfield. Seventy students were enrolled that first year. Actually, the school was not a college in the sense that the term is used today. The course of study consisted of secondary English, history, mathematics, music and Bible. No degrees were granted. It was more on the order of a high school, serving a community in which there was no high school operated by the state. The school grew, however, until in 1897 the enrollment had reached one hundred-forty, with a financial expenditure of about eight hundred-fifty dollars. It appeared that Carolina Christian College was on its way to becoming the permanent educational institution

owned and operated by the Disciples of Christ in North Carolina. Upon the death of President Winfield in 1897, Asa J. Manning was called to fill that office. Manning continued to administer its program until it went out of existence five years later in 1902. At that time the property was sold, with part of the proceeds going to the Ayden Church, and the remainder going to establish a new college in Wilson. The choice of Wilson as the final location of the permanent college was a phase of development that demands a more detailed explanation.

WILSON IS CHOSEN FOR PERMANENT COLLEGE

There were two factors that led to the choice of Wilson as the location for the permanent educational institution of the Disciples of Christ in North Carolina. One stems from the removal in 1897 of the Kinsey Seminary from LaGrange to Wilson. An educational association in Wilson was familiar with the quality of work that Kinsey had been doing for several years in LaGrange, and the Association reached an agreement with Kinsey whereby it would erect a large building for occupancy by the fall of 1897. The building was erected at the edge of the city at the cost of twenty thousand dollars. The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors for the new Kinsey Seminary in Wilson consisted of George Hackney, Joseph Kinsey, George D. Green and Jonas Oettinger. The school opened on its new location September 15, 1897. For four years the Seminary operated most successfully but Kinsey's health began to fail after nearly thirty-five years of educational work. Furthermore, the financial responsibility was becoming increasingly great in the maintenance of an institution which appeared to be the leading institution of learning in eastern North Carolina. Consequently, Kinsey Seminary closed in 1901. It was an opportune time for some church body to acquire the property and make it into an educational enterprise of the first order. It was fortunate for the Disciples of Christ that they were able to make the acquisition.

The second factor that favored Wilson as the choice for an educational institution was that the city had been an edu-

cational center in eastern North Carolina. *The State Chronicle* of May 31, 1889, stated that even before the Civil War, Wilson had become the educational center of a large section, as well as the commercial depot. The Primitive Baptists largely were responsible for the educational growth of the community. The first church known to be established in Wilson County was Primitive Baptist. It was founded in 1754 as Toisnot Baptist Church. For practically one hundred years all churches of Wilson County were Primitive Baptist. In 1867 *Zion's Landmark*, the official publication of the Primitive Baptists, was founded in Wilson and has continued through the years. A brief listing of the various schools that had been established in Wilson indicates something of the educational significance of that town.

1. Toisnot Academy was incorporated under the laws of North Carolina in 1846. It did not begin operation until 1853, and then under a different name. The date is significant, in that it indicates the earliest known attempt at formal education in the township of Wilson.
2. The Wilson Male Academy, 1853-1863, was the outgrowth of the proposed Toisnot Academy.
3. The Wilson Female Seminary, 1853-1859, might be regarded as the counterpart of the contemporary Male Academy.
4. The Wilson Male Academy, 1859-1861, was a project of Methodist educators. It overlapped the other Male Academy in point of time.
5. The Wilson Female Seminary, 1859-1865, was operated by Methodists. The founder was Charles F. Deems who established the Church of the Strangers in New York City in 1866.
6. The Wilson Female Seminary, 1868-1875, was the first school to be established in Wilson after the Civil War. It was Primitive Baptist in leadership.
7. The Wilson Collegiate Institute, 1872-1875, was reopened two years after it closed and remained in operation until shortly before Kinsey Seminary was established—the forerunner of Atlantic Christian College. The Institute was the first to publish catalogs which are still in existence.
8. Wilson College, 1875-1877, was under the supervision of Sylvester Hassell. Joseph Foy assisted in the administration. His presence there was another factor in turning the atten-

tion of the Disciples of Christ toward Wilson as a place of educational opportunity. It was during the 1875-1876 session of the college that Charles B. Aycock, Josephus Daniels, Frank Daniels and John D. Gold were students there. It is worth noting that Wilson College, administered by a Primitive Baptist, did not contain any courses in Bible or religion in its curriculum. Neither have Primitive Baptists conducted Sunday schools or missionary societies in the usual sense of the terms. Being rather Calvinistic in doctrine they have minimized any works on the part of man to bring about conversion to Christianity. Nevertheless, the Primitive Baptists have sought to foster communities of high moral and intellectual development. In that respect they were similar to the Campbellian emphasis upon communities of high moral and intellectual culture.

9. The Wilson Collegiate Institute, 1877-1894, was a revival of the former Institute of 1872-1875. The new Institute continued in operation longer than any other school. For several years it was supervised by Silas Warren, a Primitive Baptist leader. When it finally closed in 1894, and subsequently no academic institution existed in Wilson for three years, this was the longest period in the history of the city of Wilson that there was no private school.

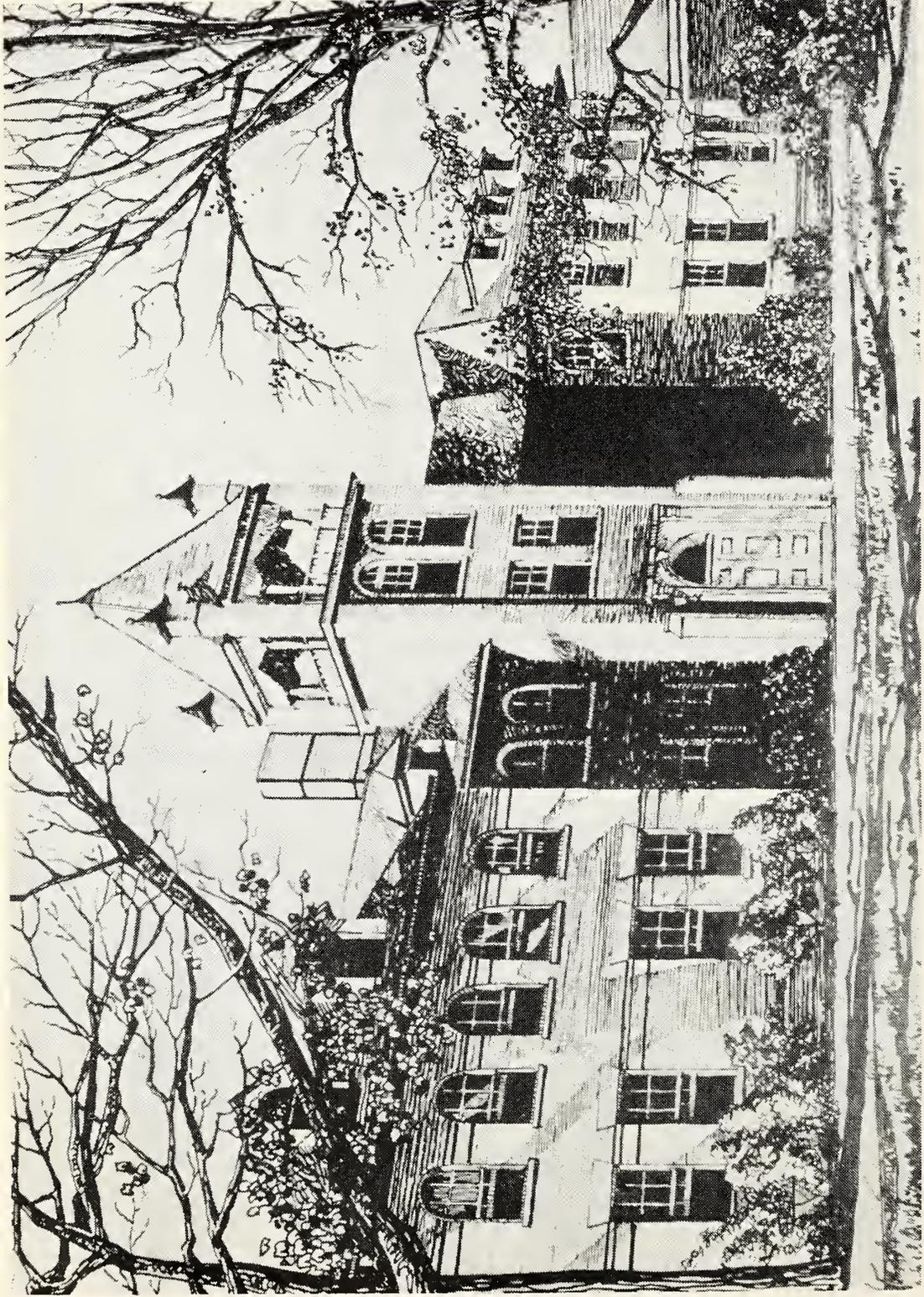
10. Kinsey Seminary, 1897-1901, was the direct antecedent of Atlantic Christian College. The Wilson Education Association purchased for the Seminary a tract of land bordered by the streets known as Whitehead, Lee, Rountree and Gold.¹⁷

THE FOUNDING OF ATLANTIC CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

When Kinsey Seminary came to a close in 1901 education-minded leaders of the Disciples of Christ saw an opportunity for making an important step in their scholastic program. Daniel Motley, the State Evangelist for the Disciples of Christ, wrote a series of articles entitled "Our Need of a College." In one article he pointed out that if a college could be established in North Carolina it would draw students also from South Carolina and Georgia in which there was no colleges operated by the Disciples of Christ.¹⁸ By the time of the General State Convention in the fall of 1901 the stage was

¹⁷ Charles G. Shreve, "Development of Education to 1900 in Wilson, North Carolina" (unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1941), *passim*.

¹⁸ John Tomline Walsh, *The Watch Tower* (Washington), June 5, 1901, 1.



Kinsey Hall, built five years prior to occupation (1902) by Atlantic Christian College, which is to be demolished during the summer of 1956. This pen and ink sketch was made in January, 1956, by Professor Russell W. Arnold.

set for the acquisition of the Wilson property formerly used by Kinsey. It was agreed that the North Carolina Christian Missionary Convention (the legal name of the Convention of Disciples of Christ) would pay the sum of nine thousand for the property. Capitalizing upon the enthusiasm generated at the Convention, pledges were taken which contributed about three thousand dollars within twelve months. Dr. J. J. Harper was made the Chancellor. Serving with him on the Board of Trustees were Joseph Kinsey, B. H. Melton, D. W. Arnold, George Hackney, E. A. Moye, J. W. Hines, K. R. Tunstall, and J. S. Basnight. Dr. Harper took quite seriously his task of promoting the college throughout the churches in the State. On one occasion he wrote that he was grateful for the many small contributions, but that there were "many Disciples in North Carolina who could contribute large amounts, and large amounts are necessary to manage a large enterprise."¹⁹ J. C. Coggins was engaged as the first president of the college. He travelled extensively among the churches, speaking on behalf of the college and soliciting funds for its support. The women of the Wilson church effected a plan for the furnishing of the thirty-three student rooms. The cost was \$30.00 per room. Following the example of the Wilson church, other groups throughout the State helped furnish the building. Nearly seven hundred dollars was raised by that method.

When Atlantic Christian College opened on September 3, 1902, the faculty numbered 9, and the enrollment was 185, of which number, 141 were women and 44 were men. Ten ministerial students were included. At the State Convention in the fall of 1902 the Trustees were empowered to issue bonds to cover the cost of the property and improvements amounting to eleven thousand dollars. Those bonds were fully paid in 1911.

The catalog of 1902 carried the names of the faculty and their respective academic departments as follows:

¹⁹ Joseph D. Waters, *The Watch Tower* (Washington), January 2, 1902, 4.

James Caswell Coggins, President, A.M., S.T.D., L.L.D.
 School of Bible Study
 Abdullah Kori, Syrian Linguist.
 School of Oriental Languages, Greek and Latin
 Glenn G. Cole, B.S., C.E., M.S.
 School of Mathematics and Science
 Miss Ruth M. Alderman, B.S., M.S.
 German, French, English Literature
 Luther R. Shockey
 School of Piano Music
 Miss M. Adele Martin, Mus. B., Mus. M.
 School of Vocal Music
 Miss Bessie Rouse
 School of Painting and Drawing
 Miss Christine Ornberg, B.O., M.O.
 School of Elocution, Oratory, and Physical Culture
 D. W. Arnold
 Bookkeeping and Business Forms ²⁰

Evidence of the exuberance with which the leaders planned for the future of the College is seen in their proposal to grant the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees as soon as demand would justify it. Those degrees were to be offered in the Language Department, supervised by Professor Kori, who was described as being "doubtless the ablest linguist of his age in America." Kori remained at the College for only one year, however, and the plans for advanced degrees did not materialize.

There was nothing in the academic pattern of the new college particularly different from similar schools of that time. The emphasis was on the languages, arts and Bible. The desire to offer advanced degrees doubtless was a result of enthusiasm that had been kindled to a degree far beyond what was merited by the financial resources and other factors necessary to establishing a college on a high academic standard.

From its beginning, Atlantic Christian College was coeducational in the sense that both men and women were admitted to the classes. In accordance with the prevalent practice of the times, however, the two groups were kept in strict separation from each other—even to the extent of separate dining rooms.

²⁰ *The First Annual Catalogue of Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, N. C., 1902-'03* (Joseph J. Stone and Co., Greensboro, 1902).

With the establishment of the college in 1902, the long struggle for a Convention-owned educational institution came to successful conclusion. The Disciples of Christ in North Carolina at last had acquired an institution that would be able to serve their needs for a better educated ministry and laity.

In a sense, the Disciples of Christ had been driven to establish a first-class college because of the advancements in public education. Private schools and academies, operated by individuals, had become obsolete and no longer could attract the patronage of the public. Public schools had taken their place, leaving the Disciples of Christ in North Carolina with no choice but to establish an institution of higher learning on a basis that would insure permanence. With the establishment of Atlantic Christian College, the still relatively young Disciples of Christ in North Carolina were able to meet the educational needs of their people to much the same degree that the older religious bodies were meeting their educational needs.

JOHNSTON'S LAST STAND — BENTONVILLE

By JAY LUVAAS

It was several hours before dawn, March 18, 1865, when the courier reached General Joseph E. Johnston at his headquarters in Smithfield, North Carolina. The dispatch he delivered was from Wade Hampton, commanding all Confederate cavalry in the area. Hampton, with the bulk of the cavalry, was encamped some twelve miles to the south, near the village of Bentonville. He had just encountered a portion of the invading army which General W. T. Sherman was pushing through the woods and swamps of eastern North Carolina, and from all indications a clash was imminent.

Johnston acted quickly. Charged with the task of stemming Sherman's sweep northward,¹ he had been unable to assemble enough troops to challenge the invading army. Upon first assuming command, on February 23,² Johnston had found his army so dislocated that, in the words of Wade Hampton, "it would scarcely have been possible to disperse a force more effectually," and only ten days ago his troops had been scattered over an area extending from Kinston to Charlotte.³ General William J. Hardee, with two divisions totalling 7,500, had been in almost daily contact with Sherman's columns for the past two weeks, but this small force could delay Sherman's advance only momentarily. On March 16, Hardee was

¹ On February 1, 1865, Sherman departed from Savannah, Georgia, with an army of 60,000. His ultimate destination was Petersburg, Virginia, where Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was gradually choking to death in the trenches around Petersburg.

² General R. E. Lee assumed command of all Confederate armies February 9, 1865. On February 23 he appointed Johnston in command of all Confederate forces from North Carolina to Florida.

³ Wade Hampton, "The Battle of Bentonville," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 4 vols., 1914), IV, 701, hereinafter cited as Hampton, *Battles and Leaders*. On March 9 the Confederate army was located as follows: Bragg, with the division of Hoke, Clayton, Hill and Pettus's brigade from Stevenson's division, faced a Union force under Jacob D. Cox at Kinston; Hardee was falling back on Fayetteville before Sherman; and Stewart's corps had just passed through Charlotte, a day's march in advance of Cheatham. See *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 70 volumes [128 books], 1880-1900), Series I, XLVII, part 1, 1078-1082, hereinafter cited as *Official Records*. All future references are to Series I unless otherwise indicated.

brushed aside in a severe fight at Averasboro and was forced to yield the strategic crossroads formed by the junction of roads leading to Raleigh and Goldsboro.

Uncertain of Sherman's destination, Johnston on March 13, had ordered his army to concentrate at Smithfield, where he could threaten the flank of an army advancing in the direction of either Raleigh or Goldsboro. Not until the Left Wing of the Union army turned east at Averasboro, however, did it become apparent that Sherman was headed for Goldsboro. On March 17, urgent reports from his cavalry commanders indicated that Sherman's entire army was advancing toward Goldsboro in two columns. When Hampton, confirming these reports, suggested that the situation offered possibilities for an attack upon one of these columns, Johnston did not hesitate. Quickly setting his army in motion for Bentonville, he instructed Hampton to hang on until the entire army could concentrate.⁴

Prospects for a Confederate victory were dreary. Sherman commanded an army of 60,000 veterans, which he had divided into two permanent columns, or wings, in order to attain greater mobility. The Left Wing, under General H. W. Slocum, consisted of two corps—the 14th and the 20th. This was the column which had recently defeated Hardee at Averasboro, and now was opposite Hampton on the Goldsboro pike, two miles south of Bentonville. The Right Wing, commanded by General O. O. Howard, was composed of the 15th and the 17th corps. It was known to be some distance to the south and east, in the direction of Goldsboro. Faulty maps exaggerated the distance separating these two wings and led Johnston to believe that Howard was a full day's march away, beyond supporting distance of the exposed Left Wing.⁵

Even so, the forces at Johnston's disposal were scarcely adequate. Slocum, counting the Union cavalry under Kilpatrick, had nearly 30,000 men; Johnston's army did not ex-

⁴ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 2, 1385-1428, *passim*; Hampton, in *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 701.

⁵ Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations Directed During the Late War Between the States* (New York, 1874), 385, hereinafter cited as Johnston, *Narrative*.

ceed 20,000 and this was a makeshift aggregation with dangerous weaknesses in organization and command. Fragments of Hood's army of Tennessee (which had been dashed to pieces in the charge at Franklin and again at Nashville), Robert F. Hoke's division from the Army of Northern Virginia, detachments from the military departments along the Atlantic coast, artillery regiments grown stale from garrison duty, and a youthful brigade of the North Carolina Junior Reserves—"the seed corn of the Confederacy,"⁶ were thrown together in this eleventh hour attempt to stop Sherman.

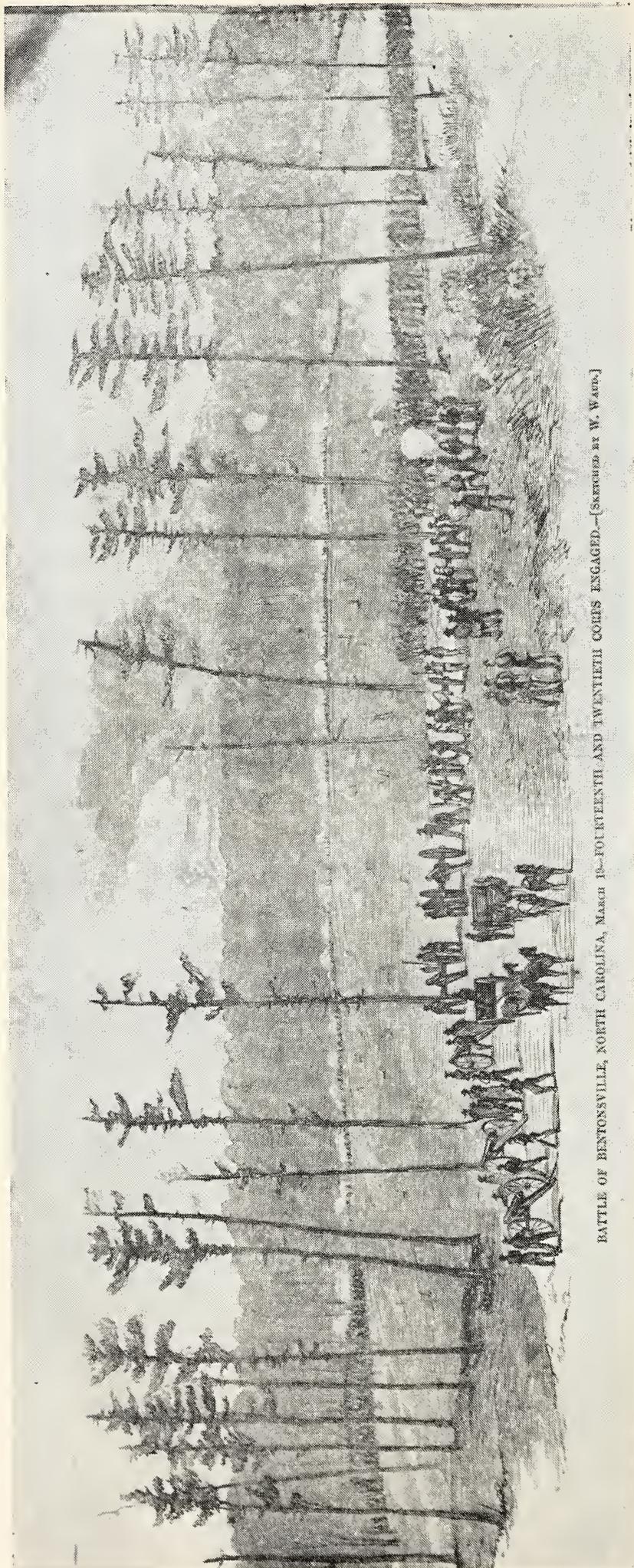
A galaxy of generals led this heterogeneous array. In addition to Johnston there was General D. H. Hill, a brilliant combat officer; Braxton Bragg, who had been relieved from command after the disastrous defeat on Missionary Ridge in November, 1863; Lafayette McLaws and Hoke, from the Army of Northern Virginia; and Stephen D. Lee, A. P. Stewart, Benjamin F. Cheatham and Hardee, all from the Army of Tennessee. Also present were Wade Hampton, Jeb Stuart's successor, and Joseph Wheeler, an equally skilled leader of cavalry. Famous names, these, but many of the generals had not worked together before, while several were conspicuous for previous failures.

If Johnston hoped to turn back the Union army, however, he must use all the forces at his disposal and strike soon. Against such odds his only chance for a tactical success was to catch an isolated portion of Sherman's army and defeat it in detail. If Sherman were allowed to reach Goldsboro, a town of the utmost strategic importance because of its railroad connections with the coast,⁷ he could get the new clothing and provisions which his men badly needed.⁸ And here Sherman would be joined by two additional corps under

⁶ Governor Z. B. Vance, quoted in Fred A. Olds, "The Last Big Battle," *The Confederate Veteran*, XXXVII (February, 1929), 51.

⁷ Goldsboro was Sherman's immediate objective. Not until this railroad center was in his possession and a new supply line from the sea was securely established did Sherman intend to move against Johnston. *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 28; Henry Hitchcock, *Marching with Sherman* (New Haven, 1927), 274-276.

⁸ Sherman's instructions to General A. H. Terry on March 12 reflect this need. Terry was ordered to send from Wilmington "all the shoes, stockings, drawers, sugar, coffee, and flour you can spare; finish the loads with oats or corn. Have the boats escorted, and let them run at night at any risk." *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 2, 803.



BATTLE OF BENTONSVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA, MARCH 19—FOURTEENTH AND TWENTIETH CORPS ENGAGED.—[SKETCHED BY W. WARD.]

Artillery of the 20th corps beating back the final Confederate attack on March 19. From *Harper's Weekly*, April 15, 1865.

A. H. Terry and J. M. Schofield, marching inland from Wilmington and New Bern. The arrival of these corps would swell Sherman's army to nearly 100,000, and the Confederates would be powerless to oppose an army of such strength. Johnston's only chance was to overwhelm the Left Wing before the Union army concentrated at Goldsboro; to delay would be to forfeit the campaign.

Accordingly, on March 18, Hampton's cavalry moved out to meet the enemy. Fighting dismounted, his troops were able to stand off the Union skirmishers until sunset, when both sides withdrew. That evening Johnston reached Bentonville with most of his command. Hardee, with the divisions of McLaws and W. B. Taliaferro, had been more than a day's march away and was forced to bivouac at Snead's house, five miles to the northwest.⁹ As soon as Johnston established his headquarters Hampton reported, briefed his chief on the general situation, and suggested a plan of action for the following day.

At daybreak on the 19th the Confederate cavalry moved forward and reoccupied the position held by them the previous evening. Under the protective cover of dismounted cavalry Johnston made his dispositions. Bragg, nominally in charge of Hoke's division from the department of North Carolina, was placed on the Confederate left, his line straddling the Goldsboro road. Hardee, as soon as his two divisions reached the scene, was to take up position *en echelon* to the right,¹⁰ with Stewart's corps prolonging the line still further until it ran virtually parallel to the Goldsboro road. The Confederate line was to thus resemble a sickle, with Bragg the handle and Stewart and Hardee the cutting edge. The target was Jeff Davis's 14th corps, then commencing its march east along the Goldsboro road.

According to plan, Hampton's cavalry withdrew as soon as the infantry was in position, passing through Bragg's line and moving over to the extreme right, where it was joined by Wheeler's cavalry corps later in the day. Because there was

⁹ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 1076.

¹⁰ Actually Hardee arrived late, causing Johnston to alter his disposition. See below, page 342.

only one road through the dense woods and thickets, the deployment of troops "consumed a weary time," and all the brigades had not reached their assigned positions before Hoke's skirmishers were driven back by advance units of the 14th corps. Soon hundreds of blue-clad infantry could be seen advancing across the fields of Cole's plantation, totally unaware that before them lay Johnston's entire army, small in numbers but "in high spirits and ready to brave the coming storm."¹¹

Sherman anticipated no attack. For several days he had accompanied the Left Wing, fearing that Johnston would strike, although the latest reports from Kilpatrick indicated that the Confederates were withdrawing to the north, in the vicinity of Raleigh. Confident "that the enemy . . . would not attempt to strike us in flank while in motion," Sherman then left Slocum early on the morning of the 19th in order to be nearer Schofield and Terry as they converged on Goldsboro. He had ridden only a short distance when the sound of artillery fire became audible. Soon he was overtaken by a messenger from Slocum who informed him that the 14th corps had merely run into stubborn cavalry resistance—nothing serious. Reassured, Sherman rode on.¹²

To the men in Slocum's command Sunday, March 19, began like any other day. At daybreak the troops were roused, consumed their usual fare of hardtack and coffee, and by 7:00 the leading regiments of Carlin's division,¹³ 14th corps, had filed into the road and were headed for Goldsboro. "For the first time almost in weeks, the sun was shining, and there was a promise of a beautiful day; and the men strode on vigorously and cheerfully."¹⁴ For several weeks they had struggled through the dense woods and swamps. At times it had seemed that even the elements were secessionists, as weeks of con-

¹¹ R. L. Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee* (Mexico, Missouri, 1906), 452-453, hereinafter cited as Ridley, *Battles and Sketches*.

¹² *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 25; pt. 2, 886; W. T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman* (New York, 2 vols., 1891), II, 303, hereinafter cited as Sherman, *Memoirs*.

¹³ Brig. General William P. Carlin. The division consisted of 3 brigades, commanded by Generals H. C. Hobart, G. P. Buell and Colonel David Miles.

¹⁴ Alexander McClurg, "The Last Chance of the Confederacy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, L (September, 1882), 391, hereinafter cited as McClurg, "Last Chance of the Confederacy."

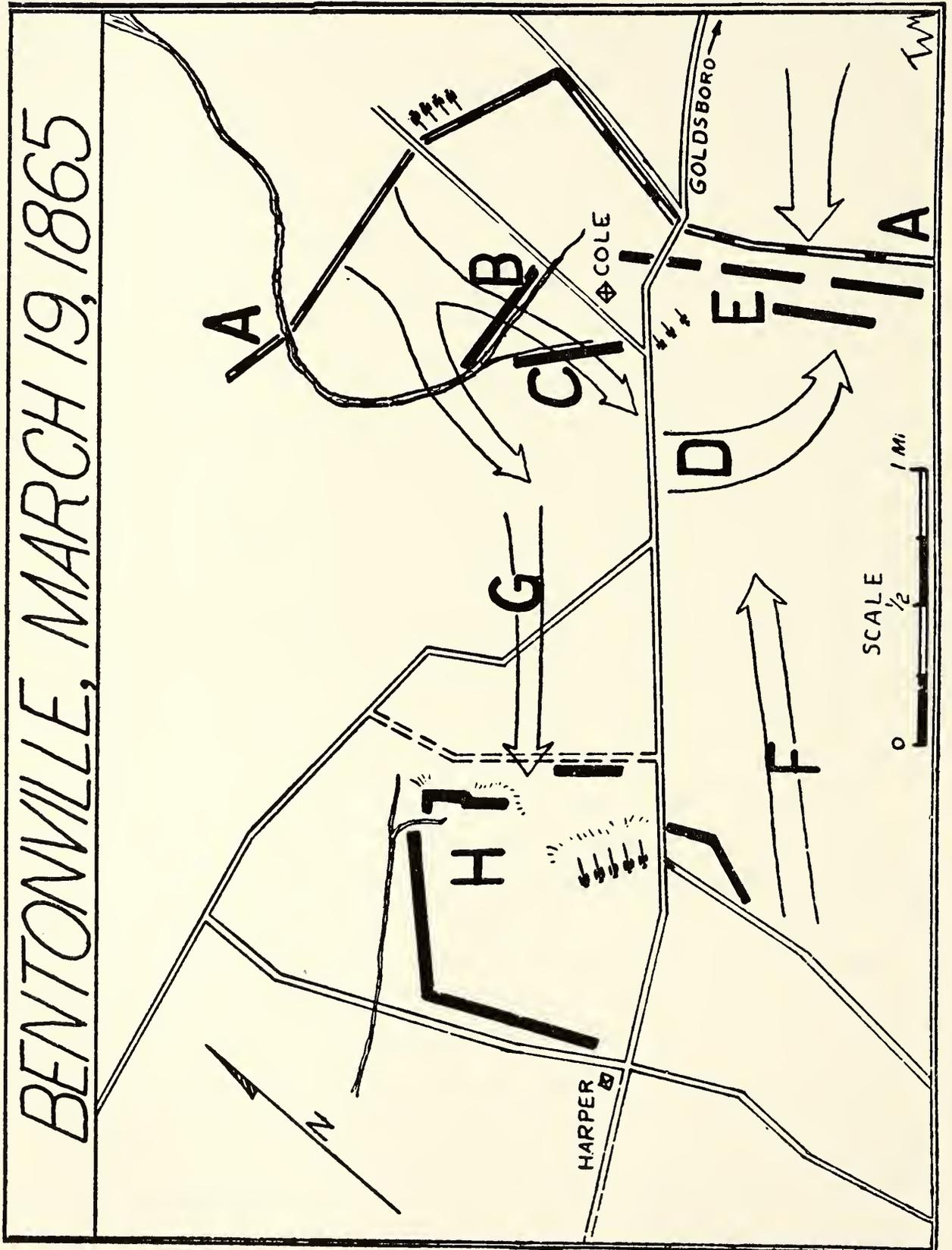
tinuous rain removed the bottom of the roads, making it necessary to corduroy miles of woodland paths so that the artillery and wagons could pass. Now, with the peach trees in full bloom and warmed by the spring sun, the weary soldiers anticipated the rest that would be theirs once they had reached Goldsboro. "It is a long campaign we have had," one staff officer noted in his diary, ". . . and repose would be welcome." Another soldier confided: "I would like to see . . . [the Confederates] whaled, but would like to wait till we refit. You see that too much of a good thing gets *old*, and one don't enjoy even campaigning after fifty or sixty days of it. . . ." ¹⁵

Carlin's division had marched but a short distance when Confederate cavalry pickets were encountered. When these dismounted cavalymen "didn't drive worth a damn," Slocum ordered Carlin to deploy and clear the road. By 10:00 A.M. the division, which had progressed only five miles, found the road blocked by a line of infantry posted behind rail works at the western edge of the fields bordering Cole's plantation. This was the infantry commanded by Hoke, the handle of the Confederate sickle. The cutting edge, Stewart's corps, was already in position, ¹⁶ ready to fall upon Carlin's division as it moved against Hoke's entrenchments.

No sooner had Carlin's leading brigade reached Cole's house, situated at the far end of a large field, than Hoke's artillery opened fire. Quickly Hobart moved his brigade forward and to the left, where it found temporary shelter in a wooded ravine. It was soon joined on the left by Buell's brigade, which had been ordered to suspend a flanking movement and prolong the defense line which was being impro-

¹⁵ Bvt. Maj. George Ward Nichols, *The Story of the Great March, from the Diary of a Staff Officer* (New York, 1865), 261, hereinafter cited as Nichols, *The Story of the Great March; Reminiscences of the Civil War, from Diaries of Members of the One Hundred and Third Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Chicago, 1904), 201. See also Captain A. H. Dongall, "Bentonville," *War Papers Read before the Indiana Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion* (Indianapolis, 1898), 214.

¹⁶ Contrary to plan, Hardee did not arrive before the Union army attacked. He was then ordered to divide his corps, in order to reinforce weak spots which had appeared in the Confederate line. During the battle Hardee seems to have commanded the right and Stewart the center, with a considerable overlapping of authority.



See Page 339 For Legend

This sketch is drawn from aerial photographs, with troop dispositions being placed according to reports in the *Official Records*. With the exception of one road, here represented by dotted lines, the location of the roads is essentially the same today as it was in 1865.

Preliminary movements. As Carlin's Union division approaches the Cole House it is exposed to artillery fire from guns located across the fields to the east. Scrambling into a wooded ravine in front and to the left of the Cole House, the Union troops throw up hasty breastworks (B). Morgan's division (E) and Robinson's brigade (C) arrive and also dig in. A probing attack against the main Confederate line (A—A) fails.

First Phase. About 3:00 p.m. the Confederates attack, outflanking and smashing through Carlin's division (B) and Robinson's brigade (C), which fall back upon the 20th corps (H) in disorder.

Second Phase: The Confederates next attempt to pinch off Morgan's division (E), which is exposed by the retreat of Carlin's troops. Three brigades from Hill's corps break through (D) and assault the Union line from the rear while Hoke makes a simultaneous attack from the front. The timely arrival of Cogswell's brigade (F) forces Hill's troops (D) to retire. This is the decisive maneuver of the battle.

Third Phase. About 5:00 p.m. the Confederates move against the 20th corps (H), trying to drive a wedge into an unoccupied portion of the Union line. Five desperate attacks (G) fail, and the Confederates fall back to the original line occupied by them in the morning. This ends the fighting on the first day of the battle

vised.¹⁷ Carlin's third brigade, led by Miles, deployed to the right of the Goldsboro road.

Still under the impression that the force confronting him "consisted only of cavalry with a few pieces of artillery," Slocum sent word to Sherman that no help would be necessary. Meanwhile General Jeff Davis, commanding the 14th corps, ordered Buell to advance once more, supported by the rest of Carlin's division.

The division plunged into the woods. A few minutes passed, then a furious discharge of shots broke out on the left. Buell had stumbled into a hornets' nest. A young Union officer describes the scene:

The Rebs held their fire untill we were within 3 rods of the works when they opened fire from all sides and gave us an awful volley. We went for them with a yell and got within 5 paces of their works. . . . I tell you it was a tight place. . . . Men pelted each other with Ramrods and butts of muskets and [we] were finally compeled to fall back. . . . [We] stood as long as man could stand and when that was no longer a possibility we run like the duce. . . .¹⁸

Some distance to the rear, Slocum was consulting with Jeff Davis when a staff officer dashed up with a startling bit of information. "Well, General," he gasped, "I have found something more than Dibrell's [Confederate] cavalry—I find infantry intrenched along our whole front, and enough of them to give us all the amusement we shall want for the rest of the day."¹⁹ At 11:00 Morgan's division²⁰ moved up on the right and after a brush with Hoke's troops took up position south of the Goldsboro road. Slocum sent another message to Sherman, this time pleading for reinforcements.²¹

¹⁷ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 449 ff.

¹⁸ Charles S. Brown to his family, April 18 and April 26, 1865. Charles S. Brown Papers, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Charles S. Brown Papers, Duke University. The statements quoted above have been lifted intact from these two letters. Minor liberties have been taken with the punctuation to facilitate the reading of the passage.

¹⁹ Henry W. Slocum, "Sherman's March from Savannah to Bentonville," *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 695.

²⁰ Major General James D. Morgan. The division comprised the brigades of Generals William Vandever, J. G. Mitchell, and Benjamin Fearing.

²¹ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 2, 903.

It was now 1:30, and Slocum was in trouble. Carlin's division, deployed carelessly without reference to the strong force that confronted it, was in single line of battle, shielded only by unfinished breastworks. Buell's brigade (on the left) and three of Hobart's regiments²² occupied this line in the ravine near the Cole house. J. S. Robinson arrived with a brigade from the 20th corps and was placed on Hobart's right, *behind* the ravine containing Carlin's works. Miles's brigade and Morgan's division, the latter with two brigades in line and one in reserve, were posted behind "good log works" south of the Goldsboro road, opposite Hoke.²³

There was one glaring weakness in the Union position: Hobart's brigade was exposed. Instead of drawing back his right regiment, he had pushed it forward, making it vulnerable to a flank attack by the Confederates. Both Robinson, whose left flank was exposed by this opening, and the regimental commander involved were aware of the danger. Slocum sent an engineer officer to suggest to Carlin that he fall back across the little creek in his rear in order to present one continuous line to the enemy. This, however, Carlin neglected to do, and Robinson, weakened by the recall of two regiments to meet a threatened attack elsewhere, was unable to fill the gap.²⁴ Thus two divisions plus a stray brigade, scarcely 10,000 men, found themselves facing a force of unknown strength. Some estimates of the strength of the Confederates ran as high as 40,000 and it was even rumored that Lee himself was present to direct operations.²⁵

The initiative now passed to the Confederates. Johnston had hoped to launch his attack sooner, but Carlin's attack, although easily repulsed, had upset his timetable. Bragg, feel-

²² Hobart had divided his brigade into two wings of three regiments each. The right wing fought south of the Goldsboro road as a separate unit. *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 453.

²³ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 485, 666.

²⁴ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 449-461, *passim*, 666.

²⁵ For various estimates see H. V. Boynton, *Sherman's Historical Raid* (Cincinnati, 1875), 210; McClurg, "Last Chance of the Confederacy," 391; *Army Life of an Illinois Soldier, Letters and Diary of the Late Charles A. Wells* (Washington, 1906), 364. While Johnston probably had less than 20,000 present at Bentonville it is important to note that the Union generals were convinced that his force was much larger, *Official Records*, XLVII, pt., 1, 1057.

ing hard-pressed, had called for reinforcements, and Hardee, whose troops were just arriving upon the field, was ordered to send McLaws's division to Bragg's assistance. McLaws arrived too late to be of any real assistance, but his absence was felt on the Confederate right, where Hardee and Stewart were preparing their counterstroke. (Johnston later stated that he committed a serious error by ordering Hardee to reinforce Bragg. This weakened his right—the cutting edge—and delayed the Confederate counterattack).²⁶ When the Confederates were ready to advance, precious minutes had been wasted; Union breastworks were now strengthened and the 20th corps was arriving upon the field.

By 2:45 Hardee's troops were in position. On the extreme right was Taliaferro's division. W. B. Bate, with two divisions of Cheatham's old corps, was next. D. H. Hill, commanding Stephen D. Lee's corps, occupied the center with three divisions, and on his left was the division of W. W. Loring, now shrunk to a pitiful 500 men. Atkins's battery of artillery was stationed opposite the Cole house, with E. C. Walthall's division in support. McLaws's division was retained by Bragg and placed on the Goldsboro road in support of Hoke.

Finally the order was given to advance. Forming in two lines the Confederate infantry moved across the 600 yards that separated the two armies. It was a stirring sight. Leading the charge were Hardee, Stewart, and Hill who waved their men forward. A battery of artillery dashed up on the left and unlimbered. To those watching anxiously from Bragg's trenches

. . . it looked like a picture and at our distance was truly beautiful . . . [but] it was a painful sight to see how close their battle flags were together, regiments being scarcely larger than companies and a division not much larger than a regiment should be.²⁷

Brushing aside the Union skirmishers, the long grey lines staggered momentarily as they hit Carlin's breastworks. Pass-

²⁶ Johnston, *Narrative*, 386. See also Hampton in *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 703-704.

²⁷ Quoted in Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-1865* (Goldsboro, 5 vols., 1901), IV, 21. Hereinafter cited as Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*.

ing "over the bodies of the enemy who had been killed in the [first Union] assault, and whose faces, from exposure to the sun, had turned almost black," the advancing Confederates charged "down the slope . . . until half the distance had been covered and the enemy's line is only a hundred yards away. The 'zips' of the minies get thicker and thicker and the line partially demoralized by the heavy fire suddenly halts . . . [then] moves forward again."²⁸

Hill's Confederates poured through the gap in Hobart's position and, together with troops from Taliaferro's division, outflanked Buell's brigade and overran Robinson's lines some 300 yards beyond. One of Buell's young soldiers has left a candid account of the rout of Carlin's division:

. . . the [Union] skirmishers were driven back and the Rebs came at us. We lay behind our incomplete works and gave them fits. We checked them and held them to it until they turned the left of the 1st Brigade [Hobart] and of course that was forced to retreat. . . . Our Brigade had to "follow suit." [General Carlin] was a [*sic*] cool as ice. When the Rebs got around us so as to fire into our rear he turned to the boys: "No use boys," and started back. The Regt. followed and . . . it was the best thing we ever did. For falling back we met a line of Rebs marching straight for our rear and in 15 minutes more we would have been between two lines of the buggers . . . We showed to the Rebs as well as our side some of the best running ever did. . . .²⁹

The entire Union left was crushed by this well-executed blow. Buell, Robinson and Hobart were driven back in confusion upon the 20th corps, which was just moving into position a mile to the rear. Miles's brigade took refuge within the lines of Morgan's division, south of the Goldsboro road. Three guns of the Nineteenth Indiana Artillery were taken by Walthall's men, and, according to one eyewitness, ". . . the vast field was soon covered with men, horses, artillery, caissons, etc., which brought vividly to our minds a similar

²⁸ Walter A. Clark, *Under the Stars and Bars* (Augusta, 1900), 194, hereinafter cited as Clark, *Stars and Bars*.

²⁹ This quotation is pieced together from three letters written by Charles S. Brown to his family, April, 1865. Charles S. Brown Papers, Duke University. The words are those of Lieutenant Brown; however, minor liberties have been taken with the punctuation.

scene at the battle of Chancellorsville.”³⁰ A Union staff officer, making his way to the front, was greeted by the sight of:

. . . masses of men slowly and doggedly falling back along the Goldsboro road and through the fields and open woods on the left. . . . Minie balls were whizzing in every direction. . . . Checking my horse, I saw the rebel regiments in front in full view, stretching through the fields to the left as far as the eye could reach, advancing rapidly, and firing as they came. . . . The onward sweep on the rebel lines was like the waves of the ocean, relentless. . . .³¹

Bragg's troops did not participate in the charge, and it was not until the Confederates had halted, reformed their lines, and once more advanced to the attack that Hoke's division went into action. McLaws's division, which had been sent to the relief of Bragg earlier in the day, "seemed to have no particular instructions" and remained in reserve until 6:00 that evening.³²

Meanwhile, Morgan's division, south of the Goldsboro road, had also become engaged. As Carlin's troops retreated before the hard blows of Hardee and Stewart, Jeff Davis, commanding the 14th corps, ordered Morgan to move his reserve brigade (Fearing) to the left in an effort to plug the gap opened by Carlin's withdrawal. Arriving just as Fearing was ready to charge, Davis shouted: "Advance to their flank, Fearing. Deploy as you go. Strike them wherever you find them. Give them the best you've got and we'll whip them yet."³³

The men caught up the words "we'll whip them yet," and pressed forward. When they reached the Goldsboro road they saw the Confederates pursuing Carlin's division across the fields in front. Fearing promptly charged the flank of

³⁰ Samuel Toombs, *Reminiscences of the War, Comprising a Detailed Account of the Experiences of the Thirteenth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers* (Orange, New Jersey, 1878), 214.

³¹ McClurg, "Last Chance of the Confederacy," 393.

³² *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 496-504, 1091, 1105; Johnson Hagood, *Memoirs of the War of Secession* (Columbia, 1910), 361, hereinafter cited as Hagood, *Memoirs*. No reports from Hoke's command on the battle of Bentonville are included in the *Official Records*.

³³ McClurg, "Last Chance of the Confederacy," 293-294.

these advancing Confederates,³⁴ pushing them back until he himself was taken in flank by additional Confederates coming down the road on his right. The brigade then retreated some three hundred yards to the rear, where a new line, with the left resting on the Goldsboro road, was formed. Here the fighting gradually “dwindled off to an extended skirmish.”³⁵

The Confederates next concentrated against Morgan's division. Fearing's withdrawal had created a gap between his brigade and the rest of the division. Before this gap could be closed three brigades from Hill's corps³⁶ smashed through and moved against the rear of Morgan's breastworks. Hoke wanted to exploit this break-through by throwing his division into the breach, but Bragg restrained him, ordering him instead to attack from the front.³⁷

For the next few minutes the fighting was desperate, as men clubbed each other in dense thickets and swampy woods. “Officers who had served in the army of Northern Virginia said it was the hottest infantry fight they had ever been in except Cold Harbor.”³⁸ Morgan's soldiers, completely surrounded at one point, were actually forced to fight from both sides of their breastworks. Hoke's division suffered 593 casualties; one regiment, the 36th North Carolina, losing 152 out of 267 in a few minutes' fighting.³⁹

This was the crucial moment. Jeff Davis, sitting uneasily in his saddle some distance to the rear, remarked to an aide: “If Morgan's troops can stand this, all is right; if not, the day is lost.” He had no reserves; even his personal escort and

³⁴ Probably Clayton's division of Hill's corps. See *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 1106-1107; *Atlas of the Official Records*, Plate LXXIX. The details of this action are so obscure that it is impossible to state exactly what units of the Confederate Army opposed Fearing. Many essential reports are lacking in the *Official Records*.

³⁵ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 534-538.

³⁶ The brigades of Baker, Carter and part of Palmer's brigade. *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 1090-1100.

³⁷ This attack failed. According to one of Hoke's generals, the Confederate loss “would have been inconsiderable and our success eminent had it not been for Bragg's undertaking to give a tactical order upon a field that he had not seen.” Hagood, *Memoirs*, 361. See also *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 1090-1091.

³⁸ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 651.

³⁹ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 72, 486-496, 511, 1059; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 312.

headquarters guard had been thrown into the battle.⁴⁰ At this juncture Cogswell's brigade from the 20th corps arrived and Davis immediately ordered it forward in an effort to save Morgan. Plunging through a tangled swamp, Cogswell's tired troops stumbled upon Hill's brigades as they assaulted Morgan's rear lines. With a yell the brigade went at them and after a sharp fight pushed the Confederates back to the Goldsboro road. Cogswell's attack was unquestionably the turning point in the battle. Although the fighting continued after dark, a continuous battle line was established; reinforcements arrived during the night and by morning new breastworks lined the edge of the woods.⁴¹

The third and final Confederate attack was directed against the 20th corps on the left of the Union line. At the first sound of firing Williams had hurried this corps into position. Robinson arrived in time to go into battle with Carlin's division. Hawley's brigade, the next on the scene, reached the battlefield about 2:00 P.M. and was sent to the left to meet a threatened attack in that quarter. Two of Robinson's regiments were recalled to bolster this new line,⁴² forming a mile to the rear of Carlin's breastworks.

Hardly were these dispositions completed when Carlin's division broke before the steamroller attacks of Stewart and Hardee. The three regiments which had remained with Robinson fell back across the fields to a position parallel with the original line, their right resting on the Goldsboro road.⁴³ Four hundred yards to the left, across an open field, rested Hawley's brigade. The gap between Robinson and Hawley was covered by a powerful line of Union artillery situated on a slight eminence a short distance to the rear. Selfridge's brigade was in reserve, and as the troops of Ward's division arrived they were placed in prolongation of Hawley's lines,

⁴⁰ McClurg, "Last Chance of the Confederacy," 395; Nichols, *Story of the Great March*, 272.

⁴¹ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 785-844, *passim*; Samuel H. Hurst, *Journal History of the Seventy-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry* (Chillicothe, Ohio, 1866), 174-176; Captain Hartwell Osborn, *Trials and Triumphs: The Record of the Fifty-fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry* (Chicago, 1904), 201-202.

⁴² See above, page 341.

⁴³ In the new Union line Robinson's right ultimately connected with Fearing's left. *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 666.

to the left. Kilpatrick's cavalry, coming up at the sound of the firing, guarded the Union left flank.⁴⁴

While Morgan beat off the attacks of Hoke and D. H. Hill, Hardee's lines massed for an attack against the 20th corps. In chasing Carlin's troops the Confederates had become disorganized, and Fearing's flank attack probably contributed to the confusion.⁴⁵ This breathing spell was used to good advantage by the Union soldiers. Rail fences were dismantled and converted into breastworks. Carlin's command was reorganized and placed in reserve, and new ammunition was distributed. Williams instructed his artillery to use doubleshot; and even rags filled with bullets were loaded on top of canister charges.⁴⁶ When the Confederates finally made the assault, they found the 20th corps ready and waiting.

At 5:00 the grey lines emerged from the pine woods in front of the 20th corps. As they moved toward the field that separated the brigades of Hawley and Robinson they met a deadly barrage of artillery fire. Five times the Confederates attacked, trying desperately to drive a wedge between the two Union brigades. Each time they withered and fell back before heavy artillery and small arms fire. The Union artillery was especially effective, as "the raging leaden hailstorm of grape and canister literally barked the trees, cutting off the limbs as if cut by hand." Confederate dead and wounded littered the road in Robinson's front. Bate estimated his losses at one-fourth of the number engaged; one of Taliaferro's regiments alone suffered 190 casualties. "If there was a place

⁴⁴ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 587.

⁴⁵ In his report General W. B. Bate infers that some development on another part of the field caused this delay. See *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 1106-1107. This occurred at nearly the same time that Fearing made his attack. Since there is some evidence to indicate that at this time Hardee was with the command of D. H. Hill, opposite Morgan's division, it is also possible that the attack on the Twentieth Corps was held up until the situation on the Confederate left was clarified, *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 497.

⁴⁶ "Entire boxes of cartridges were fired from some of the Union guns." Charles S. Brown to his family, April 18, 1865. Charles S. Brown Papers, Duke University. See also Edwin E. Bryant, *History of the Third Regiment of Wisconsin Veteran Volunteer Infantry* (Cleveland, 1891), 323; G. B. Bradley, *The Star Corps; or Notes of an Army Chaplain During Sherman's Famous March to the Sea* (Milwaukee, 1865), 273.

in the battle of Gettysburg as hot as that spot," a Confederate sergeant wrote long after the battle, "I never saw it."⁴⁷

The last attack came at sundown. Gradually the firing died away as dusk faded into darkness and night separated the weary combatants. Hastily burying their dead, the Confederates then withdrew to the positions they had occupied that morning, with skirmishers holding Carlin's original line.

The night of March 19 was one of sustained activity. On the battlefield both sides labored to strengthen defenses, while 20 miles to the east Howard's Right Wing marched in the direction of Bentonville. Since early morning sounds of the battle had been audible. At first Howard and most of his staff thought it was "nothing more than a spirited cavalry engagement," but as the rumble of the artillery increased they realized that the Left Wing was in trouble.⁴⁸ Howard grew so apprehensive that he finally ordered his rear division (Hazen) to turn back and march to Slocum's aid. This order was countermanded by Sherman, who had left Slocum only several hours before and who had since received word that everything was under control.⁴⁹

As the firing continued, however, and no further word was heard from Slocum, Sherman also began to worry. Slocum's second message did not reach Sherman until late in the evening. When the messenger appeared, Sherman rushed out of his tent without bothering to dress. Standing "in a bed of ashes up to his ankles, chewing impatiently the stump of a cigar, with his hands clasped behind him, and with nothing on but a red flannel undershirt and a pair of drawers,"⁵⁰ Sherman issued the necessary orders, setting the Right Wing in motion towards Bentonville.

⁴⁷ Samuel W. Ravenel, "Ask the Survivors of Bentonville," *The Confederate Veteran*, XLVII (March, 1910), 124; Robert W. Sanders, "The Battle of Bentonville," *The Confederate Veteran*, XXIV (August, 1926), 299; *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 587-588, 612, 637, 666-667, 1106-1108, pt. 2, 909. In these attacks the Confederates lost 566, the Federals 234.

⁴⁸ McClurg, "Last Chance of the Confederacy," 399. "Sounds of the battle . . . were reportedly heard fifty miles away." Jacob D. Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, 2 vols., 1900), II, 446.

⁴⁹ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 25, 206; O. O. Howard, *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard* (New York, 2 vols., 1908), II, 143.

⁵⁰ McClurg, "Last Chance of the Confederacy," 399.

By daybreak on March 20 the first Union reinforcements arrived. Four brigades which had been guarding the wagon trains were the first to reach the battlefield. Then Hazen's division came up (after a night march of six hours) and moved into position on Morgan's right. The 17th corps, under Blair, began its march at 3:00 A.M., picked up the 15th corps at Falling Creek Church, and dawn found both corps moving westward on the Goldsboro pike. This route would bring them behind Johnston's army, but it was the shortest way to the battlefield. Progress was slow because of the resistance of Wheeler's cavalry, fighting stubbornly from behind successive breastworks. By noon, however, Howard's leading division (Woods) was bearing down upon the rear of Hoke's line of breastworks and Hoke was forced to abandon these and take up a new position, parallel to the Goldsboro pike and near enough to command it.

By 4:00 P.M. Sherman's army was united (some of Howard's regiments had marched 25 miles without food or rest) and by nightfall Howard's troops were firmly entrenched, facing Hoke's new line. Johnston was now surrounded on three sides, with Mill Creek, swollen by recent rains, in his rear. The new Confederate position may be described as an enlarged bridgehead, embracing the village of Bentonville and covering the only bridge crossing Mill Creek.

Johnston's line now resembled a huge, irregular, V. On the west side, facing the Left Wing and occupying the trenches from which they had launched their assault on the 19th, was Taliaferro's division and the corps of Bate and Hill. The divisions of Loring and Walthall had likewise returned to their position of the previous morning. The left, or east side of the V, was held by the divisions of Hoke and McLaws,⁵¹ commanded by Hardee. The cavalry of Hampton and Wheeler guarded the right and left flanks respectively.

The Union line roughly corresponded to the Confederate position. The left was still held by the 20th corps, strongly reinforced and well fortified. Carlin's division was reorgan-

⁵¹ McLaws was shifted from the Confederate right, where he had participated in the final attack upon the Twentieth Corps the evening of March 19. Ridley, *Battles and Sketches*, 453; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, III, 20, 197; *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 1131.

ized and sent to relieve the brigades of Fearing and Cogswell, which were now in reserve. Morgan's division had changed front after taking over the trenches recently evacuated by Hoke. To his right, opposite Hoke's new position, was the 15th corps, with three divisions in line and one in reserve. Blair's 17th corps was stationed on the extreme right, while Kilpatrick's cavalry remained on the left flank.⁵²

No heavy fighting broke out on March 20th, although "a good deal of sharp skirmishing" occurred along the entire front.⁵³ Johnston, now on the defensive, remained all day in his trenches, hoping to induce Sherman to attack. Sherman, however, had other plans. He was anxious to open communication with Schofield and Terry at Goldsboro and had no desire to bring on a general engagement until this had been accomplished. Skirmish lines were pushed forward to feel out the Confederate positions, but the corps commanders were cautioned against committing their forces to an all-out battle.⁵⁴ At dusk a heavy rain set in which lasted until morning. Confederate troops, anticipating orders to fall back across Mill Creek, spent a sleepless night in their trenches. Sherman himself expected — and rather hoped — that Johnston would slip away during the night. "I cannot see," he wrote Slocum that evening, "why he [Johnston] remains. . . . I would rather avoid a general battle if possible, but if he insists on it, we must accommodate him."⁵⁵

Johnston's men were still in their trenches on the morning of the 21st, however, and the fighting flared up again. On the Union right and center a steady pressure was maintained against the Confederate lines; Union sharpshooters, sheltered in the buildings on Cole's plantation, annoyed the men of Hill's command⁵⁶ while on the right Logan's corps wrenched

⁵² *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 235-246, 383, 436, 486, 915.

⁵³ The most lively action took place in Hoke's front, where a Union brigade which had pressed too close to the new Confederate position was forced to retire before "a withering fire" of musketry, grape and canister. *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 499, 1056.

⁵⁴ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 27; pt. 2, 921-922.

⁵⁵ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 2, 919.

⁵⁶ Cole's house and all the outlying buildings were eventually destroyed by Confederate artillery fire, to prevent their further use by Union sharpshooters. *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 235-261, *passim*, 512, 1092.

an advance line of rifle pits from the skirmishers of Hoke and McLaws. All attempts to retake these rifle pits failed.

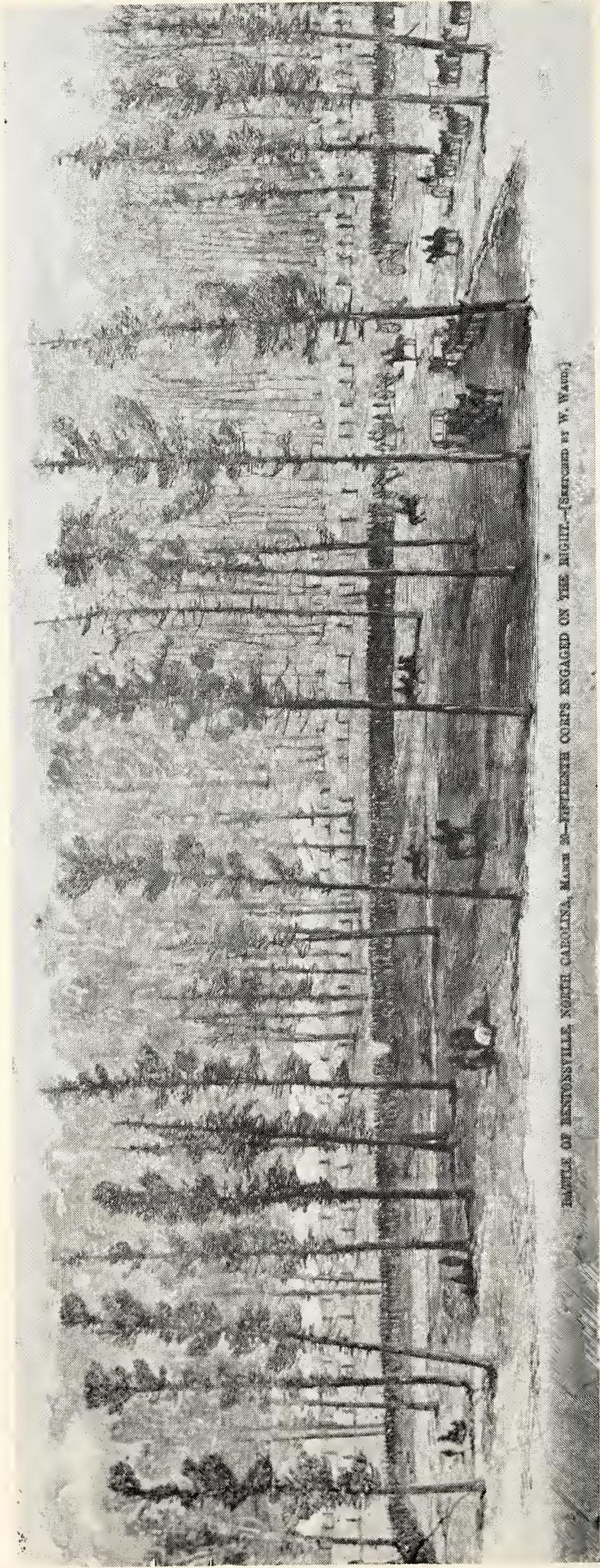
The most serious fighting developed in front of Blair's 17th corps, on the extreme Union right. Here, shortly after midday, General J. A. Mower succeeded in working two brigades around the Confederate left flank and by 4:00 P.M. these had overrun two lines of rifle pits and were advancing in force upon the bridge which spanned Mill Creek — Johnston's sole line of retreat. In his eagerness Mower out-distanced the rest of the corps, with the result that he found himself in an exposed position fully three-quarters of a mile in advance of the nearest supporting troops.⁵⁷

To meet this sudden threat the Confederates launched a series of bold counter-attacks. Cumming's Georgia brigade, which had already been ordered to bolster the Confederate left, arrived just in time to strike Mower's columns head-on as they neared the Smithfield road. Simultaneously General Hardee, now commanding the Confederate left, appeared at the head of the Eighth Texas Cavalry and promptly charged Mower's left flank.⁵⁸ Wheeler's cavalry appeared to the right of Hardee and succeeded in driving a wedge between Mower's brigades and the rest of the 17th corps and Wade Hampton, with Young's Cavalry brigade, attacked Mower's right flank. Forced to retreat from this nest of angry hornets, Mower took shelter in a ravine some distance to the rear. When the fire slackened he again withdrew, this time to his original position. He had reformed his lines and was about to resume the attack when Sherman ordered him to remain where he was and dig in. With this order all offensive action ceased for the day.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 383-391.

⁵⁸ According to one witness the Eighth Texas went into action "holding their bridle reins in their mouths and a pistol in each hand." Hardee's son, a youth of sixteen, was killed in this charge led by his father. Clark, *Stars and Bars*, 196-197.

⁵⁹ Details of this action can be found in *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 383-404, 1096-1097; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, III, 197-198; Nichols, *Story of the Great March*, 267. It is impossible to reconcile the various accounts of Mower's repulse. The Confederate version is that Mower was forced back by a small force of 300. See Hampton in *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 705. Sherman contends that Mower withdrew because he had recalled him, Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 304. Actually the Confederates used consider-



BATTLE OF BENTONVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA, MARCH 23.—FIFTEENTH CORPS ENGAGED ON THE RIGHT.—(SKETCHED BY W. WARD.)

The Fifteenth Corps, "under cover of a strong skirmish line," moving into position on a ridge opposite the Confederate left. "By nightfall the corps was firmly entrenched." Many of the pines in this area are still scarred from bullets fired during the two days of almost continuous skirmishing. From *Harper's Weekly*, April 15, 1865.

The fighting concluded, both armies spent a wet, miserable night. Tired and hungry soldiers huddled together in trenches and rude shelters, exposed to a driving rain that denied them even the comforts of a camp fire. Occasionally the flash of gun fire would illuminate the sky, revealing the position of the Union batteries which lobbed shells into Confederate positions with cruel persistence. During the night Johnston learned that Schofield had entered Goldsboro;⁶⁰ with nothing to gain and everything to lose by remaining cooped up at Bentonville he ordered an immediate retreat. By 2:00 A.M. all the wounded that could be moved had been evacuated⁶¹ and soon afterwards the Confederates abandoned their trenches and turned wearily towards Smithfield, beginning the last lap of a journey that could have but one end. The next morning when Sherman's skirmishers probed cautiously forward they found only deserted works before them.

No vigorous attempt was made to pursue Johnston. The Union army followed a few miles beyond Mill Creek and then turned back. After burying the dead and removing the wounded, Sherman's army went into camp in the vicinity of Goldsboro, "there to rest and receive the clothing and supplies of which they stood in need."⁶²

In its proper perspective the battle of Bentonville appears as the climax to Sherman's successful Carolina campaign. Although the war in North Carolina was to last for another month, this was the final battle between Johnston and Sher-

ably more than 300 in repulsing Mower; Cumming's brigade alone had over 200 effectives and it is safe to assume that the cavalry led by Wheeler and Hampton, together with the Eighth Texas Cavalry brought the number to a much higher figure. One of Mower's brigadiers reported that the greatest damage was inflicted not by Cumming's infantry nor by Hardee and the Eighth Texas, but by "cavalry which had got into the rear." *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 404. This can only have been Wheeler. Moreover, the size of Mower's force has been greatly exaggerated. He had only two brigades and one of these was not at full strength. Even so, the Confederates were greatly outnumbered and it was due less to good fortune than hard fighting that Johnston managed to save his army.

⁶⁰ Schofield reached Goldsboro on the evening of March 21. *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 913.

⁶¹ Johnston left behind 108 Confederate wounded, 63 at Bentonville and 45 which were removed to the Harper House. Of these only 54 lived. *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 1060. See also Robert W. Sanders, "More about the Battle of Bentonville," *The Confederate Veteran*, XXXVII (December, 1929), 463.

⁶² *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 28.

man. On April 10, Sherman's army, reorganized and well-rested, resumed its march in the direction of Raleigh. The preceding day Lee had surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, making it mandatory for Johnston to reach an agreement with Sherman. On April 26, after several previous attempts at negotiation, the two commanders met at the old Bennett House, a few miles west of Durham's Station, where peace was finally concluded.

Bentonville was not a large battle, even by Civil War standards. Compared with the slaughter at Shiloh, Antietam, Gettysburg or Chickamauga the casualty lists seem slight. Sherman lost 1,527, chiefly in the Left Wing, while Johnston suffered a total of 2,606 casualties, a large number of whom had been captured. Considering the numbers actually engaged, however, these losses seem quite severe, and had the battle of Bentonville occurred during the first years of the war, it would have been considered in all probability a conflict of major proportions. As it was, neither army won a clear-cut victory and public attention soon focused on more dramatic events as they unfolded in the trenches about Petersburg.⁶³

Nor was Bentonville a decisive battle. Sherman succeeded in fulfilling the object of his campaign — the occupation of Goldsboro, the consolidation of his forces (including the detached corps of Schofield and Terry) at that point, and the establishment of a new line of communications based upon the New Bern railroad. Johnston was allowed to escape to the north, where he lingered until the surrender was signed.

Even if Johnston had defeated the Left Wing before the Right Wing arrived with assistance, would it have affected the final outcome of Sherman's Carolina campaign? Probably not. Johnston still would have had to face the combined forces of Howard, Schofield and Terry — better than 60,000

⁶³ "Hardee, Carter Stevenson, Hampton and [General M. C.] Butler . . . who were there and in many another hard fought fight, have told me that Bentonville was the handsomest Battle they ever saw. And so little interest did it arouse then, that no less a soldier than Gen. Hunton, laterly asked me what Battle was Bentonville." Dabney H. Maury to Major John Warwick Daniel, December 25, 1894. John W. Daniel Papers, Duke University, Durham.

men — for it would have been impossible to prevent their junction at Goldsboro. Moreover, it is extremely unlikely that he could have defeated the Left Wing. By 1865 the Civil War armies had become very proficient in the art of constructing field works,⁶⁴ and it was a rare occasion when either side achieved a decisive victory.⁶⁵ At Bentonville Slocum alone commanded at least as many and probably more troops than Johnston, and he had only to dig in and hold off the Confederates until help arrived. If Morgan's division had been defeated as decisively as the troops under Carlin, the 14th corps might have been crippled, but there was still the 20th corps to contend with. It is inconceivable that this corps, posted behind strong breastworks and supported by both cavalry and artillery, could not have held its ground until reinforced the following morning. One is forced to agree with General Jacob D. Cox, who, when informed by "rebel citizens" that Slocum had been whipped, noted in his journal: "We suspect that his [Sherman's] advance guard may have received a rap, but know the strength of his army too well to believe that Johnston can whip him."⁶⁶

Bentonville was a battle of subordinates. There seems to have been little direction from the top commanders in either army once the battle was joined. On the Union side Morgan, aided by the timely maneuvers of Fearing and Cogswell, emerges as the real hero and for his work on the 19th he was recommended for promotion to the rank of major-general.⁶⁷ Slocum handled his reserves with skill and displayed sound judgment in choosing his defensive positions. If Carlin had heeded Slocum's advice and formed his line behind the creek the Union retreat might not have been so precipitate. Buell

⁶⁴ "It is almost impossible . . . for either one side or the other to catch his opponent unprepared. Both parties in a wonderfully short space of time will throw up defenses which can not be carried without a disastrous loss to the assaulting party." Entry of March 22, Nichols, *Story of the Great March*, 271.

⁶⁵ The battle of Nashville must stand as the exception, but there the circumstances were entirely different. Hood was attacked by a vastly superior army and had no reserves to fall back upon. This was not true of Slocum at Bentonville.

⁶⁶ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 934.

⁶⁷ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 419.

then would not have been outflanked so easily and Hobart's position would have been less exposed.

In the Confederate army Hardee seems to have been the guiding spirit. He personally organized and led the Confederate charge on the 19th and was instrumental in setting up the opposition to Mower on the 21st. Hampton too, played an important role; he not only selected the site of the battle but also suggested the plan which ultimately was adopted. Wheeler's cavalry performed wonders on the 20th and 21st, first by opposing Howard's march to the battlefield and then by holding the Confederate left. Braxton Bragg figured in two unfortunate decisions on the 19th. By calling for reinforcements which were not needed he must bear the responsibility for delaying the Confederate attack against Carlin, as well as for weakening it at its most decisive point. And by restraining Hoke from exploiting Hill's breakthrough behind Morgan's lines, he may also have jeopardized the success of this attack. On the whole the Confederate staffwork was faulty and the co-ordination between the individual commanders left much to be desired. This was doubtless due to the fact that Johnston's army was only recently organized and had never fought before as a unit.

Johnston's plan to fall upon the isolated Left Wing was fundamentally sound, but he lacked the numbers necessary for a decisive victory. Why he remained at Bentonville after both of Sherman's wings had united, however, is a mystery. Johnston claimed that it was to enable him to evacuate the wounded⁶⁸ — a humane reason, but scarcely defensible from a strictly military point of view. Johnston was entrusted with one of the few Confederate armies still intact, and it was not his duty to sacrifice this army for the sake of a few hundred wounded (Sherman had more surgeons and better medical facilities). Yet he lingered at Bentonville with no apparent plan. No substantial reinforcements were expected, no new attacks planned, and on the surface it would seem that he had no reason to expect even a local tactical success after his attacks failed on the 19th. Perhaps he sensed that his mission was futile. Or perhaps he just hoped that an offensive

⁶⁸ Johnston, *Narrative*, 388.

by Sherman would result in a second Kenesaw Mountain. Whatever the reason, Johnston maintained his position with great skill, and when it came time to fall back across Mill Creek his withdrawal was as masterly as any of his career.

To understand Sherman's conduct at Bentonville one must understand his method of waging war. Sherman was essentially a strategist, a master of maneuver and logistics; with him strategic considerations always came first. In this case, Goldsboro, and not the Confederate army, was his primary objective (Sherman was actually riding forward to effect a junction with Schofield when Johnston struck at Bentonville). The battle of the 19th was Slocum's affair; Sherman did not even learn of the details until nightfall. On the 20th his orders were to shun a general engagement because, as Sherman himself expressed it, "I don't want to lose men in a direct attack when it can be avoided."⁶⁹ Three considerations probably influenced his decision to recall Mower on the 21st. First, the general situation was uncertain; secondly, he overestimated Johnston's strength, and finally, he desired first to unite and supply his army. Each of these factors must be taken into consideration when appraising Sherman's actions. They do not excuse all of his decisions, but they do go far to explain them.

Sherman has been severely criticised for recalling Mower and it is probably true that had he supported the attack he could have gained a great tactical victory. In his *Memoirs* Sherman admitted that he erred in not crushing Johnston.⁷⁰ But this opportunity was not actually as golden as even Sherman believed. Mower had actually retreated *before* receiving Sherman's orders, and if he had been permitted to advance a second time he would have found the Confederates heavily reinforced in his front.⁷¹ Then too, no one, least of all Sherman, had anticipated that Mower would penetrate the Confederate lines so deeply. Only on the following day, when the bodies of Union soldiers were found within fifty

⁶⁹ *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 2, 910.

⁷⁰ Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 304.

⁷¹ Soon after the attack Hardee was reinforced by the divisions of Walthall and Taliaferro, plus three brigades from Hill's command. Hagood, *Memoirs*, 363; Ridley, *Battles and Sketches*, 453.

yards of Johnston's headquarters, did the real extent of the breakthrough become known.⁷² By attacking promptly with all available troops the Confederates created an illusion of strength.⁷³ That it was not altogether illusory, however, is indicated by the Union casualty returns. Mower lost 149 men in this action — more than the entire 20th corps had lost in the fighting of March 19th. There is some justification, then, for Hampton's assertion that if Mower was really ordered back, "the order was obeyed with wonderful promptness and alacrity."⁷⁴

Today Bentonville is one of the least disturbed — and least cared for — battlefields of the Civil War. Much of the forest has been cleared away and Cole's plantation is now cut up into many small farms, but in general the topography has changed little over the years. Some breastworks and rifle pits have been plowed under, of course, but enough remain to enable the visitor to reconstruct the main course of the battle. Traces of Carlin's breastworks can be seen today, while across the fields to the north and east stands the main Confederate line. Union parapets still guard the sluggish stream which separated the belligerents in Howard's front. Cole's house was destroyed during the battle, but the Harper House, which was used as a field hospital for both armies after the battle, remains. Its inhabitants can point to bullet holes scarring the surface of its white structure.

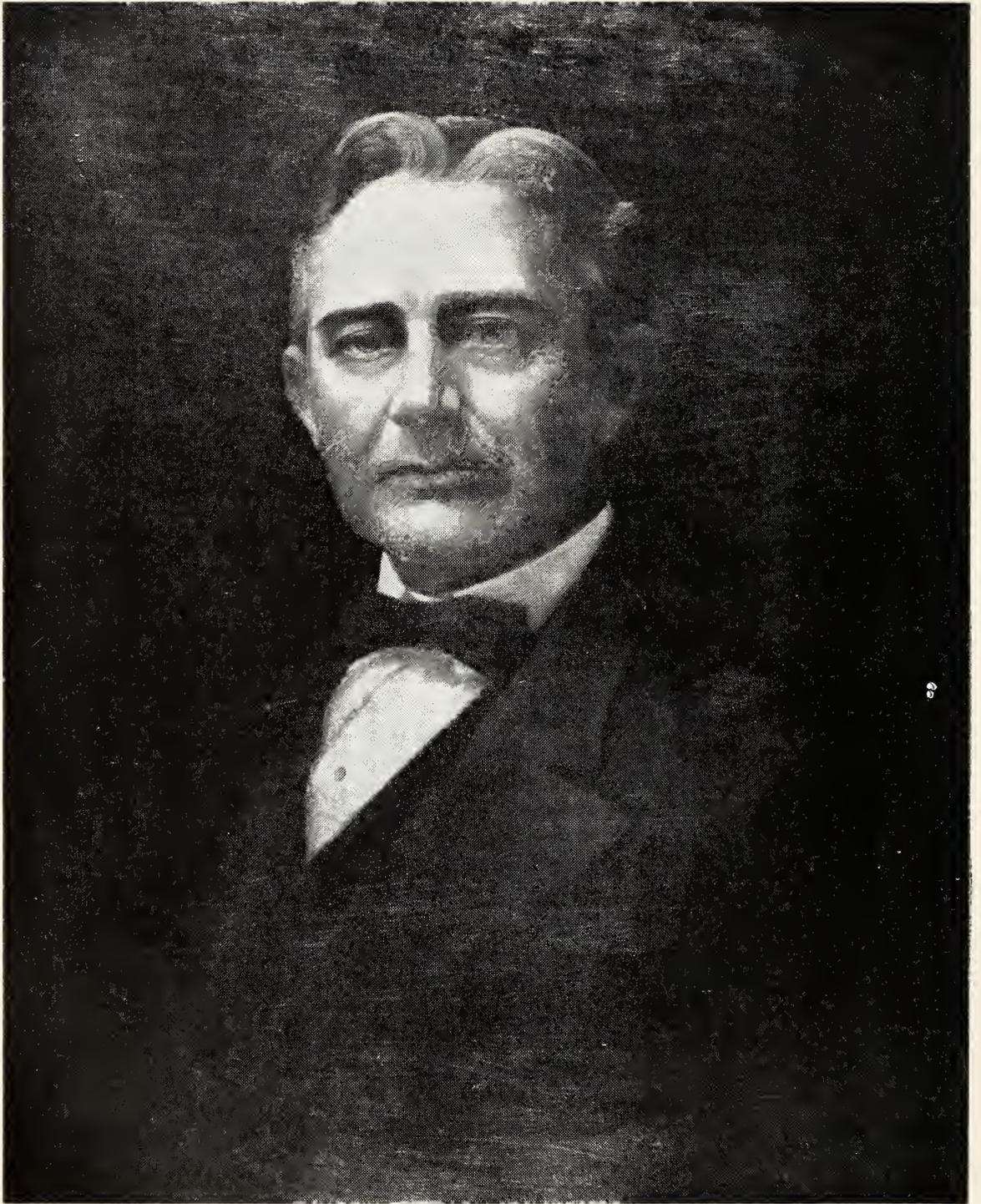
And in the field near-by lie 360 Confederate dead, 19 of them taken from the Harper House. They offer a silent reminder that Sherman did not pass by unchallenged.⁷⁵

⁷² Charles H. Smith, *The History of Fuller's Ohio Brigade 1861-1865* (Cleveland, 1909), 273; Nichols, *Story of the Great March*, 271.

⁷³ "The Rebels . . . nearly surrounded [Mower] . . . on three sides with a much larger force . . ." Hitchcock, *March with Sherman*, 266-267. See also E. J. Sherlock, *Memorabilia of the Marches and Battles in which the One Hundredth Regiment of Indiana Infantry Volunteers Took an Active Part* (Kansas City, 1896), 212; *Official Records*, XLVII, pt. 1, 403.

⁷⁴ Hampton, in *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 705.

⁷⁵ Since Dr. Luvaas submitted this article, the General Assembly has appropriated \$2,000 for the biennium, 1955-1957, to be used to mark various positions of the two armies during the battle. The work on this battlefield is to be done under the supervision of the Historic Sites Division, Department of Archives and History. A museum is contemplated for the future and a number of county historical societies have shown interest in this program. Editor.



JAMES YADKIN JOYNER

(1862-1954)

From a portrait by Jacques Busbee, who was commissioned by the North Carolina Teacher's Assembly, and which was presented by that body in 1912 to the State of North Carolina.

JAMES YADKIN JOYNER, EDUCATIONAL STATESMAN

By ELMER D. JOHNSON

In the history of education in North Carolina, a few names stand out above all the others — the names of Alderman, Aycock, Joyner, and McIver. They were all of the same generation, in fact, they were all students together at the University of North Carolina in the early 1880's. They were a part of the New South — a South reawakened after years of war and reconstruction, and dedicated to the building of a newer, better North Carolina. They saw that one of the great needs of their State was education — not only for the few but for all — and they combined their efforts to revolutionize the State's educational system. Together, they are mainly responsible for the creation of a system of public education in North Carolina — a system whereby public taxes supported public schools available for all the children of the State.

Of this quartet of outstanding North Carolina educators, the man most directly responsible for the great improvement in the public school system was Dr. James Yadkin Joyner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1902 to 1919. Charles Brantley Aycock, as governor of the State from 1901 to 1905, was the political power behind the educational revival in North Carolina; it was he who appointed Joyner to his post, who campaigned for education from one end of the State to the other, and who stood behind the necessary school laws as they made their slow way through the legislative channels. Charles Duncan McIver and Edwin A. Alderman were the philosophers of the new educational movement — practical ones it must be admitted — and they are remembered for their promotion of education at all levels, but mostly for their activities in higher education at the University of North Carolina and the Woman's College. Dr. Joyner, on the other hand, was both philosopher and practical educator. It was he who put the ideas of Alderman and McIver, and the laws of Aycock, into working operation at the local level throughout North Carolina's hundred counties. He trans-

lated ideas and laws into school rooms and classes, and so well did he perform this task that, at the end of his first ten years as State Superintendent, it could be said, with no one denying it, that "whoever writes the educational history of this decade will be the biographer of James Yadkin Joyner."¹

James Yadkin Joyner² was born at Yadkin College, Davidson County, North Carolina, on August 7, 1862, the youngest of a family of seven children. His father was John Joyner, originally of Pitt County, and his mother was Sarah (Sallie) Wooten Joyner, daughter of Council Wooten, of Mosely Hall, Lenoir County. The Joyner family, together with Mrs. Joyner's parents, had moved to the western part of the State early in 1862, after the landing of Federal troops on the coast had threatened their original home in Lenoir County. John Joyner was a graduate of Wake Forest College and a planter near the present town of LaGrange before the war. His health was poor and he died about a year after his son was born. His father, also named John Joyner, had been a prominent planter in Pitt County, and a member of the State Senate from 1824 to 1828. J. Y. Joyner's maternal grandfather, Council Wooten, was also a prominent planter and politician, having served in the General Assembly for six terms, and being a member of the Governor's Council in 1862. Sarah Wooten Joyner also died only a few months after her son's birth.

Following the end of the war, young Joyner returned to Lenoir County with his maternal grandfather and grew up on the Wooten plantation there. When he was ten, his grandfather died, and a maternal uncle, Shadrach Wooten, took over the rearing of the young orphan. Shadrach Wooten was married to Henrietta Harper, the aunt of Joyner's wife-to-be (Effie Rouse's mother's sister). This emphasizes the close relationships which had existed for many years. His early

¹ R. D. W. Connor and Clarence Poe, eds., *The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock* (Garden City, New York; Doubleday, Page and Company, 1912), 122, hereinafter cited as Connor and Poe, *Charles B. Aycock*.

² Facts about Joyner's early life are taken from N. W. Walker, "James Yadkin Joyner," *University of North Carolina Magazine* (November, 1906), 67-73, hereinafter cited as Walker, "James Yadkin Joyner"; and from Lucy M. Cobb, "James Yadkin Joyner, Educator," *The Charlotte Observer*, February 22, 1931.

education came from his grandfather, and from the only nearby school, LaGrange Academy. By 1878, barely sixteen years old, he completed the studies offered at the Academy and entered the University of North Carolina. He was young for college work, but he soon became a sound student and a leader in a group of friends who were destined for prominence in later years. Among his classmates were Aycock, Alderman and McIver, already mentioned, and also such outstanding men as Charles R. Thomas, later a Congressman; Robert P. Pell, a college president; Locke Craig, Governor of North Carolina; M. C. S. Noble and Horace Williams, both prominent in the University and in education circles in general during later years; and Robert W. Winston, noted State judge and writer.³ After only three years at Chapel Hill, young Joyner was graduated with a Bachelor of Philosophy degree. He was chosen as one of the commencement speakers out of the 31 graduating in 1881, and the topic of his speech was "Self-Government." Throughout his life he was a loyal alumnus of the University, active in alumni work and ever ready to lend a helping hand to any worthwhile project undertaken at Chapel Hill.

In August of the year he was graduated, Joyner began his teaching career at the LaGrange Academy in his home county, and the next year, 1882, he became its principal. When Joyner began teaching here, his future wife, Miss Effie Rouse, was one of the older students and therefore was taught by her future husband. It was a small private school, similar to the hundreds of other academies that provided almost all of the secondary educational facilities available in the South at that time. It was both a boarding and a day school, and the young principal probably taught all of the subjects in the upper grades, thus providing himself with the first-hand knowledge of teaching problems and methods that was to be so useful to him in later years. He also served as superintendent of schools in Lenoir County during the years 1882 to 1884, but since the county's public school system was almost non-existent at this date, this position did

³ Connor and Poe, *Charles B. Aycock*, 23.

not interfere very much with his duties as teacher and principal of LaGrange Academy.

In 1884 Joyner was called to Winston, North Carolina, to become superintendent of the schools in that growing town. Calvin H. Wiley, a man who had also played a great role in North Carolina's educational history, was then chairman of the school board in Winston, and he wanted a progressive young man to set up a system of graded public schools in his town that would serve as a model for public schools throughout the State. This was Joyner's task, and as a teacher-administrator he laid the foundation for a successful school system in Winston-Salem. But school teachers were poorly paid in the 1880's, and their task was often a thankless one. Funds for school work were almost nonexistent and much of the school administrator's time was taken up with trying to obtain funds, or trying to get along without them. With a future in the educational field far from assured, Joyner turned to another profession — the law. During the winter of 1885-1886 he took up the study of law with the firm of Dick and Dillard in Greensboro, and the next summer he was admitted to the State bar. He temporarily abandoned the field of education, and returned to the eastern part of the state, where he opened a law office in Goldsboro. His partners were William Turner Faircloth, an older experienced lawyer who had married Joyner's aunt (the sister of his mother), and who was later chief justice of North Carolina, and William A. Allen, later a state supreme court judge. He was not completely separated from school work while practicing law in Goldsboro, however, because he was soon elected chairman of the board of education of Wayne County. His superintendent of schools in Goldsboro was an old classmate, Edwin A. Alderman.

Probably another of the reasons that brought Joyner back to eastern Carolina was Miss Effie E. Rouse, a sister of N. J. and T. R. Rouse, both of whom were his classmates at Chapel Hill. Miss Rouse was the daughter of another Lenoir County farmer, Noah H. Rouse and Eliza Harper Rouse, and the young people had known each other for years. On December 14, 1887, James Yarkin Joyner and Effie E. Rouse were mar-

ried in LaGrange, and their union was to be a long and happy one. Two sons were born to them, James N. and William T., and both proved to be a credit to their parents: James as an official of the British American Tobacco Company in China and later a farmer in LaGrange, and William as a lawyer in Raleigh.

But the legal profession was not enough to hold Joyner away from the field of education. When Alderman in 1889 was called from his position in the Goldsboro schools to teach at the State Normal School in Greensboro, Joyner was prevailed upon to take the position of superintendent of the Goldsboro city schools. During his four years in this position the work already begun by Alderman was continued, and Joyner gained considerable additional experience in education on the local level. Before leaving Goldsboro, Joyner was known throughout the State as a leading school authority, and this led directly to his next position. In 1892, Alderman moved from his position at the Woman's College (it was then called the State Normal and Industrial College) to become president of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and once again Joyner followed in his footsteps. Charles Duncan McIver was then president of the college at Greensboro, and he remembered with favor his old classmate at Chapel Hill. He called Joyner to become Professor of English Literature and Dean of the Normal School at Greensboro, and Joyner filled the position creditably for nine years. As dean he was responsible for the building up of a department for the training of teachers, and for the first time a state institution in North Carolina began the training of women as classroom teachers.

At Greensboro, Joyner came into his own as a teacher and administrator. In addition to teaching his classes in literature, he also taught "methods of teaching," and trained hundreds of young women in the art of bringing education to the children of the State. His experience at LaGrange, Winston, and Goldsboro made his teaching practical and to the point. His wide range of knowledge and his healthy appetite for reading kept him abreast of his profession, and he was well aware of the newer methods of teaching and learning then

being introduced in the northern schools and colleges. But he never could get away from the fact that what North Carolina needed was more teachers, better teachers; more schools and better schools. During his summers at Greensboro, he continued the conducting of county teachers' institutes, already begun by McIver and Alderman. In these, the faculty of the Normal College would go out to the various counties and conduct five-day institutes for teachers and would-be teachers in the various locations. The rudiments of teaching methods would be stressed and the more important problems connected with teaching would be discussed. Joyner, and possibly also President McIver, would make a talk about the need for education, and the whole "institute" would end with a "speaking day," when the public would be invited in to hear the teachers and some of their students promote the cause of good schools.⁴ The county teachers' institutes served a good cause, and they convinced Joyner of the need for several teacher training institutions in the State. Later on, as State Superintendent of Public Instruction, he was to help meet this need by pressing for the creation of teachers' colleges for both white and colored.

Also while at Greensboro, Joyner found time to be of public service other than in the field of education. His law training and experience had interested him in public affairs, and so he ran for the position of alderman in Greensboro, and was elected. During part of the time that he was alderman (1899-1901), he served as mayor *pro tem* of the city during the absence of the elected mayor. He also was appointed to serve as a member of the board of directors of the Colored Agricultural and Mechanical College at Greensboro, and in 1901, he was made chairman of the North Carolina Text-book Commission. Even after leaving Greensboro, he remained deeply interested in the Woman's College, and when in 1906, on the death of President McIver, he was offered the position of president of the college, he found it difficult to decline. He was then in the midst of his work as State Superintendent,

⁴ See biographical sketch of James Yadkin Joyner in Archibald Henderson, ed., *North Carolina, The Old North State and the New* (Chicago, The Lewis Publishing Company, 5 volumes, 1941), III, 14-15.

however, and he felt that he could best serve his state in Raleigh rather than in Greensboro. His own words about this decision to decline the offer were reported to be: "My heart is with the Normal, but my duty is along other lines."⁵

In 1901 Charles B. Aycock became governor of North Carolina, after a hard-fought election in which public education was a prominent issue. Along with Governor Aycock, Thomas F. Toon was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Toon seems to have been sincerely interested in his work, and with the support of Aycock, he began a concerted effort to improve educational conditions in the State. But unfortunately, his health was poor and he died early in 1902, after only about a year in office. The appointment of his successor was up to the Governor, and Aycock had little difficulty in finding a likely candidate. Joyner, veteran of the teachers' institutes, teacher and friend of teachers throughout the state, chairman of the Text-book Commission, and active worker in the field of education for more than twenty years, was a logical man for the job. Moreover, Aycock knew him personally, and knew that he could depend upon him. Joyner's selection was generally approved throughout the State, and one contemporary, R. D. W. Connor, said: "In no act of his administration did Aycock show better judgment than in selecting this 'modest, retiring teacher' to become the head of the most important department of the State government."⁶

The task that Joyner took over as State Superintendent was no easy one, and the salary was by no means large. Despite years of effort on the part of a few dedicated workers in the field of public education, North Carolina's school system was still in a very poor condition. The public schools of the State were based on the district system, in which each individual school district supported, or tried to support, its own feeble school. Including white and colored, there were more than eight thousand school districts in North Carolina in 1900. Of these, 5,028 white school districts had schoolhouses whose average value was only \$231.00 each, while 2,236 colored

⁵ Walker, "James Yadkin Joyner," 70-71.

⁶ Connor and Poe, *Charles B. Aycock*, 122.

school districts had schoolhouses valued at an average of only \$136.00 each. A total of 830 school districts had no schoolhouses at all. Most of these schoolhouses were in very poor condition, and 829 of them were still plain log cabins. The only secondary schools in the State were the private academies and the few high schools supported by the larger towns. The teachers in the schools were hard workers, and many of them were devoted to their task, but few of them were trained, all of them were poorly paid, and only a few held the same school long enough to make much headway toward educating their half-interested charges. Salaries for white teachers in North Carolina averaged only \$26.78 per month, and for colored teachers only \$22.19. Since the school term was only three to four months, ordinarily, this meant that teachers had to have other incomes, and that no one could afford much training for such a poorly paid position. In all, 8,663 teachers brought the best they could in the way of teaching to some 245,000 North Carolina school children in 1901, and of these teachers all but 692 taught in rural schools, where only one out of two enrolled children were actually present on any average day. Many of these teachers had little more than a grammar grade education themselves, especially in the colored schools. As for teacher training, most of the trained teachers in the State came from the Woman's College in Greensboro, or from the few private colleges in the State that offered teacher education. The University at Chapel Hill turned out a few men teachers, but most of these soon found their way into administrative positions as county and city superintendents, or went into more lucrative professions.⁷

In his Raleigh office, Joyner found little help and many problems. Although he had the full support of Governor Aycock, he did not always find the legislature completely co-operative. For example, in his 1902 report, he asked for five "full-time deputy superintendents" to assist him in his

⁷ J. Y. Joyner, Superintendent Public Instruction, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, for the Scholastic Year, 1900-1901 and 1901-1902* (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton, State Printers, 1902), v-viii, and statistics, hereinafter cited as Joyner, *Biennial Report, 1901-1902*.

work; by his 1904 report, one can see that all the additional help he got was two clerks, and one of them only half-time. His staff as of 1904 consisted only of a general clerk, a special clerk for "loan fund, rural libraries, etc.," and a stenographer, with a state superintendent of colored normal schools also working closely with him.⁸ Despite the shortcomings of his official staff, and the enormity of the task before him, Joyner entered into his job with a vigor of spirit and a personal devotion to duty that were equalled only by his capable and efficient approach to the problems that faced him. Some excerpts from his first report to the governor will indicate his attitude toward his position:

Every age has its spirit, properly called spirit, something born in heaven and sent to earth to direct the destiny of that age. The spirit of this age, as all men must feel, is universal education. The greatest undeveloped resources, then, of this State are her undeveloped intellectual and moral resources. Greater than her towering mountains, her rushing rivers and her fertile fields, her smiling seas, her balmy climate and her starry skies, ay!, greater than all of these combined are the minds and hearts of her little children. The State Superintendent will do the best he can, whether the Legislature sees fit to give him the necessary assistance or not. He does not ask it for himself. He asks it for his people and the sacred cause that he represents. For the little children of his State he would be willing to work for a bare living, if necessary. He prefers an increase in the means of efficiency for his office to any increase in personal gain for himself.⁹

Despite the fact that his state had recently disfranchised its colored population, Joyner was far from being disinterested in the education of the Negro. In fact, he fought strongly for educational facilities for the colored people, as can be seen in the following notes from the same report:

⁸ Joyner, *Biennial Report, 1901-1902*, 72; *Biennial Report and Recommendations of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina to Governor Charles B. Aycock, for the Scholastic Years, 1902-1903 and 1903-1904*. (Raleigh, E. M. Uzzell and Co., State Printers and Binders, 1904), 121.

⁹ Joyner, *Biennial Report, 1901-1902*, iii, v.

But there are those who . . . are unwilling for the white race that pays the greatest part of the taxes to assume the burden of the education of the negro. . . . The weaker and more helpless the race, the louder the call to the strong to help. The humbled and more hopeless the child, the more binding the duty to elevate. . . . We have made many and grievous mistakes in the education of the negro. . . . We can correct these mistakes not by decreasing the quantity of his education, but rather by improving the quality of it—not by destroying the means of his education, but rather by directing it in proper channels. . . . There is danger in ignorance, whether it be wrapped in a white skin or a black one.¹⁰

Even before Joyner took office, Governor Aycock had already formed his “Central Campaign Committee for the Promotion of Public Education in North Carolina,” made up of the Governor, Superintendent Toon, and Charles Duncan McIver. Joyner took over in place of Toon, and the Committee got under way in 1902 with headquarters in Joyner’s office. The purpose of the Committee was to promote public education through every possible legal means — campaigns for local school taxes, for the consolidation of school districts, for better school buildings and equipment, for longer school terms, and for better trained and higher paid teachers. The general plan was to show the people of North Carolina what could be done in the way of public education, and then to lead them in demanding and achieving better educational facilities. Local committees all over the State were organized to back the Central Committee; speakers toured the State, campaigning for education. Other interested followers of the “educational governor” wrote articles for the newspapers, and distributed pamphlets and leaflets urging better schools. Even the ministers in the churches were asked to preach a sermon on the subject of education at least once a year. Of course, Joyner was in the midst of this campaign — in practice, its actual leader — although E. C. Brooks, then superintendent of schools in Monroe, was appointed executive secretary of the committee. In the first two years of the committee, over three hundred-fifty meetings were held in North Carolina, and no less than seventy-eight of the state’s

¹⁰ Joyner, *Biennial Report, 1901-1902*, vi-vii.

counties held county-wide educational rallies, attended by teachers, school board members, and citizens. Meetings were held in courthouses, in churches, in schoolhouses, and even out in the open, to hear outstanding speakers on educational problems and policies. It took on the nature of a revival — an educational revival — and for once North Carolina took more interest in education than in politics.

On the whole, the campaign was a success, and Joyner, speaking in December, 1904, could point with pride to the fact that North Carolina was at last awake to the need for education, and it was up to the legislature to provide the means. On this occasion, he said:

I weigh my words when I declare it to be my deliberate conviction that the great masses of the people in North Carolina are interested as never before in this question of the education of their children, that they are talking about it among themselves more than ever before, and that a deep-seated conviction and a quiet determination that their children shall be educated are finding surer lodgment in the minds and hearts of the people than ever before. . . . I believe that . . . a revolution upon this question of the education of all the people is well under way in North Carolina.¹¹

The problems that faced Joyner in his first decade as State Superintendent were manifold, and of course not all of them were solved. But tremendous headway was made on all of them, as can be well seen from a pamphlet which he issued in 1912, entitled, *A Decade of Educational Progress in North Carolina, 1901-1910*.¹² In the matter of obtaining local funds for schools, the county tax rates were supplemented in only eighteen special school tax districts in 1901, but in a total of 1,167 by the end of 1910. The total public school expenditures in the State almost tripled in the decade, while the school age population increased only 10 per cent, and the actual school enrollment only 20 per cent. The average rural school

¹¹ Edgar W. Knight, *Public School Education in North Carolina* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), 332-336, hereinafter cited as Knight, *Education in North Carolina*.

¹² Issued from the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (Raleigh, March, 1912).

term was increased from four months to nearly five, while the city schools average term was brought up to almost eight months per year. More than three thousand new schoolhouses were built in the State during the decade—averaging more than one a day after Joyner took office. The value of the school property in the State was more than tripled as new schools took the places of old ones and better desks and equipment were added. The salaries of teachers increased about 30 per cent, and since their annual terms increased in length, their average annual salaries almost doubled. Some 2,500 additional teachers were brought into the state school system, making a total of 11,162 teaching in white and colored, rural and city schools, in 1910. The number of one-teacher schools decreased, although this was still the standard type in most rural areas.

But the importance of Superintendent Joyner's contribution to the educational history of the State far transcends mere statistics. There were many phases of educational work that he sponsored and promoted—such as school libraries, farm life schools, teacher training institutes, increased state aid for schools, and the education of adults—that were previously unknown, or nearly so, on the North Carolina scene. In the school libraries, Joyner sought to have a standard collection of books, small in number but worthwhile in quality, placed in every rural school in the State. These books were to be available for reading by parents as well as by the school children. In adult education, he was mainly interested in reducing the very high illiteracy rate in his state. The "moonlight schools," held for adults in most of the counties, taught thousands of grown men and women the elements of reading and writing, and this fact, together with the better education for children, reduced adult illiteracy in North Carolina from 28.71 per cent in 1900 to 18.5 per cent in 1910. In the field of teacher training, the decade saw the enlargement of the facilities at the State Normal College at Greensboro, and at the Cullowhee Normal School (founded as a private school in 1888 and taken over by the State in 1903), and also the beginning of two new teacher training schools at Boone (Appalachian Training School, 1903), and at Greenville (East

Carolina Teachers' Training School, 1907). For the Negroes, the seven "teachers' institutes" that had been operating in 1900 were consolidated into three, at Winston, Fayetteville and Elizabeth City, and these were gradually raised to college level, along with the Croatan Normal School for Indians at Pembroke. In addition, teacher training institutes were held in seventy-eight counties in the summer of 1909, and short two-week courses were given to the more than three thousand teachers who attended them. Other subjects also occupied the attention of the Superintendent, including compulsory school attendance, transportation of pupils to schools, rural roads, public health, the teaching of health in the schools, school consolidation, and improved school administration. All of these topics, and others, were mentioned and recommended time after time in Joyner's official reports, and eventually, in almost all cases, he got at least a part of what he requested.

Probably the most outstanding accomplishment of Joyner's first decade in the office of state superintendent was the passage of the State Public High School Act of 1907. Prior to that time there had been no publicly supported high schools in North Carolina, except in the towns where the support was purely local. The Public High School Act appropriated forty-five thousand dollars to aid in the establishment of high schools, with counties and school districts also required to pay a share of the costs. Joyner was particularly interested in seeing that local funds were required, because he felt that the people would take more interest in institutions in which they had a financial concern. On the other hand, he knew that most counties could not afford high schools without state aid, and that state action and funds were necessary in order to stimulate the organization of high schools. That he was apparently right was evidenced in the opening of 156 public high schools in the State in the first year after the passage of the Act. Along with the High School Act there was a provision for the hiring of a competent State Inspector of High Schools who would advise school superintendents and school boards all over the State on all phases of high school work. Appended to the Act was an act creating a third white teacher

training institution at Greenville. A previous legislature had refused to appropriate funds for this institution, but tied to the High School Act, and with Joyner's influence behind it, the legislation creating East Carolina Teachers' Training School was finally passed. Dr. Joyner maintained a strong interest in this young college from the beginning. He was *ex officio* chairman of the board of trustees, and he took an active part in the direction of the college as long as he was State Superintendent and an active interest in it for the remainder of his life.¹³

As Joyner approached the end of his first decade as State Superintendent he was becoming a nationally known figure, and the recipient of many outstanding honors. His alma mater, the University of North Carolina, rewarded his years of service to the state by bestowing upon him the LL.D. degree at the June commencement in 1908. This made him "Doctor" Joyner, and as such he was known for the remainder of his life. Another possibly less important, but still sincerely appreciated, honor came on December 1, 1911, when the county school superintendents of the State presented him with a gold-headed cane in token of their appreciation of his services to education in North Carolina. Shortly afterward, the North Carolina Teachers Assembly presented to the State a large-sized portrait of Dr. Joyner to hang in the Capitol.¹⁴ Probably the most signal honor that came to him, though, was his election in 1909 to the position of President of the National Education Association, at that group's annual meeting in Denver, Colorado. Few southern educators had been honored with even minor positions in this national association up to this time, and Dr. Joyner's election to this post indicated

¹³ See the narrative reports in J. Y. Joyner, Superintendent Public Instruction, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina to Governor Robert B. Glenn for the Scholastic Years, 1906-1907 and 1907-1908* (Raleigh, E. M. Uzzell and Company, State Printers and Binders, 1908); and *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to Governor W. W. Kitchin for the Scholastic Years, 1908-1909 and 1909-1910* (Raleigh, E. M. Uzzell and Company, State Printers and Binders, 1910).

¹⁴ R. D. W. Connor, ed., [Secretary] *Proceedings and Addresses of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Session of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly at Greensboro, November 27-30, 1912* (Raleigh, Published Under Authority of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1913), 33-36, hereinafter cited as Connor, *Proceedings and Addresses, 1912*.

the esteem with which he was held by his fellow educators throughout the nation. His presidential address, delivered at the 1910 meeting in Boston before the largest audience ever to attend a National Education Association meeting up to that time, was on "Some Dominant Tendencies in American Education." In this address he pointed out that "changed and changing conditions of life and civilization demand and produce changed and changing conceptions of education." He was thoroughly in accord with changing the form of education to meet the needs of a changing society, but he warned that "There is danger that the new education will become too dependent upon voluntary interest and will develop no power to drive the will to the discharge of unpleasant duties and to the performance of unpleasant tasks." He felt that the child should be taught self-guidance and self-reliance in the school: "Out yonder in life there will be rough places in the road, there will be mountains of difficulty to overcome, there may be nobody there to help. The child should learn in the little world of the school, which is his life then, to face difficulties bravely, to grapple with them courageously, to rely upon himself to overcome them, and to acquire in overcoming them the strength, the courage, and the confidence to overcome other and greater ones." He closed his address with a challenge that is still pertinent: "Teachers of America, go forth to your work of lifting humanity into finger touch with the Almighty, unawed by fear, unrestrained by pessimism, sustained by faith in the holiness of your mission, assured that you hold the strategic point in education, which ever must be the strategic point in civilization."¹⁵

Throughout his educational career, Joyner was prominent in local, regional, and national educational associations. In addition to his year as president of National Education Association, he served as the association's secretary for several terms, and after 1910 he was a lifetime member of its council. On at least five occasions he spoke at the national educational

¹⁵ National Education Association of the United States, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Ninth Annual Meeting Held at Boston, Massachusetts, July 2-8, 1910* (Winona, Minn., Published by the Association, Secretary's Office, 1910), 78-87.

meetings, and his addresses were printed in the National Educational Association's yearly journals. As late as 1935 he attended the National Educational Association annual meeting and made a brief talk on "Early Recollections" of the Association's leaders and activities some three decades before.¹⁶ He was active in the North Carolina Teachers Assembly from 1891 on, and long after it became the North Carolina Education Association he was one of its most prominent members. He served several terms as president of the State Association of County Superintendents, and also as president of the Southern Education Conference. At different times he served, either *ex officio* or by appointment, on the boards of trustees of East Carolina College, the Woman's College at Greensboro, the University at Chapel Hill, the Agricultural and Technical College at Greensboro, and Meredith College at Raleigh. He was active in alumni work for the University of North Carolina, and attended many of the University's commencements and alumni reunions. In 1890 he was secretary of the University of North Carolina alumni group in Goldsboro, and in 1891, just ten years after his graduation, he was asked to deliver the University Day address at Chapel Hill. His subject was "Edgar Allan Poe." In 1895 he led his class in raising five hundred dollars to donate toward the building of Memorial Hall at the University, and in May, 1905, he was the University's commencement speaker. In 1910, at an alumni meeting in Chapel Hill, he spoke strongly on "The Need of a Better School of Education" at the Uni-

¹⁶ National Education Association of the United States, *Proceedings of the Seventy-Third Annual Meeting Held in Denver, Colorado, June 30 to July 5, 1935*, Volume 73 (Washington, D. C., National Education Association of the United State, 1935), 135-137. For Joyner's other addresses at National Education Association meetings see the organization's, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting Held at Cleveland, Ohio, June 29-July 3, 1908* (Winona, Minn., Published by the Association, Secretary's Office, 1908), 279-281; *Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifty-Second Annual Meeting Held at St. Paul, Minnesota, July 4-11, 1914* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Published by the Association, Secretary's Office, 1914), 129-131; *Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifty-Third Annual Meeting and International Congress on Education Held at Oakland, California, August 16-27, 1915* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Published by the Association, Secretary's Office, 1915), 76-82; and *Addresses and Proceedings of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting Held at New York City, July 1-8, 1916*, Volume LIV (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Published by the Association, Secretary's Office, 1916), 79-82.

versity, and for several years he served on the University Alumni Council.¹⁷

In February, 1912, at the presentation of Joyner's portrait to the state, E. C. Brooks, President of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, said of him:

When he entered the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction he found only one clerk and a stenographer employed on half salary. . . . Today there is a supervisor of teacher training, a supervisor of rural libraries and schoolhouses, and inspector of high schools, and a supervisor of elementary schools, all working out from the office of the State Superintendent. . . . Moreover, the duties of his office were but poorly outlined and its possibilities but vaguely understood. He first magnified the office and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction became at once equal in rank and dignity to that of any official in the Governor's Council. Ten years ago North Carolina did not believe in public education. At that time only forty-two districts in the State, including cities, towns and rural communities, considered education of sufficient importance to support the schools by special taxation. . . . Under ten years of wise leadership, public school expenditures have increased nearly threefold. One month has been added to the average school term, and over twelve hundred districts now levy a special tax for school purposes. Moreover, the amount raised by local taxation alone in these districts is greater than the total amounts expended in all the rural districts ten years ago. . . . Few men have so extended a great system like this and breathed into it a finer spirit in so short a time. . . .¹⁸

In accepting the portrait for the state, the Honorable J. Bryan Grimes, Secretary of State, said:

This is a unique honor that you are paying to Mr. Joyner. I believe it is the most beautiful tribute that I have ever known bestowed upon a living North Carolinian; and, in paying him this tribute, you are only honoring yourselves and honoring the State, because no man in the last generation has done more for North Carolina than James Yadkin Joyner.¹⁹

¹⁷ Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 2 volumes, 1907-1912), II, 235, 444, 523, 647, 705, 729.

¹⁸ Eugene C. Brooks, "A Decade of Educational Service," in Connor, *Proceedings and Addresses, 1912*, 35.

¹⁹ Connor, *Proceedings and Addresses, 1912*, 37.

The last few years of Joyner's administration, in the years leading up to and including World War I, were disturbed ones. Yet, despite these factors, several more educational accomplishments were added to the previous ones, and Joyner's services continued to be eminently successful. He was re-elected to his state position in the elections of 1904, 1912 and 1916 with virtually no opposition. In 1913 one of his long time ambitions was achieved when a State Farm Life School Law was passed. Joyner had always felt that the education of rural children should be directed toward life on the farm, and concerning this new law, he said:

We must prepare country boys and girls to make the most, and to get the most, out of all that is about them—soil, plant and animal, the three great sources of wealth in the world; and to use what they make and get in the best ways to enrich, sweeten, beautify, and uplift country life, socially, morally, intellectually, spiritually, making it the ideal life that God intended it to be, which men will seek and love to live.²⁰

The Farm Life School was designed to make farmers out of farm boys, and homemakers out of farm girls. Since it was expected that not enough students would be living in reach of any one rural high school to warrant its construction, provisions were made for boarding students, and dormitories were constructed for boys and girls. Each school had a farm attached to it, and the students were able to practice what they were taught. Some twenty of these Farm Life Schools were established during Joyner's term in office, but they never became as popular as he would have liked them to be.

Another accomplishment in his later years in office was the passage in 1913 of an act strengthening the State Equalization Fund—originally established in 1901—to make possible a state supported six-month school term in all counties. If the counties would support a four month term, then the State would pay for the extra two months. In 1918 this six-month

²⁰ James Yadkin Joyner, "The County Farm-Life School Law and Explanations" (Raleigh, (E. M. Uzzell and Company, State Printers, 1911), supplement to vol. 2, no. 2, N. W. Walker, *The North Carolina High School Bulletin* (Chapel Hill, Published by the University of North Carolina, 1910-1917), April, 1911.

term was made mandatory for all public schools in the State. With longer school terms, the compulsory attendance laws needed to be strengthened. There had been laws since 1907, authorizing counties and school boards to enforce attendance between the ages of eight and fifteen if they cared to do so, but these laws had been only rarely enforced. The result was that even in 1918 attendance in the State's schools averaged only about 65 per cent of those enrolled, and only 53 per cent of all children between the ages of six and twenty-one. The act of 1907 was strengthened in 1913, especially with the addition of county attendance officers, but it still was not completely satisfactory, since there were too many loopholes. In 1917 the ages for compulsory attendance were extended from eight to twelve to eight to fourteen, and then in 1919, after Joyner had retired, but acting on his recommendation, the legislature extended the period of required attendance from four to six months in order to coincide with the new six months school law. Also, in 1917, the Legislature created the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors, of which Joyner was chairman. This board was authorized to issue first class certificates to those teachers with the necessary training and experience to merit them. Second and third class certificates, however, were still issued by county and city superintendents and boards. This was a step towards standard certification of teachers, but it still left much to be desired. In 1919 only 20 per cent of the State's white teachers and only 7 per cent of the Negro teachers held the highest grade certificate, while 16 per cent of the white teachers and 43 per cent of the Negro teachers had themselves never finished high school.²¹

By no means the least important of Dr. Joyner's accomplishments as superintendent was his inauguration of a series of valuable publications for the teachers and school workers of the State. His publications, which began in his first year in office, included a wide variety of useful items. Courses of

²¹ Knight, *Education in North Carolina*, 346-348. See also the various *Biennial Reports* mentioned, especially E. C. Brooks, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Scholastic Years, 1918-1919 and 1919-1920* (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, State Printers, 1921).

study for both elementary and high schools were most important, and were several times revised and brought up to date along with handbooks for teachers in the various grades and subjects. Book lists, song collections, public school laws, directories of school officials, and the rules and regulations of the State Board of Examiners were only a few of the many publications that poured out of the State Superintendent's office. Other pamphlets were on North Carolina Day, which Joyner sought to have observed in all the State's schools; on Arbor Day; on Washington's Birthday; and on the work of the Teachers' Institutes of the various years. The annual reports of the Superintendent were very full and complete, forming virtual histories of education in the State for the years they covered. Other reports were made also for the various assistants in the Superintendent's office, such as the State Inspector of Negro High Schools, and also for the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly. There had been little educational material published by the State before Joyner took office, and this publishing activity was a most valuable contribution to the work of the schools, because it gave the teachers practical aid and advice just where they needed it.

Dr. Joyner's recommendations in his final report (1916-1917 and 1917-1918) showed that he felt that his task was still far from completed. He called for a strengthening of the six-month school act, and for a minimum salary law for teachers and superintendents. He especially wanted increased salaries for teachers to reward them for extra training and experience above the minimum. He wanted the salaries of the workers in the offices of the State Superintendent to be increased. Since he was resigning, he pointed out, he could speak at last about the salary of the state superintendent itself, and he said that it should be "big enough to command and retain the services of one of the biggest men in the profession without making it necessary for him to pay for the privilege of serving his state by supplementing his salary from his private fortune. . . ." He recommended a state teachers' employment bureau, to be operated at no expense to the teachers registered with it. For the Negroes of the State he wanted higher teachers salaries, better schools, and above all,

more funds for the Negro normal schools. He repeated his thesis that "If the state fails to perform its duty in the proper education of its negro citizens, the white race as well as the black will pay the penalty." Finally, he asked for a traveling auditor, paid by the State, to audit the accounts of the county and city boards of education throughout the State. Such an auditor, he believed, would save the State several times his salary in any given year.²²

Seventeen years as a state official had taken its toll on the energies of Dr. Joyner, if not on his abilities. He had traveled extensively and almost continuously since taking office, visiting every county in North Carolina and over half of the states in the Union. His health was no longer good, and he was approaching sixty years of age. With these cares in mind, Dr. Joyner decided in the summer of 1918 to retire from his position and return to his farm in Lenoir County. He wrote Governor T. W. Bickett as follows:

My Dear Governor:

As county superintendent of my native county before I was twenty-one years of age, as chairman of the county board of education, as teacher and superintendent of city public schools, as teacher and dean of the State Normal and Industrial College, as State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the past seventeen years, I have been in public service and have felt the weight of public responsibility continuously for thirty-seven years. I have had joy in the service. I am more grateful and appreciative than I can ever express in word or act for the measure of confidence, support, cooperation, and appreciation—far beyond my deserts—that I have received from the people of North Carolina during all these years. I need a rest now. I hope I have earned it. . . .²³

Governor Bickett replied:

²² J. Y. Joyner, Superintendent Public Instruction, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Scholastic Years, 1916-1917 and 1917-1918* (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, State Printers, 1919), narrative report, 47.

²³ R. B. House, ed., *Public Letters and Papers of Thomas Walter Bickett, Governor of North Carolina, 1917-1921* (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, State Printers, 1923), 386. Hereinafter cited as *House, Letters and Papers of T. W. Bickett*.

. . . I deeply regret that the State is to lose the benefit of your services, but concur in the opinion that you have rightly earned a period of rest. I know that any words of fulsome praise would be distasteful to you, but writing with rigid conservatism, I am constrained to say that during the seventeen years you have been State Superintendent of Public Instruction you have made a noble and imperishable contribution to the intellectual and moral life of the State. . . .²⁴

And so, at the end of the year in 1918, with the World War over and the State and nation entering a new era of hope, Dr. Joyner left his desk in Raleigh, and returned to his farm at LaGrange, confident that he was retiring from active life to mend his health, and also to put his business affairs in order. His work was left in the capable hands of his successor, Dr. E. C. Brooks, and probably no one would have been more surprised than Dr. Joyner if he could have known that January day in 1919 that he still had thirty-five years of active and useful life ahead of him.

Dr. Joyner returned to his farm, but his "rest" there was not to be a long one. In addition to active participation in the farm work, he soon saw that there was a need for leadership among the farmers of North Carolina as well as among the educators. He had long been interested in farm life, and in the farmer's economic position, and as the war prosperity ended and the country settled into the agricultural depression of the 1920's, Dr. Joyner took a lead in organizing the farmers of North Carolina in a movement to improve their economic condition. He felt that the processors, manufacturers and distributors reaped more than their share of the consumer's dollar spent for agricultural products, and he wanted to help the farmer-producer to increase his share. To this end, in December, 1920, he attended a large meeting held in Richmond, Virginia, to make plans for marketing tobacco on a co-operative basis. Out of this meeting, and others like it all over the tobacco-growing section, came the Tobacco Growers Co-operative Association. In 1922 Joyner left his farm and returned to Raleigh, this time as an organizer and director of the Tobacco "Co-op" as the association came to be

²⁴ House, *Letters and Papers of T. W. Bickett*. 369.

known. The purpose of this group was to encourage the growing of better types of tobacco, the better grading of the cured product, and especially the marketing of the tobacco through the "Co-op" which was able to command, through controlled selling, better prices than the individual farmer could expect on the usual tobacco auction market. There was considerable opposition to the "Co-op" and without governmental price support it could not meet the economic pressure and therefore did not survive. There is no doubt that in the mid-twenties, when the farmers needed it most, the Association did give an economic boost to the tobacco-growing industry in North Carolina, and postponed for a few years the worst effects of the depression for the tobacco farmer. In 1926 Dr. Joyner resigned as a field service employee of the Association, but he continued an active interest in it while supporting himself and his family with a position with the Prudential Life Insurance Company.²⁵

After a successful career with the life insurance company, Dr. Joyner once more retired, in 1932, to his farm at LaGrange. Actually at this time he had three farms, more than 1,200 acres, to manage. For the remainder of his life he made his home at the farm, but was ever ready to serve his region and state at a moment's notice. He remained active in local affairs, paying particular interest to his membership in the Rotary Clubs of Raleigh and LaGrange, and to other civic activities. In 1937, for example, he served on a Public Forum Council for his county in one of the most interesting and successful adult education ventures of the depression years. He continued his work in the Baptist Church, in both Raleigh and LaGrange, and participated regularly in the meetings of the board of trustees of Meredith College, of which he was a long-time member. He was always interested in improved agricultural methods, and personally directed the work on his farms as long as he was able.

Nearly every governor of the State after Aycock called on Dr. Joyner to render service to the people of North Carolina

²⁵ J. Y. Joyner, "The Tobacco Grower's Co-operative Association," *East Carolina Teachers College: Training School Quarterly* (1922), X, 1-3; Nannie Mae Tilley, *The Bright Tobacco Industry* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 452, 464.

in one or more capacities. Governor Cameron Morrison appointed him to the State Ship and Water Transportation Commission, and also to the Finance Committee, Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad which was partially State-owned.²⁶ Governor Angus W. McLean appointed him to the Commission on Adult Education in 1928,²⁷ and Governor O. Max Gardner placed him on the Aycock Statue Committee. Governor Gardner also placed him on the Adult Illiteracy Commission, and on a Committee on Agricultural Credit Corporations. Dr. Joyner was present at the dedication of the Aycock Memorial Tablet in Goldsboro in 1929, and made a short speech presenting the tablet to the State. On May 21, 1932, he delivered an address when the statue of Aycock was placed in Statuary Hall in Washington, D. C.²⁸ His admiration for Governor Aycock never diminished, and in the late 1940's and early 1950's after he had passed his eightieth birthday, he actively participated in a drive to raise funds for reconstructing the Aycock homeplace as a public monument to his memory.

During World War II, under Governor J. Melville Broughton, Dr. Joyner served on the District Three Appeal Board for the State Selective Service System, and in 1947 Governor Cherry appointed him to serve on the Commission to Consider Provisions for a Suitable Memorial for Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson, and he worked with this group right up to the dedication of the monument to the three presidents.²⁹ His interest in public affairs never diminished, and in 1948 and 1953, respectively, he strongly espoused the cause of State Road Bonds and State School and Hospital Bonds. He was a lifelong loyal Democrat, and

²⁶ D. L. Corbitt, ed., *Public Papers and Letters of Cameron Morrison, Governor of North Carolina, 1921-1925* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, State Printers, 1927), 329, 335.

²⁷ D. L. Corbitt, ed., *Public Papers and Letters of Angus Wilton McLean, Governor of North Carolina, 1925-1929* (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina, 1931), 894.

²⁸ D. L. Corbitt, ed., *Public Papers and Letters of Oliver Max Gardner, Governor of North Carolina, 1929-1933* (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina, 1937), 436, 714, 756, 763.

²⁹ D. L. Corbitt, ed., *Public Addresses and Papers of Robert Gregg Cherry, Governor of North Carolina, 1945-1949* (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina, 1951), 987.

as late as the campaign of 1952 he wrote widely in favor of the presidential candidacy of Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois.

On his 91st birthday, in 1953, Dr. Joyner received congratulations from friends and admirers all over the United States. He was reported as saying, "I got so many letters and good wishes, I had to go to Kinston and hire myself a secretary and spend several days answering them."³⁰ He was up and active almost to the end, which came suddenly on January 24, 1954. His pastor at LaGrange, Rev. Alexander Passetti, conducted his funeral services, and he was buried beside his wife in Oakwood Cemetery in Raleigh.

Throughout his long and useful life, James Yadkin Joyner had received numerous acclamations from his fellow men, and after his death laudatory statements poured in from all sides. The *Greensboro Daily News* probably summed up the feelings of all who knew him when it said in its editorial of January 26:

As Dr. Joyner returns to the soil from which he came, his creed, his philosophy, and his faith are reincarnated in every school child in North Carolina. The State which he and his fellow crusaders inspired looks forward, its faith, its hope and its investment centered in its children. . . . Dr. Joyner was a dreamer spared long enough to see his dream come true.³¹

³⁰ *Weekly Gazette* (LaGrange), February 4, 1954.

³¹ *Greensboro Daily News*, January 26, 1954.

PLANTATION EXPERIENCES OF A NEW YORK WOMAN

Edited by JAMES C. BONNER

In October, 1853, Benjamin Franklin Williams,¹ a North Carolina planter-physician, returned to Clifton Grove plantation in Greene County with a bride whom he had met eight years previously in New York. At the time of their first meeting Sarah Frances Hicks was eighteen years of age and a popular student at the Albany Female Academy. Williams, seven years her senior, had just arrived in Albany where he had come to pursue the study of medicine. He secured board and lodging at the McDonald House at 66 North Pearl Street where his sister, a niece, and Sarah Hicks were already living.² Thus began a courtship which lasted eight years.

The young woman's letters to her parents, full of schoolgirl charm and betraying a genuine solicitude for the approval of her elders, indicate the reasons for such an extended courtship in that day of youthful marriages. The explanation undoubtedly lies in the misgivings which the young woman

¹ Benjamin Franklin Williams (1820-1892) was the youngest son of Joseph and Avey Murphy Williams, of Greene County, North Carolina. He entered Wake Forest College in 1839 where he remained for one year and then attended Union College at Schenectady, New York. In 1845, nine years after the death of his father, he pursued the study of medicine at the Albany Medical College and later became a licensed physician in North Carolina. However, his practice of medicine was only casual, most of his time being devoted to the management of extensive landholdings which he had acquired largely through a legacy left by his father. These holdings consisted of cultivated cotton land and of large tracts of pine land which were worked for turpentine. In the course of time his business activities came to consist almost entirely of lumber and naval stores production.

² Mary and Harriett Williams were students at the Albany Female Academy in 1844-1845. Mary was Benjamin's youngest sister. She married Elias J. Blount in 1852 and later moved to South Carolina. She was approximately the same age as Harriett, daughter of Benjamin's oldest sister, Martha, whose married name was also Williams. Martha, who is frequently referred to in these letters as "Patsy," was married first to William Williams and, after his death, to James Williams who was her brother-in-law by the former marriage. Martha's oldest child, Harriett, was married in 1848 to William Alexander Faison who lived near Warsaw in Duplin County. Duplin County Marriage Bonds, a typescript in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; Records of Duplin County, Will Book IV, 94; Alumnae Association, *Historical Sketch of the Albany Female Academy* (Albany, New York, 1884), 16.

entertained toward the unfamiliar role which she would need to assume as mistress on a southern plantation, and not to any defects in character or temperament which she could detect in the suitor from North Carolina. In a letter to her father, Samuel Hicks,³ of New Hartford, New York, in March, 1845, she wrote:

You may be surprised when I tell you we have a young gentleman boarding with us, a brother and uncle of two of the young ladies. They are Southerners from North Carolina. I suppose James would not like them very well, as between them they own 300 slaves. Their name is Williams and he is studying Medicine with Dr. McNaughton⁴ of this city. He appears like a very fine young gentleman, and Dr. McNaughton, being one of our trustees, would not recommend him unless a fit moral young man.

Well might Sarah Hicks break this news to her parents with trepidation. Her mother, the former Sarah Parmelee, of Durham, Connecticut, had brought into the family circle the puritanical traditions of a long line of New England forebears. Although her husband, Samuel Hicks, was no violent critic of southern institutions, he had already given his oldest daughter in marriage to James Brown,⁵ mentioned in the above letter, who was an uncompromising abolitionist of the

³ Samuel Hicks (1785-1876) was the son of Zachariah Hicks, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, and Rebecca Sherrill Hicks. His first wife was Lucinda Huntington (1789-1820) of Walpole, New Hampshire. After her death he married, in 1821, Sara Parmelee (1794-1880) of Durham, Connecticut. Hicks came to New Hartford, New York, in 1804 and was manager of the Eagle Mills near Clayville. He was a presidential elector in 1824 and later became a Whig in politics. Huntington Family Association, *Huntington Family in America; A Genealogical Memoir . . . 1635 to 1915* (Hartford, Conn., 1915), 26; *Utica Daily Press* (New York), Jan. 27, 1951.

⁴ Dr. James McNaughton was professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine at the Albany Medical College from 1840 to his death in 1874. He was a leading citizen of Albany for more than fifty years. Amasa J. Parker, *Landmarks of Albany County* (Syracuse, New York, 1897), 174, 202, hereinafter cited as Parker, *Landmarks of Albany County*.

⁵ James Monroe Brown (1818-1867) of North Bloomfield, Ohio, married Mary Hicks, a half-sister of Sarah, in May, 1844. He was the son of Ephriam Alexander Brown (1775-1845) who removed from New Hampshire to the Western Reserve of Ohio in 1813. The elder Brown served as a colonel on the governor's staff in New Hampshire, and he was a member of the Ohio legislature in 1825. He was elected a Whig senator from his district in 1832. Ephriam Brown and his son, James Brown, were ardent abolitionists and the latter's house in North Bloomfield is said to have been a station in the underground railway in the 1850's. Isaac Harter to James C. Bonner, Dec. 12, 1951; George Clary Wing, *Early Years on the Western Reserve* (Cleveland, 1916), 640.

Western Reserve in Ohio and a close personal friend of Joshua Giddings. Mary Hicks Brown,⁶ his wife and a half-sister of Sarah Hicks, was in complete accord with her husband's abolitionist views. Even though Samuel Hicks did not agree with the extremist stand of his Ohio son-in-law, he must have respected him highly for his success as a wool broker, for Hicks himself was a successful manufacturer and the family from which he sprang had long been identified with the industrial and commercial life of New York and New England. A younger daughter, Lucinda,⁷ was married to Luther McFarland who operated an importing business in Brooklyn. The closely-knit ties of this respectable and genteel family included both sons-in-law and extended somewhat intimately to business and political relationships.

Samuel Hicks must have found it difficult to give encouragement to a marriage which would consign his youngest daughter to a life so alien in spirit from that to which she was accustomed and for which she had no experience. Nor did Sarah find it a simple matter to accept a husband who would take her so far from her cherished home and girlhood friends and place her in strange surroundings amid people whose way of life she did not profess to understand. On March 7, 1853, she wrote to her parents from Brooklyn as follows:

It is my twenty sixth birthday and my thoughts turn to the home where cluster the bright visions of life and to the parents whose kindness has made life so much a gleam of sunshine. My Heavenly Father has been very kind to His child in giving her such a home and such parents. Could I know that this would remain to the end of my life, I think I would never leave you, would never seek another home in this life, but I know that changes must come. I have been led to thoughts of this kind during the last week by a letter which I enclose to you from Dr. Williams which if I answer will probably bring a renewal of an offer made nearly three years since. Feeling as I did three years ago, and under the same circumstances I would act again in the same way. I feel that I acted rightly and do not repent

⁶ Mary Brown's mother was Lucinda Huntington Hicks, formerly of Walpole, New Hampshire.

⁷ Lucinda Hicks was Sarah's half-sister, the second daughter of Samuel Hicks and Lucinda Huntington Hicks. Lucinda married Luther McFarland of Brooklyn, New York, on Dec. 23, 1852. She died in 1907.

the course I took. But if, as I do believe, his affection for me has outlived so many reverses I cannot but respect the man most highly. Eight years is a long time to test friendship and such fidelity is seldom met with in this world and is sufficient to cause me some serious thought.

There are but two things that I know of to dislike in the man. One is his owning slaves. I cannot make it seem right, and yet, perhaps there may be my sphere of usefulness. The other is not being a professing Christian. Will you both give me your candid opinion in regards to him? I shall not answer it until I hear from you, and please return his letter in yours.

Perseverance brought Williams final success in winning the heart of this girl from the Mohawk Valley. The two were married from the old Hicks mansion in New Hartford on September 20, 1853. After a wedding trip to Niagara Falls, Montreal, and Quebec, they proceeded leisurely southward to North Carolina, visiting in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, before settling down to the realities of life on the Williams plantation near Snow Hill.

The following letters are concerned mainly with Sarah Hicks Williams' experiences as a planter's wife in eastern North Carolina and later in southeastern Georgia where, in 1856, her husband's turpentine business took them. They are a part of more than two hundred letters of the Hicks-Parmelee-Williams family, which extend from 1815 to 1867.⁸ Editorial notes which appear in this paper without bibliographical citations are taken largely from this collection of letters and papers and from records of the Williams family.

The portions of the collection which are published here were selected because of their fresh and penetrating analysis of southern social life in the late ante-bellum period. They are of unusual significance because the author was an intelligent and keen observer and her writing possessed style and precision. Although unconditioned to the new life which she found in the South, she became an efficient mistress of the

⁸ The original letters belong to the estate of the late Col. Warren Lott of Blackshear, Georgia. The editor is indebted to Col. Lott for assistance in transcribing from the original letters and in locating data on the Williams family. (After the letters included herein were accepted for publication, 110 of the originals were deposited in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.)

plantation, a dutiful wife and mother, and in time, a thorough-going southerner.

Sarah Hicks Williams was born in New Hartford, New York, on March 9, 1827, and died at Waycross, Georgia, on December 23, 1917.

Donneganna's Hotel, Montreal
Sept. 24, 1853

My own dear Parents:

We arrived here about ten o'clock last evening. Today we rode around Montreal, visited the Gray Nunnery,⁹ Cathedral, &c, and intend leaving for Quebec this evening, where we shall spend the Sabbath and part of Monday. Shall reach New York probably Wednesday or Thursday. I wish you would both meet us there. I would love to see you once more before I go to my far distant home. Why can't we all meet at Lucinda's?

I need not tell you that Ben does all he can to make me happy and I am so, but I know too much of the world to expect of it perfect bliss. That remains for a better world and purified human nature. . . . By the same mail as this Ben sends the fine imposed by the sewing society for taking one of their members which he quite forgot to leave. . . . Perhaps you think I left home without sorrow. I can tell you I did not. My heart yearns for my home and all its associations and it will take a long time for another home to seem so dear. There is not a hill and valley in old New Hartford which is not dear to me & the people that I love dearly. If any letters have come to me since I left, please send — or what would be far better — bring them to New York. Ben has just come in and sends love. With much love as ever, your affectionate daughter.

Sara F. Williams

Doesn't that look funny. But there is no more Sara Hicks.

⁹ Members of the Order of the Sisters of Charity of the Hôpital Général of Montreal are known as Grey Nuns because of the color of their attire. The order was founded in 1738 as a refuge for old people, orphans, foundlings, and incurables. Charles G. Herbeman and others, eds., *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 15 vols. 1910), VII, 31.

Clifton Grove,¹⁰ [N. C.] Oct. 10, 1853
Monday

My dear Parents:

I arrived safely at my new home on Friday last, but have had no time to write until now. . . . You may imagine I have seen many strange things. As for my opinions, in so short a time, it would not be fair to give them. I have seen no unkind treatment of servants. Indeed, I think they are treated with more familiarity than many Northern servants. They are in the parlor, in your room and all over. The first of the nights we spent in the Slave Holding States, we slept in a room without a lock. Twice before we were up a waiting girl came into the room, and while I was dressing, in she came to look at me. She seemed perfectly at home, took up the locket with your miniatures in it and wanted to know if it was a watch. I showed it to her. "Well," she said, "I should think your mother and father are mighty old folks." Just before we arrived home, one old Negro caught a glimpse of us and came tearing out of the pine woods to touch his hat to us. All along the road we met them and their salutation of "Howdy (meaning How do you) Massa Ben," and they seemed so glad to see him, that I felt assured that they were well treated. As we came to the house, I found Mother Williams¹¹ ready to extend a mother's welcome. Mary and Harriett were both here and delighted to see me. I felt at home. At dinner we had everything very nice. It is customary when the waiting girl is not passing things at table, to keep a large broom of peacock feathers in motion over our heads to keep off flies, etc. I feel confused. Everything is so different that I do not know which way to stir for fear of making a blunder. I have determined to keep still and look on for a while,

¹⁰ Clifton Grove was the plantation of the Williams family located approximately five miles from Snow Hill in Greene County (formerly Glasgow), North Carolina. This county lies in the central Coastal Region. The land is flat and the soil fertile. While small in area, it is one of the richest agricultural counties in the state. Formed in 1799, it contained approximately 500 families by 1810. These had emigrated largely from the northern counties and from Virginia and Maryland, some having arrived as early as 1710. By 1850 there were 686 white families in the county and the total population was about equally divided between whites and slaves. In 1860 it was one of the sixteen counties in the state which had a greater number of slaves than whites. Naval stores products and lumber had been an important early industry but was declining in importance in 1860, giving way to cotton, corn, and sweet potatoes. Today it is an important tobacco-growing area. Albert Ray Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (April, 1929), 178, hereinafter cited as Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties"; Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 470; S. O. Perkins, *Soil Survey of Greene County, North Carolina* (Washington, D. C., 1928), 14.

¹¹ Mrs. Joseph Williams (1785-ca. 1866), the mother of Benjamin Williams who before her marriage was Avey Murphy. Her husband, Joseph Williams, Sr., died in 1836.

at any rate. Yesterday I went to Church ¹² in a very handsome carriage, servants before and behind. I began to realize yesterday how much I had lost in the way of religious privileges. We went six miles to church, as they have preaching at Snow Hill only every one or two Sabbaths. On arriving I found a rough framed building in the midst of woods, with a large congregation, consisting of about equal numbers of white and black. These meetings are held about one a month and then addressed by two or three exhorters, who are uneducated, and each speaks long enough for any common sermon. The singing is horrible. Prize your religious privileges. They are great and you would realize it by attending Church here once. I shall miss these much. Things that Northerners consider essential are of no importance here. The house and furniture is of little consequence. To all these differences I expect to become accustomed, in time. My husband is all kindness and loves me more than I am worthy. With him I could be happy anywhere. I have seen enough to convince me that the ill-treatment of the Slaves is exaggerated at the North but I have not seen enough to make me like the institution. I am quite the talk of the day, not only in the whole County, but on the plantation. Yesterday I was out in the yard and an old Negro woman came up to me, "Howdy, Miss Sara, are you the Lady that won my young Master. Well, I raised him." Her name was Chaney and she was the family nurse. Between you and me, my husband is better off than I ever dreamed of. I am glad I didn't know it before we were married. He owns 2000 acres of land in this vicinity, but you must bear in mind that land here is not as valuable as with you. But I'll leave these things to talk of when I see you, which I hope may be before many months. I will write you more fully when I have the time. Some of our friends leave this morning and I must go and see them. Write soon, very soon. Ben sends love. Love to all. Ever your

Sara

I wish you could see the cotton fields. The bolls are just opening. I cannot compare their appearance to anything but fields of white roses. As to the cotton picking, I should think it very light and pleasant work. Our house is very unassuming. Not larger than Mary's. I shall feel unsettled until my furniture comes and after our return from Charleston next month. Then I hope to settle down and be quiet for a while. The house has been full of relatives ever since we came and more friends are expected tomorrow. Direct to Clifton Grove, near Snow Hill, Green Co., N. C.

¹² Probably the Jerusalem Methodist Church, one of the oldest in the county. It is located five and one-half miles from Snow Hill, on the Goldsboro road.

Clifton Grove, Oct. 22, 1853
Saturday Morning

My dear Parents:

Your letter enclosing others has been received and ere this you have received one from me informing you of our safe arrival here. It would be wrong, perhaps, for me to form or express an opinion in regard to the manners and customs of the people, after only two weeks tarry among them. I shall not speak for or against, but will state things as I have seen them and you may form your own opinions. The woods present a beautiful appearance now, the rainbow hues of autumn contrasting beautifully with the deep dark green of the pines. Many of the trees are hung with vines of the honeysuckle, woodbine and others. Now to mingle the bitter with the sweet, in those woods are snakes of various sizes, both harmless and poisonous, among the latter are large adders and occasionally a rattlesnake. Scorpions, too, they tell me, are plentiful. There is one thing I miss sadly, and that is our beautiful grass. The soil is sandy and the grass is of a different character entirely, being coarse and full of weeds. But when the ground is planted and cultivated with the different products of the country, it presents a fine appearance. The cotton fields are beautiful, the corn will range from ten to twelve feet in height, and the sweet potatoes and yams look fine. Ambition is satisfied here by numbering its thousands of dollars, acres of land and hundreds of negroes. Houses, furniture, dress are nothing. For instance, the Dr.'s brother,¹³ a very wealthy man, lives in a brown wood house without lathing or plastering. To be sure, he has a handsome sofa, sideboard and chairs in his parlor, which contrast strangely with the unfinished state of the house. However, he purposes building soon. This, I might say, is the common style of house, and ours, which is finished, the exception. As to household arrangements, I have discovered no system. Wash, bake or iron, just as the fit takes. . . . Baking is all done in bake kettles and cooking at a fire place. Chimneys are all built on the outside of the houses. The Negroes are certainly not overtasked on this plantation. One house girl at the North will accomplish more than two here. But I think the great fault lies in the want of system. Mother Williams works harder than any Northern farmer's wife, I know. She sees to everything. The Dr. has another place, seven miles from

¹³ James Williams (1805-1857) was at this time the only surviving brother of Benjamin Williams and lived on an adjoining plantation. On this plantation, which lay between Clifton Grove and the village of Snow Hill, there were twenty-one field hands in 1850. Four years later James Williams completed a substantial two-story dwelling house on this plantation which is still standing in 1956. Census of 1850, Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants of Greene County. All census records used are housed in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, unless otherwise indicated.

here, mostly pine land.¹⁴ That with his other business demands a good share of his time. He has gone with his brother to Greenville to engage his turpentine, which is selling for \$4.00 per barrel. I don't expect him back until Monday. As to the treatment of servants, the overseer that Ben employed while he was away, struck one of the Negroes, and his mother would not speak to him afterwards, and had him discharged. They are not diffident, either. One of the field hands asked me to fix a dress for her the other day. Another servant wanted to know if Massa Ben and I couldn't ride over to Snow Hill and get her a new dress. They have plots of ground they cultivate and have what they make from them. They can go to Church (Preaching, as they say) on the Sabbath. Indeed, a majority of the congregation is colored. On Sundays they dress up and many of them look very nice. They leave off work at sundown during the week. You will not wonder, finding everything here so entirely different, if I should feel like a stranger in a strange land. It must take time for me to become accustomed to such an utter change, but with a husband who has proved so devoted, I could not be unhappy anywhere. I think I can appreciate Miss Ophelia's feelings for I have not approached any of the little negroes very closely yet, like her I should wish a good application of soap and water, comb & clean clothes. I have just received a letter from Malvina¹⁵ full of good kindly feelings. In it she said "I meant to write to your mother ere this." Will you tell her that a rush of engagements has prevented me. Give her my very best love and tell her that I very often think of the family alone in the dear pleasant homestead. "Mother sends her regards with many thanks for the liberal supply of wedding cake she received." By the way, the cake that John¹⁶ brought, came safely and we have had it on the table twice. The house was full for a week after we came with relatives. We had a very pleasant time & we felt rather lonely after they all left. I expect my furniture is in New Bern, but we cannot get it until the river rises. Ben, I expect, will go away next week to Beaufort, where he is talking of purchasing a lot and perhaps of building a residence at some future time. My paper is full and I have just room to say to both Write often to your

Sara

Dr. sends love. Please send me a good receipt for soda biscuit. Love to all. I hope our neighbors have buried their unkind

¹⁴ This was known as the Sandy Run plantation and was worked for turpentine. The success of this enterprise led Williams to venture more of his time and capital in the turpentine business.

¹⁵ Malvina Pohlman, a former schoolmate.

¹⁶ John B. Williams, a nephew of Benjamin and the second son of Martha, was one of the guests at the wedding of his uncle in New Hartford.

feelings ere this. I can assure you I cherish no hard feelings toward them. I still think their course mistaken for my Bible tells me that "Charity suffereth long & is kind." And even our Saviour could eat with publicans and sinners.

Clifton Grove, Nov. 7, 1853
Monday Morning

My dear Parents:

. . . Before this you have received another letter from me, but as I have forgotten now what I wrote, I shall answer your questions in order. . . . Our travelling South was entirely by railroad. We passed through Richmond and Petersburg, stopping only long enough to get dinner and tea. We came by cars to Wilson, twenty miles from here, where the Dr. expected his carriage to meet us, but was disappointed and so hired a carriage and came to within seven miles by plank road. The rest of the way is good common road. In the whole of that twenty miles I don't think we passed over a half dozen houses. The road on both sides was bounded by woods, mostly pine, and the trees are much taller and larger than ours. Well, Mother, you like quiet. If you come and see me I'll promise you a plenty of it. Ben was gone eight days with Richard¹⁷ to Beaufort on business and there were just three persons in the house, besides Mrs. Williams, myself and the servants. These were John, a nephew and a niece of the Dr.'s. For a week after we came we had company a plenty in the house. Mary and her husband, Dr. Blount, Richard, John and Joseph¹⁸ and their sister, Harriet, and her husband and child and nurse, and their mother, also Brother James and wife,¹⁹ with one or two children almost every day. But since the first week, we have been very quiet. I ride horseback very often and enjoy it much. Have been twice to the Dr.'s brother's and stayed all night once. Have also called twice at Mr. Dowell's²⁰ in Snow Hill, the teacher in the Academy. I find my wardrobe quite too extravagant, I assure you, but Experience is a good teacher and I don't intend to cry over what can't be helped. You have no idea how entirely different everything here is. If you call Long Island behind the times, I don't know what you would call North Carolina. It has been rightly termed Rip Van Winkle. I am a regular curiosity. You can imagine how thickly the country is settled when I tell you

¹⁷ Richard Williams, nephew of Benjamin, was the oldest son of Martha.

¹⁸ Joseph Williams (1832-1881) was the youngest son of Martha Williams. He lived near Kinston where his house stands today on the grounds of the Caswell Institute.

¹⁹ James Williams married Elizabeth Josephine Darden.

²⁰ A. H. Dowell, born in 1824, was a teacher in the Greene Academy which was incorporated in 1804. Newsome, *Twelve North Carolina Counties*, 179; Census of 1850, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants of Greene County.

that in the whole of Greene County there are only about as many inhabitants as there are in the town of New Hartford, and more than half of these colored. There are only two hundred voters in the county. If you want to know about the country and people you must come and see for I cannot give you a description. The servants are treated better in most respects than I expected. We have one that can read. I asked who taught her "My young mistress, before I came here." She told me that she had had four and they were all kind to her. As for religious privileges, they enjoy all that their masters do. I should say more, for all the preaching I have heard has been more suited to the illiterate than to the educated.

Clifton Grove, Nov. 18, 1853

My dear Parents:

You have before this received mine mailed at Wilmington. We had a very pleasant time there. Harriett and quite a large number of her friends met us and we returned with them to Sampson County & from there to Duplin County, to visit her mother. We returned home on Tuesday & found her husband (Dr. Blount) ²¹ here. They remained two days with us. Our furniture arrived during our absence, all but one bureau & I feel most tired out putting things to order. There is but one closet in our house, so you can imagine that I find some difficulty in knowing where to put things. And Mother William's ways are so entirely different from anything I have ever been used to that I sometimes feel disheartened and discouraged. She is very kind to me & I intend making my will bend to hers in every respect, but I assure you I miss the order and neatness which pervades a Northern home. I can but feel that it would have been much better for us to have gone to housekeeping at once, even if we had deferred our marriage a year. I do not pretend to know much of housekeeping, but I know I could improve on some things here in the way of order. The weather today is summerlike. I have windows up all through the house and doors open. The Dr. and I sat on the piazza for a long time this morning and our roses are still blossoming in the yard. The Synod was in session in Wilmington & we attended several of its meetings. You may imagine I appreciated the opportunity once more of attending an orderly religious service. In the gallery were the colored (I should say slave population, for some are quite too light-colored to be Negroes) people & quite a large proportion of them found their places in the hymn books & joined the singing. So, it seems, that some at least can read. I think I told you in

²¹ This is apparently an error, since Harriett's husband was William Alexander Faison.

my last, of one (a house servant) in our family who reads and asked me for a Testament. I gave her one, and a tract. But the print of the former is too fine and I intend getting her a larger one. I told my husband and he approved my course. . . . I have been helping to make pumpkin pies, a new dish here, and they promise to be good. We made some a short time since and they were very good. Write soon to your affectionate daughter

Sara

I had forgotten to tell you that servants here have some means for self support. Dr. has one man who will probably lay by fifty or sixty dollars this year. He attended the pine trees and Ben gave him a certain share & he told me the other day he would make that sum.

Clifton Grove, Dec. 10th, 1853

My dear Parents:

Your last was received Tuesday evening. Some of the Dr.'s friends at Snow Hill sent us word that there was to be preaching there that evening & we were well paid for going. We heard an excellent sermon from Mr. Miner,²² an agent for the Baptist State Convention and in addition received your letter and papers. Mr. Miner is from New York state & also his wife. He is talking of coming to Snow Hill to live. Ben has offered to give him an acre of land if he will build on it and another to Mr. McDowell,²³ the teacher of the Academy. The latter accepts the gift and conditions. Whether Mr. Miner does, we have not yet heard. Mr. McDowell has a pleasant wife. She was from Alexandria in Virginia. I have become quite well acquainted with them. We expected them here last night to spend the day with us, but a severe storm has prevented. You ask if I am allowed to do anything. I attend to the part of the house I am in. Keep it in order. However, in it Mrs. Williams has furniture and a right, though she seldom enters it. At present there is sewing a plenty on hands for the servants. At this season the women have each a thick dress, chemise, shoes, & a blanket given them. The men pantaloons & jacket, shirt, blanket & shoes, besides caps & bonnets. The children, too, are clothed in the same materials. Now, many keep a seamstress to do this, but Mother Williams has always done it herself with the assistance of her daughters

²² Hurley Miner, a Missionary Baptist minister, was born in Lewis County, New York in 1808. With his wife, Anne B., and three children he moved from Ontario County, New York, to Wayne County, North Carolina, in 1849, and settled on the south side of the Neuse River. George W. Johnston, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1855), 46; Census of 1850, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants of Wayne County.

²³ A. H. Dowell. The name appears variously as Dowell and McDowell.

when they were home. Of course, I choose to do my part. One week we made seven dresses & a few jackets and pantaloons we sent to a poor white woman. I have made two pairs of pantaloons and we are now to work on the underclothes. The servants have three suits of clothes a year and as much more in clothes and money as they choose to earn. But as a whole, they are naturally filthy & it is discouraging to make for them, for it is soon in dirt & rags. There are exceptions, of course. You wish a description of my house—the part I stay in. On the lower floor is the parlor and my room. . . . I have not yet quite regulated upstairs & can't until my things come. I feel the need of good closets, I assure you, but the houses here are built with only a small one under the stairs. On my bed I have the dark quilt you gave me. I assure you I shall be very glad of the petticoat you spoke of giving me. I am sorry I did not bring the cotton one. We need quite as thick clothing as you do. The houses are not as tightly built as with us, and they use fireplaces altogether, and there is a chill in the air. I have been very sorry I did not bring my woolen sack. Then, too, the people most always sit with open doors, even though they sit over the fire shivering. Last week I went with the Dr. to visit his sister Mary, stayed two nights and a day & had a very pleasant visit. We are now expecting her here to spend some time at Christmas. Hattie,²⁴ we found living very quietly in a beautiful oak grove. They are living in what is to be their kitchen. Mr. Faison will build this year a very large and commodious house.²⁵ Ben has gone on to Sandy Run to see how they are getting along with his turpentine. He intends returning by Snow Hill & I am hoping for letters and papers in yesterday's mail. Richard and John may return with him. We made them a short visit in their bachelor nome the other day. Everything was neat and tidy & they always seem in first rate spirits. John is going to take his servants in February and going on to another plantation to reside. Tell Em²⁶ I can't help wishing she was going there, too. I almost forgot to tell you of my baking. I have made pumpkin pies, or helped, twice & the last, which are best, I made all alone, crust & all. They never had had them before & Ben particularly liked them. So, of course, my success pleased me. Soda biscuits, I have made twice with good success and measure cake. Not until

²⁴ Harriett Faison.

²⁵ This house of three stories contained sixteen rooms all of which are said to have been provided with a fireplace. It was built on the 2000-acre Faison plantation near the present village of Turkey, in Duplin County. When the house burned in the 1870's much of the furniture was saved and is in the hands of various descendants of William A. Faison. Claude Moore, Turkey, North Carolina, to James C. Bonner, Oct. 26, 1951.

²⁶ Emily Shays, a friend in New Hartford.

you come here can you imagine how entirely different is their mode of living from the North. They live more heartily. There must always be two or three different kinds of meats on Mrs. Williams' table for breakfast & dinner. Red pepper is much used to flavor meat with the famous "barbecue" of the South & which I believe they esteem above all dishes is roasted pig dressed with red pepper & vinegar. Their bread is corn bread, just meal wet with water & without yeast or saleratus, & biscuit with shortening and without anything to make them light and beaten like crackers. The bread and biscuit are always brought to the table hot. Now, I want you to send me a receipt for bread with yeast and your corn bread. Is there any way of making yeast without hops or Irish potatoes? I wish we could send you some of our beautiful sweet potatoes & yams. The Dr. spoke of it, but it is now too late & cold as they would spoil before we could get them to you. Perhaps another year we will be more fortunate. They tell me they have beautiful peaches and apples, but we were too late for the peaches and the apple orchard is young & they say the Negroes got more than their share. You don't know how I have longed for some of those in the cellar at home & for a slice of Peggy's²⁷ good bread and butter. In season we have fine grapes.

Evening. John came home with the Dr. from Snow Hill. We have just had dinner & my pumpkin pies have been highly complimented. Of course, that is gratifying. Tomorrow is the Sabbath. How I should like to hear Mr. Payson²⁸ & occupy my seat for one Sabbath, at least. Ben and I are reading Barnes' Notes²⁹ and are much interested in them. We have read too, a little Medicine, & are now reading Hyperion.³⁰

Monday, 12th Dec. Yesterday was spent as I do not like to spend the Sabbath. Brother James and wife & 7 children and nurse came to spend the day, also Sister Mary & her husband & servant. The latter has started for South Carolina to purchase turpentine lands. His wife and Mother Williams went home with Mrs. James Williams to spend the night leaving Ben and me alone with the servants for the first time. With the assistance of the cook, I had a very good breakfast, coffee, beef hash, fried chicken, sweet potatoes, corn bread and soda biscuit. The latter were my own make. And tell Peggy they were as good as hers. Dr. did not think it strange of the ladies for hinting about the fee, but quite enjoyed the joke. We are quite impatient to get

²⁷ A servant in the Hicks home in New Hartford.

²⁸ Elliott S. Payson was the Presbyterian minister at New Hartford.

²⁹ Albert Barnes, *An Inquiry into the Scriptural Views of Slavery* (Philadelphia, 1846).

³⁰ Probably the romance by that title written by Henry W. Longfellow and first published in 1839 and republished at various times thereafter.

the letter. I hope they'll all write something. He says he will write sometime and sends love. He is just getting ready to go to Sandy Run. We are expecting company today. The other day I had calls from a Mr. & Mrs. Patrick³¹ and Dr. Harvey.³² The lady consisted of flesh and bone put together very prettily . . . but beautifully dressed. The gentlemen were exceedingly agreeable and intelligent. Dr. Harvey, an unmarried gentleman, would create quite a sensation in New Hartford. . . . John has gone to a large wedding in Sampson County. A sister of Harriett's husband is to marry a Mr. McDougal,³³ a lawyer and member of the legislature. She is to be dressed in white brocade silk. There are to be 12 bridesmaids dressed with white satin waists & pink skirts & as many groomsmen. John is to be one, I believe. Last night after the company had all left we read & sang & I felt better satisfied with the evening than any portion of the day. Every day we speak and think of you and at nights I often dream of you and the pleasant home we have left. I really flatter myself that not many years hence, if our lives are spared, we may remove North. Ben likes the idea & I do, of course. . . . Your affectionate daughter

Sara

Clifton Grove, March 3rd, 1854

My dear Mother :

Our windows are open today, there is a soft balmy air, the peach & plum trees are in blossom. One of our servants is very sick with dropsy. The Dr. thinks she will never be any better. I did not answer some questions which you asked. The Northern Branch of the Neuse River runs between us and Snow Hill, viz. Contentnia Creek.³⁴ It bounds this plantation on the southern side for about five miles. There are about 750 acres, worth from 12 to 15 dollars per acre. The pine land averages from 3 to 6

³¹ John M. Patrick (b. 1816) and his wife Elizabeth (b. 1827) were neighbors of the Williams family in Greene County.

³² John Harvey (1827-1889) was a planter-physician and one of the wealthiest young men in the county. He was married in December, 1854. Census of 1860, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants of Greene County; lithograph in the Episcopal churchyard at Snow Hill, N. C.

³³ Mary A. Faison, daughter of William (d. 1857) and Susan Mosley Faison of Sampson County, was married in December, 1853 to J. G. McDugal who represented Bladen County in the General Assembly from 1852 to 1854. Records of Sampson County, Will Book I, 512; R. D. W. Connor, ed., *A Manual of North Carolina, Issued by the North Carolina Historical Commission for the use of Members of the General Assembly, Session, 1913* (Raleigh, E. M. Uzzell and Company, State Printers, 1913), 508. Hereinafter cited as Connor, *A Manual of North Carolina*.

³⁴ Contentnea Creek flows into the Neuse River about thirty miles above New Bern. It was at that time navigable for flats of 150 barrels burden as far as the upper part of Greene County. Newsome, *Twelve North Carolina Counties*, 178.

dollars per acre.³⁵ Of that land there are 1400 acres. Besides these there are 73 acres at Snow Hill, of which we don't know the value. If that town should wake up it would be quite valuable. But all these things we will talk over, I hope, next month. I wish you could spend the summer with me, somehow, I can't help dreading it. If I have left anything at home, which you think I may need, & you can bring it and do not wish them, I wish them, I wish you would. Will you get me some tapioca & sago & isinglass & I will pay you. Mrs. Shays uses a kind of yeast I wish you would inquire about. Maybe it would do for me. We have ordered a stove. With love to Pa, I am still your affectionate daughter. Ben sends love.

Sara

Clifton Grove, March 17, 1853 [1854]
Friday

My dear Parents:

Yours was received on Wednesday & I hasten to reply. You may imagine that the very thought of seeing you filled me with joy, but there are circumstance which surround us, & which I feel due to you as well as to us to explain, some things that we feel must be changed before you come in order to make a visit pleasant. We ordered a stove some time since from New York, hoping to receive it & be installed at our own house keeping (a proposition of Mother Williams) by this time, but we hear nothing from Luther³⁶ or the stove. I do feel that I want to see you very much. I want your council particularly, but under the circumstances, I do not feel at liberty to make friends of mine guests at Mother's. I feel quite sensitive enough at being here myself. . . . There is one thing that to me throws light on the whole matter, although Ben is hardly willing to allow it. A Southern lady generally receives a number of servants as her marriage dower. I have no doubt that Mother had looked forward to her son marrying such an one & thus adding to the rather small number of hands (Sister Mary having removed about twenty last spring, they being her portion) & leaving about the same number here, which are not sufficient to work so large a farm.³⁷ Then, too, I can look back and see wherein I have erred. Had my wardrobe been plainer I would have pleased

³⁵ The real estate owned by Benjamin Williams appears in the 1850 census and is recorded at twelve thousand dollars' value.

³⁶ Luther McFarland, a brother-in-law and a member of the firm of Shingerland and McFarland, of Brooklyn.

³⁷ Clifton Grove plantation had thirty-seven slaves in 1850, before Mary Williams' marriage to Elias J. Blount. These consisted of approximately twenty-two full hands. Census of 1850, Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants of Greene County.

her better. But I do not imagine that she is wholly destitute of kindness to me. I have received favors from her, but Ben's marrying seems to have turned her against him. She proposes for him to attend the business this year, divide profits next fall, then each attend to their own. 250 acres are his now, the rest not until she is through with it. . . .³⁸ Ben talks some of moving to Snow Hill in the fall to a house in which he owns an interest and renting his land here. He does not like to remove any of his hands from his turpentine land, the income from that being much larger than from the plantation & he would have to in order to farm to any advantage. His most valuable farm hand is now sick with dropsy & will probably never be any better. In attending to her I find that I can be useful, also in sewing.

. . . The Dr. says we must have some cool weather yet and he thinks you may come with safety in the middle of May. But you must use your own judgment. The Dr. hated to have me write this letter, but I told him I had always told you everything and I knew you would not love us less for dealing frankly now. I know none of us would enjoy the visit as well as if you wait. Company disturbs Mother Williams and her ways are so entirely different from what I have been used to that it seems quite impossible for me to help her. We are hoping to hear from Lucinda and Luther daily. Unless the stove and box that we have sent for come within a few days, we may not get them until fall, as the creek is fast falling and will soon be too low for flats to come up from New Bern. Love to all and much, very much from your daughter, Sara and her husband.

Clifton Grove, April 3rd, 1854
Monday

My dear Parents:

Yours of the 24th of March was received on Saturday & I hasten to answer by return of mail. Our stove has not yet come, but I had a talk with Mother Williams & told her frankly that if your visit would trouble her, I would write for you not to come. She took it very kindly and would not hear a word to my doing so, but seemed frankly glad to think that you were coming. Her only fear seems to be that she cannot get anything for you to eat. . . . Since writing last the weather has been much cooler, almost as cold as during any time of the winter. There have been several frosts and we fear the fruit is killed, another last night. From the present aspect of the weather there would

³⁸ The will of Joseph Williams, probated in 1836, provided an ample legacy for his widow and for each of his seven children. The legacy assigned to Benjamin, who was the only minor son, was subject in part to the life estate of his mother.

be no risk of coming whatever. Indeed, Ben says that the sickly season does not commence before July or August. He sends love & we shall hope to see you very soon. . . . I understand the nurses here feed babies pork and potatoes when a fortnight old and give them good strong coffee. I have little doubt that the journey will do you good.

With love, yours
Sara

Clifton Grove, June 14, 1854

My dear Father:

I have promised the Dr.'s niece to go with her to Snow Hill this morning & before starting I thought I would write a few lines to let you know that we are well. Several of the servants and Mother Williams have been down with dysentery, but are all better now with the exception of old Frank (the old Negro who came here to be taken care of). People may talk of the freedom from care of a Southern life, but to me it seems full of care. Mother Williams treats me with much kindness now & things seem to jog along more evenly than ever before. Still we remain undecided, as when you were here, as to future plans. As soon as we know, I will, of course, inform you immediately. I am trying to learn a lesson in patience, perhaps I need it. You know I am an impulsive creature, and am for driving right ahead, through thick and thin. There's a good deal of the Yankee spirit in me. If I meet a mountain I want to climb or go through it, if a valley or stream, bridge them. And, by the way, didn't I come honestly enough by that trait of character?

June 17th. Saturday. Well, I didn't finish this for the last mail, but Ben is going to Snow Hill today, and I intend this shall go. . . . Mother Williams has made me a present of a hen's thirteen chickens—by the way, the very hen whose nest you found under the gate steps. The whole family are in a thriving condition. Two of the Dr.'s nieces intend going to Mr. Crittenden's ³⁹ school in September. They have been to school in Salem in this State, for two years from where they have just returned.⁴⁰

³⁹ Alonzo Crittenden was appointed principal of the Albany Female Academy in 1826 and continued in that capacity until 1854 when he left that institution to establish a school for girls in Brooklyn. Parker, *Landmarks of Albany County*, 266.

⁴⁰ Alumnae records at Salem College identify these young women as Mary Jane (b. 1837), daughter of James Williams of Snow Hill, and Martha Ann (b. 1840), daughter of Henry Williams and Phila Hazelton Williams of Pitt County. Martha Ann married Frank X. Miller, of Gainesville, Florida.

Brother James' daughter I have seen. She is a most interesting girl, I think. She says she doesn't want to board at Mr. Crittenden's. She wants to board at Aunt Sara's sisters'. Ben wishes to be remembered. With love, yours

Sara

Clifton Grove, Monday, Oct. 2nd, 1854

My dear Parents:

Yours was received on Saturday & I hasten to reply today, that we may enjoy a chance of enjoying some of your good apples before going to Raleigh, or at least before Ben does. They will be very acceptable, I assure you. Please direct them to the Dr. care of B. F. Havens,⁴¹ Washington, N. C. Ben is sending (or going to) turpentine to Greenville and can get it more easily than from New Bern. I wish as sincerely as you possibly can that we lived nearer you. What changes the next few years may make in our arrangements, it is impossible to divine. I could wish they might find us in a pleasant home at the North. And, yet, to gain that end I should be very unwilling to sell our servants. I know that they are kindly cared for now, and they might easily fall into worse hands. The recent discussions upon the slavery question have kindled the smouldering fires of animosity both in the North and the South. How I wish the Abolitionists of the North could see these things as I see them. If they knew what they were about they would act differently. As they are doing, they are tightening the bonds of the slave and putting farther off his emancipation. . . . Brother James has a son very sick⁴² which will detain him from visiting the North at present. Baby is crying and I must close.⁴³ With love, in which the Dr. joins me, I am your affectionate daughter,

Sara

⁴¹ Benjamin F. Havens (b. 1812) was a commission merchant in Washington, North Carolina. *North State Whig*, (Washington), Aug. 3, 1848.

⁴² A lithograph in the family cemetery at Clifton Grove indicates that this son, William Henry, age 15, died a few days later. Of the ten children born to James Williams and his wife, Elizabeth Josephine, four died between 1850 and 1860. James Williams's death occurred on May 16, 1857, at the age of fifty-two.

⁴³ Sara Virginia, frequently referred to as Lilly, was the first of seven children born to Sarah and Benjamin Williams.

Pleasant Retreat,⁴⁴ Dec. 11th, 1854
Tuesday

My dear Parents:

I have waited with some impatience for the last few weeks for an answer to my last, written a week before starting for Raleigh,⁴⁵ and while Ben was absent in Wilmington, but as yet have received none. In the meantime I have been to Raleigh and spent three weeks, but scarlet fever and measles drove us from there & here I am at my old friend Hattie's, who remains the same true-hearted friend I knew in Albany. Lizzie is with me as a nurse. In Raleigh I met some most agreeable people. Mr. Barringer,⁴⁶ the ex-Minister to Spain and predecessor of Mr. Soule,⁴⁷ is a member of the Commission. I met him and his lady at a party at Governor Reed's.⁴⁸ Mrs. Reed is a perfect lady & made me feel at home, although a stranger in a strange land. I enjoyed the evening much—far better than I had expected, as I anticipated but little pleasure. Ben seemed gratified at my receiving so much attention & of course I was pleased if he was. I received a letter from Ben last night. He is well but says the scarlet fever is still raging and some of the members are becoming alarmed and talk of adjourning until next winter. . . . We are expecting Ben here Christmas to spend a few days. The Legislature has received an invitation to visit Wilmington and I can go with him if I choose. My love to all, particularly to Em Shays. Why doesn't she answer my letter. Also to Abby Grosvenor. . . .

Yours
Sara

⁴⁴ The plantation of William and Harriett Faison in Duplin County.

⁴⁵ Benjamin Williams represented Greene County in the North Carolina House of Commons from 1850 to 1854. Connor, *A Manual of North Carolina*, 629.

⁴⁶ Daniel Moreau Barringer (1806-1873) was born near Concord, North Carolina, and was a member of Congress from 1843 until 1849 when President Zachary Taylor appointed him minister to Spain where he remained until 1853. In 1854 he was a member of the North Carolina House of Commons where he served one term. Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 21 volumes, 1928 —), I, 648, hereinafter cited as Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*.

⁴⁷ Pierre Soule resigned as minister to Spain in 1854 as a result of the Ostend Manifesto. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 405.

⁴⁸ David Settle Reid (1813-1891) was a Democratic governor of North Carolina from 1850 to 1854. He married Henrietta Settle in 1835. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 476.

Jan. 2, 1855

My dear Parents:

I am still staying with Hattie, where I intend remaining until the adjournment of the legislature. They gave a large party here last Thursday at which there were 60 or 70 present, and all relatives but four, mostly Faisons. The society in this county is much better than in Green & much like that I have been accustomed to. The table was full of nice things and arranged with taste. It is quite another thing to give a party here than with us. For here they come to pass the night & stay until after breakfast the next morning. Then, there are almost as many servants as white people, and they are not confined to the kitchen alone but are in every place & share in the good things. I went to Church and heard the regular clergyman a week ago Sunday. He is a Presbyterian, solemn and earnest in his manner and evidently an honest man.

Richard has returned from Georgia & was here. They have not received near all their money yet. Mr. Hannam owes Ben \$4500.00.⁴⁹ If his commission merchant in New York should fail, we would lose a nice sum. But we ought to be thankful that even then we would be far above want. And, as long as there is no need for alarm I shall not borrow any. But these hard times are going to be felt throughout the country.

Christmas was a beautiful day, almost summerlike. We had doors and windows open and then were too warm. Ben came the Saturday before. He is very, very kind to me, and the troubles of the past four years have only served to show me the good traits in his character still more.

Sara

Direct to me in the care of Wm. A. Faison, Esq., Warsaw Duplin County, N. C.

February 3rd, 1855
Saturday Eve.

My dear Parents:

I am now spending a few weeks with the Dr.'s sister in Duplin County—Harriet's mother. I should have answered your last kind letter long ere this, but one thing after another has prevented until now. I have left Baby in good hands down stairs while I have sought my room to chat with you. Soon after I left Raleigh

⁴⁹ Richard and Benjamin Williams acquired some interest in a turpentine company in southeastern Georgia in 1854. That year the firm produced 6,630 barrels of spirits which one Enoch Hannum contracted for at \$2.75 per barrel. As a result of the financial recession of 1855 he apparently was unable to meet his obligations. Largely because of this involvement, Williams acquired title to considerable turpentine and timber lands in Georgia.

I sent Lizzie back to her old mistress. Although I do not expect "Thank you" for it, still I know Mother wanted her, and I want to do right even if I cannot please. Harriet immediately provided me with a nurse while visiting her, and the Dr.'s sister with another while I am here, and as I go backwards and forwards you may imagine me with a servant to drive & sometimes an outrider in addition to driver and nurse. Sometimes I go alone & sometimes Sister or Harriet go with me, but do not imagine I am merely visiting. At present I am making shirts for Ben. Sister Patsy⁵⁰ seems like a mother. She advises & comforts me, cuts out my shirts & helps sew. She is the smartest woman I ever saw in my life. There are 65 or 70 servants here. They are all well clothed and fed and all is made on the plantation. Spinning and weaving she attends to, besides sewing for all her family. She does more than any Northern woman I ever saw, and I believe she is conscientious in the discharge of her duties. Ben was here a part of two days and one night a week ago. He hopes to get through at Raleigh in another week. Never was a man more anxious to get away from a place than he from there. We heard a few weeks since that Hannum had failed, but afterwards found it was a hoax. However, I don't feel quite sure of it yet. "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" is an old saying but it contains a valuable hint. You ask for a description of Raleigh. Were I to attempt, I should fail. The principal street is probably $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long. The capitol is at one end, of granite, a beautiful building and the Governor's "Palace" (as it is called) faces it at the other end. By the way, it gives one a very humble idea of a palace. The city contains about 6000 inhabitants, and as to the hotels, don't imagine me at a St. Nicholas or even a Baggs Hotel, although we paid \$4.00 per day. The Governor's party was conducted much as we have parties conducted with us. The ladies were elegantly draped—but I hope to talk to you next summer and then I can go into particulars. A party in the country at the South is a different affair. There they go to spend the night and a part of the next day. There comes about as many servants as guests. I had a fine specimen at Harriet's, but more of this anon. I hear Baby crying and I must go.

Monday Morning. I have risen early in order to finish this & send it today. I received a real good letter from Mary not long since which had laid in the post office at Snow Hill for some time. And, more wonderful still, one from Lucin, a week or two since, being the second since I was married. I have been permitted to hear some most excellent preaching since I came

⁵⁰ Martha Williams.

here from a Mr. Sprunt,⁵¹ a Scotch gentleman. His history is rather interesting. He ran away from Scotland to avoid becoming a clergyman, as his father designed him for that Profession. He came to this country a dissipated young man. Finally he became minus money and bethought himself to teach. He applied to a Mr. Hall, residing near here. The whole family objected but one daughter, who said "We had better give him a trial." He succeeded as a teacher, studied for the Ministry, married the young lady who wished to give him a trial, commenced a select school, and is promising a blessing to the community. They have built him a nice Church and schoolhouse and around these is springing up quite a village. Verily, education and religion are twin sisters, alike tending to make us wiser and better and ever pointing us to Heaven. Mr. Sprunt sent for his sister,⁵² who has married his wife's brother. She is said to be a well educated woman. How often I have wished that some Mr. Sprunt might come to Snow Hill, but I am faithless—too unbelieving. Mr. Sprunt says that on his way here he stopped at St. Domingo. He says that he there saw the effect of emancipation & became convinced that servitude is the only suitable place for the Negro. Be that as it may, may the Lord deliver me from any more such property. I speak with all reverence, for I assure you it is an honest prayer.

Sara

Monday, February 26, 1855
Clifton Grove.

My dear Parents:

The Legislature has at last adjourned, and we arrived here last Monday. Mother Williams seemed really glad to see us and has treated us kindly; she seems to think a great deal of the baby. She calls her Mr. Hicks, because she says she looks so much like him.

I have passed a very happy winter with Hattie & her mother. They prove themselves warm friends. Hattie is just having completed a new house and thinks of going on North next summer

⁵¹ James Manzies Sprunt, younger brother of Alexander Sprunt, left Trinidad in 1839 after the failure of the Sprunt business there and took passage on a ship bound for Boston. The ship put in at Wilmington for repairs and the long delay caused him to take the position of tutor to the children of Nicholas Hall (1787-1861) who lived on the Neuse River twenty miles north of Kenansville. Eleanor, the daughter of Nicholas Hall later became his wife. J. Laurence Sprunt to Joseph G. deR. Hamilton, July 22, 1952; Walter P. Sprunt to Joseph G. deR. Hamilton, July 24, 1952. These letters are in the possession of Dr. Hamilton, Chapel Hill.

⁵² Isabella Sprunt, the sister, came to America with her parents shortly before the Civil War, as did her brother, Alexander Sprunt. Isabella Sprunt married George Hall. Walter P. Sprunt to Joseph G. deR. Hamilton, July 24, 1952.

to purchase furniture. If she should, she says she shall certainly want to make a short stay in New Hartford, of which she has heard so much. Richard says he is bound to go this year in August, and should have done so last August had it not been for the Georgia business. You will see by the papers that turpentine, as well as everything else, has had a fall. But Ben did pretty well with his, selling it for \$3.50 per barrel before he left Raleigh. However the scrape is still on hand, and at present prices, is not likely to be soon sold.

The old people say that there has seldom been such an unhealthy & dry season as the past winter. Fevers have raged all winter, and among children, the diseases peculiar to them seem to be raging through the State, viz. measles, whooping cough and mumps. Hitherto ours has been spared although we have been in the midst of it.

The 14th of this month was the time for planting & sowing gardens here. I heard some telling of having mustard up. You know they cultivate it for greens. Farming has already commenced, ploughing almost finished, that is the first for planting. Since our return, I have seen the first snow I have seen this winter, and that hardly enough to call snow. Last week we were out on the piazza with the baby. Since then it has been colder. Richard and John have both been to see us. Richard thinks of building. Ben purchased "Downing's Architecture"⁵³ this winter, & Richard says he wants us to help him select a plan & he is going to build. He is determined to have a pretty place. There has been a saw mill put up on his land & he has a fine opportunity. This is the beginning of better things and I think one or two making a move of this kind may arouse a spirit of improvement even in Greene County, and make the people ambitious for comfort as well as wealth. I want to see a nice little church at Snow Hill & a good settled clergyman, but I must "let patience have her perfect work."

The baby can sit alone, and has one tooth & can bow to people. These are all of her accomplishments at present. I shall keep you informed of all her improvements.

Pa, I hope you will not think we did not appreciate your information in regard to stocks, but Ben has already made investments in RR stocks in this State, which pay seven per cent. I am very glad that he is disposed so to invest his money, instead of purchasing negroes, which I do believe is the most unprofitable property a person can possess. . . .

Sara

⁵³ Probably Andrew Jackson Downing, *Cottage Residences; or A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas* . . . published in New York in 1842 and republished under varying titles thereafter. The house built by Richard and that of his brother Joseph, of Kinston, betray the Gothic features of Downing's designs.

March 19, 1855
Monday

My dear Parents:

The baby (or Lilly, as we call her) and Charity are on the floor playing. And, although I have not received an answer to my last, I am constrained to write you a few lines, knowing that you are happy to hear from your children at any time, & also knowing that we occasion you anxiety when we do not write frequently. But, then, if you knew how much pleasure a few words from you give, I am sure you would send them at least once a month. It is now six weeks or more since I have heard a word from you. When I wrote you last I was having chills and fever every other day. I did not think best to tell you then, knowing that it could do me no good & fearing it might occasion you anxiety. Happily they left me week before last and I have seen nothing of them since. They are ugly things, while they last, but I believe I felt as well as ever the next day, only not quite so strong. It has been a very sickly winter, owing, I suppose to the want of the usual rains. The last week has been rainy. One day seemed like July, so sultry. The peach and plum trees are in blossom & in the yard we have jonquils & hyacinths. The birds have been singing with us for several weeks; indeed, some stay the whole winter. However, they say it is a late season, but it seems early to me. We are having a temporary kitchen built by way of an experiment.⁵⁴ But I have misgivings in regards to my success as a housekeeper. Had I been accustomed to more inconveniences at first, perhaps I might have succeeded better here. But, I'll try to do my best & if I fail, why, I won't be the first one—that's all. I wish I really could feel as "I don't care" as I have written, but I can't. If I don't answer others' expectations it troubles me, and I am sometimes afraid I shall never make a good housekeeper here. The servants are far from being as neat and tidy as those I have been accustomed to. But enough of this. I hope to see you sometime the last of July or the 1st of August. . . . Love to all. Ben wishes remembrance. Yours ever

Sara

⁵⁴ The Williams house at Clifton Grove burned in 1945. As described by the last occupant, the original structure of hewn logs had five rooms, two of them upstairs. The additions which were made apparently by Benjamin Williams after he brought his bride there to live included a kitchen, which stood apart from the main structure, and two rooms attached to the main body of the house, one on each level. A unique feature of the house was a double stairway, each leading to a separate upstairs compartment without connecting doors.

May 1, 1855
Tuesday Eve.

[To Mr. and Mrs. Luther W.

McFarland, Brooklyn, N. Y.]

Do not imagine, my dear Brother and Sister that I have lost my interest in you in failing for so long a time to write, but imperative duties are my excuse, occurring, to be sure in the daily routine of life, but perhaps the more necessary for my immediate attention, for that very reason. The news in your last did not surprise me, for ever since these hard times commenced I have felt anxious for S & McF,⁵⁵ having had a peep behind the scenes. But, I believe, Luther, you have done your best, so cheer up, my Brother, take Excelsior for your motto and "try, try again, always remembering that it is a slight thing to be judged of man's feeble judgment but see that thy conscience is clear and that God regards thee as an honest man. . . ."

We have been in a melting mood all day. The weather is like the middle of summer and no rain for a long time. If it does not come soon the crops will suffer much.

May 2nd. I have just come from the garden. By the way it is customary here for the ladies to attend to the vegetable garden. I am trying to learn and with Ben's assistance this season, I hope to be able to superintend it alone next year. We have radishes large enough for the table, Irish potatoes as large as a hickory nut, corn $\frac{1}{2}$ foot high and sweet potatoes growing nicely. The peach trees are loaded with fruit, of which we have a large orchard. Also an abundance of plums, nectarines, crab apples, cherries and apples. How I wish that they were ripe in a season when it would be pleasant for you to come and enjoy them with us. We shall soon be housekeeping and then I can truly say I shall be glad to see you, in which, I believe Ben will join most heartily. The woods are full of flowers and the trees festooned with jessamine, trumpet and honeysuckle. The spring is beautiful here, the air full of the melody of the birds. By the way, I have told our servants up on Sandy Run to secure a mocking bird and tame him before I go North. I intend him for you, Brother Lu. There is some difficulty in getting them, at least the Negroes say that if you cage a young one, the old ones will bring poisonous berries to them to kill them.

I have nothing to write that will particularly interest you. Baby grows finely, and of course we think her a remarkable child. Ben— excuse me, Ma writes that she particularly wishes

⁵⁵ Shingerland and McFarland, the Brooklyn importing firm which went into bankruptcy in 1855.

me to call him "the Dr." — well then, the Dr. declares she's the prettiest baby he ever did see, so show up your Alice.

Remember me with love to all enquiring friends and write soon to yours truly,

Sara

May 22nd, 1855
Evening

My dear Parents:

I am still alone. Ben has not returned from the South yet, unless he has passed & gone on North, which is not unlikely, as Mr. Hannum had large interests in New York, and they intended to get security if it is to be had. However, don't worry about us, for with proper economy, and even though we lose this, we can still be independent. You inquire in regard to the kitchen, etc. It is a rough affair for temporary use, but much better than none. The cooking is all done in the new stove now. It would be better if it were a wood stove, but it is a coal stove. However, I suppose Luther hadn't time to be particular & it answers our purposes much better than none. The kitchen is over by old Lucy's house & connected with it to Lizzie's house. Lettuce and Charity stay with Lizzie & Ann stays in the house. Mother Williams is not very well, but still will not call herself sick. She scolds about as much as ever. But I don't care as much for it, for I know I have tried to do right. . . . She will never forgive Ben for not marrying "Niggers", never, never, never. He tends his own land, and since he has been away, I see to his business. I am up before sunrise to give out the keys. He told me how to order & sometimes I steal Mother's thunder. I watch and see what her hands are doing & then I order ours as if I knew it all. For instance, I set them to setting out sweet potatoe sprouts the other day. I did not know anything about it, but I watched, and then I told them I wanted to "throw three furrows together and set the sprouts in the middle furrow", and our patch looks as good as Mother's. Now they are plowing and hoeing the corn. If Ben doesn't come this week I shall make them thin it out and leave only one stalk in a hill except in the richest places. Don't you think I'll make a farmer. Then, I have a vegetable garden, which I superintend. I have collards (most like cabbage) almost a foot high and leaves as big as the palm of your hand, peas that are running, Irish potatoes that are in blossom, cucumber with leaves half as large as my hand and mustard going to seed. We have had radishes a month or more. Another year, I'm going to see what I can do. If I live and am well, I am going to have the best garden in the County. I want some Shanghai chickens,

and am going to try for a pair if I go home this summer. I don't think you need look for me before August. Lilly stands alone and says "mama" and has four teeth. I received a letter from Luther last night in the same mail with yours. The fruit trees are loaded with fruit; we shall have bushels and bushels of peaches, plums and apples a plenty. We had red cherries last week. They are all gone now. Love to all from your daughter

Sara

Nov. 9, 1855

Friday

My dear Parents:

I sit down to write to you with my right hand crippled with salt rheum, so as to render sewing quite impossible, but I can manage to knit a little. So it seems that this climate is not to exempt me from my life long affliction, but I have much, very much, to be thankful for, inasmuch as Lilly is not in a like manner afflicted. . . .

Richard has gone to Savannah, where he hopes to meet Mr. Hannum, who has a suit pending there with Messrs. Edwards & Blount, and he goes, hoping to secure his debt, and Ben sent for his deed by him. There is nothing of news to communicate. Ben's crops have come in as well as he expected. Brother James has been dangerously sick, but is now getting better. All other friends are usually well. My love to all. Hattie sends her kindest regards. . . .

Sarah

Jan. 3rd 1856

. . . I hope this will be the last I write before leaving for Georgia. We hope now, to leave in two weeks. You must write me as soon as you receive this, for I want to get another letter from you before I go. Ben got Lilly a willow wagon & chair to set at table and a wooden one similar to the one she used at New Hartford. He says he will leave her wagon so whether she ever gets another is rather doubtful. . . . I find she learns many things I do not like. If I take her out and she sees the ladies dipping snuff and spitting she must dip and spit too. The little negroes too (if I don't watch) will teach her much that is bad. If she sees one of them kicking up her heels, up hers must go too. She imitates everything and everybody. The other day a gentleman in leaving made a very low bow. Before he got off the steps, Lilly was bowing just like him. I was truly glad to hear from

Mary. I had sent her a letter a few days before, being the third I had written without receiving an answer. She is much mistaken and judges the Dr. much too harshly when she hints that he may not like for me to correspond with her. I think my coming South has changed some of my friends more than it has me. We remained over in Philadelphia a day hoping to meet James and Mary, as James wrote Luther he thought they would meet us, but neither were in the city. . . . Ever yours

S. F. Williams

[To be Continued]

BOOK REVIEWS

The Government and Administration of North Carolina. By Robert S. Rankin. (New York, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Company. American Commonwealth Series, W. Brooke Graves, Editor. 1955. Pp. xiv, 429. Bibliography and index. \$4.95.)

This book, as its title indicates, presents a well-written description and analysis of North Carolina's governmental machinery and shows how it operates in carrying out its ultimate purpose of democratic government. With singular accuracy and care the author has sought to evaluate the state's political system and to present a fair estimate of its efficiency. He discovers some unorthodox methods of administration in government but in most instances he comes to the conclusion that our way of doing things operates surprisingly well.

The author, who has devoted many years to scientific study and is now Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Duke University, has long been a resident of North Carolina, and a student of the way in which governmental agencies are carried on here. He has presented in readily accessible form the résumé of his studies, valuable not only to the student but to any citizen who will take time to examine his comprehensive work. Most of us may have a fairly good idea of how government is administered in North Carolina, but when the details of the functioning of its several departments are laid before us in this book, we find some things which are surprising, much that is interesting, and all of it informative.

North Carolina is the only state in the Union in which the governor does not have the power of veto. While under the constitution the powers of the governor are limited, his influence on legislation and state policy is powerful. Dr. Rankin thinks the State's constitution, which dates in structure from 1868, should be re-written; that instead of being legislative in character it should be limited to a statement of basic principles of liberty and representative government in conformity with modern thought and ideals. The legislative branch of the state government, he thinks, functions com-

mendably. It reflects the popular will and its power is subject only to constitutional limitations. He calls attention, however, to its reluctance to reapportion representation in the General Assembly according to changes in population as required by constitutional mandate.

The author thinks our court system in some respects lacking in unity and cohesion in view of the number and vagueness of statutes and the number of court decisions, but he fails to note recent improvements being wrought in our judicial system as a result of continuous study by bench and bar which has produced promptness and certainty in the determination of causes and a more elastic system of courts. The administration of Justice in North Carolina at the top level of the Supreme Court and the Superior Courts is characterized by legal learning and unquestioned fairness. The only discordant feature is found in the courts of Justices of the Peace, due to the fee system and the number of justices. Improvement here seems difficult to achieve. The constitutional requirement of rotation of Superior Court Judges, found only in North Carolina, has long been a subject of debate. This system may eventually be changed.

Education is one of the major industries of the State. In the public school system the agencies for the administration of government are well co-ordinated, and the conclusion is reached that in this department North Carolina's progress is commendable. Our course in the future, however, contains many imponderables.

The demand for regulation of many phases of our social and economic life has caused the creation of numerous governmental agencies and broadened the scope of government until now it is the State's largest business. The State has led the way in centralization. Only Florida approximates. North Carolina's development and growth to first place in population and wealth in the South is ascribed to the native ability and energy of her people. The State now ranks third in the nation in agriculture and twelfth in manufacturing. The author, however, finds that the State government while fostering agriculture has been conservative in labor legislation, and that wage earners receive less than the national average.

The State government has grown up without organized planning but the result is good. The machinery of government has improved in form and quality. There is a minimum of scandal and dishonesty. The author aptly quotes from Alexander Pope:

For forms of government let fools contest,
Whatever is best administered is best!

W. A. Devin.

Oxford.

History of North Carolina Baptists, Vol. II. By George Washington Paschal. (Raleigh: The General Board, North Carolina Baptist Convention, 1955. Pp. 597. \$5.00.)

This is Volume II of a series of volumes authorized by the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina in 1926, to the end that a comprehensive history of North Carolina Baptists might be made available. Volume I appeared in 1930, twenty-five years prior to Volume II.

Volume I brought the history of the Baptists of North Carolina down to approximately 1805, and dealt chiefly with the eastern half of the state. Volume II is a continuation of Volume I and "the chief concern is the development of Baptists in the western part of North Carolina where the settlements and development, civil and religious, were a half-century later than in the east," are the words of the beloved and illustrious author, Dr. George Washington Paschal of Wake Forest.

Dr. Paschal is, as always, painstakingly thorough in his task. Full use is made of available colonial records, minutes, letters, and journals, as he reconstructs the experience and strenuous struggles of our Baptist kith and kin against frontier and Indians, the persecutions of a Provincial governor who equated the Baptists with the Regulators, and over the whole span from then to now the continuing battle against excesses as relating to "fiddling, dancing, and frolicking."

The positive and, in the main, unappreciated contribution of the Baptists to the development and stabilization of the western portion of the State is emphasized. Significant docu-

mentary support is constantly in evidence in this connection and throughout the volume. In the days when North Carolina had no schools for her children, when there were no secular meetings for people to discuss their social and moral issues, there was the simple gospel of the New Testament, preached by unlettered men, and the discipline enforced by local congregations to oppose tendencies toward degradation and produce in the long run an energetic and stable people second to none in the State.

The volume should be of great interest and value to professional historians, members of particular local Baptist congregations, the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, and of course to the legions of personal friends and former students of the great author.

W. N. Hicks.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

From *These Stones: Mars Hill College, The First Hundred Years*.
By John Angus McLeod. (Mars Hill: Mars Hill College. 1955.
Pp. ix, 293. \$3.00.)

Mars Hill College has an interesting history which few readers will find dull. One can visualize the dramatic incidents concerning the slave Jim that attended the school's founding. Some of the early presidents were interesting men, and we can sympathize with them or smile at their activities. A reader gets excited when he reads of a heated argument between President Zebulon Vance Hunter and the trustees in 1890. We can see harassed trustees of the early 1890's, threatened with law suits and unable to pay teachers or presidents, hiring six presidents in seven years and finally telling the latest, Dr. Robert Lee Moore, to set all charges, collect all fees, pay all bills, and keep as salary anything left over. We appreciate the self-sacrifice of Dr. Moore, and we can understand the struggles of the school when we see Mrs. Caroline Jane Biggers telling God, "You know how badly our boys need a dormitory. Send us \$50,000." This book, despite its shortcomings, will hold your attention.

Dr. McLeod, a professor of English, is not a professional historian. He relies on church records, old letters, reminiscences, secondary accounts, and remembered conversations with Dr. Moore for his information, and he quotes extensively from his sources. The book is well organized although two chapters have practically nothing to do with the college, one giving generally accepted facts about Western North Carolina and the westward movement and another quoting evidence concerning the activities of George W. Kirk and James A. Keith during the Civil War. One questions whether any man could be as perfect as McLeod pictures Dr. Moore, but certainly both Moore and his successor, the current president, Dr. Hoyt Blackwell, gave their full measure of devotion to the institution which, without their service, would not be the fine school that it is today. It is fitting that tribute be paid to great educators, and McLeod, who worked intimately with both Moore and Blackwell, pays them high honor.

All Mars Hill alumni, all Baptists, and all others interested in getting the flavor of educational struggles will enjoy the book.

William S. Hoffman.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone.

Greensboro, North Carolina, the County Seat of Guilford. By Ethel Stephens Arnett. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 492. Illustrations. \$6.00.)

This fact-filled volume points out that in 1807, when the General Assembly of North Carolina passed an act to create a new county seat for Guilford, Greensboro was nothing more than an area of pine barrens lying at the center of the county. Today it is a metropolitan trading center and distributing point for the 1,500,000 people who live within its fifty-mile radius. The manufacturing plants of Greensboro employ 22,530 people and produce seventy-five completely different types of products. The development of manufacturing is the principal reason for the growth of the city.

Although handicapped by the scarcity of records for the early years, the author includes all phases of Greensboro's history. After describing the coming of the Quakers, Germans, and Scotch-Irish to the area, she sketches the founding of the village and the development of its government. Attention is then turned to the cultural life of Greensboro, which, since the days of David Caldwell's Log College, has been characterized by an unusually large number of educational institutions. Several chapters are given to the treatment of transportation, communication, manufacturing, and other business interests. O. Henry is described as Greensboro's most distinguished writer, but by no means the only one of note. Some of the material on social customs in the nineteenth century constitutes an original contribution to historical writing in North Carolina.

The index, which does not include names in the appendix, contains over two thousand entries, more than half of them the names of people connected with the development of Greensboro. Herein lies both the strength and the weakness of the book. The people who planned, built, and lived in the city should have their deeds recorded, and this is usually well done. In some places, however, the volume catalogues people, businesses, churches, schools, newspapers, and events without giving enough information to make a complete narrative. Perhaps this is inevitable in a history of a city.

There are no conventional footnotes, but at times the source is indicated in the text and occasionally there are explanatory sentences at the bottom of a page. The eighty pages of pictures add variety and interest. Several hundred city officials and pastors of churches are listed in the appendix. There is a bibliography of the major references.

This book shows that Mrs. Arnett devoted years of painstaking research and writing to its preparation. The people of Greensboro and all others interested in the story of a thriving North Carolina city are deeply indebted to her.

Henry S. Stroupe.

Wake Forest College,
Wake Forest.

The First Baptist Church, Lumberton, North Carolina; One Hundred Years of Christian Witnessing. By the Centennial Committee of the Church. (Lumberton: First Baptist Church. 1955. Pp. 92. Appendix.)

This "historical review" of the First Baptist Church of Lumberton was written to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of its organization. The principal source of information was the minutes of the church.

A brief account of the founding and of the rigid code of conduct imposed in the early days upon the members is followed by a list of all the pastors and deacons, with their terms of service. The work of the church in the ordination of young ministers, the development of the musical program, and the progress in improvement of the church plant are recorded. The spiritual vigor of the church through the years is attested by its progress in the field of local missions (to it five active congregations owe their origin) and by the growth of its Sunday School, Training Union, and Women's Missionary Union.

It is regrettable that more source material was not available to the authors of this little book. Enough evidence is revealed, however, to show that their church has been a vital influence in both the spiritual and material growth of Lumberton and Robeson County. They have made a good start and many other church congregations should follow their example in preserving valuable records for the inspiration of future generations.

John Mitchell Justice.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone.

The World of My Childhood. By Robert L. Isbell, D.D. (Lenoir: The Lenoir News-Topic, 1955. Pp. 208. Illustrations. \$2.00.)

The Rev. Robert Lee Isbell, a minister of the Advent Christian Church, was born in Happy Valley, Caldwell County, in 1871. For a number of years prior to his death in 1954 at the age of 83, he wrote a series of chatty, nostalgic articles for the

Lenoir *News-Topic* recalling the days of his childhood. These articles have now been collected and published in book form.

These delightful stories of a carefree boyhood make an interesting evening's reading. There are tales of visiting preachers, regular trips to the country store for supplies, a neighborhood murder, old soldiers' stories of the Civil War and afterwards, and a wide variety of boyish escapades. Running through the whole series is a note of tender affection and real understanding of the Negroes with whom the author grew up.

There is something of a conversational tone about these little stories. The author seems to have jotted down his reminiscences just as they occurred to him and a neighborhood character encountered in the early part of the book is likely to appear and reappear until he begins to seem like an old acquaintance.

The preservation of such segments of local history as this may not bring thanks from far and wide, but to the immediate area concerned it is important that all sources be tapped. This is a source worth sharing with the "outside."

William S. Powell.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

The Railroads of the South 1865-1900. By John F. Stover.
(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1955.
Pp. xviii, 310. \$5.00.)

The sub-title of this book, *A Study in Finance and Control*, reveals the scope of the work. The railroads of the South were, of course, in deplorable physical condition in 1865. Ownership of railroad stocks and control of the companies were, however, held almost entirely by southerners. Thirty-five years later, most of the original lines, as well as those constructed after 1865, had been merged into a small number of large systems, the control of which was firmly in the hands of northern financiers.

After four preliminary chapters on pre-war railroad building and the effects of the war, Mr. Stover carries the reader through the various stages of this transfer of control from southern to northern hands. One chapter is devoted to the corruption of the carpetbag period. The deplorable proceedings of that time did not, however, result in any permanent shifting of control to northern interests. The southern people were able to dispel the carpetbaggers; but lack of capital, especially in the hard times following the panic of 1873, made it impossible for them to retain control of their railroads. For a while it appeared that northern railroads would take over directly a large segment of the southern transportation system. Both the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio had ambitions in that direction, but both retired after a few years and left the field to other groups representing northern financial power. The Illinois Central did, however, come into the South to stay.

The heavy railroad construction of the 1880's was chiefly the work of the northern promoters, and the depression of the 1890's gave them a new opportunity to extend and tighten their control. By 1900 half a dozen large systems that they had formed dominated the scene.

Despite the tremendous amount of detail involved in this story, Mr. Stover has written a readable book. The reader does not lose sight of the main line of development. The text is heavily documented and the author has consulted a large number of primary and secondary sources. An occasional error of minor importance, such as the statement that the North Carolina Railroad was completed in 1852, can be detected; and there are a few errors of typography or expression that the proofreader should have eliminated. These are, of course, insignificant in relation to the general excellence of the work. The volume is a welcome addition to the economic history of the South.

C. K. Brown.

Davidson College,
Davidson.

John B. Gordon. *A Study in Gallantry*. By Allen P. Tankersley. (Atlanta, Georgia: The Whitehall Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 400. \$5.00.)

Ninety years have passed since the cannons were silenced at Appomattox but the bugles of both North and South continue to sound from the mounting flow of volumes published each year on the subject of the War Between the States. That war long ago became the best documented in all history and it is surprising to find a fresh and original area being explored for the first time. Such is the case, however, with Allen Tankersley's biography of Confederate General John B. Gordon, beyond doubt the most important military figure in the history of Georgia.

Gordon's military career began in 1861 as the captain of a volunteer company. Coming under fire early in the War at the first battle of Manassas he rose rapidly in rank. A courageous and even dashing soldier he served with distinction in the battles of Seven Pines, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, and Winchester. By the end of the War he had become one of Lee's most trusted lieutenants and was in command of half the Army of Northern Virginia when it was surrendered at Appomattox. It is a compliment to his military prowess that all the Confederate officers attaining the rank of corps commander or higher, Gordon was one of the less than half-dozen who had not been officers of the regular United States Army or graduates of West Point.

A colorful figure in civilian as well as military life Gordon fired the imagination of his fellow Georgians and was for forty years the idol of his State. A leader in the Reconstruction he was elected to the United States Senate in 1873 and re-elected in 1878, from which body he resigned two years later. He subsequently served two terms as Governor and was again elected to the United States Senate in 1890. He was commander-in-chief of the Confederate veterans organization from its inception until his death.

Mr. Tankersley, however, writes of General Gordon as an admirer and not with the detachment necessary for really

good biography. There were many questionable instances in the General's public career that are not adequately explained. While a member of the United States Senate it was charged that he had unduly collaborated with certain railroad interests seeking legislative favor. His part in the settlement of the Hayes-Tilden controversy was also suspect. His resignation from the Senate in 1880 was made questionable by the fact that he was immediately made general counsel for a railroad owned by his appointed successor. Charges against Gordon in connection with these occurrences and others went unanswered in Georgia and were apparently regarded as unimportant by the electorate there. The author has contributed little in the way of real evidence to explain these apparent contradictions in the character of the man who for a generation was known in his native state as the "Gallant Gordon."

John R. Jordan, Jr.

Raleigh.

Joel Hurt and the Development of Atlanta. By Sarah Simms Edge. (Atlanta: Atlanta Historical Society, 1955. Pp. 347. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

The granddaughter of Joel Hurt has prepared a eulogy of this Atlanta businessman which also gives an account of the growth of Atlanta in the era of Henry Grady and the early years of the twentieth century. Following a confused account of several generations of ancestors comes a description of the inauguration of savings and loan, banking, and real estate companies, and the history of the Atlanta streetcar system, the building of suburban Inman Park and Druid Hills, and the erection of the Hurt Building, all notable achievements in the career of Joel Hurt.

The narrative, which could be excitingly written, suffers from unwieldy quotations of entire articles from newspapers, many of them repetitious. The author relied heavily on these articles, memoirs, and undated clippings in Mrs. Hurt's scrapbook. While there is a glimpse here and there of interesting controversies, Joel Hurt's side is defended but never ex-

amined. Conversely, the seating arrangement at the Equitable Building Banquet is given in its entirety, as well as lists of directors of innumerable business concerns and the square feet of every office in the Hurt Building. The author shows no selectivity and never tells the story in her own words if a quotation, preferably lengthy, is at hand. If condensed to half its length and narrated straightforwardly, the book would be valuable to students of the New South.

It would be helpful if the format of the book included the title and the author, as well as an index. The bibliography and citations are in a form never seen before by this reviewer, and citations are given only for direct quotations. In every biography the choice arises as to use of the topical or the chronological approach; in this case the topical approach contributes to the confusion. This book contains the stuff from which history is written, but it is not history.

Sarah Lemmon.

Meredith College,
Raleigh.

Johnny Green of the Orphans Brigade: The Journal of a Confederate Soldier. Edited by A. D. Kirwan. (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press. 1956. Pp. xxviii, 217. Introduction, index, and illustrations. \$3.50.)

This original account of war-time experiences by a Confederate sergeant is a welcome addition to the many recent Civil War publications. Beginning with his induction at Bowling Green, Kentucky, on October 7, 1861, Johnny Green presents a colorful account of his life and action with the Orphan Brigade that saw service in practically every major campaign in the western theater. His unit went from Nashville to Shiloh to Vicksburg to Baton Rouge and back to Tennessee for the Battle of Murfreesboro in 1862; to Jackson to Mobile and to Chattanooga in 1863; from Dalton to Atlanta and to Savannah in 1864; and finally to Camden, South Carolina, where the brigade was operating as cavalry at the surrender in 1865.

The book should appeal to three groups of readers. First, those concerned with the Orphan Brigade itself or with Kentucky history will be much interested in the many names mentioned and the biographical annotations provided by the editor in footnotes. Second, the general reader can acquire a sound understanding of many important military activities west of the mountains. Professor Kirwan's well-written introductions to each chapter and the excellent campaign maps are especially helpful. In explanatory footnotes the editor also corrects or amplifies the journal by citing appropriate references to the *Official Records, Battles and Leaders*, and other standard accounts.

Finally, any student of the Civil War and the Confederacy will profit from this forthright account of everyday army life. Fascinating are Green's descriptions of living conditions, amusements, religious revivals, fraternization between the lines, and many other sidelights. The accounts of his own almost miraculous escapes from death read almost like fiction. Although apparently written many years after the war, the journal must have been compiled from accurate day-to-day notes. Green's spelling is inconsistent and often peculiar, but his style has a down-to-earth sincerity. "Our cause," he commented after Vicksburg and Gettysburg, "is just & will surely prevail. We must have been a little too puffed up with pride and confidence." (p.85) Extremely moving are the accounts of weather hardships, overwhelming enemy numbers, scarcity of food, and the ever present suffering and death.

A full introduction, index, and some illustrations complete this attractively designed, well-edited, and clearly printed book.

Allen J. Goings.

University of Alabama,
University, Alabama.

Enoch Herbert Crowder: Soldier, Lawyer, and Statesman, 1859-1952. By David A. Lockmiller. (Columbia: The University of Missouri Studies, Volume XXVII. 1955. Pp. 286. \$5.00.)

This is the definitive biography of a farm boy from Grundy County, Missouri, who became an officer in the army in 1881 and who subsequently served his country as soldier and statesman for half a century. Crowder had the good fortune to serve during the formation of the American empire, and he spent many years in the Philippines and in Cuba. He was an ambitious, intelligent officer; after receiving his commission in the cavalry he studied law and was accepted by the bar of several states. He soon transferred to the Judge Advocate General's Department and eventually became its chief, the first of his West Point class to become a general officer. In that position Crowder wrote and administered the Selective Service Act of the First World War.

In writing this book Dr. Lockmiller has performed a labor of love; he admires Crowder and justifies the general in every conflict. At times the story bogs down in detail, but the writing is generally good and at times is thrilling. Like Crowder's, the author's viewpoint is militaristic, but not unquestioningly so. From that frame of reference Dr. Lockmiller tells the story of the soldier-lawyer who fought Indians, who presided over the army's military justice, who revised the Articles of War, who served as legal officer in the Philippines and as military observer in Manchuria, and who served with distinction as Ambassador to Cuba. But above all, Crowder is remembered for his part in the Draft of 1917. As the author sums it up, "General Crowder was the draft—the mobilizer of manpower for victory."

David L. Smiley.

Wake Forest College,
Wake Forest.

The Birth of the Bill of Rights. By Robert Allen Rutland. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1955. Pp. 243. \$5.00.)

In these troubled times when individual liberties are more than ever a topic of discussion, Mr. Rutland's book has a particular timeliness. Yet it is to be remembered, and a point made by the author, that the consideration of human rights is a question that is almost ageless in its implications.

In the opening chapters in which he discusses English precedents, Mr. Rutland strikes a nice balance between the development of individual rights in England and the shortcomings that existed in the actual political life of that country. In turn, his emphasis appears to have been sometimes misplaced when dealing with the American colonial background, especially when considering the case for religious freedom. Nor is there sufficient stress placed upon the claim that certain liberties were considered as the natural rights of all Englishmen, a position which was to play an even more significant role in those turbulent years before the outbreak of the American Revolution. On the other hand, one significant point is emphasized in that the colonists, after gaining political freedom, realized the wisdom of putting their guarantees of freedom in written statutes rather than trusting traditions.

Beginning with George Mason's famous Virginia Declaration of Rights in 1776, individual freedoms are treated as a basic concept of the new nation, reaching a climax in the struggle for ratification of the Constitution in 1787. In his discussion of that contest the author apparently feels that the demand for a Bill of Rights was not so much political strategy by the Anti-Federalists, as something demanded by public opinion. This may have resulted from his heavy use of the writings of Richard Henry Lee and George Mason, who certainly wielded the more attractive and facile pens among the Anti-Federalists.

One provocative conclusion put forth by Mr. Rutland is that the guarantees of individual rights was well-established on the state level between 1776 and 1789 and were rather

effectively upheld by the state courts during that period. In fact, most states had been concerned with the matters of civil rights and liberties, either adopting a formal bill of rights or incorporating guarantees for them into their constitutions.

James Madison is designated as the good shepherd who, more than any other person, was responsible for a written bill of rights in the national constitution, but even he doubted the future strength of these written guarantees. As in the case of the more moderate conservatives on the state level, a good many Federalists sensed something of the demand for a written bill of rights and, like Madison, did a good deal to help its passage; a theme not fully exploited by the author, but one which may have been of real significance in pointing out the position and influence of the moderate conservatives throughout the period.

Mr. Rutland writes in a lucid style, and there is never any doubt of the meaning he is trying to convey, although the first and last chapters do not seem to measure up to the rest of the book. At times the author seems repetitious and one could quibble with the organization, but these are criticisms of little consequence, and the consideration of such minutiae in no way detracts from the general excellence of the work.

Hugh F. Rankin.

Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
Williamsburg, Virginia.

Lincoln and the Bluegrass: Slavery and Civil War in Kentucky.
By William H. Townsend. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 392. Illustrated. \$6.50.)

The Bluegrass region of Kentucky was the only part of the slaveholding South that Abraham Lincoln knew intimately and Mary Todd Lincoln had spent the first twenty-one years of her life in Lexington, the heart of the Bluegrass region. Among the Lincoln friends and acquaintances in Kentucky were Cassius M. Clay, the fiery emancipationist; Henry Clay, the Great Compromiser; Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, a Unionist and Presbyterian minister; John C. Breckin-

ridge, Confederate General and Secretary of War; and Judge George Robertson, who although supporting emancipation demanded the President to protect his slave property.

During Lincoln's visits to Lexington he was able to observe slavery first hand. Here he saw both the genteel and seamy sides of the South's "peculiar institution." He saw the trusted mammies whose word was law and the valets whose talent for mixing mint juleps was unsurpassed. Too, he saw the whipping post, the slave jails, the auction block, and the white man's utter disregard for the humanity of the Negro.

This is the fifth Lincoln book written by William H. Townsend, descendant of a stanch Confederate family. Really, the book is a revision of his third volume, *Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town*, written twenty-six years ago. The present volume was undertaken because the recent appearance of so much new Lincoln and Civil War source material permitted Townsend to develop Lincoln's relation to the Bluegrass with greater clarity and insight than was previously possible.

Townsend's descriptions of the cholera epidemic, Cassius Clay's bowie-knife duels, slave auctions on Cheapside, and the death of Lincoln will long be remembered by the reader. Chapters entitled "The Lincolns of Fayette" and "The Early Todds" will be of especial interest to genealogists.

Unfortunately, one must look in vain for a formal bibliography and the index is inadequate except for main characters. Twenty-seven pages of notes are included at the back of the book and the fifty-eight illustrations (many of them previously unpublished) are well-chosen.

Generally speaking, *Lincoln and the Bluegrass* is a book that will add stature to the growing list of Lincolniana.

Richard C. Todd.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

HISTORICAL NEWS

On April 12 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History, made an address at a meeting of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association, Inc., on the one hundred-eightieth anniversary of the signing of the Halifax Resolves. His topic was "Preserving Historical Halifax." He talked to the Carolina Dramatic Association at the Playmaker Theater in Chapel Hill, April 14, on "History: Germinal Ideas for Playwrights." He also attended a meeting of the North Carolina Historical Society on that same date at Davidson College. At a meeting of the Bertie County Historical Association on April 19 in Windsor, Dr. Crittenden talked on "Preserving North Carolina's Historic Sites." On April 20 he and the several division heads of the Department went to the Meredith College Vocational Education Week and discussed the Department's internship courses for the Meredith history majors. Dr. Crittenden talked to the Virginia Society of Colonial Dames in Richmond on April 27 on the subject "Across the Dividing Line: Virginia and Carolina in History." On May 10 he spoke at a luncheon meeting in Concord to several chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy on "Preserving North Carolina's Historic Landmarks." He accepted for the Hall of History of the Department a number of paintings from the North Carolina Dental Society in Pinehurst on May 13. As a member of the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission, Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting of this group in Raleigh, May 14, at which time the Commission considered plans for developing the grave site and heard a report from Mr. Frank Brant, landscape architect of the State Highway Department. The group authorized the planning committee to proceed with recommendations as soon as possible. On May 22 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation at Woodlawn, near Mount Vernon, about ten miles south of Washington, D. C. He attended in Cincinnati, Ohio, May 27-30, the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums of which he has been elected a member of the council.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, met with a group of interested persons in the Yanceyville Agriculture Building on March 28 to assist in the organization of the Caswell County Historical Society. He presided at the meeting and made a talk on the purposes and objectives of local historical groups. On April 13 he spoke to the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, on the need of a Wake County historical society. The meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Zeno Martin and Mrs. Vance Jerome had charge of the program. Mr. Corbitt attended the meetings of the North Carolina Historical Society at Davidson on April 14; and on April 28 he met with a group in Wilmington where he aided in the formulation of plans for a local historical society. The group led by Mr. Winston Broadfoot, organized under the name, the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society. On May 31 Mr. Corbitt met with the Northampton County Historical Society at the courthouse in Jackson where he talked on the need to arouse local interest and cited objectives for the society.

On February 24 Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent for the Department, spoke to the Boy Scouts at the Frances Lacy School on the topic "Pirates in North Carolina." He met with the Highway Marker Committee on March 2 at which time twenty-two markers were approved for erection in twenty counties. On April 29 he participated in a tour of Pender County including a stop at the Moore's Creek Battleground and a luncheon at Sloop Point Plantation with the Misses McMillan. Mr. Tarlton made a short talk to the group on the historic sites program. On March 26-27 he went to Asheville where he visited the Zebulon B. Vance birthplace and examined the present building to determine what part of the original structure remained and to make plans to develop the site. On April 8 he attended a meeting at Bentonville where he made a brief talk, and on May 9 he went to the Richard Caswell grave site with Mr. Frank Brant, landscape architect for the Highway Department, to make preliminary plans and suggestions to be presented to the Gov-

ernor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission which met on May 14. With Dr. Crittenden he attended the opening of restored Old Salem Tavern, Winston-Salem, on May 31.

Mrs. Ernest Ives, Southern Pines, has given \$5,000 to the Alston House Restoration—one of the approved projects of the Historic Sites Commission—which allowed the Moore County Historical Society to complete the restoration.

The old covered bridge known as the Bunker Hill Bridge in Catawba County which was restored last year has recently been landscaped and painted. The cost was met with funds appropriated by the 1955 General Assembly through the Department of Archives and History.

Mr. Stanley South, who is a candidate for a master's degree in anthropology at the University of North Carolina, assumed the duties as Historic Site Specialist of the Town Creek Indian Mound on June 1, replacing Mr. John W. Walker. He will continue the archaeological research and restoration with particular emphasis on the completion of the temple on the mound.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator of the Department of Archives and History; Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger, Treasurer and Chairman respectively of the Tryon Palace Commission; Miss Virginia Horne, Chairman of the Commission's Acquisitions Committee; and Mrs. Lyman A. Cotten, Committee member, visited in Annapolis, Maryland, on March 28 to appraise certain furnishings offered for Tryon Palace. On April 9 Mrs. Jordan assisted Dr. Bertram K. Little, Director of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, and his wife, Mrs. Nina Fletcher Little, Consultant for the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Williamsburg, Virginia, in identifying a painted room which was removed from the Alexander Shaw house near Wagram (Scotland County). On May 9 she attended in Williamsburg the council meeting of the Southeastern Museums Conference, of which she is the Secretary-Treasurer.

Mrs. Fanny Memory Blackwelder represented the Department of Archives and History on a tour of Davidson and Davie counties, June 3, which was sponsored by the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians.

Mr. Norman Larson, Historic Site Specialist for Alamance Battleground, presented slide lecture programs to the Graham High School and the Burlington Rotary Club on March 5, and to the Exchange Club of Mebane on March 13. He began a ten-day mobile unit trip on May 16 with exhibits depicting the Battle of Alamance, stopping at schools during the day and city centers in the evening. About 5,000 persons visited the display which had been arranged in co-operation with the Hall of History. He also reports that construction has been started on a mounting of native stone for a battle-field marker at Alamance Battleground, and a shed to house the marker. An exhibit relating to the battle has been set up in the May Memorial Library in Burlington and will remain there during the summer months.

On June 15 Mr. Houston G. Jones, formerly Professor of History and Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at West Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia, assumed the duties of State Archivist of the Department of Archives and History. Mr. Jones is a graduate of Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone, and has done graduate work at Peabody College, Vanderbilt University, New York University, and Duke University. He has taught at Appalachian and at Oak Ridge Military Institute and has been correspondent for a number of daily newspapers. During World War II he served with the Navy. He is a member of several historical associations and is the author of "Bedford Brown: State Rights Unionist," which appeared in the July and October issues of this publication last year.

The Tryon Palace Commission met in New Bern on June 11-12.

The spring regional meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association met on May 18-19 at the Carolinian Hotel, Nags Head. President Gilbert T. Stephenson presided at the

Friday afternoon meeting at which time the group was welcomed by Mr. Melvin Daniels, Dare County Register of Deeds. Mr. R. E. Jordan outlined the tours which had been arranged by the Roanoke Island Historical Association covering the island, the villages of the Outer-Banks, Cape Hatteras Lighthouse and Museum, Wright Memorial, and other points of interest. The evening dinner meeting featured the introduction of the new officers and speeches by Mr. David Stick, "History in Your Own Backyard," and Dr. Charles W. Porter III, of the National Park Service, "The Cape Hatteras National Seashore Area—Plans for Historical Development." The Saturday meeting was composed mainly of visits to the historic sites with a picnic luncheon at Cape Point.

Members of the staff of the Department of Archives and History who attended were: Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Miss Jean Denny, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Mrs. Grace Mahler, Miss Barbara McKeithan, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton.

At 8:00 on April 30 a reading of an operetta, "The Pirate and the Governor's Daughter," was given by the author, Miss Lucy Cobb, in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History. The operetta is based on the Blackbeard story with an added love affair having Governor Charles Eden's step-daughter as one of the principals. The lyrics and piano score were written by Professor Dorothy Horne, Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn., and the orchestration was done by Professor Patrick McCarty, East Carolina College. Miss Cobb also prepared authentic watercolor sketches of the costumes. Several of the musical numbers were played by Mrs. Betty Vaiden Williams on her autoharp. Following the reading a reception was held.

News items from the University of North Carolina are as follows: Dr. Carl H. Pegg has published *Contemporary Europe in World Focus*, by Henry Holt and Company; Dr. C. O. Cathey has published *Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860*, as the thirty-eighth volume of the *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*; Dr. James L. Godfrey, who has recently been appointed Chair-

man of the Faculty, has published "Churchill's Peace-Time Government" in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. IV (January, 1956); and Dr. Loren C. MacKinney will spend the summer in England doing research on medical miniatures in medieval science. He will also attend the International Congress of the History of Science at Florence, Italy, as a member of the Committee on Bibliography. He served as local chairman at the meeting of the American Association of the History of Science of Medicine in Chapel Hill in April and presented a showing of medical miniatures. Other news items state that Dr. Richard K. Murdoch has been appointed Assistant Professor at the University of Georgia; Dr. James E. King will be on leave 1956-1957 to do research on the intellectual origins of the welfare state in France; Dr. George V. Taylor will be Visiting Lecturer in History at the University of Wisconsin during the summer session of 1956; Dr. Fletcher M. Green will be Visiting Professor of American History at Stanford University during the summer session of 1956; Mr. Robert M. Miller of Texas Western College has been appointed as Assistant Professor of History beginning September, 1956; Mr. Vincent dePaul Cassidy, doctoral candidate, has been appointed Assistant Professor at Southwestern Louisiana Institute, September, 1956; and Mr. Charles Lewis Price, doctoral candidate, has been appointed Assistant Professor at West Georgia College.

Mr. William Stevens Powell, Librarian, North Carolina Collection, is the winner of a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1956-1957 to permit him to engage in research on the background of explorers and colonists, 1584-1590. He is now in England working on this project.

The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina reports the following faculty news items: Dr. Richard Bardolph has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1956-1957 to continue his studies of the history of the Negro in the United States, and will remain in Greensboro while doing the research; Dr. Lenoir Wright has been awarded a Fulbright lectureship in Iraq and will spend the coming year at the University of Bagdad; Dr. Lenore O'Boyle is resigning

to accept a position at Smith College; Dr. Jordan E. Kurland is returning to the history department to teach Russian history in September; and Drs. Louise Alexander and Magnhilde Gullander, who are retiring this year, will continue work as emeritus lecturers during 1956-1957.

Meredith College news items include the promotion of Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon to Associate Professor of History. Dr. Lemmon is also serving as a member of the Executive Council of the North Carolina Historical Society. Dr. Alice B. Keith read a paper on "Some Experiences in Editing" at the Annual Conference for Social Studies of the Baptist Colleges of North Carolina which met at Campbell College in March. She is also a member of the Executive Council of the Society mentioned above. Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace is serving as a member of both the Nominating Committee and the Executive Committee of the State Literary and Historical Association. Misses Dorothy Elizabeth Smith and Barbara Sellers have received grants to pursue graduate work at Vanderbilt University and The College of William and Mary respectively.

Dr. H. H. Cunningham of Elon College is serving as regional chairman (North Carolina) of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association's Committee on Membership. On May 12 Dr. Cunningham spoke to the North Carolina Civil War Round Table meeting in High Point on "The Confederate Medical Officer in the Field."

History majors at Elon who have received scholarships are as follows: Mr. Terry Emerson, Morehead City, a \$1,000 regional scholarship from the Duke University School of Law which is renewable for two years; Mr. Kenneth H. Lambert, Norfolk, Virginia, a Goodwin Memorial Scholarship at the College of William and Mary for \$1,000 and renewable for two years; Mr. Robert Baxter, Burlington, a \$700 scholarship to the Duke University Law School; and Mr. Robert Robertson, Burlington, a regional scholarship valued at \$550. a year to the Tulane University School of Law.

Dr. Philip Africa, Head of the Department of History at Salem College, has received a grant-in-aid from the Southern Fellowship Fund to do research in the summer of 1956 on the subject of the "Moravian Church and the Slavery Issue, 1830-1860." Dr. William Spencer has resigned at Salem to accept an appointment in the history department at The College of William and Mary, Norfolk Division.

Three new members have been added to the faculty of the Department of Social Sciences of Wake Forest College which began using the new campus in Winston-Salem on June 18. Dr. Lowell R. Tillett, formerly of Carson-Newman College, began teaching as Assistant Professor of History with the summer session. He is a native of Tennessee and received his Ph.D. degree at the University of North Carolina. Dr. Roy E. Jumper will begin teaching in September as Assistant Professor of Political Science. He spent two years studying in western Europe as a Fulbright Scholar and has recently returned from two years of research in Vietnam under a Ford Foundation Fellowship. He is a native of South Carolina and received his doctorate from Duke University. Mr. John K. Huckaby, a native of Texas, will begin teaching in September as Instructor in History. He received his master's from Columbia University and is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree from Ohio State University.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, Professor of History and Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences at Wake Forest College, is the author of a newly-published book, *The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865*. This is the thirty-second in a series published by the Trinity College Historical Society and the Duke University Press.

An Interuniversity Summer Seminar on "Isolation and Collective Security in Twentieth Century American Diplomacy," sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, June 11-July 20, has brought the following scholars to the Duke campus: Dr. Richard N. Current, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Dr. Robert H. Ferrell, Indiana University; Dr. J. Chalmers Vinson, University of Georgia; Dr. William L. Neumann, Goucher College; Dr. William R.

Allen, University of California at Los Angeles; and Dr. Kenneth W. Thompson, Rockefeller Foundation. Dr. Alexander DeConde, Duke University, is Chairman of the Seminar.

Among the scholars who are in residence under the auspices of the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center are Dr. Paul Knaplund, Professor Emeritus of British History, University of Wisconsin; Mr. Raymond A. Esthus, University of Houston; Dr. E. R. Wicker, University of Indiana; and Mrs. Josephine Milburn, Duke University, all of whom are working on aspects of the history of the Commonwealth. Dr. Paul H. Clyde is Chairman of this group. In addition Dr. Paul A. Marrotte, Davidson College, has been awarded a grant-in-aid for research by Duke University; and Dr. Burton Beers of North Carolina State College and Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College have Japan Society Scholarships to study the Far East with Dr. Ralph Braibanti.

The University in the Kingdom of Guatemala by Dr. John Tate Lanning was published in 1955. Dr. Lanning's manuscript, "The Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala," was selected by the American Historical Association for publication on the Carnegie Revolving Fund and will appear shortly. He was on a leave of absence during the spring of 1956. Dr. F. B. M. Hollyday, a Duke graduate currently holding a Ford Fellowship at Case Institute, has been added to the staff for 1956-1957 to teach European history. Mr. W. Harrison Daniel and Mr. Eugene Drozdowski, doctoral candidates, will teach next year at the University of Richmond and Kent State University, respectively. Dr. Louis Bumgartner, who received his Ph.D. in June, will join the faculty of Birmingham-Southern College.

Dr. Robert F. Durden was a member of a Conference on the Progressive Period, June 17-18, sponsored by the Department of History at the University of Kansas. Dr. Irving B. Holley will be on sabbatical leave in 1956-1957 to complete his book, *Buying Air Power*, which will form one of the volumes of the official History Series, *U. S. Army in World War II*. Dr. Holley has also received a fellowship from the Social Science Research Council to study the development of American military policy during the twentieth century. Dr.

William B. Hamilton has been appointed Associate Editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, of which Dr. W. T. Laprade is Managing Editor. He has compiled "The Post-Revolutionary South, 1783-1805," in Thomas D. Clark, ed., *Travels in the Old South, 1527-1825*, 2 vols. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1956). Dr. Allen S. Johnson, Shorter College, has a Duke grant-in-aid and is a member of the Commonwealth Summer Research group.

Dr. Thomas Anton Schafer, Assistant Professor of Historical Theology at Duke Divinity School, received a Guggenheim Fellowship to continue studies of Jonathan Edwards' "Miscellanies" as sources for the structure of Edwards' theological thought.

The Southern Fellowships Fund has announced the following persons as winners of awards for advanced study and research with fellowships for 1956-1957 awarded to Mr. Herbert A. Aurbach and Mr. Robert D. White, Jr., both of State College; Mr. Hal L. Ballew, Miss Shasta M. Bryant, Mr. John M. DeGrove, Mr. Morton Y. Jacobs, Mr. Carl C. Moses, Mr. John F. Mahoney, Mr. Henry C. Randall, Mr. Dana P. Ripley, Mr. Diffie W. Standard, and Mr. Edward D. Terry, all of the University of North Carolina; Mr. Richard L. Capwell and Mr. Robert B. Jackson, Jr., both of Duke; Mr. Whitfield Cobb of Guilford College; Mr. R. Leland Starnes of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina; and Miss Mary Paschal of Wake Forest College.

Summer grants-in-aid were awarded to Mr. George L. Abernathy and Dr. William P. Cumming both of Davidson; Mr. Warren Ashby and Miss Jean E. Gagen both of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina; Mr. Edwin K. Blanchard and Miss Lois E. Frazier both of Meredith; Mr. John A. Holliday of Queens; Mr. Edsel E. Hoyle of Lenoir-Rhyne; Miss Muriel D. Tomlinson of Guilford; Mr. John F. West of Elon; and Mr. Marvin D. Wigginton and Mr. Johnny L. Young both of Catawba.

Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely, Asheville, has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship which will allow her to make a study of the Civil War in the Mountains of western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee.

The Statesville Arts and Science Museum held its Spring Art Festival at the Statesville Country Club on May 16-18, bringing together the selected works of thirteen leading artists in this section of the country. The group sponsoring this museum believe it to be the only one in the State which combines art and science and have planned a program which will include loan exhibits from all over the world, ranging from textiles to dinosaurs; lectures on all phases of the arts; music and art appreciation; and handicraft and art classes.

Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs, Head of the Department of History at Greensboro College, spoke to the State Convention of Colonial Dames, Seventeenth Century, on May 12, on "Social Conditions in America in the Seventeenth Century."

Mr. Taylor C. Scott, Jr., of Silver Springs, Maryland, will begin teaching at Greensboro College in September as Professor of Sociology. He formerly taught at the University of Maryland where he also did graduate work.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, Managing Editor of *The Forest City Courier* and a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, addressed the Spindale Woman's Club on April 12 on the topic "The First Half-Century." The talk after giving a brief summary of North Carolina's economic, social, and cultural history, explained the purposes, origin, and development of the Department of Archives and History and its program of records preservation, publications, museum, and historic sites.

On April 14 more than a hundred people from Forest City, Rutherfordton, and other points in Rutherford County made the historical tour which was led by Mr. Edley Beam and sponsored by the Rutherfordton County Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Points visited included the Mcintire home built about 1830 and formerly owned

by Dr. Ben E. Washburn who spoke briefly on the history of the house and plantation presently owned by Dr. and Mrs. G. O. Moss. Dr. Moss was introduced to the group by Miss Logna B. Logan. The Green River plantation was also visited and Mr. Clarence W. Griffin talked about the former residents and the history of the plantation. A tour of the grounds was permitted but the house which was built about 1804 was not opened.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, retiring president of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, was awarded the Association's Outstanding Historian's Cup at the annual meeting which was held on April 28 in the Pack Memorial Library in Asheville. The cup was presented by Dr. D. J. Whitener, Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone. Mr. Griffin was honored for his numerous services in the fields of local and state history. He is a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, former Vice-President of the Association, former Vice-President of the State Literary and Historical Association, a member of the board of governors of the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, Vice-President of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, and many times historian of the Western North Carolina Press Association. He is the author of numerous pamphlets and five volumes of the history of the western part of the State and co-author of a State fifth-grade textbook. Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville was elected President of the Association, Mr. George W. McCoy of Asheville was elected Vice-president and chairman of the program committee for 1956-1957, and Dean J. J. Stevenson, Jr., of Brevard College, Brevard, was elected Secretary-Treasurer. Mr. Griffin presented a report on the activities for the past year showing the progress made in the historical marker program, the establishment of two new awards, and the publication of three books and a magazine. Mrs. Martha Norburn Allen of Asheville read a paper on the geographical influences on the early settlers of the mountain region and Mrs. C. S. Freel of Andrews, who is preparing a history of Cherokee County, read a paper on that subject. Mrs. Ernest Bacon of Los Angeles,

Calif., presented through Mr. McCoy a program of stereoptician slides of views of the western section of the State. The next meeting of the Association will be held jointly with the State Literary and Historical Association and Mrs. Patton announced that the following persons will serve as a program committee: Mr. Samuel Beck, Mr. George McCoy, and Mrs. John Forest all of Asheville; Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City; and Dean J. J. Stevenson of Brevard.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association in cooperation with the Margaret Davis Hayes Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, unveiled a marker in memory of William Baxter Coston on May 13 in the Samuel Edney Graveyard at Edneyville. Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville presided and the invocation was given by Mr. N. A. Melton. The program was presented by the following persons: Mrs. T. C. Jowitt; Mr. Fred L. Gentry; Mrs. Patton, who spoke on the "Historical Background of the Edney Burial Site"; Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, who spoke on the historical value of the dedication program; Mrs. R. P. Freeman; Mrs. Kathleen Coston Hodges; Mrs. Jimmie Coston Merrill; Mrs. Albert Beck; Mr. Arnold Edney; and the Edneyville Boy Scouts.

Mr. Kermit Hunter was the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society which was held in Gatlinburg with representatives from thirty-six counties and a number of visitors from North Carolina. Mr. Hunter who was introduced by Mr. William C. Postlewaite, editor of *The Gatlinburg Press*, talked on the life of "Nolachucky Jack" or John Sevier from which he has written a drama to be presented at Gatlinburg. The opening performance was held on June 22 and the last will be held on Labor Day. Mr. Clarence W. Griffin spoke to the group, bringing greetings from both the North Carolina Department of Archives and History and the Western North Carolina Historical Association. Mr. Spurgeon McCartt, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Gatlinburg, gave the invocation and Mrs. H. W. Lix, of Gatlinburg, extended a welcome. Dr. Margaret Hamer, a former president of the society, responded.

Mr. Hiram C. Wilburn of Waynesville has proposed in a report to the Executive Committee of the Western North Carolina Association the erection of eight historical markers as follows: James Needham and Gabrael Arthur (first Englishmen to cross the Blue Ridge); Daniel Boone, Andrew Michaux (botanist); Bishop Francis Asbury; First Pisgah Forest Tract of Land; George W. Vanderbilt Overlook; Tennessee Bald (dwelling place of Tsulkalu or Jutaculla); and Jutaculla Old Field.

The National Park Service is clearing and marking the Asbury Trail in order to have it available to Boy Scouts and Scouters this summer. The Western North Carolina Historical Association and the Association of Methodist Historical Societies are jointly presenting the Francis Asbury Trail Award to Boy Scouts who qualify and all Scouts in the area qualifying will be awarded this badge at an October meeting. Any Scouts from other states or areas will be presented the award at regular Courts of Honor.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians sponsored a tour of Pasquotank County on May 20, which began at the Virginia Dare Hotel in Elizabeth City. Sites visited included the Betsey Tooley Tavern; first meeting place of the colonial assembly; first public school in North Carolina; Broomfield, first courthouse in Pasquotank; Pool residence; Windfield, second courthouse; Culpeper Rebellion and the Battle of Elizabeth City. Houses visited were the Judge George W. Brooks House in the Town of Nixonton, and the Old Brick House in Bayside. More than 100 persons participated.

The same group sponsored a tour of Davidson and Davie counties on June 3 with Mr. Wade H. Phillips in charge. The group met at the Lexington YMCA Building and visited the Jersey Church, formerly Jersey Meeting House, built in 1755; and Boone's Cave via the site of the Sapona Indian Village in Davidson County. Places visited in Davie County were Cooleemee Plantation, ante-bellum home of the Hairstons with Peter Hairston III as guide, and Joppa Cemetery, the burial place of the parents of Daniel Boone. Picnic lunches were enjoyed by the groups on both tours.

Members of the Society of County and Local Historians were guests of the historical societies of Wayne, Johnston, and Sampson counties on April 8 at their joint meeting in the Bentonville Community House.

More than sixty members were present for the first quarterly meeting of the Pasquotank County Historical Society which was held on February 28 in the Episcopal Parish House club room. Brig. Gen. John E. Wood (retired) who was re-elected President presided. Other officers are Mr. Buxton White, Vice-President; Mrs. A. L. Pendleton, Secretary; Mr. Fred Markham, Jr., Assistant Secretary; and Miss Olive Aydlett, Treasurer.

The program was presented by Mr. G. F. Hill who read a paper prepared by Mr. G. Potter Dixon on "Naval Operations on the Pasquotank River Prior to the Capture of Elizabeth City in 1862," and General Wood gave a brief history of Elizabeth Tooley and of how the town of Elizabeth City developed. Mr. W. C. Morse, Jr., read a paper on Judge John Lancaster Bailey's opinion written in 1833 on nullification.

The annual luncheon meeting of the society was held on May 30 with the noted novelist, Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, as principal speaker. Mrs. Fletcher urged North Carolinians to study their history as this State is the only one with a "Tudor background," and emphasized Sir Richard Grenville as the greatest man of the Elizabethan period. She stated that there was much to be learned from the Jamestown Exposition next year and reminded the group of the lack of knowledge of the early settlers here in comparison with those of the New England section. An exhibit of historical items and documents was displayed by guides wearing authentic colonial costumes. The principal item on the agenda was discussion of the publication of the society's first yearbook. The material has been collected and is in the hands of the printer and will include a number of biographies as well as a history of the county.

Four speakers presented the program at the quarterly meeting of the Gaston County Historical Association held on April 27 in Cramerton. Mr. Bryan Hurd of Cramerton presented a history of the town; Mr. R. H. Ratchford, pastor of

the Goshen Presbyterian Church, read a paper on "Old Goshen Cemetery"; Mr. J. W. Atkins of the *Gastonia Gazette* read a paper on the "Pioneer Smith Family of Gaston"; and Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City brought official greetings from the Western North Carolina Historical Association and the State Department of Archives and History. He discussed the historical marker program and made several suggestions for projects in Gaston County, including a tie-in with the Junior Historian's Movement to supplement the work of the society and the local Daughters of the American Revolution chapters who are distributing scrapbooks and mimeographed sheets on the history of the area.

Mrs. C. W. Twiford, a teacher at the Williams Street School in Goldsboro, was elected as the new President of the Wayne County Historical Society which held its business session on April 8, when that group met jointly with the societies of Sampson and Johnston in Bentonville. The group voted to make the joint meetings an annual event for the second Sunday in April with next year's meeting being held in Goldsboro. The program centered around the Battle of Bentonville, largest military engagement ever to take place in North Carolina. Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent of the Department of Archives and History, made a talk on the battle and discussed future plans for the battleground. A museum to house relics of the battle and markers to denote the deployment of troops are planned and local and county groups will assist in the projects.

The Wayne Society re-elected the following officers: Col. Hugh Dortch and Mrs. C. E. Wilkins, Vice-Presidents; Mrs. N. A. Edwards, Secretary; Mr. Bruce Duke, Treasurer; Mrs. Eleanor Bizzell Powell, Historian; and Mr. Richard Goode, Mr. Jim Baston, Miss Gertrude Weil, Mr. Eugene L. Roberts, Mrs. Frank B. Aycock, and Dr. Henderson Irwin, Directors. Mr. M. B. Andrews, who declined re-election, was retained as President Emeritus, and Mr. Henry Belk presented a report.

The delegations from the various counties were presented by Col. Hugh Dortch, Goldsboro; Mrs. Taft Bass, Clinton,

who is President of the Sampson County group; and Dr. Luby F. Royal, President of the Johnston County group. Refreshments were served by the Bentonville Home Demonstration Club.

The Goldsboro News-Argus recently reissued the *History of Wayne County* by Judge Frank A. Daniels. This booklet is a reprint of the original address made at the dedication of the Wayne Courthouse on November 30, 1914, also issued by the *Goldsboro Argus*. The little book is divided into chapters and traces the story of Wayne County and its people.

The Bertie County Historical Association sponsored a tour of colonial and ante-bellum homes in the Albemarle region of North Carolina on April 20-22. The tour was planned in an effort to raise funds for the preservation and restoration of "Hope," the birthplace and home of Governor David Stone (1808-1810). Mrs. Holley Mack Bell II was Chairman of the Hope Mansion Restoration Tour and arrangements were made for the following old homes to be exhibited: "Scotch Hall," residence of Mr. and Mrs. George W. Capehart; "Avoca," owned by Mrs. L. B. Evans of Raleigh; "Elmwood," owned by Dr. Cola Castelloe of Windsor; "Thunderbolt," owned by Mr. Vernon Blades of New Bern; "Rosefield," residence of Mrs. Moses B. Gillam and Miss Helen Gillam; "Windsor Castle," residence of Dr. Cola Castelloe; St. Thomas Episcopal Church; "Jordan House," owned by Mr. and Mrs. Francis Gillam; "Hope," owned by Dr. and Mrs. J. E. Smith; "King House," owned by Mr. Cling Bazemore; "The Yellow House," residence of Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Griffin, Jr.; "Pugh-Walton-Mizelle-Urquhart House," residence of Mrs. Burges Urquhart; "Woodbourne," residence of Mrs. T. B. Norfleet; "Pine View," residence of Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm Browne; and "Oaklana," residence of Mr. and Mrs. E. R. Tyler. "Hope" was selected as one of ten historic sites to be preserved by the North Carolina Historical Sites Commission. It is one of the few remaining homes of former governors and is recognized as one of the most perfect examples of Georgian architecture in North Carolina.

The Chronicle, official publication of the Bertie Association, carried in its April issue a story on the history of Aulander by Miss Ella Early, a list of the gifts made recently to the group, and a challenge to the members of the society to aid in the restoration of "Hope."

The Rockingham County Historical Society held its May meeting recently with Mrs. Bettie Sue Gardner presiding. Reports were made by the various committees, objectives discussed, and projects outlined. Officers are to be elected at the September meeting, at which time the society hopes to have collected a number of histories from churches, patriotic groups, civic clubs, and farm clubs.

The Carteret County Historical Society held its regular quarterly meeting on April 21, 1956, at Harker's Island at the home of Mr. and Mrs. James B. Harker. Mrs. Luther Hamilton, Morehead City, presented the early history of Harlowe Township and some of the early settlers such as the Bordens, Williams, Bells, Fishers and Davises. The history of the Clubfoot Creek Canal was given by Miss Ethel Whitehurst of Beaufort. Mr. F. C. Salisbury presented a large map showing many of the historic sites and locations of early homes and a large collection of photographs of old houses. A committee composed of Miss Amy Muse, Mrs. T. T. Potter, Mrs. D. F. Merrill, Miss Mildred Whitehurst, Miss Lena Duncan, and Mr. Van Potter was appointed to compile a list of burials in the Beaufort town cemetery. Plans were made to hold a joint meeting with the Onslow Historical Society in July in the Swansboro Community Building. Mr. Thomas Respass presided and following the meeting refreshments were served by Mr. and Mrs. Harker.

Mr. F. C. Salisbury has published a series of articles in Carteret County papers dealing with the Tuttle's Grove Methodist Church which celebrated its Golden Anniversary on April 29; and with the highway system in his section of the State.

Miss Anne Yancey Gwyn of Yanceyville was elected temporary chairman of a group which met in the Agricultural

Building in Yanceyville on March 28 to organize the Caswell County Historical Society. Mr. D. L. Corbitt addressed the group, presided over the business session and helped with the organization. Mr. J. Burch Blaylock was elected temporary secretary and the following committees were appointed: program, membership, nominating, and constitution and by-laws.

At a second meeting held at the same place on April 18 officers were elected as follows: Miss Gwyn, President; Mrs. A. H. Smith, Yanceyville, Secretary; Mr. J. E. Anderson, Yanceyville, Treasurer; Mrs. J. Y. Blackwell, Ruffin, RFD 1, First Vice-president; Mrs. J. Y. Gatewood, Yanceyville, Second Vice-president; Mr. Ben Miles, Milton, Third Vice-President and Mr. E. D. Stephens, Yanceyville, Mr. J. F. Moorefield, Milton, and Mr. W. S. Stainback, Burlington, RFD 3, as directors. Mr. J. Burch Blaylock was elected Curator and the society decided to meet on the second Wednesdays of January, April, July, and October.

The Daughters of the American Revolution opened their museum in Elkin on May 21 with the mayor of the town extending the welcome. After the dedication a luncheon was served at the museum, a tour of the town was made with a tea later at the Thurmond Chatham home, "Roundabout." A buffet supper was given at the home of Mrs. E. G. Clicks and breakfast the next morning was served the visitors by Mrs. Mattie Reid Harrell.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society held its second meeting in Wilmington on May 15 at which time the following officers were elected: Mr. Hargrove Bellamy, President; Mr. Henry J. MacMillan, Vice-president; Mrs. Sam C. Kellam, Secretary; and Miss Margaret Groover, Treasurer.

The Hertford County Historical Association met at Chowan College on May 22 and elected new officers with Mrs. R. H. Underwood as President. Others are: Mr. M. Eugene Williams, Vice-President; Mrs. W. D. Boone, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mr. Roy Parker, Sr., Historian. The following

were selected as members-at-large to serve with the other officers on the Executive Committee: Mr. Roger Jackson, Mr. Henry Brown, Mr. Edwin Evans, and Mr. Roy Johnson. Chowan College was selected as the headquarters of the association and as a temporary depository for historical materials and artifacts.

The Northampton County Historical Association was re-organized and officers were elected at a meeting held in the county library in Jackson, May 16, with Mrs. Nancy Froelich, County Librarian, serving as chairman for the meeting. Mr. D. L. Corbitt spoke to the group and Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, President of the State Literary and Historical Association, presented a number of suggestions for the county unit. Officers are: Mr. Scott Bowers, President; Mrs. H. W. Madrey, Vice-President; Mrs. L. H. Martin, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. Nancy Froelich, Historian. These officers with the following members form the Board of Directors: Mr. W. H. S. Burgwyn, Mr. Russell Johnson, Jr., and Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris. Corresponding secretaries from the several townships were named, dues were fixed, and the group will enroll charter members until July 30.

Mr. Lee B. Weathers, publisher of the *Shelby Daily Star*, has recently completed a history of his native Cleveland County. The 290-page book will have a two-color jacket and carries almost a hundred pictures, both old and new.

Dr. W. C. Jackson, Chancellor Emeritus of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, was presented the 1956 Greensboro Distinguished Citizen's Award at the seventy-ninth annual meeting of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce held on April 20. Mr. Gomer Lesch made the presentation for Dr. Jackson's half-century contribution to the education of young people and for his contribution to the civic life of Greensboro and Guilford County. Dr. Jackson served as trustee of Bennett College, as a member of the Conference for Social Service in the Southern Commission of Interracial Co-operation, is the author of a biography of

Booker T. Washington, and has made many other significant gifts of service in the fields of health and welfare. For a number of years Dr. Jackson has been a member of the Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

The first annual North Carolina Literary Forum of the Literature Department of the Raleigh Woman's Club was held in collaboration with Meredith College on April 5 in the Jones Auditorium at the College, with Mrs. Wayne Burch, Projects Chairman, presiding. The theme of the meeting was "The Southern Literary Renaissance." Speakers were Mr. Paul Green, Chapel Hill, "How We Got There"; Mrs. Frances Gray Patton, Durham, "Where Are We Going?"; Mr. Sam T. Ragan, Raleigh, "The Merry-Go-Round We Are On"; and Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely, Asheville, "Who's Doing It?" Mr. Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh, served as moderator. A reception given by the college followed the program.

The one-hundredth anniversary of the North Carolina Dental Society was celebrated on May 13-16 at the Carolina Hotel in Pinehurst. The centennial program covered the many services rendered by this group and appropriate exhibits were displayed. One of the highlights was the unveiling of portraits of pioneers in this field.

The Carolina Disciplina Library, with Mr. C. C. Ware, Curator, has recently released a pamphlet *Reminiscences of North Carolina* by Mr. Claude C. Jones, in which he relates his years as pastor of a number of North Carolina churches. Mr. Jones moved to California from North Carolina and spent about thirty years there.

The Johnston Pettigrew Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy held a meeting at the Woman's Club in Raleigh on April 18, with Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., of Florida Southern College, Lakeland, as the principal speaker. Dr. Thrift spoke on the subject of Florida and the Confederacy. Mrs. Garland C. Norris served as program chairman and

chairman of the hostess committee. A reception followed the program.

The Historical Society of North Carolina met on April 14 at Davidson College, Davidson, with Dr. W. P. Cumming, President, presiding. Dr. Lawrence F. London was chairman of the program committee. The following persons were on the program: Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, University of North Carolina; Dr. Guion G. Johnson, University of North Carolina; Mr. James S. Currie, State College; and Mr. Robert N. Elliot, Jr., Gardner-Webb College.

The *Historical Foundation News*, which is published quarterly by the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Inc., at Montreat, carries a number of news items of interest dealing with the two-hundred fiftieth anniversary of the first presbytery; the acquisitions and gifts made recently to the Foundation; and a report on the work through the year 1955.

The Wachovia Historical Society has issued its bulletin with a complete listing of members, the Board of Directors, officers, and the annual report.

On May 31 Old Salem, Incorporated, held opening ceremonies for the restored Salem Tavern in Old Salem, Winston-Salem, on the one hundred eighty-fifth anniversary of the tavern visit of President George Washington. Mr. Edwin Gill delivered the principal address. The present building was built in 1784 on the foundation of an earlier one and was operated until 1853. The tavern is the third of the eight buildings which have been restored to be on permanent exhibition.

History News, official publication of the American Association for State and Local History, which is edited by William S. Powell of the University of North Carolina Library, carries a report by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator of the Department of Archives and History, on the Junior His-

torians Survey which was compiled from questionnaires returned from each state. An article on the Nebraska State Historical Society's Puppet Show which is used by that group as a medium of arousing interest in the historical heritage of viewers is also featured.

Dr. Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago was presented with the annual Book Prize of the Institute of Early American History and Culture on May 4 in Williamsburg, Virginia. The \$500 award was made for his book, *Puritanism in Old and New England*.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, held its annual council meeting on May 4-5. Newly elected council members are: Dr. Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton University; Dr. Lawrence Henry Gipson, Lehigh University; Dr. Philip M. Hamer, National Historical Publications Commission; Dr. Richard L. Morton, The College of William and Mary; and Dr. Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College. Dr. Walter M. Whitehill of the Boston Athenaeum was re-elected to the council and the chairmanship of the council and its executive committee. Dr. Clifford K. Shipton, American Antiquarian Society, was elected vice-chairman and Dr. John R. Alden, secretary.

Effective July 1, Mr. Lawrence W. Towner, Associate Editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*, will replace Dr. Lester J. Cappon as Editor. Miss Eleanor Pearre, formerly of the Theodore Roosevelt Research Project, joined the staff of the Institute as Assistant Editor of the *Quarterly* in April. Mr. Michael G. Hall of Johns Hopkins University has been appointed Research Associate.

The University of Kentucky College of Arts and Sciences presented Dr. Clement Eaton, a native of Winston-Salem, with the award of Distinguished Professor of the Year. On March 20 Dr. Eaton gave a lecture "Henry Clay, a Portrait of a Kentuckian," in the Guignol Theater, followed by a reception. He is the author of *A History of the Southern Confederacy* and is presently working on a biography of Henry Clay.

The American University of Washington, D. C., held its third Institute on Records Management from June 18 to June 29. The tenth Institute on the Preservation and Administration of Archives began on June 18 and will close July 13. These courses are offered in co-operation with the Library of Congress, the Maryland Hall of Records, and the National Archives and Records Service.

The forty-ninth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Pittsburgh, April 19-21. North Carolinians participating in the program were: Dr. Guion G. Johnson, Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Dr. James W. Patton, and Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, all of the University of North Carolina; and Dr. John R. Lambert, Jr., of North Carolina State College.

Radcliffe College and the Department of History, Harvard University, announce the third annual sessions of the Institute on Historical and Archival Management which began on June 25 and will close August 3. Dr. Lester J. Cappon, Director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg and former Editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*, is serving as Director. The faculty is composed of scholars from throughout the nation and a large number of agencies and institutions in Massachusetts and the New England states are co-operating. Dr. Christopher Crittenden conducted the two-day lectures on state and local archives.

Books received during the last quarter are: John T. Trowbridge [edited by Gordon Carroll], *The Desolate South: 1865-1866. A Picture of the Battlefields and of the Devasted Confederacy* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce—Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956); Charles Page Smith, *James Wilson: Founding Father, 1742-1798* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1956); David Beers Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North Carolina Under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584* (New York: Cam-

bridge University Press, 1955); Hugh Jones [edited with an Introduction and Notes by Richard L. Morton], *The Present State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1956); Henry Smith Stroupe, *The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865. An Annotated Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes* (Durham: Duke University Press. Historical Papers of The Trinity College Historical Society. Series XXXII, 1956); Charles W. Stetson, *Washington and His Neighbors* (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1956); Robert Preston Brooks, *The University of Georgia, Under Sixteen Administrations* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1956); Frank J. Klingberg, *The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, 1706-1717* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1956); James Atkins Shackford [edited by John M. Shackford], *David Crockett: The Man and the Legend* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956); Henry Savage, Jr., *River of the Carolinas: The Santee* [Rivers of America Series by Carl Carmer] (New York: Rhinehart and Company, Inc., 1956); John Walton, *John Filson of Kentucke* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1956); Burke Davis, *Gray Fox: Robert E. Lee and the Civil War* (New York: Rhinehart and Company, Inc., 1956); Henry W. Adams, *The Montgomery Theatre, 1822-1835* (University: University of Alabama Press. University of Alabama Studies, 1955); Thomas Hugh Spence, Jr., *The Historical Foundation and Its Treasures* (Montreat, North Carolina: Historical Foundation Publications, 1956); and Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735-1789* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1956).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. Wesley H. Wallace is an Assistant Professor, Department of Radio, Television, and Motion Pictures, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Dr. Griffith A. Hamlin is the minister of the Hampton Christian Church, Hampton, Virginia, and was formerly Associate Professor of Religion at Atlantic Christian College, Wilson.

Dr. Jay Luvaas is the Director of the George Washington Flowers Memorial Collection, Duke University Library, Duke University, Durham.

Dr. Elmer D. Johnson is Director, Stephens Memorial Library, Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, Louisiana.

Dr. James C. Bonner is Professor of History and Head of the Department at Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville, Georgia.

