



THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW



OCTOBER 1956

VOLUME XXXIII

NUMBER 4

Published Quarterly By
STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
CORNER OF EDENTON AND SALISBURY STREETS
Raleigh, N. C.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

*Published by the State Department of Archives and History
Raleigh, N. C.*

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is \$3.00 per year. Members of the State Literary and Historical Association, for which the annual dues are \$5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers may be procured at the regular price of \$3.00 per volume, or \$.75 per number.

COVER—A pen sketch by Mrs. Martha H. Farley from a stone lithograph of a drawing by Gustavus Grunewald in 1839. Seen from Academy Street (Winston-Salem), looking east are (left to right) the Boy's School (built in 1794 and now the Wachovia Historical Museum); the Inspector's House (built in 1812 and now the Administration Building of Salem College); and the Home Moravian Church (consecrated November 9, 1800, and in continuous use since). See pages 483-498 for an article on Moravian music.

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CONTENTS

- JOSEPHUS DANIELS AS A RELUCTANT
CANDIDATE 457
E. DAVID CRONON
- THE COLLEGIUM MUSICUM SALEM: ITS
MUSIC, MUSICIANS, AND IMPORTANCE 483
DONALD M. McCORKLE
- THE CONFEDERATE PREACHER GOES TO WAR .. 499
JAMES W. SILVER
- HOME-LIFE IN ROCKINGHAM COUNTY IN THE
'EIGHTIES AND 'NINETIES 510
Edited by MARJORIE CRAIG
- PLANTATION EXPERIENCES OF A
NEW YORK WOMAN (Concluded) 529
Edited by JAMES C. BONNER
- BOOK REVIEWS 547
QUINN'S *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590. Documents to
Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under
the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*—By
Christopher Crittenden; Spence's *The Historical Foun-
dation and Its Treasures*—By C. C. Ware; Klingberg's
*The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, 1706-
1717*—By Lawrence F. Brewster; Savage's *River of
the Carolinas: The Santee*—By Robert H. Woody;

Entered as second class matter September 29, 1928, at the Post Office at
Raleigh, North Carolina, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Shackford's *David Crockett: The Man and the Legend*—By William T. Alderson; Morton's *The Present State of Virginia, from Whence is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina*—By Charles Grier Sellers, Jr; Boyd's and Hemphill's *The Murder of George Wythe: Two Essays*—By Herbert R. Paschal, Jr.; Land's *The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, The Elder (1685-1753) and Daniel Dulany, The Younger (1722-1797)*—By Hugh T. Lefler; Smith's *James Wilson, Founding Father, 1742-1798*—By D. H. Gilpatrick; Adams's *The Montgomery Theatre, 1822-1835*—By Donald J. Rulfs; Davis's *Gray Fox: Robert E. Lee and the Civil War*—By David L. Smiley; Carter's *The Territorial Papers of the United States, Volume XXI, Arkansas Territory, 1829-1836*—By Grace Benton Nelson; Stetson's *Washington and His Neighbors*—By Hugh F. Rankin; Stroupe's *The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865*—By Daniel M. McFarland; and Carroll's *The Desolate South, 1865-1866. A Picture of the Battlefields and of the Devastated Confederacy*—By Sara D. Jackson.

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JOSEPHUS DANIELS AS A RELUCTANT CANDIDATE

By E. DAVID CRONON

In his long and busy lifetime of eighty-five years, Josephus Daniels (1862-1948) managed to combine a number of successful careers. As owner-editor of *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), he was long an influential spokesman in North Carolina affairs. As a perennial member of the Democratic National Committee beginning in 1896, he quickly rose to a position of prominence in national as well as state politics. Daniels' loyal devotion to the Democratic Party is well known and is perhaps best illustrated in the election of 1928 when his support of Al Smith hurt both his influence in the South and his newspaper's circulation in North Carolina. Equally familiar is his service in the three Democratic national administrations that spanned his active life: his work as chief clerk of the Interior Department in the second Cleveland Administration, his eight year tenure as Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson, and his mission as Franklin D. Roosevelt's ambassador to Mexico from 1933 to 1941.¹

¹The most useful source covering the career of Josephus Daniels is, of course, the voluminous collection of his private papers in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Josephus Daniels Papers. I am indebted to Mr. Jonathan Daniels of Raleigh for his generous permission to use and quote from his father's letters. Much important material is more easily available, however, in Daniels' five volumes of autobiography: *Tar Heel Editor*; *Editor in Politics*; *The Wilson Era, Years of Peace*; *The Wilson Era, Years of War*; and *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939-1947). A selection of the correspondence between Daniels and Franklin D. Roosevelt has been published in Carroll Kilpatrick, ed., *Roosevelt and Daniels: a Friendship in Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), hereinafter cited as Kilpatrick, *Roosevelt and Daniels*. The private papers of O.

What is less well known, however, is that at least twice during his life Josephus Daniels strongly considered running for elective office in North Carolina, thereby very nearly breaking a vow he had made when he purchased *The News and Observer* in 1894 never to weaken the paper's influence by forcing it to campaign for its editor. Daniels wanted the "Old Reliable," as the paper affectionately came to be called by its loyal subscribers throughout the State, to be just what the nickname implied, and while he made his newspaper a strongly partisan supporter of the Democratic Party in state and national affairs, he shrewdly reasoned that his editorial voice would quickly be muffled should it appear that *The News and Observer* was only a vehicle for the political advancement of its owner. Editors were just as much servants of the public as were elective office holders, he believed, but the two careers could not be combined without jeopardizing the integrity of each. Despite this wise pledge, twice during the 1930's Daniels came near to yielding to the urging of North Carolina friends that he run for high office, first for governor in 1932 and then for United States senator in 1936. The story of his labored and painful indecision in each instance is a case study in the vexing problems that beset the part-time politician, the man of reputation and influence who seeks to be in politics but not of it.

After the stock market crash of 1929 and the increasing hard times of the subsequent lean years, it was obvious to most political observers that 1932 would be an important election year. In Democratic Party councils smiling optimists predicted joyfully that after twelve years in the political wilderness the Democrats would now be called upon to lead the nation in its hour of grave need. Even in the predominantly one-party South where for several generations state government had been entrusted to the not always worthy care of local Democratic organizations, the elections of 1932

Max Gardner also contain information bearing on the subject of this article, and I am indebted to Mrs. Gardner for permission to quote from her husband's letters and to Mr. William M. Geer of Chapel Hill for calling to my attention pertinent material in the Gardner Papers.

aroused more than usual interest and attention. And in no Southern state were the issues more sharply defined and the interest more intense than in North Carolina, where Josephus Daniels and his *News and Observer* were fulminating against the inequities and derelictions of the outgoing North Carolina General Assembly.

While professing personal friendship for Governor O. Max Gardner, Daniels had not been altogether happy with the achievements of the Gardner Administration from 1929 to 1932. After the discouraging election debacle of 1928 Daniels had written his one-time Navy Department assistant, the new governor of New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt, that amidst all the Democratic gloom there was a bright spot of hope in that Max Gardner was "young and vigorous and of your type, so that with two such Governors in the two States we shall fight our way back."² This rosy prediction notwithstanding, *The News and Observer* was sharply critical of some of Governor Gardner's subsequent actions, notably his handling of the Gastonia textile strike of 1929. One of "Old Reliable's" outbursts at this time moved a Gastonia baron to observe sarcastically to Gardner that "perhaps if we could have Josephus Daniels as Governor" the newspaper "might be happy."³ In addition to its questionable handling of labor matters, the Gardner Administration showed what Daniels considered to be a distressing inability or unwillingness to bring relief to small tobacco and cotton farmers troubled with unsalable crop surpluses. Moreover, the General Assembly proved to be hostile toward a Daniels supported program designed to lift the tax burden from small property holders and place it on the intangible wealth of public utilities and the large tobacco corporations. Instead the appropriations for public schools were cut drastically to maintain a balanced budget. Over all this Josephus Daniels waxed righteously indignant and his wrath spilled over into the editorial columns of his influential daily newspaper.

² Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Albany, New York, November 9, 1928, in Kilpatrick, *Roosevelt and Daniels*, 98.

³ A. M. Dixon, Gastonia, to O. Max Gardner, Raleigh, May 16, 1929, Gardner Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Gardner Papers, State Department.

The News and Observer's legislative program of relief from the property tax, higher taxes on intangible property, strict regulation of public utilities, and increased support for public education soon aroused widespread interest throughout agriculturally depressed North Carolina. Within a month after the adjournment of the General Assembly in May, 1931, Daniels began to receive advice from admirers throughout the State to the effect that "people in this section will not be content until you agree to be a candidate for Governor."⁴ At first Daniels discounted such suggestions as fantastic, but as the trickle became a freshet and finally a veritable flood of hundreds of similar pleas, he was forced to consider more seriously the question of entering the gubernatorial race.

The bulk of Daniels' support seemed to lie with yeoman farmers in danger of losing their lands, small property-holders threatened with foreclosures, educators facing drastically curtailed budgets, and professional men aroused over the existing tax inequalities. In 1931-1932 these groups were both large and vocal, and even Daniels' political foes warned each other not to "discount the gentleman's following throughout the State and particularly in the East."⁵ Typical of the pro-Daniels sentiment was the assurance of one rural correspondent that "many stalwart citizens of Scotland County" would support the Raleigh editor because, as he put it, "Josephus Daniels . . . is not stuck up and understands poor folks as he has been an editor long enough to have lost what he had, as we have never heard of an editor having any money worthwhile."⁶ Another supporter stressed the "grave and imminent danger" from "the domination of the Public Utilities and other big interests, in our political affairs" and warned that the small taxpayer could expect no relief until Daniels was safely installed in the Executive Mansion.⁷ By the middle of August, 1931, even "Old Reliable's" normally cautious editor had been infected by the Daniels-for-Gov-

⁴ O. R. Coffield, Ellenboro, to Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, June 3, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁵ George R. Pou, Raleigh, to O. Max Gardner, Shelby, August 20, 1931, Gardner Papers, State Department.

⁶ H. O. Covington, Laurinburg, to Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, undated [1931], Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁷ O. R. Coffield, Ellenboro, to Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, June 3, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

ernor sentiment. "I am called out of town tonight but will see you before the end of the month," he replied to a friend who had asked for a "candid answer" regarding the gubernatorial race. "I would like to talk with you about the suggestion you make."⁸

Daniels now embarked on a protracted and wavering period of soul-searching, self-criticism, and shrewd political analysis to determine his proper course of action. Remembering his long-held resolve that an editor who must campaign for votes could never hope to be independent in his editorial convictions he asked his close friends and associates whether the present situation really demanded that he break his pledge. "I have no ambition to be Governor," he told one admirer. "If the people really, as many have indicated, wish me to become a candidate, they will demonstrate it in such a way as will point out my duty."⁹ The only trouble with this attempted delaying tactic was that "the people" continued to clamor for a more precise commitment. Delegations from hard-pressed rural areas arrived in Raleigh carrying lengthy petitions supporting "Daniels for Governor," while at the same time minor politicians camped on Daniels' doorstep pleading for a decision before they were forced to pledge their support to one of the other candidates already in the field.¹⁰

In spite of an assertion by one political observer that "the boom for Josephus Daniels for Governor" had "about died down,"¹¹ the draft-Daniels movement was far from quiescent in the closing months in 1931. To a Pitt County delegation presenting a petition signed by three hundred persons urging his candidacy, Daniels pleaded for more time and wise counsel to help him make up his mind.¹² Under no circumstances would he be stampeded into a hasty and ill-considered deci-

⁸ Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to Ed. S. Abel, Smithfield, August 13, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁹ Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to Julia Alexander, Charlotte, September 30, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

¹⁰ See for instance, E. R. Preston, Charlotte, to Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, September 22, 1931; D. Sam Cox, Warsaw, to Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, November 4, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

¹¹ *Warren Record* (Warrenton), October 23, 1931.

¹² *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), December 23, 1931, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*.

sion. As he explained to an impatient friend, if the now enthusiastic support "was in danger of being wilted by the first frost, then the sooner it wilted the better."¹³ The problem was a difficult one involving much more than an old vow. His older brother, Judge Frank Daniels, spoke for the entire family when he opposed the candidacy and pleaded with his brother not to "weaken your influence and that of your paper which is to be left as an inheritance to your children."¹⁴ Daniels' wife Addie and his four sons did not seek actively to dissuade him from entering the race, but their opposition was plain, nevertheless. Close friends, political associates, and trusted *News and Observer* staff members joined in warnings similar to the objection voiced by Clarence Poe, "Terrific efforts would be made to defeat you with the hope of being able thereby not merely to defeat you personally but forever after to hurt the prestige and power of *The News & Observer*."¹⁵ One friend to whom the perplexed editor wrote confidentially asking the sentiment in Haywood County, where the Danielses maintained a summer home, admitted that the area would doubtless give Daniels a "good vote," but cautioned, "It might be that you could serve your state as well or better as Editor of the *Old Reliable*, for there is no doubt in my mind that the *News & Observer* is by far the most influential publication in N. C."¹⁶

Although these friendly warnings and the family opposition gave Daniels pause, the continuing pressure for his candidacy made him vacillate still further. On December 1 he wrote a trusted friend and adviser regarding the rumored political availability of Angus D. MacLean, a Washington, N. C., attorney who had gained a reputation as a tax reformer in the recent General Assembly. MacLean was, Daniels believed, "honest and able," and he therefore suggested cautiously: "Everything should lie in abeyance until we know

¹³ Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to E. R. Preston, Charlotte, September 30, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

¹⁴ Frank Daniels, Goldsboro, to Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, October 4, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

¹⁵ Clarence Poe, Raleigh, to Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, October 22, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

¹⁶ J. R. Boyd, Waynesville, to Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, January 1, 1932, Josephus Daniels Papers.

what he will do.”¹⁷ MacLean was indeed casting about for political support, for two weeks later Daniels received a letter from him suggesting that although “a good many people” were urging him to run for governor, he was, of course, a Daniels man. “I do not wish to entertain the idea further,” he pledged, “if you are going to be a candidate.”¹⁸ This placed Daniels squarely upon the horns of a painful dilemma from which he was not to escape for another two months. If he delayed his decision he might fatally jeopardize MacLean’s chances and blight what seemed the best alternative candidacy in case he decided not to run. On the other hand, friends warned him that MacLean, though honest and capable, had not the necessary state-wide following and consequently progressive hopes rested on Daniels. Again he hesitated and delayed committing himself, even to MacLean.¹⁹

Daniels had reached the stage of considering a campaign manager²⁰ when he was severely injured in an automobile accident near Atlanta, Georgia, on January 13, 1932.²¹ From the confines of a hospital bed in Atlanta he promised that upon his return home he would give a definite answer regarding his candidacy,²² but once back in Raleigh the old doubts and uncertainties returned, and to his friend Franklin Roosevelt, he confessed: “I do not know what my plans are.”²³

The serious accident with its subsequent slow and painful recovery, the united opposition of family, respected friends, and “Old Reliable” associates, the growing certainty that a lifetime conviction against seeking elective office should not be lightly discarded, plus the obvious fact that further delay was damaging any potential MacLean candidacy, at last forced Daniels to a reluctant decision. In a long apologetic

¹⁷ Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to Henry A. Grady, Nashville, N. C., December 1, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

¹⁸ A. D. MacLean, Washington, N. C. to Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, December 16, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

¹⁹ See Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to A. D. MacLean, Washington, N. C., December 23, 1931, Josephus Daniels Papers.

²⁰ Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to Henry A. Grady, Clinton, January 6, 1932, Josephus Daniels Papers.

²¹ For details see *The News and Observer*, January 14, 1932 and the *New York Times*, January 14, 1932.

²² *The News and Observer*, January 23, 1932; *New York Times*, January 23, 1932.

²³ Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Albany, February 5, 1932, Josephus Daniels Papers.

letter to Angus D. MacLean on February 13 he broke the news of his intention not to enter the race for the governorship, at the same time promising his support should MacLean decide to run. "If my delay has embarrassed you," Daniels vowed, "I shall never forgive myself."²⁴ Two days later in *The News and Observer* Daniels reminded his disappointed supporters of his old conviction that "free journalism and personal political ambition are incompatible." Instead of breaking a lifetime pledge against seeking elective office, he would continue the crusade for needed government reform from the familiar and more congenial vantage point of "Old Reliable's" worn editorial chair.²⁵

With the conflict resolved in favor of family and friends, the long months of painful indecision were at last over, though Daniels confided to one trusted Charlotte supporter: "I have no doubt that I would have been nominated, though of course there would have been a fight in such counties as yours and some others."²⁶ From New York came a relieved wire from son Jonathan, the journalistic heir apparent: "Bravo! Bravo! Bravo! Congratulations to Mother."²⁷ In reply Daniels remonstrated that this placed undue blame or credit on Mrs. Daniels, who had in reality been "very fine about it, always letting me know her judgment was against it but in favor of whatever I felt like I ought to do." The real reason for deciding not to become a candidate, Daniels averred with characteristic humor, was that "all my family . . . and all the boys in the office were against it, and if it went out to the State that those so closely associated with me would not vote for me because they did not think I was fit for office, you know what the people would do about my candidacy."

²⁴ Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to A. D. MacLean, Washington, N. C., February 13, 1932, Josephus Daniels Papers. Angus D. MacLean, Daniels' choice for the governorship, ultimately decided not to enter the contest, and after a three-way battle for the Democratic nomination, John C. B. Ehringhaus was elected governor of North Carolina in 1932.

²⁵ *The News and Observer*, February 15, 1932; *New York Times*, February 15, 1932.

²⁶ Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to E. R. Preston, Charlotte, February 15, 1932, Josephus Daniels Papers.

²⁷ Jonathan Daniels, New York, to Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, February 15, 1932, Josephus Daniels Papers.

I am glad it is all over. Once or twice I was almost ready to wade in. I knew all the time that I ought not to, but we do not always do the things we know we ought to. And sometimes I fear if I had not been knocked out in Atlanta that I might have yielded to the thousands of people, most of them farmers and country doctors and home-owners in distress who felt that I might do something to improve conditions. No doubt many of them feel now that I am failing in a high duty but as the days go by I hope they will see that I am doing as much here as I could do in any other position.²⁸

One of Franklin D. Roosevelt's first acts after his inauguration on March 4, 1933, was to name his good friend Josephus Daniels Ambassador to Mexico. Kindly, easy-going, unpretentious, and possessing the shrewd commonsense of a country editor, Daniels was an excellent choice to carry to its logical conclusion the reorientation of United States policy toward Mexico begun in 1927 by Ambassador Dwight W. Morrow and continued by his successor, J. Reuben Clark, Jr. In his inaugural address on March 4 President Roosevelt had declared, "In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor,"²⁹ and as a sharp critic of the Dollar Diplomacy and Big Stick concepts of the past, Daniels needed no encouragement from the White House to accept the Good Neighbor Policy as the guiding principle for his work at Mexico City.³⁰

Ambassador Daniels found his comparatively light diplomatic duties both interesting and pleasant. True, he was far from the exciting New Deal programs so dear to his heart that were now being shaped in Washington, but as a lifelong Jeffersonian Democrat he could and did take a keen interest in similar reforms in progress in Mexico. Ever since the Revolution of 1910 a succession of Mexican governments had sought to raise the shockingly low living standard of the peasantry through land reform and increased public educa-

²⁸ Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, to Jonathan Daniels, February 16, 1932, Josephus Daniels Papers.

²⁹ Samuel I. Rosenman, comp., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (New York, Random House, 1938), II, 14.

³⁰ See for example, Daniels' editorial criticism of Republican policy toward Mexico in the 1920's in *The News and Observer*, April 23, September 1, November 2, December 31, 1923, and October 1, 1927.

tion. Both programs were to be important issues during Daniels' decade in Mexico and the Ambassador viewed each sympathetically. As a trustee of the University of North Carolina and a lifelong supporter of public education in the Tar Heel State, Daniels was particularly interested in Mexican educational progress, which for a number of years had been a matter of bitter controversy between the government and leaders of the predominant Roman Catholic Church. While he sought to avoid taking sides in the dispute between church and state,³¹ Ambassador Daniels quickly showed his interest in the governmental drive to increase the number of Mexican schools. "There is a strong feeling here in and out of the Government," he reported to an interested Catholic friend at home, "that no effort should be spared to have schools that will give the rural children an opportunity of education and then reduce and finally end the illiteracy which is so great in Mexico as to make difficult such participation in government matters as is necessary in a free republic."³²

The Ambassador did not agree with some Roman Catholic critics in Mexico and the United States that Mexican public education was an infringement of religious liberty, and he consequently expressed satisfaction when in 1934 he learned that under the Six Year Plan for the next presidential term the ruling National Revolutionary Party had committed the government to build six thousand new schools by 1940. Catholics could not be expected to let the educational features of the Six Year Plan pass unnoticed, however, and in fact the Mexican presidential election in the summer of 1934 brought the smoldering church-state controversy to a fierce blaze. In a speech at Durango late in June the candidate of the National Revolutionary Party, General Lázaro Cárdenas, declared: "I shall not permit the clergy to intervene in any

³¹ Ambassador Daniels' refusal to commit himself on the church-state controversy led one admiring Mexican priest to declare: "You are an old fox, you know the game; you tell your jokes and say nothing." Josephus Daniels Diary, September 11, 1933, Josephus Daniels Papers.

³² Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, Mexico, to Patrick H. Callahan, Louisville, Kentucky, September 6, 1933, Josephus Daniels Papers.

manner in the education of the people.”³³ Moreover, General Plutarco E. Calles, a former president and the dominant figure in the party, demanded in a campaign speech at Guadalajara a few weeks later that the government take vigorous steps to counteract the hostile influence of the clergy and the conservatives in Mexican schools. “We must now enter into and take possession of the minds of the children, the minds of the young,” Calles warned, “because they do belong and should belong to the Revolution.”³⁴

Somewhere Ambassador Daniels, who knew no Spanish, came across a translation of this catchy sentence without seeing the rest of Calles’ attack on the Church and was impressed by what he considered an earnest plea for universal education.³⁵ It would, he decided, fit admirably into an address on education and democracy he was preparing to give at an Embassy reception for members of Professor Hubert Herring’s annual American Seminar for the study of Pan American problems. The Seminar, which contained a number of prominent American scholars and educators, would appreciate the important role played by public schools in a democracy and would understand the significance of the educational gains made by Mexico since the Revolution.

Daniels’ speech to the Seminar on July 26, 1934, was merely a brief re-statement of his educational philosophy, exactly the sort of address he had made over the years in every corner of North Carolina. Reading the speech today one wonders how Daniels’ words, certainly neither startling nor profound, could have aroused such a storm of controversy in the United States, where most Americans shared his enthusiasm for universal education as the basis of democracy. In the course of his remarks Daniels paid tribute to Horace Mann and Thomas Jefferson, whom the Ambassador called “the first and

³³ *El Nacional* (Mexico City), June 22, 1934. See also R. Henry Norweb, Chargé in Mexico, to Secretary of State, June 22, 1934, Department of State Archives, Washington, D. C., 812.00/30062, hereinafter cited as Department of State Archives.

³⁴ Quoted in “Struggle for Mexican Youth,” *America* (New York), LI (August 18, 1934), 456, hereinafter cited as *America*; “Ambassador Daniels ‘Explains,’” *America*, LI (September 22, 1934), 554-555; *Baltimore Catholic Review* (Baltimore, Maryland), October 17, 1934; and Josephus Daniels, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, 183.

³⁵ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Patrick Callahan, Louisville, September 21, 1934, Josephus Daniels Papers.

foremost educational philosopher in America." He pointed to the educational advances made by Mexico since the Revolution and quoted Jefferson on the correlation between freedom and an educated citizenry. Public education, Daniels declared, was the only sure way to bring knowledge to all, and the present Mexican leaders recognized this fact:

General Calles sees, as Jefferson saw, that no people can be both free and ignorant. Therefore, he and President Rodríguez, President-elect Cárdenas and all forward-looking leaders are placing public education as the paramount duty of the country. They all recognize that General Calles issued a challenge that goes to the very root of the settlement of all problems of tomorrow when he said: "We must enter and take possession of the mind of childhood, the mind of youth." That fortress taken, the next generation will see a Mexico that fulfills the dream of Hidalgo, Juárez, Madero and other patriots who loved their country.³⁶

There is nothing to indicate that the members of the Seminar, or for that matter those American residents of Mexico City who bothered to read a published English version of the speech the next day,³⁷ found anything exceptional in Daniels' words.

But although the Ambassador's remarks were directed to a group of Americans visiting the American Embassy, and although his address contained nothing that would have aroused a ripple of comment had it been delivered anywhere at home, the reaction of Roman Catholics in Mexico and the United States was both swift and surprisingly savage. The small but vociferous Catholic newspaper *El Hombre Libre* of Mexico City termed the speech a "disagreeable discourse,"³⁸ and one of its columnists indignantly wrote at once to protest Daniels' alleged support of a government program "to uproot from the mind of childhood, from the mind of youth, a belief in God and to convert our children into

³⁶ Josephus Daniels, "Address to the Members of the Seminar, July 26, 1934," Josephus Daniels Papers and Department of State Archives. See also *El Universal* (Mexico City, Mexico), July 27, 1934, hereinafter cited as *El Universal*; and *El Hombre Libre* (Mexico City, Mexico), August 17, 1934, hereinafter cited as *El Hombre Libre*.

³⁷ *El Universal*, July 27, 1934.

³⁸ *El Hombre Libre*, August 1, 1934.

atheists and materialists even against the wishes and protests of parents.”³⁹ When the nonplussed Ambassador did not reply immediately *El Hombre Libre* printed this letter as the first of a series of four open letters publicly rebuking Daniels for taking sides against the Church.⁴⁰ In the United States Catholic leaders also expressed grave concern over Daniels’ blunder. Spearheading the attack, the Jesuit weekly, *America*, demanded the Ambassador’s immediate resignation or recall.⁴¹ Other Catholic publications quickly and angrily agreed, and by the middle of October, 1934, the volume and degree of American Catholic protests against Ambassador Daniels’ supposed approval of Mexican socialistic education had reached such proportions that the Roosevelt Administration could no longer ignore the situation. On October 17 President Roosevelt told his press conference that the hullabaloo against Daniels “all sounded ‘fishy’” to him,⁴² but on the same day Undersecretary of State William Phillips attempted to soothe ruffled Catholic feelings by reiterating Daniels’ belief in both universal education and religious freedom and promising that the State Department intended to “keep itself clear of all entanglements in foreign church problems.”⁴³

If the State Department hoped this amplification of Ambassador Daniels’ remarks would serve to calm the mounting tide of organized Catholic indignation, it soon discovered its error. During the next six months the Department received over ten thousand communications dealing with the Mexican religious situation, many of which were petitions bearing more than one signature. One petition in fact was signed by twenty thousand persons. Most of the correspondents demanded Daniels’ recall and only twenty-seven writers com-

³⁹ José María Rodríguez, Mexico City, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, July 29, 1934, in *El Hombre Libre*, August 3, 1934. See also Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Secretary of State, August 10, 1934, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁴⁰ *El Hombre Libre*, August 3, 6, 13, and 20, 1934.

⁴¹ “Dark Days in Mexico,” *America*, LI (August 25, 1934), 459; “Daniels Should Resign,” *America*, LI (September 1, 1934), 483-484.

⁴² [R. E.] Fleet Williams, Washington, to *The News and Observer*, October 17, 1934, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁴³ Press Release (Departmental only), October 17, 1934, Department of State Archives. See also Department of State, *Press Releases* (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office), XI (October 20, 1934), 263; *New York Times*, *The News and Observer*, and *Excelsior* (Mexico City), all for October 18, 1934.

mended his work.⁴⁴ American Catholic leaders were vigorous in their denunciation of the Ambassador. At a public rally the chancellor of the diocese of Philadelphia proclaimed Daniels a "consummate jackass" and urged with Christian zeal the dispatch of arms to Mexico so that "Calles and his band of minions would be blown to smithereens."⁴⁵ Father Charles E. Coughlin, Detroit's silver-tongued radio priest, villified Daniels as the man "who won the dirtiest revolution this world has ever known"—a reference to the former Navy Secretary's intervention at Veracruz in 1914.⁴⁶ National leaders of the Knights of Columbus demanded Administration action to express American disapproval of religious persecution in Mexico.

Roman Catholic members of Congress were equally hostile in their criticism, some of which had political as well as religious overtones. As soon as Congress convened in January, 1935, Representative John P. Higgins, a newly-elected representative from Massachusetts, introduced a resolution demanding the recall of Ambassador Daniels for having "tacitly approved" of Mexican anti-religious policies.⁴⁷ On January 31 Idaho's unpredictable Senator William E. Borah introduced a resolution demanding an exhaustive Senate investigation of the Mexican religious situation, a move that some observers tied to Borah's successful fight only two days earlier (with significant Catholic help) against American entry into the World Court.⁴⁸ At this even *El Hombre Libre*, the Mexican Catholic paper that had first caused all the furor by publicizing Daniels' Seminar address, rejected "anything

⁴⁴ Edward L. Reed to Sumner Welles, March 27 and May 3, 1935, Department of State Archives, 812.404/1650½.

⁴⁵ *New York Times*, December 3, 1934.

⁴⁶ *New York Times*, December 24, 1934.

⁴⁷ *New York Times*, January 9, 1935. See also John P. Higgins, Washington, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, December 19, 1934; Cordell Hull, Washington, to Higgins, Washington, December 23, 1934, Department of State Archives, 812.404/1408; *Louisville Times* (Kentucky) and *Washington Herald* (D.C.), January 7, 1935; and *Winston-Salem Journal*, January 8, 1935.

⁴⁸ *Senate Resolution 70*, 74 Congress, 1 Session (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office). See also *Congressional Record*, 74 Congress, 1 Session (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office), LXXIX (January 31, 1935), 1298, hereinafter cited as *Congressional Record*; *New York Times*, January 29-31, February 2, 1935; Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, February 8, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

signifying the interference of a nation like the United States," and implored Senator Borah "to leave us alone in our task of remedying the evils which assail us."⁴⁹ The Borah resolution eventually died in committee, apparently unlamented even by its sponsor, but other congressmen kept up a bitter running attack against Daniels and the godless Mexican government. Representative Clare G. Fenerty, a Catholic Republican from Pennsylvania, asserted in a House speech that Ambassador Daniels was nothing but a "press agent for the Mexican communists," and warned that if President Roosevelt would "not think of human rights, let him, as a politician, think of the next election."⁵⁰ Between January 8 and July 5, 1935, no less than fifteen resolutions were introduced in Congress dealing with the Mexican religious situation, two of which explicitly demanded the recall of Ambassador Daniels.⁵¹ Josephus Daniels' innocent remarks to a group of Americans within the confines of the American Embassy had developed into a real political "cause célèbre" at home.

"What can have happened," asked the *New York Times* editorially after one emotional outburst against Daniels in the House of Representatives, "to turn a kindly and benevolent man, as we all knew Josephus Daniels to be, into an enemy of democracy and humanity?"⁵² The Ambassador's Catholic friends, who never for a moment doubted his devotion to religious liberty nor forgot his long record of public opposition to religious intolerance, were likewise sorely distressed. "It is my thought," one of them told Daniels, "that we will succeed in making a martyr out of you, in which case you will be known in history as 'St. Josephus.'"⁵³ Martyr or not, more than a year after his unfortunate and misunderstood Seminar address, Ambassador Daniels was still fair game for Catholic critics who used him as a convenient club with

⁴⁹ *El Hombre Libre*, February 8, 1935.

⁵⁰ *Congressional Record*, 74 Congress, 1 Session, LXXIX: (April 25, 1935), 6420-6433; *New York Times*, April 26, 1935.

⁵¹ House Concurrent Resolution 3, *Congressional Record*, 74 Congress, 1 Session, LXXIX (January 8, 1935), 212; and House Concurrent Resolution 28, *Congressional Record*, 74 Congress, 1 Session, LXXIX (June 18, 1935), 9506.

⁵² "Maligning a Good Man," *New York Times*, February 9, 1935.

⁵³ Patrick H. Callahan, Louisville, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, January 16, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

which to belabor the Roosevelt Administration for its Mexican, and indirectly some of its domestic, policies.

In spite of noticeable improvement in the religious situation in Mexico throughout late 1935 and 1936, leaders of the Democratic Party in the United States feared that the Administration's stand against any American intervention in Mexico might harm the party in the 1936 elections. To be sure, the Catholic vote in key Eastern urban centers was traditionally Democratic, but no one dared to predict that in 1936 it might not be turned away from the party on the Mexican issue. The most outspoken opponents of President Roosevelt's handling of the Mexican problem were also severely critical of much of the New Deal reform legislation. There seemed every likelihood, therefore, that Mexico's religious troubles would be used by those who wished to discredit the Administration's domestic program. "Remember the next election," Representative Clare Fenerty warned in Congress.⁵⁴ "Twenty million American Catholics are getting pretty tired of the indifference shown by the Administration," threatened Archbishop Michael T. Curley of Baltimore.⁵⁵ Democratic leaders were understandably apprehensive as the 1936 elections neared.

Below the Rio Grande Josephus Daniels shared the concern of other Democrats regarding the unhappy influence of the Mexican religious situation upon his party's chances in the forthcoming campaign. Nearly a year before the elections he warned Secretary of State Cordell Hull of potentially dangerous efforts "to arouse the Catholics in opposition to Mr. Roosevelt" because the President had "refused to intervene in the religious situation in Mexico."⁵⁶ The Ambassador had a special stake in the matter since he felt responsible for much of the criticism that American Catholics were directing against the Administration. He recognized that most of the complaints involving him were based upon ignorance and misunderstanding, but his long political experience made him fear that the opposition, however misguided and misin-

⁵⁴ *New York Times*, April 26, 1935; *Congressional Record*, 74 Congress, 1 Session, LXXIX: (April 25, 1935), 6420-6433.

⁵⁵ *New York Times*, March 26, 1935.

⁵⁶ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Cordell Hull, Washington, December 16, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

formed, might nevertheless be extremely damaging. Daniels' loyalty to Franklin Roosevelt and his devotion to the Democratic Party were such that he made up his mind to resign if that would help to take the heat off the Administration. Quite understandably, he declined to appear to be retiring under fire or backing down on a principle, and he, therefore, sought some plausible excuse for quitting Mexico.

Daniels found such an excuse in his home State of North Carolina. Josiah W. Bailey, North Carolina's senior United States Senator, was up for re-election in 1936, and many observers believed his long record of hostility to certain important features of the New Deal would make him comparatively easy to beat. From Mexico City Daniels had kept a watchful eye on Senator Bailey's anti-Administration conduct, several times pointedly suggesting to him that "the Democrats ought to vote together."⁵⁷ "It troubles me to see Senator Bailey get off the reservation," Daniels mourned to Roosevelt after a Bailey lapse. "He has never played the game."⁵⁸ "What makes my blood boil," Daniels complained to Roosevelt another time, "is to see legislators who were elected on the pledge to 'stand back of the President,' standing so far back it would require a telescope to see them."⁵⁹ As the time for going before the voters neared, Bailey's belated attempt "to carry water on both shoulders" disgusted the Ambassador, who recognized it as merely a hypocritical effort to win needed Administration support for the coming campaign.⁶⁰ The possibility of opposing Bailey in the 1936 senatorial primary appealed to Daniels for two reasons. First, he could resign gracefully, thus forestalling Catholic criticism of the Administration's handling of the Mexican issue, since many American Catholics seemed to regard him as the *bete noire* responsible for the whole situation. Second, the race would

⁵⁷ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Josiah W. Bailey, Washington, May 10, 1933, Josephus Daniels Papers. See also Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Bailey, Washington, July 26, September 13, October 31, November 16, 1933, March 2, April 16, 1934, and February 6, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁵⁸ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, April 19, 1933, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁵⁹ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, April 5, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁶⁰ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, July 5, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

give him a chance to expose Bailey's reactionary record to the people of North Carolina and to defend the social reforms of the New Deal. He might thus be of service to Roosevelt and the Democratic Party on two fronts.

Daniels apparently considered this method of resigning as early as the summer of 1935. The attacks upon his work in Mexico were then in full swing and the Ambassador seems to have discussed the possibility of entering the North Carolina primary with President Roosevelt while home on leave in June.⁶¹ Roosevelt admitted that the situation was "confusing and difficult to forecast in regard to future events."⁶² Later in the summer Daniels reminded the President that his position was "unchanged since my talk with you at the White House."⁶³ Daniels may also have given an intimation of his problem to O. Max Gardner, for the former governor and still dominant figure in North Carolina politics soon afterward offered to give Daniels "information on certain matters that I might be able to supply."⁶⁴ It was still too early to be laying open plans for a primary campaign, however, and the matter rested for some months.

Early in October, 1935, Daniels invited the Gardners "to fly down to see us and make us a visit at the Embassy." "We will feed you on *tortillas* and *frijoles*," he promised.⁶⁵ The invitation was somewhat remarkable in that the two men were not particularly close friends and had in fact sometimes been at odds politically.⁶⁶ Indeed, except for this sudden spurt of correspondence in 1935 Daniels and Gardner seem to have had little to say to each other during the decade Daniels was in Mexico. Gardner evidently knew what was on the Ambassador's mind, because he responded with a

⁶¹ See Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, undated rough draft [February, 1936], and Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Daniel C. Roper, Washington, February 18, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁶² Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, July 12, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁶³ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, July 23, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁶⁴ O. Max Gardner, Washington, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, June 20, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁶⁵ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to O. Max Gardner, Washington, October 7, 1935, Gardner Papers, in possession of the Gardner family.

⁶⁶ See above, 459.

detailed analysis of the current political situation in North Carolina. "It appears now that Bailey will probably be unopposed except by [former Lieutenant Governor R. T.] Fountain," he reported, "but the best information I have is that Fountain is making no serious impression."⁶⁷ The Gardners quickly accepted the invitation for a Mexican holiday, arriving by air early in November. As expected, Daniels welcomed the opportunity "to talk about home folks and home problems as well as world questions,"⁶⁸ but he commented afterwards in his diary: "Max seems well informed of inside matters in Washington but says he is not so well informed about what is going on in North Carolina."⁶⁹ If, as seems likely, Daniels attempted to sound out his guest regarding the advisability of entering the senatorial contest, Gardner was evidently unwilling to give much encouragement.

At Christmas when the Danielses returned to spend the holidays in Raleigh the Ambassador received mixed advice. Some of his close friends were confident, as one suggested deviously, that "the man discussed by us could certainly win."⁷⁰ Others, more cautious, intimated that Senator Bailey was "stronger . . . than at any time in his history" and warned: "There is a definite question . . . as to your success in the campaign for this seat."⁷¹ During a conference at the White House President Roosevelt declared that he would like nothing better than to see his old chief in the Senate but would hate to have him run unless he were certain of being elected.⁷² The President's lukewarm encouragement probably reflected the skepticism of Representative Robert L. Doughton, long a power in North Carolina politics, that Daniels would stand little chance of winning against a Bailey machine well-oiled by utility funds and bolstered by three years of lush federal

⁶⁷ O. Max Gardner, Washington, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, October 14, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁶⁸ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to O. Max Gardner, Washington, October 25, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁶⁹ Josephus Daniels Diary, November 16, 1935, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁷⁰ John A. Livingstone, Raleigh, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, January 15, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁷¹ James M. Gray, Raleigh, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, January 16, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁷² See Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Daniel C. Roper, Washington, February 18, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

patronage.⁷³ Doughton's advice seems not to have been completely disinterested, for he was apparently already committed to support of Bailey.⁷⁴ On the other hand, Representative Lindsay C. Warren, another political savant, disagreed with Doughton's pessimistic analysis, predicting enthusiastically that Daniels could carry the State with ease.⁷⁵ Faced with such conflicting advice from persons presumably in closer touch with North Carolina politics than he, it was no wonder Daniels refused to comment publicly on his political plans before returning to Mexico. His prudent silence was interpreted, none the less, as an indication he was seriously considering the primary contest.⁷⁶

As they had four years earlier when he was sorely tempted to run for governor, Daniels' wife and sons tried to discourage this latest political ambition. Jonathan Daniels admitted that his father "could make an effective mark for liberalism in legislation in the Senate," but urged him instead to write a personal history of the Tar Heel State since the Civil War, "a story of a man who was in on the fight on every change. Do you realize that no North Carolinian has ever left behind an autobiography worth reading?" Jonathan asked. "Josephus Daniels must choose: Book or Senate. He can't have both."⁷⁷ When Daniels suggested his son was counseling a course of timidity, Jonathan protested that he merely believed his father could "do so much more out of the Senate than in it," and declared: "I think that you will be happier when you definitely put the idea aside."⁷⁸

Still fearful that his presence at the Embassy in Mexico City might be "a weakness to the party in the election," Ambassador Daniels next turned for advice to Secretary of Commerce Daniel C. Roper, who had promised earlier to

⁷³ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Daniel C. Roper, Washington, February 18, 1936; Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, undated rough draft, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁷⁴ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, January 5, 1938, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁷⁵ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, undated rough draft, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁷⁶ *New York Times*, January 12, 1936.

⁷⁷ Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, January 20, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁷⁸ Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, undated, Josephus Daniels Papers.

consider the problem. Since the two men had conferred in Washington in January, however, a new alternative to the senatorial contest had appeared. Secretary of the Navy Claude Swanson was dangerously ill and newspaper reports indicated that he might not recover. "It occurred to me," Daniels hinted broadly to Roper, "that I might fit in by being recalled to the Naval portfolio. . . . It might soften the K[nights] of C[olumbus] criticism if I was changed from Mexico to Washington." The Ambassador enclosed a confidential note addressed to Roosevelt, which in the event of Swanson's death Roper was "at a suitable time" to pass on to the President. "If he lives, and I pray he will," Daniels cautioned, "please return to me."⁷⁹ In the note to Roosevelt the Ambassador recalled their conversation early in January regarding the desirability of replacing Daniels and Claude Bowers in Spain with Ira Morris and James W. Gerard. "In view of what you said then it has seemed to me that you might wish to make some shifts," Daniels observed. "If so, and you thought it expedient, politically or otherwise, you might call me to the position I held eight years in Washington."

In this message I am making no request or suggestion. My purpose is only to call the situation to your attention. My only desire and ambition is to contribute in the best way you think I can toward the result in November. I would be happy here, in Washington or in North Carolina doing my part in the way you think is best. I know you will understand that this message is not prompted by personal wishes, desires or ambition.⁸⁰

Secretary Swanson took a turn for the better, however, and Roper telegraphed: "Letter received and disposed of as you requested."⁸¹

Toward the end of February Daniels drafted a letter explicitly asking Roosevelt's advice. Noting a recent charge by Martin Carmody, national head of the Knights of Columbus, that Daniels was "hand in glove" with the Mexican Govern-

⁷⁹ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Daniel C. Roper, Washington, February 18, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁸⁰ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to [Franklin D. Roosevelt], undated rough draft, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁸¹ Daniel C. Roper, Washington, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, February 21, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

ment to stamp out religion, the Ambassador declared: "As I have twice told you, I am ready to resign at any time rather than permit my presence here to be a weakness to our ticket in November." Daniels pointedly recalled that in 1916, because of Catholic opposition to President Wilson's Mexican policy, the Democrats "did not carry a single contested state in which there were large cities with big Catholic membership." "If the Carmody attack in Hartford is to be continued," he vowed, "if my retirement would serve to strengthen your candidacy I would eliminate myself as a target. Under no circumstances would I be willing to remain in a position that would endanger success in November, even though I am conscious that I have done nothing—quite contrary—to justify the criticism by Mr. Carmody and others." Referring to news reports that he was scheduled to take over Claude Swanson's post when the ailing Navy Secretary resigned, Daniels allowed that the change would be agreeable. "In the event of Swanson's resignation and you should wish me to resume the old position and it would be politically wise," he promised, "I would, of course, say 'Aye, aye, Sir.'" ⁸²

While apprehensive about a North Carolina primary campaign, Jonathan Daniels was enthusiastic over the possibility of his father's entering the Cabinet.⁸³ But Roosevelt, always interested in naval matters himself and familiar with his former chief's rugged independence, had no wish for a strong Secretary of the Navy. The President paid no more heed to the strong hints emanating from Mexico City than he had early in 1933 or did three years later when Swanson died and the navy portfolio was clearly vacant.⁸⁴ On February 27 he casually reported to Daniels that although Secretary Swanson was "very weak" he, nevertheless, had "all the old light

⁸² Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, undated rough draft, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁸³ Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, undated, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁸⁴ Concerning Daniels' interest in the Navy Secretaryship in 1933 see E. David Cronon, "Good Neighbor Ambassador: Josephus Daniels in Mexico" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953), 23-30; James A. Farley, New York, to the author, April 29, 1953. Daniels' expressed desire to be Secretary of the Navy upon Swanson's death is shown in Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, July 7, 1939, Josephus Daniels Papers and Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers, Hyde Park, N. Y.

of battle in his eyes" and would, the President thought, "get well by sheer will power."⁸⁵

By March, with the deadline for filing for the Senate primary scarcely a month away and without any clear indication from Washington as to whether the Administration wished him to run, Daniels began to show signs of desperation. He begged Dan Roper to "talk the matter over with Hull (and if you think best with Roosevelt)," warning once again that criticism by Roman Catholics might weaken the President's chances in the election. "It may be," Daniels speculated, "that less harm would come to Roosevelt by letting the attacks fall on me than if it went higher."

I would not feel it just for me to resign in a way that would indicate that I had not made good. If it is best for a new man to come here before the election, there should be a reason that would justify the change. If it is best to make a change here, I could resign and go home and run for the Senate. I can win I think, but nobody should be confident of the result of a primary. But I'd rather run and lose than to resign without a definite and compelling reason. Running for the Senate to uphold the New Deal would be accepted by the public as a good reason. Certainly if I won there would be a Senator who would uphold the policies Roosevelt incarnates. Bailey if re-elected would not be dependable.⁸⁶

To Roosevelt himself, Daniels suggested that a large part of Bailey's support would come from his federal patronage appointees, and the Ambassador intimated that this advantage could be overcome if the federal office holders knew "that the administration would not tolerate their taking part in a Democratic primary."⁸⁷

Secretary Roper's belated response to Daniels' frantic appeals for advice was less than helpful. Roper noncommittally reported that both he and the President were in agreement that Daniels' North Carolina friends should publicly urge him to enter the primary so the voters could choose between "more

⁸⁵ Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, February 27, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁸⁶ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Daniel C. Roper, Washington, undated rough draft, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁸⁷ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Franklin D. Roosevelt, undated rough draft, Josephus Daniels Papers.

than one candidate." "The Chief feels," Roper told Daniels, "that if you should reach the conclusion under this suggestion to yield to the request of this group of friends that you would write to him and the State Department to the effect that you have decided to yield to the request of a group of friends in North Carolina to enter the Primary for nomination to the Senate and in view of this that you will before entering the same tender your resignation as Ambassador to Mexico."⁸⁸

Obviously disappointed at this evasive answer, Daniels advised his son Jonathan to try to find out from Roper the Administration's real feelings in the matter, "so as to put my mind at ease." Speaking from sound experience, he warned, "It cannot be done by correspondence." Roper had ignored the two paramount questions that had led Daniels to consider entering the Senate race: his desire to free the Administration of embarrassing Catholic criticism and his conviction that if re-elected Senator Bailey would oppose the New Deal's domestic reforms. "I wrote Roper and Hull and the President I could only run on the New Deal platform," the Ambassador emphasized, "and would not feel justified in resigning unless I had a compelling reason, such as entering the race for the Senate." Daniels' staunch loyalty to the Democratic Party led him to promise in the next breath, however: "If I did not run for the Senate, and the Catholic criticism of me hurt in the election, I could resign and return home in the early fall to enter the campaign."⁸⁹

Reading between the lines of Dan Roper's little essay on the formality of presenting an ambassadorial resignation, Daniels soon reached the only sound conclusion. "I have no ambition in the matter," he explained once again to Roper. "Under the circumstances I would not make the race unless the administration felt that it was important to oppose the reactionary whose term expires this year . . . and from your letter I infer that it does not seem wise for me to make what would be a sacrifice to enter upon what would be a heated primary cam-

⁸⁸ Daniel C. Roper, Washington, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, March 2, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁸⁹ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Jonathan Daniels, undated rough draft, Josephus Daniels Papers.

paign.”⁹⁰ In reply the Secretary of Commerce cagily refused to commit himself further than to suggest that if Daniels’ North Carolina friends were favorable he should enter the campaign. Roper promised that in the event Daniels were not elected he could count on Roosevelt to appoint him to another ambassadorship, “because I have discussed this feature with the Chief and know whereof I speak.” On the other hand, should the Administration itself be defeated, Daniels “would be in no worse condition by running for Senator.”⁹¹ Neither Roper nor any other Administration leader said anything about support for the race, evidently preferring to keep clear of a bitter primary fight.

Roper’s cautious counsel was seemingly as much encouragement as Daniels could expect from the Roosevelt Administration. Ever the astute politician, President Roosevelt refused to get himself involved in a local battle over a primary nomination, especially where the outcome was reportedly in doubt. No political fool himself, Daniels recognized the difficulty of winning an election without any effective organization and with no Administration backing. The same arguments against seeking elective office that had helped to dissuade him in 1932 were equally applicable in 1936, and as Daniels listed them for Roper’s benefit, there could be only one conclusion. To the Ambassador’s query: “In view of the above, does it seem advisable for me to become a candidate?”⁹² Roper responded almost eagerly: “You have covered the field thoroughly and in light of the facts as you state them, I would reach the same conclusion that you have.”⁹³

There remained only the duty of informing North Carolina supporters of the decision not to enter the race, and the Ambassador took care of this in a long formal letter to State Senator Edward M. Land. Daniels recalled again his ancient vow “not to become a candidate for any public office” and pointed to the nonpartisan history of *The News and Observer*

⁹⁰ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Daniel C. Roper, Washington, undated rough draft, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁹¹ Daniel C. Roper, Washington, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, March 13, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁹² Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Daniel C. Roper, Washington, undated rough draft, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁹³ Daniel C. Roper, Washington, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, March 30, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

in intra-party contests. "Wise or unwise, consistent or inconsistent," he declared, "my conclusion in 1936 is the same I held when I purchased the News and Observer and which guided my action when the temptation to break away from it in 1932 was very great."⁹⁴ The Daniels family once more showed understandable relief when the Ambassador decided to weather the storm in Mexico rather than lay on the line the prestige of a long and honorable career in what certainly would have been a heated and difficult primary campaign. "Now that your decision is made, I'm sure it is a wise one," wrote Jonathan, "but I half share your regret in not getting into the scrap."⁹⁵

Josephus Daniels was faced with two difficult decisions in 1932 and 1936 and there is no need here to pass judgment on the wisdom of his choice in each case. Already seventy years old in 1932, Daniels was a respected and even beloved figure with a national reputation which could hardly be enhanced in the sound and fury of a rough and tumble primary fight. There was both wisdom and logic in his conviction that *The News and Observer* would inevitably lose some of its influence should its owner seek high elective office. Moreover, he would be campaigning without the support of an effective organization or the backing of the State Democratic machine. Indeed, there was strong likelihood that a Daniels candidacy would be opposed by many old line politicians who resented past reform crusades by the "Nuisance and Disturber," as Daniels' newspaper was often called by his foes. Still, Daniels apparently was convinced he could have been elected governor in 1932 and senator in 1936 had he chosen to run. There is no way of testing this belief, of course, but his painful indecision in each instance does prove the existence of that hitherto most rare species, the genuinely reluctant candidate.

⁹⁴ Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Edward M. Land, Statesville, April 8, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers. See also Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, to Mr. and Mrs. E. L. McKee, Sylva, April 17, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

⁹⁵ Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh, to Josephus Daniels, Mexico City, April 23, 1936, Josephus Daniels Papers.

THE COLLEGIUM MUSICUM SALEM: ITS MUSIC, MUSICIANS, AND IMPORTANCE*

By DONALD M. MCCORKLE

PREFATORY NOTE

Even the most casual reader of Oscar Sonneck's monumental *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)*¹ is instantly impressed by the complex sociological pattern of benefit concerts, dilettantes, itinerant virtuosi, and serious musical amateurs, all seeking to transplant some of Europe's rich musical culture into contemporary America.

Only one phase—but a most important phase—of the history of American music is the story of the Moravians, or more properly the church called *Unitas Fratrum*. These pious people, principally Germans, brought with them the most *vital* musical culture ever to take root in the colonies. Their Pennsylvania settlements (Bethlehem, Lititz, and Nazareth) were oases for the eighteenth-century intelligentsia, both domestic and foreign.

In 1753 the Moravians spread to North Carolina to establish another settlement which they called Wachovia (*recte, Wachau*). The central village was to be Salem, with the smaller villages of Bethabara, Bethania, Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope, all situated within Salem's periphery.

The musical life of the Moravians in Wachovia largely revolved around Salem, as did the Pennsylvania settlements around Bethlehem. Like Bethlehem, Salem's music was primarily sacred (about 80 per cent), but of a different character

* In addition to the references cited in the text and footnotes, see the author's "The Moravian Contribution to American Music," *Notes*, September, 1956; and "John Antes, 'American Dilettante,'" *Musical Quarterly*, October, 1956.

The author wishes to acknowledge the influence and help of the senior musician of Winston-Salem, Mr. Bernard J. Pfohl, who became a nonagenarian on September 13, 1956. His dedicated service to music, especially as a member and director of the Salem Band and the Moravian Easter Band for over a half-century, has enriched his city and his church immeasurably. His infallible memory for dates and events of yesterday is a source of constant amazement and importance to any scholar working with the history of the Moravian Church, South. To him the author expresses his heartfelt thanks.

¹ Oscar Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America* (Leipsig [Germany], Breitkopf and Härtel, 1907).

from choral music in any other place in eighteenth-century America. Whereas, New England was nurturing the simple Psalm tune and the ingenious fuguing tune, the Moravians were composing elaborate concerted anthems which they accompanied with string quartet, or a larger ensemble consisting of strings, horns, clarinets, trumpets, trombones, and flutes. Perhaps most interesting is the fact that modern musicians are inclined to rank some of this music with the finest of the eighteenth-century choral masterworks.

Having brought some of the earliest instruments to arrive in America, it was only natural that the Moravians would also encourage the practice of secular music, although, of course, to a lesser degree than the music for the church. As Germans, they naturally chose the *Collegium musicum*, that venerable old German amateur society, for their medium for secular music performance, as well as occasional large sacred choral renditions.

But, for whatever type of music, the most distinctive phenomenon of the musical activities of the eighteenth-century Moravians was their need for music as a life-necessity, and not as a cultural veneer.

Quietly reposing among thousands of pages of manuscript sacred music, diaries, and assorted pressed flora in the Moravian Church Archives at Winston-Salem are the remains of the *Collegium musicum der Gemeinde in Salem*,² the most extraordinary musical society in North Carolina's early history. This organization was the southern counterpart of that in Bethlehem, an ensemble whose performances in Colonial America were highly esteemed by the many statesmen, generals, and foreign dignitaries who heard them. Since the Bethlehem *Collegium musicum* began at a time when its European predecessors were becoming extinct through the dawning era of public concerts, there can be little doubt that the Moravians transplanted the *Collegia musica* to America, and thus prolonged their existence by another century.

The earliest date which can be assigned with certainty to the establishment of the *Collegium musicum Salem* is 1786,³

² "Musical Society of the Congregational Community in Salem," hereinafter shortened to the more frequent title, *Collegium musicum Salem*.

³ Four works are signed *Collegium musicum der Gem. in Salem*, 1786.



The Salem Archives, built in 1797, formerly the Warden's House.

thereby making it either the third or fourth oldest in the United States.⁴

If it is possible to make deductions from the extant secular music collection—and from some of the original instruments now preserved in the Wachovia Museum⁵—the most obvious conclusion that can result is that this eighteenth-nineteenth century *Collegium musicum* was a very active and versatile aggregation. The music numbers to almost 500 compositions, of which nearly 150 are in manuscript, and runs the gamut from violin duos to “grand” symphonies,⁶ and from anthems to oratorios. Since the chamber music (including chamber-size symphonies) outnumbers the orchestral by over 300 pieces, it is evident that either the Salem taste inclined to the more intimate forms, or that the size of the ensemble was not equal to performing many works of symphonic proportions. In the course of this article, it will be apparent that both explanations are justified. At any rate, the *Collegium musicum Salem*, whether fully-developed or embryonic, had at its disposal one of the largest and most diversified libraries of secular music of any ensemble in that period of American musical history.

The tastes of these musical amateurs (all of whom were artisans or ministers by profession) reflected the contemporary tastes of Europe, and to some extent of Philadelphia, Charleston, Boston, and New York. The preferred composers were evidently Abel, Haydn, Mozart, and Pleyel. The greater part of the music (which, by the way, was acquired almost as soon as it was published) was early-classic, i.e., from c.1760 to c.1780. Of fully developed Classicism are a few first editions of Haydn and Mozart—from Haydn the Opus 77 String Quartets and symphonies Nos. 80, 89, 93, 94, 99, and 103. Mozart is represented by a quartet (flute, violin, viola, and 'cello) arrangement of *Don Giovanni* (Simrock, 1804), the Second Piano Quartet (K.493), and the symphonies Nos. K.162, 183, 199, and 504.

⁴ Bethlehem, 1744; Lititz, 1765; Nazareth, c. 1780.

⁵ Donald M. McCorkle, “Musical Instruments of the Moravians in North Carolina,” *The American-German Review*, XXI, 3, 12-17.

⁶ Classical symphonies for large orchestra.

Of the many early Romanticists known to the Salem Moravians, few made any more than a passing entry on the European musical stage. Only the names of Beethoven, Cherubini, Dussek, Lefèvre, Méhul, Weber, Winter, and Wranitzky would be familiar to many present-day musicians. Curiously, the Moravians overlooked Schubert and Mendelssohn, thereby verifying the aesthetic fact that some "masters" can only be recognized and appreciated in retrospect.

JOHANN FRIEDRICH PETER AND THE FIRST AMERICAN CHAMBER MUSIC

While the actual organization of the *Collegium musicum Salem* did not take place (or at least take name) until 1786, there can be no doubt that its modest beginnings occurred as early as 1780, the year in which Johann Friedrich Peter (1746-1813) was sent to Salem as, among other things, music director. And modest beginnings they must have been indeed, for the official church records make little mention of any instrumental music, other than for organ and brass choir, which was performed in the Wachovia settlements. All of this music was, of course, confined to the church services and to chorale playing out-of-doors.

In view of the accuracy of the diaries it is fairly certain that the men recorded as being instrumentalists (again excepting the trombonists and organists) were actually the only ones in Salem.⁷

Evidently to offset the rather heavy emphasis on harpsichord and trombone, other instruments were soon ordered from Europe: 1783-1784, three violins (in accounts spelled

⁷ Therefore the ensemble in this early period must have been comprised of the following men: Rev. Johann Friedrich Peter—violin, viola (?), clavier, and director; Jacob Loesch, Jr. (moved to Bethania, 1789)—flute; Rudolph Christ—violin and trombone; Carl Ludwig Meinung—harpsichord (he owned one); Johannes Reuz—harpsichord and trombone; Samuel Stotz—harpsichord; and perhaps Johann Krause—viola and trombone. Another violinist was probably the Stokes County Clerk (later governor of Mississippi), Robert Williams, who had to make a fifteen-mile trip into Salem for rehearsals. Proof of his participation would seem to be in two of his editions (dated and signed 1789) which found their way into the *Collegium musicum* collection. Two other probable members were the Rev. Johann Christian Fritz, from Bethabara, clavier; and Lorenz Seiz, who is known only as an organist, but who made five manuscript copies of string trios by Johann Daniel Grimm, a European Moravian.

“föholyne,” “fiholine,” and “fieholine”); and 1785, two clarini. Since the latter shipment included horns also, it is not impossible that the first viola and violoncello (both preserved in the Wachovia Museum) came at the same time. It is, at least, fairly certain that by 1788 the *Collegium musicum Salem*—and therefore the church also—could boast of at least three violins, a viola, a violoncello, flute, two horns, and two clarin trumpets.

If the amateur performers of this little ensemble given in the Brother's House (or perhaps in the Congregation House) were unpretentious, they did at least have the benefit of working with a fine musician and his music. Johann Friedrich (often called John Frederik) Peter was without doubt the most brilliant of all Moravian musicians, and was never equalled by any other in the succeeding generations. His music collection included copies he had made of symphonies, quartets, etc., by various contemporary European masters. Forty of these manuscripts are extant in the Salem Archives, all left by him for the *Collegium musicum* (and in fact, each bears the signature of both Peter and the *Collegium musicum*), and it is a fact that many of his other copies were taken back to Bethlehem by him in 1790.⁸ Since Eitner⁹ did not know of the existence of many of the originals represented in this collection, it is certain that some of these copies by Peter are the only existing copies in the world. The composers are: Carl Friedrich Abel, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, Johann Ernst Bach, Franz Beck, Karl Heinrich Graun, Johann Daniel Grimm, Nathanael G. Gruner, Adalbert Gyrowetz, Leopold Hoffmann, Franz Josef Haydn, Anton Kammell, Electress Maria Antonia of Saxony, Johann Meder, Franz Xaver Richter, Josef Riepel, Mathias Stabinger, Johann Stamitz, and Joseph Touchemolin. Several other works are anonymous.

In many cases these manuscripts are marked with later editorial corrections and drippings of candle wax, thus verifying their performance in Salem, or at least in America. All

⁸ Works copied in Salem, then taken to Bethlehem, include a trio for strings by Stamitz, and a Sinfonia for strings by Graun.

⁹ Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon* . . . (Leipzig [Germany], Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900).

of this music was copied by Peter at an amazing rate of speed, all between 1765 and 1769, while he was attending the theological seminary at Barby, Saxony. For example, six trios by Leopold Hoffmann are signed (signifying dates of completion of copying) successively April 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 1767.

While many other works (e. g. Haydn, Lidl, Pleyel, Schwindl, Wanhal) were added to the repertoire of the *Collegium musicum Salem* in the late eighties, there can be no doubt that the most important compositions in the history of early American music were written in Salem in 1789.

Johann Friedrich Peter completed his *Six Quintetti à Due Violini, Due Viole è Violoncello* seventeen months prior to his recall to the Northern Province of the Moravian Church. These sparkling quintets, abounding with pre-Classical charm, are unchallenged as the earliest extant chamber works written in America. That Peter wrote these works to order for the *Collegium musicum Salem* is evident by certain technical aspects of the music itself. For, as Hans T. David¹⁰ has observed, the violin and first viola parts are highly virtuosic, while the second viola and violoncello quite calculatedly avoid all technical difficulties. Peter obviously drew his melodic, harmonic, and formal styles from the many, now-forgotten, composers of whose works he made copies. If these works were actually intended for Salem, Peter must have been one of the violists, since no record of more than one viola in Salem until early into the nineteenth century has been found. This may indeed explain the fact that Peter took the score and parts back to Bethlehem, leaving no copy for the *Collegium musicum Salem*.

AN INTERREGNUM

Succeeding Johann Friedrich Peter as musical director were no less than three men: Gottlieb Shober (1756-1838), Johannes Reuz (1752-1810), and Carl Ludwig Meinung (1743-1817). Since each was primarily an organist, there can be no definite indication as to who actually assumed the

¹⁰ Hans T. David, "Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the *Unitas Fratrum*," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* (Nazareth, Pa., 1942), 40.

directorship of the *Collegium musicum*. A good deal of circumstantial evidence, however, suggests that after Peter the Salem musical directorship became more of a committee project. Of the three, Shober and Meinung, in view of their personal collections of secular music, were probably better fitted for the work, while Reuz, a trombonist and organist, was perhaps more active with the church music.

Beginning with this period, the importing of printed and lithographed music begins in earnest. From 1790 to 1808, no fewer than twenty-eight chamber and fifteen orchestral works (chiefly Andre, Breitkopf & Hartel, and Hummel editions) were added to the repertoire.¹¹ While the majority are still early-Classic, the trend toward Romanticism is evident by the following composers: Abel, André, Boccherini, Cherubini, Danzi, Devienne, Dulon, Durand, Dietter, Fischer, Fodor, Giordani, Gleissner, Gyrowetz, Haydn, Hoffmeister, Mozart, Pichl, Pleyel, Reinards, Romberg, Schwindl, Vogel, Winter, Wölfl, and Wranitzky. In addition, three of Boccherini's early quartets were brought by Gotthold Reichel in 1802.¹²

A number of chamber works by Boccherini, Devienne, J. Fodor, Klöffler, Vogel, and Wendling, were brought to Salem by Dr. Samuel Benjamin Vierling, who arrived as resident physician in 1790. From all indications, Vierling must have been a capable violinist¹³ as well as a gifted surgeon. Most of his music bears a label indicating that it was purchased from "Christian Jacob Hutter's *Musical Repository*, Lancaster, [Pennsylvania]." And, indeed, Hüter accompanied Brother Vierling on his trip to Salem.

In 1805, the *Collegium musicum Salem* was enlarged by two trumpets, two clarinets, and a bassoon—the first woodwinds, other than flutes, to be used in Salem. Of particular interest are the trumpets, for they were evidently *Zinken* made by the Moravian instrument maker, Gütter, of Neukirchen in 1805.¹⁴ Just exactly why the Moravians in Salem

¹¹ This is, of course, based upon a modern index of the extant collection in the Salem Archives.

¹² Manuscript copies made by J. G. Cunow, Bethlehem, 1776.

¹³ His violin is now owned by a descendant living in Greenville, South Carolina.

¹⁴ These instruments, a *Krummer* (curved) and a *Gerader* (straight), are now in the Wachovia Museum.

should have ordered instruments theoretically extinct by a century is not clear. Nor is the fact that Gütter was making them! Four violins were also added to the instrumental music in 1805. The purchase price is interesting: two cost £3.15, and the other two £2.12.6. The second set was perhaps somewhat inferior.

THE ERA OF THE *Collegium musicum*

Several music receipts would appear to indicate that Gottlieb Shober was still the Salem musical director as late as 1806, although other factors would presumably have prevented this possibility. He was succeeded as church organist by Friedrich Christian Meinung and Gotthold Benjamin Reichel in 1803, and became a state senator in 1805. Never again did he have an active part in Salem life. A receipt dated 1808 attested to the fact that Friedrich Christian Meinung had bought two clarinets (\$9.00) in Bethlehem for the *Collegium musicum Salem*. In this unobtrusive announcement can be found the beginning of the era of the organization, an era which was to see its peak of development and ultimate decline and disappearance. The same receipt is important for another reason: it is the first time that Friedrich Christian Meinung's name is mentioned in connection with secular music, the music which he more than any other person was to bring to its full flowering. A son of a music director of the previous generation, and father of one in the next, Meinung (1782-1851) was certainly the most important musician in Salem during the first half of the nineteenth century. Although he did not assume directorship until 1822 (and then for only eleven months), his influence as a violinist, violist, clarinetist, trombonist, organist, pianist, and vocalist is still apparent today. By profession a school teacher, surveyor, and bookkeeper, he was by avocation a musician of discriminating tastes. While there is, of course, no way of knowing his musical attainments, it is possible to make a prediction based upon his large collection (the greater part of the *Collegium musicum* collection) of secular music.

Secular music in this period became further removed from the church. This fact can be verified by the observation that five of the finest—and last—Moravian composers,¹⁵ all clergymen, were active in Salem during the first three decades of the century, but none of them seems to have had any direct association with the *Collegium musicum*.

Bishop Johannes Herbst, the most prolific of all American Moravian composers, came to Salem as pastor in 1811 (died in 1812), and brought with him his scores from his fantastically large handwritten collection of anthems, oratorios, cantatas, motets, and masses. Since most of the individual parts, excepting those for a number of oratorios, were left in Lititz, Pennsylvania, there is scant possibility of this music having been performed in Salem, at which time the members of the *Collegium musicum* would have participated. Four probable exceptions would be Handel's *Messiah*, Graun's *Te Deum Laudamus*, J. A. P. Schulz' *Maria und Johannes* (some sections of which became part of the *Gemeine Collection*), and Wolf's *Ostercantate*.

Bishop Jacob Van Vleck, who succeeded Herbst as pastor in 1812, was a polished violinist; but he, likewise, did not perform with the ensemble. He did, however, bring two editions for the enrichment of Salem's secular music. The most important of these bears the awkward title:

Tre Trii, / per due / Violini and Violoncello, / Obligato. / Dedicati a Sua Eccellenza il / Sigre G.J. de Heidenstam, / Ambassatore de Sa Maj il Ri de Suede a Constantinopel. / Composti a Grand Cario dal / Sigre Giovanni A-T-S. / Dilletante Americano. / Op. 3. [-London, J. Bland . . . 45 Holborn, n.d.]

The rather cryptic name, "Sigre. Giovanni A-T-S," belonged to the American-born Moravian missionary, John Antes (1740-1811), who served in Cairo from 1770-1781. Antes returned to England in 1783, and probably soon after sought out Bland, the publisher. As Bland very obligingly moved in 1795, it is certain that the trios were published prior to that year.

¹⁵ Johann Christian Bechler (1784-1857), Johannes Herbst (1735-1812), Simon Peter (1743-1819), Jacob Van Vleck (1751-1813), and Peter Wolle (1792-1871).

Curiously, no complete set of these works has thus far been located anywhere in the world. Only two partial sets are known in the United States; the Salem copy lacks one page of the violoncello part, while the Sibley Musical Library's lacks the entire first violin. Three sets of initials on the Salem copy indicates that it was brought by Jacob Van Vleck, and later passed on to Shober, then to Alexander Meinung.

An old legend in the Moravian settlements says that Antes was acquainted with and played trios or quartets with Haydn. There is little doubt that such a meeting did occur, although no verification can be found. Antes' nephew, the English bishop, Christian I. Latrobe, was inspired by Haydn's suggestion to compose a set of piano sonatas, which he did and dedicated to the master. And he also wrote an account of his friendship, which was published posthumously in 1851.¹⁶

Antes himself supplied some circumstantial evidence when, in his paper to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*,¹⁷ he referred to Haydn's impresario, Johann Salomon, as "*mein Freund, Hr. Salomon in London.*" Antes must have been a very capable violinist,¹⁸ judging from the keen violinistic insight he used in writing these trios—as well as his numerous accompanied anthems and songs.

The musical emphasis of the *Collegium musicum Salem* now turned to orchestral works in the early nineteenth century, a change made possible by the increased number of string and woodwind players growing up in—or moving into—Salem. Between 1808 and 1825, approximately fifty-two editions were added; of these, thirty-five were for orchestra. Haydn was still favorite; but the tendency seems to have been to follow the newly developing trends (which, by the way, helped to cause the ultimate decline of the whole unique Moravian tradition). Few of the following composers are ever heard of today: Ahl, Beethoven, Braun, Dressler, Dussek, Gerke, Goepfert, Gyrowetz, Haydn, Hen-

¹⁶ E. Holmes, "The Rev. C. I. Latrobe," *Musical Times* (London), Sept. 1851.

¹⁷ Leipzig, July 16, 1806, No. 42.

¹⁸ A violin, inscribed "Johann Antes in Bethlehem, 1759," is in the Moravian Historical Society Museum, Nazareth, Penna.

kel, Kotzwara, Kummer, Hupfeld, Lefèvre, Lessel, Mèhul, Paër, Pleyel, Polledro, Romberg, Rösler, Sterkel, Stumpf, Tulou, Viotti, Winter, Wölfl, and Wunderlich.

Numerous musical receipts record the arrival of not a few clarinets, string instruments, and of course, many reeds, strings, rosin, bows, etc. in the 1820's. Certainly, also significant is the fact that two local artisans, William Holland and Karsten Petersen,¹⁹ were repairing violins, violas, and cellos in the period. In 1820, the musicians requested the Church Elders to consider the purchase of a drum; this request was denied, however, because the drum would be offensive! The first double bass was brought in 1829.²⁰

Among the last music to be imported were some woodwind pieces called *Parthien*, or *Pièces d'harmonie*, a form very much en vogue in Europe. The most interesting of these, from the standpoint of American music, are seven works by the American Moravian, David Moritz Michael (1751-1827), who was primarily responsible for the golden era of the Bethlehem *Collegium musicum*. While in Bethlehem, Michael wrote fourteen *Parthien* and two suites for a basic combination of two clarinets, two horns, and bassoon.

Of these sixteen works, apparently only seven were copied and sent to Salem: the suites, and *Parthien* Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 9.²¹ While some of these pieces are quite pedestrian, a few can be singled out as works of art. Michael achieved, within his modest means and the limitations of contemporary instruments, works which fairly well show the transition style between Classicism and Romanticism. The works are harmonically and melodically traditional, but use very few ornaments, and abound in melodramatic surprises, and are above all typically German.

For example, the first movement of the *Parthia* No. 1 deserves special attention because of its main theme. This theme, taken from some unknown source, was also used by

¹⁹ The author has found a home-made violin which was undoubtedly made by Petersen and it is displayed in the John Vogler House in Old Salem.

²⁰ Made by H. G. Gütter (or at least sold by him), Bethlehem, Penna. (\$50.00).

²¹ *Parthia* No. 9 is not extant elsewhere.

Meyerbeer some thirty years later in the "March" to his opera, *Le Prophète!* Since Michael returned to Europe in 1814, and presumably taking the *Parthia* score with him, it is not impossible that he and the famous opera composer may have met.

Much difficulty is encountered when attempting to establish the membership of the *Collegium musicum* in this period. Meinung was succeeded as music director in 1823 by Dr. Friedrich Heinrich Schumann (1777-1862) and Wilhelm Ludwig Benzien (1797-1832). Since Benzien was a violinist, and only sixteen years old, we may assume that the leadership was actually entrusted to the doctor—as the following document may show.

The only document thus far discovered that specifically concerns the *Collegium musicum* is a sharply worded protest to the Church Elders Conference, dated February 23, 1823:

The hindrances which, by some persons unknown to us, have been placed in the way of the Music Society established by our Brethren and Sisters regarding the playing of customary concerts on Sundays in the Boy's School House, brings us to the following positive clarification, which we want you to notify to all those who are interested. We cannot help seeing the unquestionable right of the *Collegium musicum*, or the majority of the same, to appoint themselves the place and the manner of their musical meetings as long (as) nothing happens which is against the rules of Synod or community regulations.—By these rules alone, but not by the false imputation and ill-intentioned remarks, we want to be judged, and not controlled in our performance. If against our presumptions, the Board gives a willing ear to our anonymous slanderer and lays on us an intollerable control, we would find it necessary, even if unwillingly, to withdraw and we will not have any part of playing church music for a congregation which willingly listens to ill-remarks by a slanderer. An irresponsible compliance with these wicked claims will only increase this vice and make it worse.²²

This was signed by H. Schumann, Chas. F. Levering, J. H. Leinbach, W. L. Benzien, W. Craig, and Georg Foltz. This letter is valuable for several reasons. First of all, it smacks of

²² Manuscript in the Salem Archives (author's translation).



Portrait by an unknown artist of Wilhelm Ludwig Benzien (1797-1832), one of the Directors of the *Collegium Musicum Salem*.

Dr. Schumann's typical vituperative relationship with the church, and, therefore, could perhaps be dismissed as a "crank letter." Secondly, we are informed for the first time that "customary concerts" were given on Sundays in the Boy's School (built 1794), and that ladies were somehow connected with the organization. Thirdly, it can be inferred that the Church administration looked somewhat askance at secular music performances, which, indeed, would explain the paucity of documentary material relating to them. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, this letter reveals the mounting tensions between the Church and the Community, and thereby the impending decline not only of the *Collegium musicum*, but also of the whole Moravian social system. Such a protest could not have been uttered a decade earlier without fear of expulsion from the *Gemeine* — the church-community. From the very brief, but uninformative, acknowledgment of this letter in the Church diaries, it is obvious that the answer, given orally, was conciliatory. None of the musicians withdrew as they had threatened. Dr. Schumann, himself, was to continue his personal bickering and bargaining for more personal liberties — which he usually got — for many years.

The first and last public performances of the *Collegium musicum Salem* to gain any notoriety (though undoubtedly somewhat due to the spasmodic newspaper service) were two performances of Haydn's *The Creation* in 1829 and 1835. The first performance must have been quite an event, if we are able to give any credence to the editorial-letter which appeared in the *Salem Weekly Gleener*:

With peculiar pleasure we understand that an association of the musicians of this place and vicinity, to the number of between 30 and 40, has been formed, and preparations are making for the performance of that divine Oratorio, *The Creation*, by Hayden [sic].

The cultivation and encouragement of the fine or liberal arts in a society, while they tend to awaken the dormant faculties of youthful talent and genius, and instead of lounging in idleness or roaming for mischief, incite to industry and laudable emulation, teach the mind its proper superiority over the common senses of life, by rendering it sensible of higher aims and nobler enjoyments, those intellectual pleasures, of which, as rational

beings, we have been made susceptible by an all-wise and benevolent Creator.

The fine arts, whilst they, like the best of things, may be prostituted to the worst of purposes, if properly applied, tend to exalt the mind, and raise the soul in grateful aspirations toward its fountain-head, its Creator and its God.

We do not recollect ever having heard of an attempt in this State, perhaps not of any in the southern regions, of performing this master-piece of musical composition, by so full and respectable a body. The high abilities of some individuals, and the exertions of all those concerned, justify our expectations of a good and masterly performance; and we hope that a numerous and respectable audience will be ready to applaud and reward so commendable an undertaking.

A Votary.²³

A subsequent announcement in the same newspaper specified that the performance would be held in the village church²⁴ on the Fourth of July by the "full corps of Instrumental and Vocal Musicians of Salem." Fifty cents was to be charged for admission. Directing the performance was either Meinung or Benzien. Since Benzien was officially the director of the *Collegium musicum* in this year, and since Meinung probably sang the role of "Raphael" as he did six years later, we may assume that Benzien was in charge of this performance. We have no way of knowing if any profit was realized, but it is recorded²⁵ that the total expenses amounted to \$40.00 — ten dollars to Meinung for making the vocal parts, and thirty to Blum²⁶ for printing the text.

The orchestral parts used in this first southern performance²⁷ were copies of copies that Johann Friedrich Peter had made for the first American performance in Bethlehem in 1811.²⁸ It is doubtful that Salem could have used all of the twenty-three parts (two violins, two violas, two 'cellos, two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons, contra bassoon, two clarinets, two horns, two clarini, three trombones, and tim-

²³ *Weekly Gleener* (Salem), April 14, 1829.

²⁴ Now Home Church on Salem Square.

²⁵ In music receipts in the Salem Archives.

²⁶ John C. Blum, publisher of the *Weekly Gleener*.

²⁷ No record of an earlier performance in the South has been published.

²⁸ Attention is here called to M. D. Herter Norton's excellent article, "Haydn in America (before 1820)," *Musical Quarterly*, April, 1932.

pani) in Peter's score for this occasion.²⁹ The English translation used in the Peter manuscript may well have been taken from that apparently made by Johannes Herbst, which is to be found in his edition (keyboard reduction) by A. E. Müller.³⁰

The 1835 performance was advertised in *The Farmer's Reporter and Rural Repository*³¹ as being given "by the Members of the 'Society of Amateurs' at Salem." It was again given in the Church (October 17), but this time the admission was "gratis." F. C. Meinung, "Director," announced that "the *text* will be sung according to the *original*, but for the accommodation of those who do not understand the German language, *English* texts have been prepared, which may be had at 5 cts. a piece [*sic*]." The profits amounted to \$11.25.

Fortunately, one of the German textbooks preserved lists the soloists beside their respective roles.³² They were "Raphael," F. C. Meinung; "Uriel," Dr. Schumann and Henry Schultz; "Chorus," Louisa Belo (!); "Gabriel," Antoinette Bagge and Anna Keehler Crist; "Adam," F. C. Meinung; "Eva," Lisette Meinung. Members of the chorus were not recorded, but it is more than likely that the majority of them are included in a list of all (?) church singers in Salem, 1830-1850, prepared by Edward W. Lineback, c.1850.³³ Although Meinung was credited with the directorship by the newspaper advertisement, the present writer has been in-

²⁹ These parts became the property of F. C. Meinung; now preserved in Salem Archives.

³⁰ Published by Breitkopf & Härtel; now in Salem Archives.

³¹ *The Farmers Reporter and Rural Repository* (Salem), Oct. 5, 1835; successor to the defunct *Weekly Gleener*.

³² In the autograph of F. C. Meinung.

³³ *Sopranos*: Sophia Behan, Sophia Pfohl, A. Leinbach, Elizabeth Boner Crist, Sophia Blum Brietz, Tracy Belo Siddall, Louisa Belo Bahnson, Antoinette Bagge Brietz, Frances Benzien, Susan Rights Keehlin, Hermena Benzien, A. Keehler Crist, Mrs. Crist, Emma Susseman Stewart, Mrs. Meinung, Elizabeth Schuman, Mrs. Peterson, Sarah Ann Lineback, Sophia Zevely, Louisa A. Van Vleck, Lisetta Van Vleck, August Hall Winkler, Matilda Winkler Siewers, Joseph Siddall Hauter, Sarah Hall Tise, Anna Clauda Lineback, Adalaide Herman, Louisa Herman, Addie Meinung, D. S. Ebert; *Tenors*: F. F. Crist, Theo. Keehler, C. F. Schaaf, S. Th. Pfohl, Gottlieb Byhan, A. F. Pfohl, Dr. C. F. (?) Schuman, Hy. Schultz; *Basses*: Rudolph Christ (d. 1833), J. Crist, Dr. C. D. Keehler, M. E. Grunert, H. T. Bahnson, E. A. Ebert, Rt. Rev. J. G. Herman.

formed by a grandson of one of the singers³⁴ that it was actually Dr. Schumann.

The orchestra probably consisted of many of the following available musicians:

Violins: F. C. Meinung, Henry Leinback

Cello: Charles Levering

Violas: F. C. Meinung, J. C. Jacobson

Basses: Charles Brietz, J. C. Jacobson

Flutes: Henry Leinback, Ephriam Brietz

Clarinets: Levin R. Brietz, T. F. Crist, W. Leinbach, F. C. Meinung

Bassoons: Joshua Boner, Charles Levering

Horns: Georg Foltz (1st), Theophiles Vierling

Trumpets: ?

Trombones: ?

The amount of instrumental doubling in this ensemble must have created quite a display of acrobatics!

Finally, the post-mortems as reported by *The Farmer's Reporter and Rural Repository* (October 24):

Haydn's grand Oratorio of "*The Creation*" was performed in our village on Saturday last, according to appointment, by the musical amateurs of this place, much to the edification of a respectable audience—principally ladies!

This may well have been the final performance of the *Collegium musicum der Gemeinde in Salem*, if indeed the chapter had not closed a few years previously. Several times in this period the terms "*Music Gesellschaft*" and "Musical Society" are encountered, thus implying that the last of the German *Collegia musica* had finally given way to the dawning era of brass bands and public concerts, just as its European ancestors had done over a century before. Thus ended the most extraordinary musical culture in the South in the eighteenth century.

³⁴ Bernard J. Pfohl, Winston-Salem, January, 1955.

THE CONFEDERATE PREACHER GOES TO WAR*

By JAMES W. SILVER

On a Sunday afternoon during the years 1861-1865 an informal committee of prominent members of the congregation was likely to call unexpectedly at the parish house of any southern preacher who had that morning delivered himself of a particularly timely sermon. Would he allow his message to be printed and distributed for the good that it would surely do for the cause of God and the Confederacy? With a modest protest that his discourse had not been put together with an eye to publication and after a few moments of proper indecision, the minister invariably agreed that this might be an inspired means for reminding the people of their sacred duty. The happy bit of protocol out of the way, the sermon was soon in the hands of the printer.

Such ritual reflects a simpler and more leisurely day of unquestioning support to an unsophisticated faith based on a belief in personal salvation and divine interposition in everyday affairs, buttressed by a literal reading of the Scriptures. As one Confederate soldier put it, "I shall enter the fight . . . feeling assured that to die I shall but leave a world of Sin for my eternal home of bliss."¹ After the war was over, a Texan reflected that in 1861 his reason had been dethroned "as I believed the most the politician said, and all the preacher said, because he proved it by the Bible. . . ."²

It was only natural that the clergy, strongly influential with such a pious citizenry, become the prime instrument in the creation of public opinion in support of the Confederacy. Its

* The writer has examined about one hundred printed Confederate sermons. Most of them were found in the Huntington Library (San Marino, California), the Boston Athenaeum (Boston, Mass.), the Confederate Museum (Richmond, Virginia), the Library of Congress (Washington, D. C.), and the libraries of Emory University (Atlanta, Ga.), the University of Richmond (Richmond, Virginia), the University of Texas (Austin), the University of Georgia (Athens), the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), and Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

¹ Lewis W. Burwell to H. W. Rison, April 27, 1864. Brock Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

² W. A. Fletcher, *Rebel Private, Front and Rear* (Beaumont, Texas, 1908), 7.

chief weapon was the sermon, not only delivered, but distributed in pamphlet form and in the religious and secular press.

The broad basis of preparation for secession had been laid by a generation's crusade which had largely convinced the southern people of the divinity of the institution of slavery and of their holy duty to protect it. Division in the church was a natural prelude to secession in the state. It may have been, as maintained by the Presbyterian elder, T. R. R. Cobb, that "without the moral sentiment of the country, embodying as it obviously did, the will of God, the enterprise would have been a failure. . . ." ³ Religious fire-eaters such as the "Calhoun of the Church," James H. Thornwell, and the eloquent Benjamin M. Palmer, whose 1860 Thanksgiving discourse was broadcast in 50,000 pamphlets, have long been allocated their rightful places with Robert Barnwell Rhett and William L. Yancey.

Not that the men of God were universally for secession. From his Winchester, Virginia, pulpit, Reverend A. H. Boyd also preached a Thanksgiving sermon, but on the subject, "Benefits We Enjoy as a Nation." ⁴ Robert L. Dabney felt "there were plenty of politicians to make the fire burn hot enough, without my help to blow it," ⁵ and in general the border state clergy tried to stem the suicidal tide until after their people made the fateful decision. As in the military, some preachers shifted their residence to follow the gleam of their convictions. For example, in 1862 S. B. McPheeters was forced into the Confederacy from his St. Louis pastorate once he had baptized an infant, apparently dressed in rebel colors, with the name of Sterling Price. ⁶ By that time Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri churchmen had largely declared for the Union, while from Virginia to Arkansas the moderates had become

³ Quoted in R. L. Stanton, *The Church and the Rebellion . . .* (New York, 1864), 197, hereinafter cited as Stanton, *The Church and the Rebellion*. See also Lewis G. Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union, 1861-1869* (Cambridge, 1932), 31, hereinafter cited as Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union*.

⁴ *Christian Observer and Presbyterian Witness* (Richmond, Virginia), Jan. 10, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Christian Observer and Presbyterian Witness*.

⁵ Quoted in Peyton Harrison Hoge, *Moses Drury Hoge: Life and Letters* (Richmond, Va., 1899), 139.

⁶ Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union*, 172, 308.

loyal Confederates. There were, of course, a few well-known Unionists who labored in the vineyard of the Gulf states throughout the war.

Influenced perhaps by the avowed piety of the highest civil and military leaders, the church officially gave its un-failing blessing to the Confederate government and its administration. After Seven Pines, the Reverend George Woodbridge called for confidence in President Davis: "Whatever has a tendency to destroy public confidence in [the leaders'] prudence, their wisdom, their energy, their patriotism, undermines our cause."⁷ John Randolph Tucker held that southerners were "*religiously bound to defend*" the constitution and "*obey*" the state.⁸ Such expressions of confidence were common in sermons of all denominations throughout the war.

Never was there any doubt about God shielding his chosen people in their righteous cause. According to J. H. Elliott, the Sumter victory "was the answer to prayer. It was the interposition of God in our behalf."⁹ First Manassas brought forth a rash of messages which agreed with Stephen Elliott's, "God's Presence with our Army at Manassas!" preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on a day of Thanksgiving called by Congress. The victory came as "the crowning token of his love—the most wonderful of all the manifestations of his divine presence with us. . . ."¹⁰ Other ministers with Cromwellian touch declared, "We are a people saved by the Lord,"¹¹ and contended that "Unless the Lord had been on our side, they had swallowed us up quick. . . ."¹²

A pleased God smiled on his people at Second Manassas, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Chickamauga, but how explain Donelson, Malvern Hill, and Gettysburg? Simple enough: the Lord turned a sterner side to his children be-

⁷ *Richmond Enquirer* (Virginia), June 2, 1862.

⁸ John Randolph Tucker, *The Southern Church Justified in its Support of the South in the Present War* (Richmond, Va., 1863).

⁹ J. H. Elliott, *The Bloodless Victory. A Sermon Preached . . . on Occasion of Taking Fort Sumter* (Charleston, S. C., 1861), 7.

¹⁰ Stephen Elliott, *God's Presence with Our Army at Manassas . . .* (Savannah, Ga., 1861).

¹¹ Thomas Vernon Moore, *God Our Refuge and Strength in this War . . .* (Richmond, Va., 1861).

¹² Edward Reed, *A People Saved by the Lord . . .* (Charleston, S. C., 1861).

cause of their manifold sins, designated in sermons as intemperance, violation of the Sabbath, immorality, greed and avarice, a proud and haughty spirit, covetousness, and a host of others. "It is a visitation of God," cried Bishop Elliott, "to make us understand that present victory and final success depend altogether upon his presence and his favor."¹³ Bishop Wilmer contended that reverses in 1864 were "a part of our discipline," but he was certain God would achieve the work in hand "in His own good time."¹⁴ And the Reverend Mr. Minnigerode assured his flock that God "chooseth his people in the furnace of affliction. . . . Let us confess it, brethren, there has been no nation which has started her career with such boastfulness and looked upon her struggles as so transient, her victory as so easily achieved, as ours. . . . let us do our duty in His sight . . . and we cannot, we shall never fail."¹⁵ The infallible formula of rationalization came to a logical conclusion in the words of John H. Caldwell, who said, after the downfall of the Confederacy: "If the institution of slavery had been right God would not have suffered it to be overthrown. . . ." ¹⁶ The church was able to eat its cake and have it too.

As the war went on, politics, patriotism, and religion became indistinguishable in the sermons of the day. Bishop William Mercer Green preached in St. Andrews Church in Jackson, Mississippi, on June 17, 1863, but "had good reason to fear that the effect of the sermon was driven from the minds of the congregation by the unseemly manner in which the organ was played . . . the harsh and martial style being much better suited to a military parade. . . ." ¹⁷ The Episcopalian Council in Virginia claimed that "what is wanted, is not sermons on the times and the war and the objects of the country's hopes," but "just the glad tidings of salvation."¹⁸

¹³ Stephen Elliott, *Ezra's Dilemma* . . . (Savannah, Ga., 1863).

¹⁴ Richard H. Wilmer, *Future Good—The Explanation of Present Reverses* . . . (Charlotte, 1864), 24.

¹⁵ Charles Minnigerode, "He that believeth shall not make haste . . ." (Richmond, Va., 1865), 8-13.

¹⁶ John H. Caldwell, *Slavery and Southern Methodism* . . . (Newnan, Ga., 1865), iii.

¹⁷ *Journal of the Protestant Episcopal Convention, Diocese of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1865), 7.

¹⁸ *Journal of the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia* . . . (Richmond, 1863), 39.

But the *Christian Observer and Presbyterian Witness* more nearly expressed prevailing sentiment when it denied that the clergy could be neutral. "They might as well cease to pray for their daily bread, as to doubt the propriety of offering fervent prayer to God for the success of our arms and the discomfiture of our enemies."¹⁹ At least one minister had no problem, as H. A. Tupper believed that "Separation was necessary to salvation, and war to final separation."²⁰

In June, 1861, Bishop Elliott sent the Pulaski guards off to war with the admonition: "Ye may go into battle without any fear. . . . The church will sound the trumpets which summon you to the battle."²¹ Mr. Renfroe dedicated his sermon to the common people "with the devout prayer that God will 'teach their fingers to fight' the battle of liberty. . . ."²² The Rt. Reverend Alexander Gregg declared that "Never was there a purer, nobler emulation to discharge the *last duty* of a patriotic people, in defending the heritage committed to them in sacred trust." He cried aloud to God: "Stir up thy strength, O Lord! and come and help us. . . ."²³ In March, 1863, Rabbi M. J. Michelbacher exhorted both the Lord and his Richmond congregation: ". . . *Thou dost call upon the people of the South in the words Thou gavest to Nehemiah: 'Fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives and your houses!'* Who will turn a deaf ear to this Heavenly command. . . ?"²⁴ Mr. Watson believed that in such a holy war the church with clear conscience "can take her stand by the side of her battling children," and should send the "soldiers to the field, as part of God's work."²⁵

¹⁹ August 14, 1862. From Dr. Ross's column: ". . . let the preacher speak the truth for his country, and from the place where he has the highest power of influence." *Christian Observer and Presbyterian Witness*, May 21, 1863.

²⁰ H. A. Tupper, *A Thanksgiving Discourse . . .* (Macon, Ga., 1862), 7.

²¹ Stephen Elliott, *The Silver Trumpets of the Sanctuary . . .* (Savannah, Ga., 1861).

²² J. J. D. Renfroe, "The Battle is God's." *A Sermon Preached before Wilcox's Brigade . . .* (Richmond, Va., 1863), 2, hereinafter cited as Renfroe, "The Battle is God's."

²³ Alexander Gregg, *The Duties Growing Out of It, and The Benefits To Be Expected, From The Present War* (Austin, Texas, 1861); *A Few Historical Records of the Church in the Diocese of Texas . . .* (New York, 1865), 11.

²⁴ M. J. Michelbacher, *A Sermon Delivered . . . at the German Hebrew Synagogue, Bayth Ahabah* (Richmond, Va., 1863), 9.

²⁵ *Church Intelligencer* (Raleigh), June 26, 1863, hereinafter cited as *Church Intelligencer*.

Throughout 1864 the preachers called for a return to Christ as the means to put the Confederacy back on the road to victory. They tended to minimize defeat and to exaggerate the significance of minor southern victories. All that was needed, according to Elliott, was for the people to come "boldly to the throne of Grace, firmly believing that our prayers . . . will return to us laden with the blessings from . . . the God of the Armies of Israel." Perhaps unconsciously, the bishop sensed the South's greatest weakness when he declared ". . . freedom's battle will never go down in blood and disaster, unless the blows which destroy her come from within."²⁶ Though much of despair and despondency may be found in sermons of the waning months of the Confederacy, there is overwhelming evidence of a steadfast faith. As late as February, 1865, Dr. Porter of the Charleston Church of the Holy Communion, called upon his people to "Fight! fight, my friends, till the streets run blood! Perish in the last ditch rather than permit the enemy to obtain possession of your homes."²⁷

Most of the thousands of tiny tracts (short sermons) distributed to the army during the war were devoted to salvation, but a hundred or so were unvarnished appeals for patriotism. Just before the spring campaigns of 1864, the *Army and Navy Messenger* noticed the publication of another edition of one of these tracts written by the now dead Thornwell, whose "stirring words, like the blast of a bugle, still echo through the land. We can conquer and we must. We can make every pass a Thermopylae, every street a Salamis, and every plain a Marathon. If we are overrun, we can at least die; and if our enemies possess our land, we can leave it a howling wilderness. But under God we shall not fail."²⁸ A favorite device both in tract and sermon was the exploitation of martyred heroes from obscure privates to Leonidas Polk and Stonewall Jackson.

²⁶ Stephen Elliott, *A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Savannah . . . April, 1864* (Macon, Ga., 1864), 5, 18.

²⁷ Quoted in Charles Coffin, *Four Years of Fighting . . .* (Boston, Mass., 1866), 477.

²⁸ April 1, 1864.

The most impressive way to reach the largest number of people was by means of a national fast day. Davis called for universal observance of nine such occasions, and Congress, state legislatures, and various denominations called for so many more that a strict compliance would have saved enough food to feed Lee's hungry army. Stephen Elliott thought a fast day worth a hundred shiploads of arms.²⁹ Observance of the fast, of course, implied humiliation and prayer which would, in turn, lead to an assault on petty vices called sins by the evangelical churches. In this situation the sermon maker took advantage of the war to serve his own end of fighting the devil. A supreme effort in this category came with the blistering attack by Mr. Burroughs on the New Richmond Theatre:

I deem it fitting to give this public notice from the pulpit. . . . Does it not seem a peculiarly happy time for theatrical amusements? Shall we all go and laugh and clap to the music while the grasp of relentless foes is tightening upon the throats of our sons . . . ? Men enough to form an effective artillery company deny themselves the patriotic desire in defending the country . . . to devote themselves to your amusement. . . . The New Richmond Theatre is a public assignation house, where any vile man may be introduced to an infamous woman by paying the price of a ticket.³⁰

Presumably some of this preacher's Baptist constituents may have gotten vicarious pleasure from his lengthy and detailed foray against sin.

In the latter years of the war extortion and desertion were the choice targets most often assailed from the pulpit. Mr. Renfroe struck out against "extortioners, speculators, Shylocks, deserters and tories . . . preying like vultures on the vitals of the country. . . ." ³¹ An unusual message of this type was preached before General Hoke's Brigade of North Carolinians on February 28, 1864, by Chaplain John Paris. The brigade had watched the hanging of twenty-two deserters, each of whom the chaplain had visited before the macabre

²⁹ Stephen Elliott, *How To Renew Our National Strength* (Savannah, Ga., 1861), 16.

³⁰ J. L. Burroughs, *The New Richmond Theatre . . .* (Richmond, Va., 1863), 3-4.

³¹ Renfroe, "The Battle is God's."

ceremony. The sermon, widely circulated in pamphlet form, designated these soldiers as the victims of mischievous home influences, the real culprits being civilian croakers who had indulged in peace meetings and who had spread their "poisonous contagion of treason" to the men in uniform.³²

As the Confederacy became increasingly paralyzed with war weariness, her people might yet be stirred to desperate resistance if convinced of the terrible alternatives to victory. The use of atrocity stories was bound to be an integral part of such a campaign of fear. Mr. Dreher spoke of "plunder, arson, murder, and rape" as early as June, 1861,³³ but not until the despondent spring days of 1862 did the *Christian Observer and Presbyterian Witness* shout that "Defeat will be the death to us, and worse than death, it will be INFAMY. We and our children will be slaves to the North, and entail the curse of servitude under a military despotism for ages to come."³⁴ Northern leaders were proposing "a gigantic scheme for colonization, prosecuted in behalf of a needy, degraded and lawless population, which can be neither fed nor tolerated at home. . . ."³⁵ We shall all become miserable slaves and paupers, crushed under the heel of a brutal and tyrannical mob. . . ."³⁶ Dr. Thornwell warned that defeat would bring homes pillaged, cities sacked, men hanged, and women "the prey of brutal lust."³⁷

The triple-edged combination of horrors at the North, atrocities of northerners in the South, and the threat of overwhelming barbarism if the Confederacy failed, swung into high gear in the last two years of the war. The mild-mannered superintendent of education and preacher in North Carolina, Calvin H. Wiley, declared that the North "has summoned to its aid every fierce and cruel and licentious passion of the human heart," and had called for battle "by the assassin's dagger, the midnight torch, by poison, famine and pesti-

³² John Paris, *A Sermon Preached Before Brig. Gen. Hoke's Brigade . . . Upon the Death of Twenty-Two Men, Who Had Been Executed in the Presence of the Brigade for the Crime of Treason* (Greensborough, 1864).

³³ Daniel I. Dreher, *A Sermon . . .* (Salisbury, 1861).

³⁴ March 6, 1862.

³⁵ April 10, 1862.

³⁶ Quoted in *Christian Observer and Presbyterian Witness*, May 8, 1862.

³⁷ *Central Presbyterian* (Richmond, Va.), May 15, 1862, hereinafter cited *Central Presbyterian*.

lence.”³⁸ Sermons were filled with stories of desecrated churches, desolated homes, and outraged women. Grant was butchering thousands of men in his striving for the presidential nomination.³⁹ The North was saying, “Rebels have no rights. Their lives are forfeit. If we slay them all we do but justice.”⁴⁰ And so the clerical campaign of terror continued with accelerating shrillness to the end of the conflict.

The philosophical thread discernible in every religious argument in support of the Confederacy was the identification of God, the right, and the destiny of history with slavery, the Confederacy, and the war. All nations “at this late period must be born amid the storm of revolution, and must win their way to a place in history through the baptism of blood,” asserted Bishop Elliott.⁴¹ “Who can fail to see the hand of God in the whole movement?” queried J. C. Mitchell,⁴² while the Reverend Henry Tucker assured the Georgia legislature that not only had God brought on the war but that he often used the wicked [North] for divine ends.⁴³ Thomas Smyth wrote of “God’s manifest presence and providence” with the Confederacy whose constitution was “sealed in the chancery of Heaven.” The Lord had entrusted the southern people with “an organized system of slave labor, for the benefit of the world . . . while imparting civil, social, and religious blessings to the slaves. . . . God now spoke as with a voice from Heaven, saying, ‘Come out of the Union, My People’. . . . Then came up from the millions of hearts the shout, ‘Go forward! for God is with us of a truth!’”⁴⁴ Dr. Palmer proved

³⁸ C. H. Wiley, *Circular to the Authorities and People of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1863), 8.

³⁹ *Christian Observer and Presbyterian Witness*, June 23, 1864.

⁴⁰ *Church Intelligencer*, Jan. 26, 1865.

⁴¹ Stephen Elliott, “*New Wine Not to be Put in Old Bottles.*” A Sermon . . . (Savannah, Ga., 1862). As early as President Buchanan’s fast day on January 4, 1861, Pastor S. P. J. Anderson of the Central Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, Missouri, declared that “God is at work. He often punishes nations by letting them go mad, and in an hour of infatuation find food for years of bitter and unavailing repentance . . . it may be that the terrible but needed trial by fire . . . will re-unite us.” He put part of the blame on the preachers. “I will not allow myself to ask how many have stolen fire from God’s altars to kindle the flames of sectional strife.” Anderson, *The Dangers and Duties of the Present Crisis* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1861).

⁴² J. C. Mitchell, *Fast Day Sermon* . . . (Mobile, Ala., 1861).

⁴³ Henry H. Tucker, *God in the War* . . . (Milledgeville, Ga., 1861).

⁴⁴ Quoted from *Southern Presbyterian Review* (April, 1863) in Stanton, *The Church and the Rebellion*, 294.

from the "immutable laws of God" and the "lessons of history" that the Confederacy could not fail. "When a nation becomes too strong for its virtue it is a rule of God's government that it must be divided or destroyed." According to the teachings of God, the Confederacy contained all the requisites of a great nation.⁴⁵

There is limitless testimony of the power and influence of the clergy. Governor Francis Pickens of South Carolina gave the religious leaders credit for the "unanimity and deep enthusiasm of the whole people,"⁴⁶ and the chairman of the military committee in the Confederate House, William Porcher Miles, testified in 1865 that "The clergy have done more for the success of our cause, than any other class. They have kept up the spirits of our people. . . . Not even the bayonets have done more."⁴⁷ Professor R. L. Stanton of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Danville, Kentucky, wrote a huge volume indicting the southern ministry for "the inception, advocacy, progress, and the consequences resulting [from] this treason and rebellion."⁴⁸ Andrew Johnson, having jailed several Nashville preachers, asked, "*Who are these reverend traitors . . . ?* They have poisoned and corrupted boys and silly women, and inculcated rebellion. . . . These men have stolen the livery of heaven to serve the devil in. . . ." ⁴⁹ And a former enthusiastic Confederate minister from Memphis, R. C. Grundy, gave it as his opinion that ". . . the southern rebel church . . . is worth more to Mr. Jeff

⁴⁵ *Sermons of Bishop Pierce and Rev. B. M. Palmer . . . before the General Assembly . . .* (Milledgeville, Ga., 1863).

⁴⁶ *Reports and Resolutions of the General Assembly . . . Passed at the Annual Session of 1862* (Columbia, S. C., 1862), 19.

⁴⁷ *Christian Observer and Presbyterian Witness*, Feb. 23, 1865.

⁴⁸ Stanton, *The Church and the Rebellion*, 154.

⁴⁹ *Central Presbyterian*, July 4, 1862. On the 4th of July, 1862, Jordan Stokes declared in Nashville that southern ministers were guilty of "converting their sacred pulpits into rostrums from which flow fiery tirades of denunciation, sedition and war to the death, and of churches . . . vieing with each other as to which could dip deepest its pure white robes in the innocent blood of a wicked rebellion, or could furnish the larger number of Generals, Colonels, and Captains to lead brother against brother on fields of blood and carnage." *Oration of the Hon. Jordan Stokes . . . delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives . . .* (Nashville, Tenn., 1862), 16-17,

Davis than an army of one hundred thousand drilled and equipped men. . . ."⁵⁰

Obviously, the avalanche of patriotic Confederate sermons failed in its purpose. The people of the South lost their will to fight. It might have been different if other formulators of public opinion, the politicians and the editors, had been as steadfast and as effective as the preachers. It would be difficult even today for a southerner to believe that God had chosen the side of the Union, but it may have been that He decided to play the role of an impartial or disinterested spectator.

⁵⁰ Fred T. Wooten, "Religious Activities in Civil War Memphis," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, III (June, 1944), 144-147; Benjamin Franklin Perry was particularly bitter in his denunciation of the clergy for bringing on the war. Lilian A. Kibler, *Benjamin F. Perry: South Carolina Unionist* (Durham, 1946), 362.

HOME-LIFE IN ROCKINGHAM COUNTY IN THE 'EIGHTIES AND 'NINETIES*

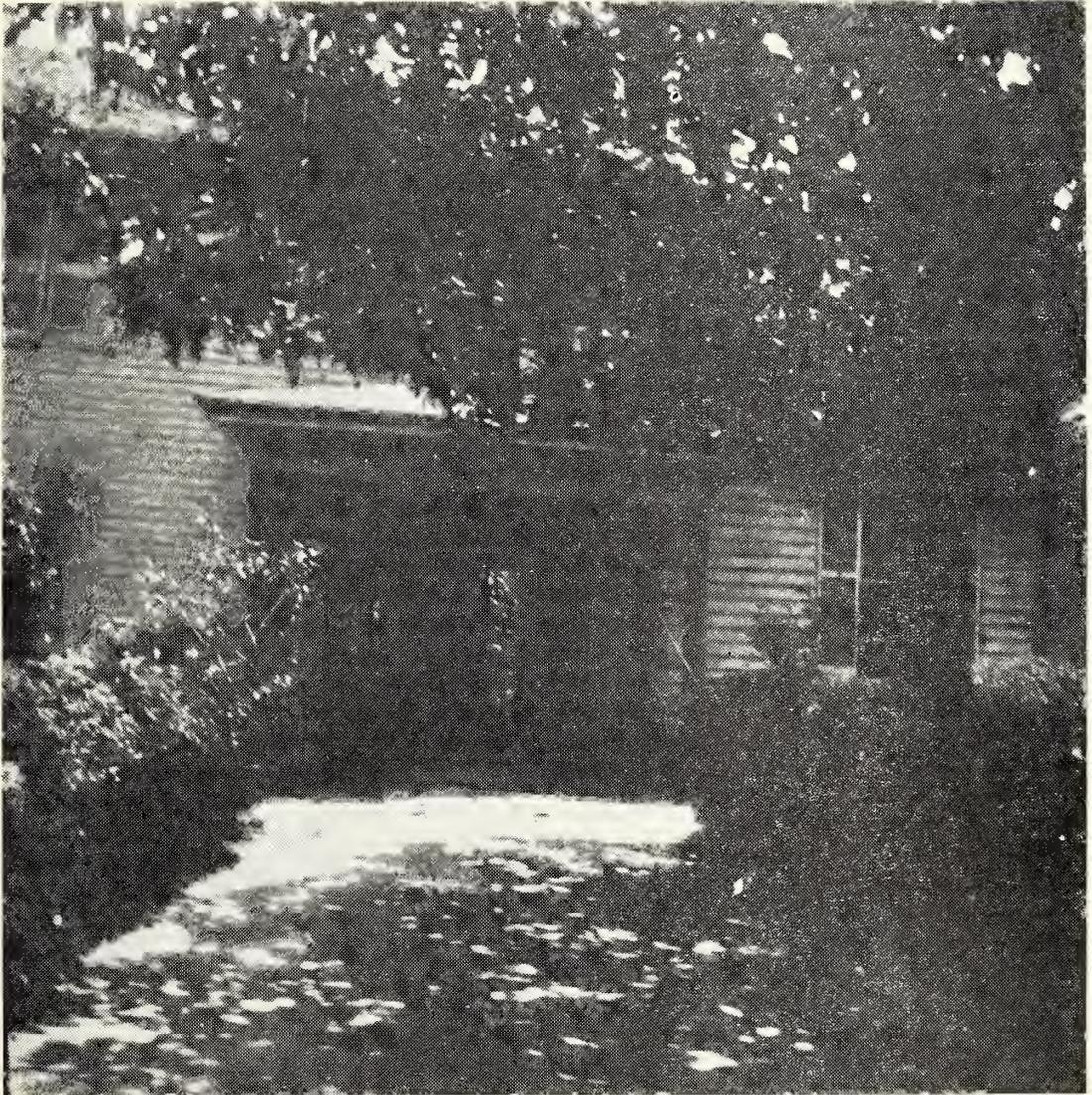
Edited by MARJORIE CRAIG

In Old Wentworth

In old Wentworth, North Carolina, the village of my birth, the homesteads were situated on spacious lots, composed of several acres, so that the owners had room not only for houses, outhouses, front and back premises, but large orchards and grass-lots besides. The front yards and houses were on a fairly level piece of ground, but the back yards and gardens on either side of one street gradually slanted back to a spring branch or some stream of water; and for that reason many of the gardens were terraced to prevent washing away during heavy rains. On these terraces were often planted grape and raspberry vines, fig bushes, damson and quince trees. In protected spots, facing south, little blue and white Roman hyacinths, buttercups, and violets often bloomed in January. Hot beds and asparagus beds on these slopes produced greens for the table very early in the spring—crisp radishes and lettuce, and asparagus for soup.

Neat flower beds began on each side of the front gate, inside the palings that divided the street from the yards, the larger plots being separated by shrubs and borders of dwarf tree boxwood, euonimous, arbor vitae, roses, spirea, deutzia, syringa, wiegelia, forsythia, the golden bell, crepe myrtle, lilac, and the beds made of hyacinths, violets, white and purple, that were fragrant, buttercups, tulips, crocuses, anemone, little Johnny-Jump-ups, lily of the valley, and other summer flowers. I used to think that our own garden was sweetest when the Siberian crab-apple was in bloom and the Paul Neron, the Sofrano and the La France roses nearby were bursting their buds, but it was hard to find a special

* These vignettes, largely reminiscences, were written about 1935 by Alberta Ratliffe Craig (1871-1950), who was the author of "Old Wentworth Sketches," published in this journal, Volume XI (July, 1934). Miss Marjorie Craig, her daughter, who edited the notes for the present article, died on July 5, 1955. She was the author of numerous articles and poems. Her most recent work *The Known Way* a collection of poems, was published posthumously in October, 1955.



The Wentworth home (c. 1900) of Thomas Anderson Craig, father of Albert Ratliffe Craig.

season for my father's flower garden. There were favorites for every season, even in a green-house full of "box flowers" that called for his most devoted care and attention, in the dead of the winter.

Beautiful and rare flowers in boxes and pots graced the lawns and porches in summer on flower stands, pyramid in shape, and in pits in winter on a succession of wooden shelves. These had to be watched in winter and kept from freezing by means of lighted stoves or lamps, to be occasionally watered, and otherwise cared for.

Every available place had some sort of fruit growing—raspberries, strawberries, currants, grapes, cherries, apricots, apples, peaches, pears, quinces, damsons, and plums—not one but several varieties, so that each season there was an abundance to eat, and quantities to preserve for winter use. There were big walnut, hickory, chestnut, and mulberry trees, besides chinquapin, hazelnut, haw, locust, and persimmon, growing wild nearby, on hillside lots. Blackberry, dewberry, and huckleberry vines also furnished wild fruits. Fox grapes and another variety called 'possum grapes made a delightful change from the cultivated garden grapes. These grew along creek banks, and were hard to get. They grew high among branches of willows near or over streams, and among brambles. To go hunting fox grapes, or muscadines, combined with a fishing trip, was one of Wentworth youths' pastimes.

Locust and persimmon trees always grew together, or quite near each other; and that is why I suppose some one thought up "'simmon beer," which is made of these two fine old wild fruits, combined often with dried apples in the beer.

Sassafras tea made from the bark of dried sassafras root was drunk at the table, as a tonic as well as a beverage, in spring. Other wild roots, such as calamus, sarsaparilla, burdock, "bar foot," and many others, were stored for medicinal purposes.

The Siberian crab-apple in my father's flower garden perfumed the whole neighborhood while blooming and later delighted the eye by its cherry-like fruit, hanging in clusters of rose and gold. When, too, the wild locust trees bloomed, the whole town was perfumed by their grape-like clusters of

pure white loveliness. Of course copals were not highly appreciated, except by the bees. When in bloom they were offensive to smell, but the bees swarmed to get the sweets. Years ago, the legend goes, a Wentworth student returning home from a Virginia college, brought the first "Tree of Paradise" and planted it there on the street. Its graceful foliage, bright seed pods, and sturdy drought-resistant qualities make it a desirable plant for the landscaper and builder of parks in many cities of today.

In the spacious back yards, fenced off from garden and lot, were outhouses for servants, for poultry, a wellhouse, and smokehouse.

In the old log-bodied kitchen, or servants' house, was a big open fireplace for heating flatirons, and boiling the clothes in an immense black iron pot, hung on a crane over the fire. Here the family washing was done. Here, too, was baked the salt-rising bread, in skillets and ovens, heated by means of hot coals, beneath and on top. Delicious loaf pound cake and fruit cake were likewise baked in this manner. Corn bread, corn pone, and soda biscuits baked in this manner, made out by hand, had a taste and flavor unexcelled by any other method of cookery. Ash-cakes made of meal and water, baked on the hot rocks of the fireplace, and covered by ashes, were luxuries from Black Mammy's kitchen which once enjoyed were never to be forgotten.

The ash-hopper, standing in the chimney corner of the servants' house, was the first step to homemade soap, made of drip lye, and used for many household purposes, especially the washing of clothes. Hickory ashes from the wood fires were put into the hopper; and water poured over them trickled through to the bottom. A vessel set beneath the platform on which the hopper rested caught the resulting liquid lye. Waste fats from the kitchen, combined with this lye, and boiled to solid mass, became lye soap.

Nearby was the smokehouse, a large log-bodied building with a stout lock and key, that held a year's supply of salt pork.

Chickens, turkeys, ducks, and guineas roosted in the fruit trees, as well as the hen-house. Small coops for the young

fowls also had a place in the back yard that was fenced off from garden, front yard, and horse-lot by wire and wooden partitions. Wire mesh for poultry yards was a delight to my father, who was always eager to adopt new things.

Beyond the back yard on either side were the garden and the lot. In the latter were the corn cribs filled with corn for the stock. In the eaves were pigeon-boxes where many varieties of these graceful birds lived. On top was a martin box for martins brought luck! There were shuck pens for the stock, a carriage house, underneath which the ice-house was usually located, other styles being a pit, with only the roof visible above ground; stables for the horses, mules, and feed; sheds around these for vehicles; pig-pens, and pens for refuse.

It was on top of one of these old pens one day that my sister, a few years my senior, and I found a wagon-top removed from the body, and looking so invitingly like a play house. She set up housekeeping in one end of the curtains and I in the other. A strong wind came along and carried the whole thing off down a steep hillside, but we were still in the curtains and, after recovering from the surprise, enjoyed the ride.

The Spring and Fish Ponds

The old spring at home resembled nothing so much as a tall cake that had two or three slices removed, leaving a gap in the hill of rocky walls on sides and back, and was therefore very cold. My father built fish ponds on this spring branch, stocking them with fish gotten through our Representative in Congress at Washington, for free distribution. These tiny ponds broke several times, and I have often wondered if the large carp so often caught in Dan River since, did not spend their youth in some such pond. Along the edges of these ponds my father planted fragrant mint and blue forget-me-nots. I am wondering, too, how far they have traveled. Lake Lucille, the property of Mr. Reuben D. Reid on another hill, has long since contributed of little and big fishes to "the noble Dan."

Minor's Mill further down-stream, was a favorite fishing place, also.

Hog Killings

Like corn shuckings and the ice-harvest, the slaughtering of hogs was a community occasion, for men, women, and children. Several neighbors combined and killed their hogs together, scalded, cleaned, and hung them up on long poles to bleed and cool, on the very coldest of winter days. All the fat being removed to the kitchens, the women prepared this for trying-out into lard, and also ground and seasoned the lean meat into sausage, when the hams and other lean parts were trimmed. Youngsters clamored for pig-tails to roast and eat, and bladders to blow into balloons, but were not allowed at the scene of the slaughtering by their parents, for fear their children would become brutal at seeing such sights.

Dainty dishes of brains, sweet-breads, and kidneys were so plentiful they palled on the appetite. There were the haslets, consisting of the liver, lights, and heart, that made a savory hash, seasoned with red and black pepper, sage, and salt. There were the heads, that were often combined with the liver, and made into souse-meat or, with corn meal, into liver pudding. There was the seasoning of the ground sausage, and spicy odors of little cakes of it being fried to test the amount of salt, sage or pepper; then the stuffing of it into small entrails prepared for smoking; or into bags, or cooking and packing it into glass or stone jars, and the pouring of hot lard over it, to seal it until needed, months later.

The entrails, well-cleansed and soaked for about a week in salt water, and cut into short lengths, battered and fried, were a great delicacy. They were called chitterlings.

All fat was tried out in iron pots and other available vessels, poured when done into fifty-pound tins, stone jars, and smaller buckets. This lasted nearly all the year, and was used in bread-making and in frying. The small blocks of crisp fat bacon that floated to the top of the tried-out lard were stored away for cracklings and, combined with meal, water, and salt, made the South's famous "shortenin' bread."

When the meat that had been slaughtered was cooled, it was cut up and salted, and put away in the smokehouse. The key to the smokehouse was of brass, and about six inches

long. It hung in a conspicuous place in the living-room. This key fitted into a big lock on a strong door opening into a log-bodied cabin, the inside walls of which were surrounded by a wooden-enclosed platform, about four feet high. On this platform were large wooden boxes, filled with salted "sides," hams, shoulders, jowls, and other choice pieces of cured pork. At certain seasons these were hung up to the rafters above, by means of hickory withes, and further submitted to the curing process, being smoked, the fires made of hickory chips, on the dirt floors beneath. Then hams and shoulders were treated with a preparation of saltpetre, molasses, black and red pepper, wrapped in paper, then sewn up in clean, heavy domestic sacks, then white-washed with lime—all of which was the method used to keep out flies or other insects. In this way the hams, especially, were reserved for later summer, fall, Christmas, or kept for two-year-olds, when the meat became "cheesy," and much relished.

Through the courtesy of fertilizer companies that my father represented as merchant in Wentworth he sometimes received from the Atlantic coast a barrel of fresh oysters, in the shell. These, kept in a cool cellar, could be opened when needed, by applying heat to the shell, the oysters easily coming out. Sharing a gallon of oysters with a neighbor was just a friendly exchange then for some like favor.

Parties of sportsmen often went out to Dan River seining and returned with turtle and fish of fine quality and size. The beautiful red-horse, much larger than, but resembling our gold fish in the aquariums, mullets, eels, perch, catfish, and other varieties constituted a day's haul. Or perhaps they went to "The Bent," a pond where wild ducks were abundant. These, with frog-legs, were great luxuries. Often wild turkeys, partridges, and squirrels were in the day's take. 'Possum hunting with hounds was done at night, A fat 'possum was the luxury that called for sweet 'taters, 'simmon beer, and red pepper sauce.

Pantries and closets were filled with stone crocks and jars of preserves and pickles of great varieties. These were covered with cloths dipped in beeswax, tied on, and further covered with heavy wooden lids. Honey from the bee hives,

dried fruits and vegetables; also vegetables in kilns, in winter, supplemented so much meat that was used for diet.

Housekeeping meant much ado in those old Wentworth days, but there was much with *to do*. Hams from the smoke-house, eggs and chickens and other fowl from the poultry yard; ice from the ice-house; maybe a half or quarter of beef, mutton, or shoat on ice in the ice-house, when occasion demanded a quantity; fresh and dried vegetables—these were some of the answers to a house-wife's complaint "What will I give them to eat?"

Many Hands

There had to be "hands" to accomplish so much. There was, first of all, the cook, whose recipes consisted chiefly of "handfuls of this, or a pinch of that," but with a result altogether delightful; the house girl who was right-hand helper to the cook and kept the general appearance of the remainder of the house what it should be at all times; a house boy whose duty was to supply the house with well-filled wood-boxes and with water, to run errands, in summer to keep plenty of water in buckets and pails, and also to serve at table with a flybrush, made of many layers of newspaper strips, fastened on a long stick. These he sleepily waved back and forth over the table. An elegant successor to the black boy in the late eighties was a mechanical centerpiece that, when wound like a clock, sent two gauze-covered wings spinning round and round, scaring flies or bumping heads as the case might be.

There was a lot-boy, who cut wood and looked after cows, a wagoner who bought goods from Reidsville, these being shipped from Northern markets to merchants. Another driver who looked after the stables and the stock, hauled wood, and did some farming. On rare occasions he drove the carriage. In our family the steeds were mules that had hauled wood all week, the driver a crippled old darky, the coach itself was all right, but second-hand!

What others think often causes youth more discomfort than physical suffering would. My mother often laughed over Uncle Thomas Johnston's discomfiture at having to accompany his sisters to church or parties, wearing a beaver and sit-

ting outside by the driver, not realizing what a gallant figure he made on such occasions.

Many of the young men had two-horse buggies, and "buggy-riding" was an important and interesting pastime for young men and ladies, as their steeds pranced through the dusty or the muddy streets and roads. Others had small buggies with rubber tires, which were "the latest thing" in the nineties.

The family carriage that had once belonged to us had long ago been sold to Mr. Sam Wray, who kept a wagon and buggy repair shop. Its last appearance on the stage was when some one played a prank on a neighbor. Two families were applying for the Post Office. The disgruntled and defeated candidate awoke one morning to find the carriage at his door. Facetious passers-by remarked quite audibly, "Umph, the _____s must have company!"

Families as a rule being large, each child had his daily duty to perform, before breakfast even. A porch, a hall, a bedroom, or dining-room must be put to rights. The kerosene lamps tended on week-ends, the front walks, and like duties claimed their time on Saturdays. Then, too, the customs of the day demanded that when there were daughters they should take turns at carrying the pantry keys, giving out the meals, and also planning meals, but always returning the keys to the mistress of the house, who kept them in her pocket!

Older children in the family had duties as well as the youngsters who swept or did some like task. At my old home our oldest sister kept school several hours each day, and she was about the strictest teacher we ever had. We did a great deal of memory work, learned to read with expression, to count, to add, subtract, and multiply. We studied catechism lessons and memory verses on little blue tickets to be taken to Sunday school. When correctly recited, these were exchanged for red tickets, much more valuable, as credit for work. Another sister sewed for us. Above all was our mother, who often counseled us on health: to wear rubbers in the rain, to wear plenty of clothes in the cold, never to sleep in damp sheets, not to sit down while clothing was wet but change immediately on coming in from sudden rains. She taught us

that lying is a disgrace and ranks with stealing; that what belongs to another is his, not ours; that a woman's fortune is her virtue. She believed that family and *blood* should count, especially in marriage.

My mother also knit the family stockings, shaping them at the knee as well as at the heel. They were usually some drab color, dyed from an infusion of bark from trees. Gentlemen wore "pulse warmers" or wristlets to protect their hands from cold when riding horseback or driving. They also wore woolen underwear and socks, and high boots into which they sometimes stuffed their trouser-legs. In summer their shoes were high top gaiters with elastic in the sides so they could be more easily pulled on and off. This operation was performed by means of a "boot-jack," a kind of iron prong that gripped the heel of the shoe as one held it in place with the other foot, in removing the mate. A very stylish garment worn by gentlemen in summer was a long overcoat or linen "duster" to protect their clothes in riding a long distance. Ladies sometimes wore one too, and yards of veiling around immense hats, and light linen collars and cuffs or ruffles or ruches at their high-necked, long-sleeved dresses. Their skirts were sometimes ruffled from the waist to the bottom of the skirt, or perhaps it was tucking. Sometimes in addition to the intimate garment next to the skin there were at least two, and perhaps six, petticoats. It depended on the gauziness of the outside dress worn. Wash day was an occasion in those old times. So was ironing day. There were many starched frills.

My mother's tea-cakes and ginger snaps were famous. She usually made a peck at the time; and they stayed under lock and key, to be passed around when neighbors came to sit till bedtime. I'll never know what those grown-ups talked about, for we children were invariably sent off to the dining room to "study your lessons," but we could hear gales of laughter ever so often. They must have had a good time in those old days when their children actually obeyed (to the tune of a hickory switch if they didn't). Good old times!

My mother had a tracing wheel and would get patterns from the supplements in *Harper's Bazaar* by tracing them onto plain wrapping paper. It seemed an intricate job, but

she succeeded fairly well with them. She also spent much time cutting out receipts and gems of thought in prose and poetry from the papers and making scrap-books of these, so that at her death each of her six surviving children drew a scrap-book, in the division.

I think I shall never recover from the distaste I acquired for "hand sewing" at my mother's knee. First, the long basted seams, then the back-stitched seam beneath that, and quite often the fell. I am inclined to put the sewing machine in a class with the wonderful wire-screen as a benefit to woman-kind. Think of making a man's suit with one's fingers! Not that I ever did, but some people did. Think of the infinite pains with which our mothers hemmed and ruffled and tucked and puffed their dainty summer dresses, and all their intimate underclothing.

There were a number of good magazines and papers taken in our home, although there were so few books. We had, besides *Harper's Bazaar* already mentioned, *Frank Leslies*, *Godey's Ladies' Book*, the *New York World*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), *Home and Farm*, and the state and county papers—besides the *Christian Observer*, the *Christian Herald*, and the *North Carolina Presbyterian*.

It was my father who, after a strenuous day at the store, would sit with us at the dining-room fireplace where the children remained in the evening while the elders were in Mama's room talking grown-up things. He often read to us, or provided us with amusing literature such as the *Youth's Companion*, *St. Nicholas*, or *The Chatterbox*, a copy of the last always included in the Christmas gifts to his children.

His eagerness for new things and places found vent in his going, often, to Baltimore to buy dry-goods for his store, and bringing back ideas about serving foods, setting the tables, and other city customs.

Having a touch of rheumatism, he often went to Beaufort, taking one or two of the children, to get the benefit of salt-water bathing, which he said was a cure for that disease. My two brothers were fortunate companions of his on most of these journeys.

Family Ties Are Severed

The store of which my father was proprietor, on the north side of the one Wentworth street, continued to be a center of trade for a large section of country, contributing also to the maintenance of our own household.

There were always outsiders in our home. Perhaps it was the public-school teacher, or my uncles—who before the Boyd-Reid co-partnership maintained a small law office in our garden, one door opening into the street and the other into our garden. Perhaps it was a young clerk at the store. Many of these clerks went out into the world as business men of ability, or into some profession. Ministers were often entertained, and an upstairs room was called for that reason “the prophet’s chamber.” Boarders were as great a delight to my father as they were an aversion to my mother. I think he got a breath of the outside world that he liked so much, in some degree, that way. Sometimes he even went North to buy his goods, returning with new-fangled things, such as as organina, or organette, that had to be wound up, and played mechanically, like a player piano, on a punctured roll. He, accompanied by my eldest sister and other family groups of Wentworth people, also attended the Centennial at Philadelphia in 1876. He was devoted to newspapers and always kept in close touch with the doings of the Legislature and of Congress, when they were in session.

In the late 'eighties he began selling fertilizers, and not being a successful collector of bad debts, he met his downfall as a merchant. The old store passed into other hands, his successor being Brother-in-Law David Lawson Withers, who had in 1879 married Sister Bessie.

Their marriage was a beautiful June-time affair. The bride wore a veil and orange blossoms, the couple having several attendants. The ceremony was held in the parlor, underneath a huge bell covered with creamy-white yucca blooms; the clapper a magnolia bud. In the yard and garden the trees and shrubs were draped with gray-green Spanish moss my father had ordered from Eastern Carolina, the scene faintly lighted by Japanese lanterns, then quite rare.

In addition to rich cakes and meats, a huge bran-loaf cake was the center-piece. It was decorated with fancy icing, flanked on each side by lace-work stands, holding white artificial flowers, then the rage, the effect being beautiful if not practical. Having eaten stale cocanut, discarded in some of the preparations the day before, my next-oldest sister and I almost failed to enjoy any of the grandeur of the first wedding in the family.

Sister Eugenia was married the following year to W. B. Coppedge, of Cedar Rock in Franklin County. Guests were served a dainty breakfast at small tables, after which the couple left for their home, in Franklin County.

Then Sisters Fannie and Willie Anna were married, the former to Luther A. Bobbitt of Franklin County who was a neighbor of Sister Eugenia's, and the latter to Robert W. Morphis, who had become a clerk in my father's store at the age of thirteen and had grown up in our home. Both of these sisters died quite young. Robert Morphis then married a cousin of ours who lived in our home and went to the public school in Wentworth. Her name was Neva Mobley. They were truly a part of the family at all times.

In February 1887, Sister Cora was married to A. J. Wall, of Pine Hall in Stokes County. The next morning the bridal party set out for the bridegroom's home, the couples traveling in two-horse buggies. It was a distance of only about twenty-five miles; but roads were rough and frozen, so we did not arrive at our destination till late afternoon. We had halted at the old Stephen Moore place, half-way between Wentworth and Madison, and eaten a hearty lunch, brought from home, consisting of many good things from the wedding supper the night before.

It has been said that the negroes at Major Leonard Anderson's home—the real Pine Hall, a large estate, for which the post-office was named—had never known they were free. Anyway, those at the Wall home in the same neighborhood seemed to have some such idea too, for they were numerous and attentive when we arrived, and many had to be introduced as "Black Mammy Charlotte," "Uncle Will," the old "nuss" Mariah, his wife; and "Nat," and so on. We spent a

pleasant evening getting acquainted with new in-laws and guests, enjoying good food, and conversing before huge fires, mostly of pine knots, that were so abundant in that section, and the next day returned home.

The Walls were lumbermen on a rather large scale, and shipped their products by means of rafts poled down Dan River to Madison and to Leaksville, to be sold by dealers in these towns, or as direct orders. Fishing at their mill pond or shooting frogs or gigging fish was a favorite pastime for the young men in the summer evenings. I remember one supper on a later visit to this hospitable home, when there were sixteen frog-legs fried golden brown, together with many other delightful dishes for which this home was famed.

We had been told on that wedding-trip that the ford at Hogan's Creek near the Stephen Moore place was deep and treacherous, but all our party got over without mishap. A few years later, however, my father and I had a most exciting experience there, on a return visit to Pine Hall. It had rained during the time, and the creek was badly swollen. Not knowing the ford, my father, seeing three men on the opposite side, gladly accepted their proffered help to get us across, one driving the buggy, another holding out a friendly pole to steady us in walking the foot-log, for there was no hand-rail. I must have missed my footing, for I was frightened. Suddenly we were all three in a swirling mass of rocks and water, rapidly going down the swollen stream, getting our clothes torn to shreds. In a miraculous way we were rescued by these kindly men. After walking in these wet clothes up a steep hill, we were further befriended by a kind old lady, who dried our garments, supplied us with others, and in so doing aided us in finishing our journey home late that afternoon. But I have never been able since to walk a foot-log.

The next to marry were Brothers Bob and Tom, the former to Mattie Crafton of Wentworth, and the latter to Pearl Smith of Walhalla, South Carolina. Then the old home, once so full of people, held just my father, my mother, and me, until Sister Bettie and Brother Lawson Withers and their three children came to live with us.

Brother Lawson was a wonderful sportsman. Going out with Dexter, the horse, and Rex, the old pointer dog, and his gun, he often returned in the late afternoon with a guano sack half-filled with birds, squirrels, and a wild turkey or two. And once there were thirty birds and five wild turkeys. My sister was expert in preparing these wild meats. We often feasted on a large platter of golden-brown partridges and cream gravy; or squirrel stewed with dumplings; or roast wild turkey surrounded by the smaller birds; and delicious soft brown biscuits. Or perhaps the bread was hot rolls made of home-made potato yeast, beautiful to look at, and more delightful to taste or smell. Or perhaps it was corn meal muffins golden brown. She was an artist with breads and cakes, as well as meats.

Three Old Cronies

In my first Wentworth sketches I mentioned two small boys that sold lemonade all day at Court-week time from two lemons. They were my sister's boys, and together with the bird dog Rex were known as the "Three Old Cronies," and often got into mischief. One day, after a fishing-trip they brought home in a sack some live bull-frogs which, when emptied out on the back porch, cried like human beings. They were also fond of tolling the neighbors' ducks to a nearby pond with corn they "borrowed" from their father's store. If the corn gave out, the ducks turned back, much to the disgust of themselves and a boy chum accompanying them. Rex felt himself so much a member of the family he actually crawled beneath the covers in his master's bed, where he was discovered, at bedtime one night.

Their sister and her pet goats were familiar sights on the Wentworth streets. They often got into scrapes, also. At the age of four, being a youngster unabashed by any one, she began visiting the officials at the Court House. One day Mr. Snead, the Register of Deeds, found her sitting complacently in the middle of one of his big books on his desk and remonstrated a bit sharply with her. She indignantly replied: "Mr. Sneeze, if you look at me like that again, I'll back my years and swallow you whole!" Her grandpa,

who had never allowed his own little daughters on the streets without their mother's permission, seeing her outside one day, told her to go home to her mother. She replied: "Grandpa, you're *a honey*, but the bees don't know it!"

It was about this time that my mother died, and my father then two years later married a widowed cousin, Mrs. Fannie Andrews of Hillsboro. And having a small gift of money from my own mother, I, at last, realized a desire to go to the school the great McIver had established at Greensboro, called the Normal and Industrial School for Girls.

Living down on East Market Street with my mother's sister, doing my own light housekeeping, I for two years, by means of a hop, skip, and jump across the town with other ambitious day students, managed somehow to arrive, while the assembly bell was still ringing, be in our seats in the upstairs chapel in the present Administration Building, by the time attendance was taken, which happened every day of the week, often Saturdays included. We were rarely ever tardy. It seems a sort of dream-miracle, now.

Not having sufficient funds to finish at the State Normal, I secured a public school the next year, and taught for the three years following.

Teaching

My first little school was at old Salem, two miles from Reidsville in a log cabin, just behind the Salem Methodist Church. The benches were made of split logs and had no backs. The room was heated by an immense open fireplace, and the writing-desk was a long polished board that extended across the back of the room, under the main window. The children's classes ranged all the way from the first to the seventh grades. This school lasted four months.

The next two years I spent teaching at Ruffin. This being my mother's old home, I had many kinfolks and acquaintances. I lived in my Uncle John Johnston's hospitable home most of the time, where I was treated as a daughter, and where some of the days of my girlhood were spent. The young people of the village were congenial, and we were always having a good time of some sort.

Although I never went on a fox chase or attended one of their tournaments, they frequently included me in their fine outdoor amusements, especially at Christmas times. There were many fine riders among the young men and some of the girls, also, in fox chases.

Ruffin

Ruffin, North Carolina, is a small village situated on the Southern Railway, nine miles north of Reidsville, the country surrounding it being a succession of green hills, with the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia to the northwest. The view from the train or bus is one of peace and plenty a succession of small farms with orchards and crops with a background of native pine near the homes, and in wide stretches of country, where rich tobacco farms are cultivated.

One mile south of the railway station, on the Lawsonville road and near Lick Fork Creek, stands the old Johnston homestead, where my mother was born. She owned it at one time but sold it to a nephew, Thomas W. Stokes, who has kept it in a very fine state of repair, even adding some rooms and porches. Thomas Stokes is now dead, but his family still live there. Across the road is the family burial ground where my grandparents Susan and Richard Johnston, and others, are buried.

The old home, like many of its kind, was the scene of much hospitality in bygone days. Whenever my mother went on a visit there, word was passed to Ruffin, and many of the former schoolmates came to "sit till bedtime" and "crack jokes." The hospitable side-board abounded with the necessary condiments for a "toddy" or "dram," and all visitors were invited to help themselves.

Grandmother in her corner knitting, her sons, daughters, and their friends forming a wide semicircle about a huge open fire-place, and merry talk and laughter is a picture from my childhood's memory.

When Bishop Oscar Fitzgerald came back from his adopted California home, or Judge Adolphus Fitzgerald, his brother, came from Nevada, his adopted home, there were many

meetings in their honor. They were greatly loved in their native town and state. Then, there was their brother "Wes," the best loved of them all, who never left his old home town. The Wright brothers—John and William, the Rawleys—Rufe and Lindsay, "Fayte" Blackwell, the Hannahs, the Stokes boys, "Neighbor Dods," across the creek "Honest Ant'ny Benton" were a few of those friends of my mother's old home that I recall. Occasionally there was a call from relatives at Lawsonville—the Motleys, or Aunt Mary Neal, my grandmother's sister, or from the elegant Cousin William Bethell, or the Kesees at Pelham. A girlhood friend, Cousin Nancy Motley, visited my mother regularly, as long as she lived. She became very deaf and used a trumpet, which was always a source of amusement to children. And Cousin Nancy humored them by blowing into it for them, or by telling them ghost stories, in which she seemed firmly to believe, about her old home at Lawsonville. Cousin Nancy kept up her visits to me long after my mother's death. Now she is gone also.

A quadrangle of negro cabins, with the stables on one side, and the kitchen on the other, were at the rear of Grand-ma's home. A series of stepping-stones connected the house and kitchen. I seem to see Aunt 'Riah Mills toting in the stewed corn, or some other delectable dish, from that "fur piece"! Just for the sake of not smelling the cooked food.

"Black Mammy" Rachel continued to live in one of the cabins, long after "The Surrender." Before her death she became blind; and my uncles had her brought to Wentworth, the cataracts removed, otherwise caring for the beloved old servant, who was refined and lady-like, and devoted to the family. She died soon after the operation.

It was Uncle John Johnston who assumed the place of head of the house after my grandfather died, bringing his widowed sister, Bettie Stokes, from her little farm near Reidsville where she and her three young sons were trying nobly to carry on their farm, but so unprotected, to live with them at the old home.

My Aunt Bettie and her son Tom had some books of fiction, and it was in this way I first came into the land of "make

believe," she and I sharing the same bed, each with a book, reading far into the night, and I crying myself to sleep over a glorified heroine. At our little school in Wentworth Miss Mattie Mebane, our teacher, told us stories in serial form as they came out in the *Youth's Companion* or the *Christian Herald* and the *Christian Observer*, of the Reformation, and other historical events children are fortunate to be informed of, making them realize they not only are alive but have a heritage, to be cherished and cultivated.

My Cousin Richard Allen Stokes, affectionately called "Colonel," carried himself like a soldier, and loved dogs and fine horses. He was always attended by a pack of hounds, and it was wonderful to see the amount of corn pone that had to be cooked for them. Often at daybreak the sound of his horn and the baying of hounds was the signal for Uncle John, who was also an enthusiast of the chase and maintained his own pack, together with other Ruffinites, to be off on a fox chase. They rarely returned without several brushes, or perhaps the live captives. Often there were ladies in the party. Out of courtesy to them the brushes were allowed to become sweeping plumes in the ladies' riding-caps, upon their triumphal entry into the village.

Uncle John built a modern home in a beautiful grove of elms and maples, with a serpentine driveway, at Ruffin about 1885, when he first married—to Miss Sara Belle Russell of Caswell County. She lived only a few years but left one son, Russell. Then his two younger brothers, Pink and Jule, married two younger sisters of Sara Belle's, Annie and Willie.

The wedding of Aunt Willie and Uncle Julius was from this home. The procession formed at the house, and marched across the road to the Methodist Church, a barn-like structure that sat right at the railroad. Fortunately, no trains came by to drown the voice of the minister at the time.

(As is the case in Wentworth, so it is at Ruffin. Fires have destroyed many of the old landmarks. Uncle John's home has long since been burned, and the trees also perished by the heat. The old church, later converted into a flour mill, has since been torn down also, and a new one has been built

in a quieter part of the village.) Uncle Julius then located at Yanceyville.

Uncle Pinkney, who married Annie Russell, brought his bride to Wentworth, where they lived several years at a place adjoining our old home. It had formerly been the home of Colonel Andrew J. Boyd, one of the law firm of Boyd, Reid, Johnston and Johnston. Col. Boyd built a new home and located in Reidsville.

Upon the death of Aunt Belle, Uncle John Johnston married Miss Cora Williamson, of Ruffin, from which union there were three children, Louise (Mrs. Robert Wray of Reidsville, now deceased), Corinna (Mrs. Bert Bennett of Winston-Salem), and a son, John Anthony, of Reidsville.

Uncle Pinkney and Aunt Annie moved to Reidsville. Their home was the present site of the Anne Penn Memorial Hospital. All three uncles are now dead.

It was in Uncle John's home that I became engaged to Jasper Craig of Reidsville. He was an ardent devotee of military tactics, and soon rose from rank to rank, till upon his death, sixteen years later, he had become colonel of the Third Regiment of the North Carolina National Guard and attended maneuvers each year, generally held at Morehead City.

Mr. Craig and I were married June 22, 1898, in Wentworth, and came to live in Reidsville on Piedmont Street, my present home. Ahead lay a new life, in a new century.

PLANTATION EXPERIENCES OF A NEW YORK WOMAN

Edited By JAMES C. BONNER

[*Concluded*]

Burnt Fort ⁵⁶ [Georgia] Jan. 16th, 1858

My dear Father:

The Dr. did not return from North Carolina until last week, so I could not write you about the harness. He wishes me now to write & say he would like you to have one made without breeching, for thirty dollars, so soon as it can be made. Ben hired a few more hands in addition to those of last year & bought Anarchy, Demps' wife (gave only one thousand dollars for her). She can cut out pantaloons, shirts &c & is a good sewer & can wash, iron or cook and work out. He also bought Lewis the distiller. Paid over \$1200.00 for him, and a yellow boy about thirteen years old. I forgot what he cost—somewhere about a thousand I suppose. So, you see the Dr. believes in Negroes & pine land.

While he was gone, I remained quite alone in the midst of the pine woods with the Negroes. I missed society but I was not afraid. I hope if we all live another year, I will have someone with me the next time he goes to North Carolina. Among other items of interest there was a large wolf shot about four miles from here a few days since. I understand there are plenty of the same sort in the surrounding woods. . . .

Somehow I don't feel like writing. I feel too much worried. Every other moment something is wanted & I'm too much confused for anything. . . .

Sarah

⁵⁶ Burnt Fort was the site of a fortified village constructed during the Revolution, on the Satilla River near the Okefenokee Swamp. The fort was burned around 1800 and the site subsequently became the center of extensive sawmill operations in Charlton County. Sometime before the Civil War a few turpentine distillers, largely from Virginia and the Carolinas drifted into the region and established the naval stores industry. Turpentine was being manufactured in only five Georgia counties in 1860. Charlton County produced more than four times as much distilled spirits as its closest rival. Alexander S. McQueen, *History of Charlton County* (Atlanta, 1932), 24, 51, 53, hereinafter cited McQueen, *History of Charlton County*; Census of 1860, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants of Charlton County; *Manufacturers of the United States in 1860* (Washington, 1865), 63. Census schedules for State of Georgia are to be found in the Library, Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville.

Burnt Fort, Nov. 23rd, 1858

My dear Father:

I have been waiting to answer your very welcomed letter in order to tell you of the arrival of the horses. They came last week. Were detained in Savannah nearly a month, on account of yellow fever being there. The steamboats from Savannah were quarantined at St. Mary's. . . . The Dr., Virginia and Demps have gone to Camp Pinckney⁵⁷ today. They are going to see the things which came in on the last vessel. Started from here on a four mule wagon. They include the stove, piano the box and barrel from New Hartford, the two barrels of apples, we expect on the vessel which is expected next week. The Dr. has lately (last week) purchased some more land in Ware County. He considers it good investment. The Albany & Gulf Railroad⁵⁸ passes through one corner of it. He paid \$1000.00 for 490 acres. It is about four or five hours ride from Savannah and in a very healthy section. He thinks he may eventually build there. It is beautiful pine timber. . . .

Thanksgiving is past with you. I hope Lucinda spent it with you. It was her intention to do so when I saw her. With us it is the 25th. The Dr. went up to Ware County and I made a mistake and kept Thanksgivings last Thursday. I found, in reviewing the year, I had many, very many, reasons for thankfulness. Although we have had some losses, yet we have been greatly blessed. In the turpentine business they are able to pay for their land, their still, their wagons, and mules, the hire of their hands and have about (\$3000.00) three thousand dollars to divide. And, while I remember these temporal blessings, I would not forget to be thankful for the hopes which the Gospel inspires and pray that such hopes may be shared by all I love. Ever your affectionate daughter

Sarah

Burnt Fort, Dec. 6th, 1858

My dear Mother:

I promised Pa in my last letter to write you soon. Since then I have received a letter from you and him jointly, also one from Mary. Another vessel arrived at Camp Pinckney a few days

⁵⁷ Camp Pinckney, a boat landing on the St. Mary's River was named for a military encampment located there during the War of 1812. A turpentine distillery was established there long before the Civil War. McQueen, *History of Charlton County*, 24.

⁵⁸ The Savannah and Albany Railroad Company was organized in 1853 and in the following year the name was changed to the Savannah, Albany, and Gulf Railroad. By the beginning of the Civil War the road was completed only as far as Thomasville, two hundred miles west of Savannah. L. D. Lee and J. L. Agnew, *Historical Record of the City of Savannah* (Savannah, 1869), 145-146.

since and the Dr. has gone down to see about getting the apples (which are on board) and sundry other articles home. He says he wants to enjoy them before he leaves with the hands for North Carolina, which will be in about a week. You'll think I'll be very lonely, but somehow I feel as though it was all right & I'll be taken care of. Thus far I have not suffered from loneliness as much as I had expected. . . .

I have no salt rheum to speak of, as yet. I have never been free from it so long before. The children are well. . . .

Sarah

Burnt Fort, March 25th, 1859

My dear Parents:

Yours containing bill for harness &c is received. Enclosed you will find an order for the balance due you. . . . I can't write as easily as I used to up in the old room at home. My mind is so filled with eating and drinking and "wherewithal shall I be clothed" of our family of sixteen here, five up in Ware County & over thirty getting turpentine. Though these latter do not come to me for clothes or food, still they call this their home and several of them always are here Sundays.

We have lately had a very singular death of one of our servants, viz. Guilford (Moses' oldest son). You know it is against the law for them to go without a pass from their master or overseer, nevertheless, they do go. Some of our turpentine hands will work all day & then walk eight or ten miles to dance all night. Well, Guilford undertook to go, got lost in the woods & wandered for nearly six days. At last he found his way to a house, almost perished with hunger & exposure. Imprudently, they gave him a full meal of hominy and meat. Fever followed. It was the last the poor fellow ate. He lingered about a week and then died. We did not know that he was missing until he had been out three days (he worked in turpentine). We knew there had been no cause for his running away & so concluded he had been stolen. He said he ate nothing from his supper, Tuesday night, until Sunday morning. . . .

There are two hundred and fifteen acres in Mr. Hannum's place⁵⁹ & about thirty acres cleared. The growth is principally live-oak, water-oak & some orange trees. The land is adapted to raising corn, sea island cotton, sweet potatoes and all kinds of

⁵⁹ This was a tract of land in Florida acquired by Williams through the settlement of a debt owed by Enoch Hannum. The place is frequently referred to as St. John's Bluff. It was located on the St. John's River in Duvall County, a few miles east of Jacksonville. Junius E. Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary* (New York, 1952), I, 34-36, 90-92.

vegetables. We have had asparagus & radishes, but it has been too wet and rainy to plant the corn fields. The sweet corn has come up nicely in the garden. The river is very high & it has been raining all the week. Just now I am spending a good share of my time in looking after hens, eggs & chickens. We are getting a plenty of eggs & I don't mean it shall be my fault if we don't have plenty of poultry for the table next year. We have about fifty fowls & I'm ambitious for two or three hundred. So, I've put up sewing and gone into it & every day you might see me, sometimes with one of the girls & sometimes alone, going a half-dozen times to get eggs, set hens, &c, &c, &c. I find I'm getting much interested in them, and all the children, black and white, also. If a hen cackles you'll hear the cry "My hen's nest" & a running for the new laid egg. . . .

We need a little something to enliven us here in the woods. I have not been a mile away since I returned six months ago. . . .
With love, your daughter

Sarah

Burnt Fort, April 12th, 1859

My dear Parents:

I am going to attempt a letter, but whether it will ever be finished, will be known in the sequel. We are now planting & as usual in such times, everything else must give in—washing, ironing, scouring, &c. The consequence is everything and everybody looks dirty and cross and sour. The Dr. has gone to Ware County much against his inclination. I look for him tomorrow. In the meantime it's "Miss Sarah here" and "Miss Sarah there" & then little children must run to Mama and the little black images will be around. I lie down at night tired enough to sleep like a rock & yet cannot tell what I have done but trot after the children, trot after the Negroes, trot after the chickens, eggs, & hens & turkeys & trot, trot, trot, all day. Then too, I have not the satisfaction of using my hands as I would like to do. This waiting other peoples motion is not my will, but it is the Lord's will & I know I ought to be more submissive and more patient. Today rafts have come down the river with one white and four black men aboard, all to have dinner here. So, you may think in addition to a family of eighteen or twenty, if there is any more house work than the way you live. . . . I have not been out of sight of the chimney nor inside a neighbor's house since I entered this last October. The other day Miss Guerard ⁶⁰ called & on her return we crossed the river. That is the farthest I have been

⁶⁰ Probably the daughter of J. B. Guerrard of Camden County.

gone. You would have thought her sufficiently dressed for Broadway. She was very pleasant and expressed a wish to be more sociable. . . . With love, yours

Sarah

Burnt Fort, May 2nd, 1859

My dear Father:

. . . The trial so far as the turpentine distillery is concerned, came off week before last & was decided by jury in the Dr.'s favor. The judge's charge was all on our side. The counsel for Mr. Potter moved for a new trial, but the judge would not grant it. They talk of appealing to the Supreme Court. The verdict of the jury was that Potter should pay the Dr. twelve hundred (\$1200.00) dollars with interest from the time it was removed till the present time, or to return the still with fixtures, in good condition, within sixty days from the rendition of the verdict.⁶¹ So far as the land is concerned, the Dr. has filed a bill in equity against them which will not be tried until next Fall, if then. . . . Our little family are all well. We went to "preaching" to Center Village⁶² yesterday (ten miles). There is to be preaching there every month, the first Sunday, now. Our neighbor, Miss Guerard, sent me over some early plums the other day. We have turnips and greens for dinner & tomorrow I shall pull some beets the tomatoes came up nicely & are now in blossom. The sweet corn has tassels & silks & we had cucumbers yesterday. . . . I have not heard from Hattie Bernhard in some time. Love to all. Your affectionate daughter

Sarah

July 18, 1859

My dear Father:

Yours of the 4th was received yesterday, so you can judge of the manner in which Uncle Sam does up his work in this part of the country. Well, I think we have had the hottest weather

⁶¹ In a later decision by the Supreme Court this judgment of the lower court was reversed. Enoch Hannum sold the turpentine still to Gilbert Potter in May, 1855. In order to prevent his creditors from attaching his other property, Hannum executed a mortgage in favor of Potter on all of his remaining property, including the turpentine still. When placed at auction Williams bought the still and then Potter presented his claim to it. B. Y. Martin, *Reports of Cases in Law and Equity . . . Supreme Court of the State of Georgia*, XXIX (Columbus, 1860), 743.

⁶² Center Village, ten miles from Burnt Fort, was settled around 1800 as a fur-trading center. It achieved its importance as a result of its proximity to Camp Pinckney which place was considered too unhealthy for habitation. Being the trading center for people in a large area of sparsely-inhabited territory, it continued an important village until after the Civil War when the building of railroads caused it to fall into decay. McQueen, *History of Charlton County*, 24; Adiel Sherwood, *A Gazeteer of Georgia* (Macon, 1860), 42.

I ever experienced, for the last few weeks. It has taken all my strength and appetite, & now, while I write the sweat drips from my chin & my hand trembles so I fear you will have trouble in reading what I write.

The Dr. was much pleased with Mr. Hannum's place, & sometimes talks of going there to live. He got the sheriff's deed for it, so I suppose there is no doubt who owns that. . . .

I send a list of things we would like to trouble you and Ma to get for us & send in the box this Fall. If convenient, I would like them in September. I think your friend, Boney, is likely to answer your prediction in regard to him. I remember well, when the press was calling him sneeringly "the nephew of the uncle", you used to shake your head and say they'd find out Bonaparte was no fool. At any rate, now, he seems to be the champion of right towards whom the world is looking in breathless anxiety. Will not the Pope lose his temporal power and will we not, in our day, see the fulfillment of one prophecy of Revelation? ⁶³

The Dr. has gone to the turpentine farm. He yet speaks of writing to you. . . . Ever your affectionate daughter

Sarah

Monday, Nov. 7th, 1859

My dear Parents:

Yours acknowledging draft & shipment of apples, has been received. The apples arrived safely by the last vessel & came safely to hand on Saturday. There are but few rotten ones among them. We have all feasted. . . . The Dr. returned from Florida on Saturday and brought two or three very nice apples from his place there. It is not at all likely we shall ever go there to live. The Dr. has bought more land on the Satilla River in Ware County recently. . . . It lies on the southern side of the river and is two and a half miles from the depot & post office. The gentleman who owns the land at the depot & around it will not sell a foot to any one who will sell liquor. Tebeauville ⁶⁴ (the name of the depot) is about ninety or ninety five miles from Savannah. The Dr. intends putting up a still right by the road and aims to send hands up there in the course of a week or two. He had his distiller and overseer engaged, also about thirty or thirty-five hands besides his own. There is a house on the place, unfinished,

⁶³ This passage apparently refers to Napoleon III's Agreement of Villafranca, in July, 1859, which promised certain reforms and ended the Franco-Austrian war without achieving the unification of Italy.

⁶⁴ Tebeauville became known as Waycross in 1883. The Brunswick and Albany Railroad crossed the line from Savannah to Thomasville at a point less than two miles from the post office of Tebeauville. The station and the post office were subsequently abandoned and moved to the railroad crossing. William Harden, *A History of Savannah and South Georgia* (New York, 2 vols., 1913), I, 519.

consisting of two large places and two small rooms. We shall probably live in two places until the suit is decided. That is, we shall probably spend part of the time here and part there. Eventually, I think the Dr. will build there, but at present his capital is required in his business. I can make shifts now easier than when I was first married, because I have learned how. There are a little over three thousand acres in the tract and it is called number one piney land. What he will do here remains undecided. Whether he will buy out Mr. Baker⁶⁵ or vice versa, or divide, remains to be seen. If you wait for us to get settled I fear it will be long ere I see you again. As for going North I do not even allow myself to think of it. The Dr. may go, in fact, talks a little about going next summer, but our children are too small to travel with soon again. I certainly shall not leave them, besides I have too many little ones to burden you with at once. I sent you a paper giving an account of the insane project in Virginia, one of the diabolical schemes of a set of fanatics who, if they had their way, would deluge the land in blood,⁶⁶ How I wish they could see this thing as it is. But, there are none so blind as those who won't see. The Dr. & children unite with me in love

Sarah

Nov. 11th, 1859

My dear Parents:

My letter to you was forgotten the last time the Dr. went to the turpentine farm and as the Dr. and I are going to call on a sick neighbor, and as I have a few leisure moments before the horses are ready, I devote them to you. I will not send the papers I spoke of as I see the New York Observer gives a very concise account and the editor's remarks are excellent, on the late attempt at insurrection. You will readily see how very anxious (I speak ironically) the slaves are to be liberated, when the few that joined Brown & Co. were compelled, and one who would not was deliberately shot. I wonder what his dying thoughts of "freedom" were. You ask, perhaps, "what will be the result?" I tell you what I think. Vigilance committees will be formed, every northerner, man or woman, will be closely watched and if heard advancing incendiary sentiment, let him or her be certain to take the first northbound express train. This is the great good the

⁶⁵ James Britton Baker came to southeast Georgia from Gates County, North Carolina, in 1838, and was one of the earliest turpentine operators in Camden and Charlton counties. He accumulated a fortune in the naval stores industry before his death in 1886. McQueen, *History of Charlton County*, 195.

⁶⁶ On October 16, John Brown marched with a band of followers against the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in an attempt to arouse slaves to insurrection.

“Philanthropists” have accomplished in addition to opening the African slave trade. It is my opinion that the leading abolitionists of the North were well aware of the movement. Northern Ohio seems to have been the ground for concocting the work. It seems to have been the will of God that the scheme should fail, however much His Satanic Majesty may have differed in opinion. But enough of this. We are going to take some of your apples to a sick lady & I expect the carriage is ready. The Dr. sends love,
Sarah

Burnt Fort, Jan. 18th, 1860

My dear Parents:

Yours of Dec. 31st was rec'd on Monday. The last newspaper I have read was dated Dec. 29th, so you see I am quite ignorant of late news. The Dr., however got later as he returned from Ware Co. on Saturday. He likes his place there better and better, and if he can arrange his business will move us there in the course of a year.

The Dr. has forty-five hands now at work in Ware County. He and Mr. Baker are working about thirty-five hands at the old place, eight miles from here. These hands are from Georgia and Virginia. Those in Ware County, besides the Dr.'s are owned by his relatives in North Carolina.

Jane William's husband, Mr. Hooker, has purchased a cotton plantation further up the same railroad, paid ten thousand dollars for it and no buildings of account on it. They propose moving from North Carolina this month. Mr. Hooker's brother was here not long since. He has lately purchased a turpentine farm thirty miles below the Dr's., on the same road.

Joseph is left a widower with one child. He buried his wife a few months since. He writes to me in deep and honest affliction. She was his idol, and he is desolate and alone. John and Richard are farming in earnest. John made between fifty and sixty bales of cotton on the old plantation last year.

Mother Williams' health is better than for several years. We keep talking about our house but we do not expect to build for some time. The Dr. talks of putting up what will be our kitchen for us to first move in, as it will be to our interest to go there as soon as possible. Besides, if we are there we can arrange to plant trees to suit us. The last time he had about four hundred and fifty fruit trees engrafted. There are several good situations for building. . . .

I suppose, Pa, you will favor the Union Party? The Dr. wishes to be remembered and says he intends to write to you when he gets his business all straight. You will see by the papers that

my prophecy about the formation of vigilance committees throughout the South was correct. What else could they do? Write soon to your daughter

Sarah

Burnt Fort, March 11, 1860

My dear Parents:

I have taken a few moments this night of the holy Sabbath to tell you that we are all now pretty well. . . . Since the Dr. wrote to you & when the Baby was not quite a week old, Ben was obliged to go up to Ware County. While he was gone Virginia, Hattie & I all had dysentery, also three of the Negroes. It seemed to be epidemic. The Dr. has rented out this place to a man with a wife & eleven children.⁶⁷ They live across the road & seem to be real kind-hearted people. Mrs. Grooms was in several times a day while I was sick. Several of her children have been sick with the dysentery. The Dr. was home last week & is now gone again to Ware. He expected his still & wished to see to putting it up. I do not expect him under two or three weeks. He spoke of my going up with him & leaving all the children here but the youngest, but I can't do that. He wants to have me help select a place to build. He has set out & engrafted between four & five hundred fruit trees. He ordered some choice ones from a nursery in Savannah. The Negro women & children stay here with me. We have planted a sweet potato patch & mean to keep up a good garden if we stay. The Dr told you Ann was dead. Poor thing, she suffered dreadfully. Demps' wife & Lizzie were with her night and day for two weeks & the Dr. employed counsel. Everything was done for her that could have been done for me. Well, she is gone & I feel that I did all for her I could. She expressed true sorrow for her sins & for two or three months appeared very differently from her former headstrong course. It is bed time. I wish you could look in upon us. I have three bedsteads in the room. Virginia and Hattie in one, Henry in another & Baby & I in the third. Fan & Let have their beds on the floor. Good Night. Ever your affectionate daughter

Sarah

Burnt Fort, June 1st, 1860

My dear Parents:

. . . You must pardon me if my letters are not satisfactory, for I never feel satisfied with them myself. As an excuse, I can only say I have four little babies & a nurse of twelve years, who although a help, is a child herself & needs watching. I know my

⁶⁷ Josiah Grooms and his wife, Sarah, had nine surviving children in 1860. Census of 1860, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants of Charlton County.

children are to live in eternity & I shall have an account to render & I want to do it with joy. Then, Lizzie has three children & Ann one. Now all these are in and about the house constantly & you know must be to me a care. Lizzie and Ann both have their sick times. Lizzie is one of that kind that is always going to die. She says nobody thinks anything ails her, consequently she consumes a great deal of my time by her complaints, which I try to bear in patience. But it worries me & my nerves get dreadfully agitated. Oh, my dear Mother, I do know what it is to be nervous & I wish from the bottom of my soul I did not. Now, in addition to our own family, the farm is rented to a man with a wife & eleven children. Now, every day these children are here, at all times. Now, while I write, three of them are already here, but fortunately Virginia, Hattie and little Samuel are asleep, so it is stiller than usual. The Dr. went away to be in Savannah the first Tuesday in May. The United States marshal served us with a writ of ejection & he had to answer it. The lawyers did nothing as usual. The Dr took the time to go to Jacksonville to pay the taxes on St. John's Bluff. While there, he met Mr. Potter, who took pains to be very civil. He tried to draw the Dr out, and said he would like to own a place on the St. Johns, &c, but the Dr. always pretty still, can be stiller when he chooses. Mr. Potter has been as near as Center Village. The Dr. has gone again to Ware & next Tuesday is to be in Savannah again. We suspect a compromise is to be proposed, as Potter remains around. The Dr told me to tell you how many barrels of turpentine & rosin he had shipped, but I have forgotten. I remember he said there were five carloads waiting when he left. The Dr said he intended writing you while he is gone this time & tell you more particulars of his business. The timber was not sold, but the Dr. shipped one ship load as a venture. The rest is in the lake, about a million and a half feet, locked in with a boom. And there it will stay unless he gets his price.⁶⁸ The Dr is going to put up a house for us for present use immediately. I send you a plan of the house as near as I can. There will be more closets, but we have not them fixed yet. The house is 38 ft. Two rooms upstairs are pretty much in the pointed roof. There is a gable window to the upper hall. There is a shed back of the house in which are the dining room and the children's room, which is 12 ft. wide. It is not pretty outside, but it will be very convenient & comfortable inside I think I could have designed a house just as convenient, far prettier, and not any more expensive, but

⁶⁸ After timber became scarce, in the present century, the raising of sunken logs from the Burnt Fort lake became a highly profitable industry in that community. Logs which had been submerged for nearly a century were found to be green "with live white sap still under the bark." McQueen *History of Charlton County*, 55.

the Dr's self esteem is bigger than mine, so I yield. They are now shingling and are going to enclose it, & I believe, put up partitions to two shed rooms and then stop.

The shoes fits well & we are well pleased with all, but I expect it the last we can order. These will probably be for heavy duty.

Sarah

Burnt Fort, Oct. 21, 1860

My dear Parents:

I have taken the last hours of the Sabbath to devote to you. A thousand things, made up of trifle, have prevented my writing.

I have to pack the six mule wagon, & these hands with Fan's help had the packing and boxing to do. Ann, Demps' wife, went with the wagon, so once more I tried Lizzie for cook, who you know is sick often. She gave out last Tuesday, the day the Dr. left and has been sick since. Today Jin was sent home from the still half sick, so now I have two to take care of. The propect of a two or four horse wagon coming to load in the course of a week adds to my cares, but Fan & I can do it. I tell you, I'm sick of servants. After all, Fan & Lett are my main dependence. Jin & Lizzie are not too sick to travel & I am tempted to put them in the next load, bag & baggage, to help the Dr. up there. The Dr. is hurrying the house & I know its going to be a botched up job. Procrastination is his besetting sin. I cannot tell you when we shall get in. He hoped to move us in two or three weeks, but I think it doubtful. He has too much on his hands. He has sold out his interest with Baker, or rather bought Baker out one day and bargained the whole concern next day. I am glad of that, as I want to consolidate business.

I am bothered a good deal in getting my mail. Please send my letters after this to Tebeauville, Ware County, Georgia. I shall get them as soon that way by the Dr. My last newspaper, dates in September.

I hope to see you this winter & just as soon as we can make you comfortable, will say so. But you are too old to go into a log house. The Dr. will be glad to see you, too. and your letter has hurried up matters, for which I thank you. I suppose Hattie has been with you. If with you now my love to her & tell her I shall write to her soon.

I went to church last Sunday for the first time in a year & heard an excellent sermon. I appreciate such things more than I used to. I hope if ever I can live again where I can go to church, I shall have a thankful heart.

Tuesday evening. I could not finish this Sunday night, so I sieze it now in hopes of finishing it. . . .

I hear there is some political excitement, even in the piney woods. Unfortunately, I can hear of but three Bell & Everett men besides the Dr. All others are for Breckenridge & Lane. For my part, I look to God alone to guide our ship of state over these tempestous waves & angry billows into a haven of peace and safety. And I cannot but believe that this Union founded, as it was by men who feared God, prayed for by a Washington, will be preserved and a man raised up to guide us, erring and sinful as we are, across these troubled seas of political turbulence. . . .

One who has ties in both sections can but regard it as a sacrilege. Yours in love,

Sarah

Sunny Side,⁶⁹ Ware County, Geo.
Dec. 3rd, 1860

My dear Parents:

Here we are at last. We moved last Friday. We have a very comfortable kitchen in which we have moved & which we shall occupy for some time, as the house is only framed and raised. I think I shall like it here better than at Burnt Fort, as we get a daily mail, at any rate. . . .

I like the looks of the country, too, It is rolling & of course, there is more variety. We intend to have a pleasant home. The house is unassuming, but plenty nice enough & we hope to make the grounds around pleasant. I hope next winter you will spend with us. I feel disappointed in not seeing you this one. I gave reasons in my last, & as yet the excitement continues. The Dr and I made a visit at a neighbor's (Mr. Mizell)⁷⁰ before leaving. He said "There are some conservative men North & I wish they were out. The rest have wronged us and if I hadn't a family, I'd shoulder my musket and march to the lines & fight them hand to hand. But for the sake of this family & this fireside, I can stand a good deal. We have stood a good deal." He's a grey-haired man. Yesterday we learned that a runaway was taken near here (who is now in the Waresboro jail) who says he was one of thirty others who were armed with guns. They were going East with two white men who promised them freedom. They traveled with them nights & he had left them and was trying to get back. You

⁶⁹ The name of the Williams plantation in Ware County to which the family moved in November, 1860, after the writ of ejectment was served in favor of Dollner, Potter and Company. It was located at Tebeauville, near the present limits of Waycross.

⁷⁰ Joshua E. Mizell, fifty-three years old in 1860, was one of the first settlers of Charlton County and a leading citizen of his community. McQueen, *History of Charlton County*, 231; Census of 1860, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants of Charlton County.

will see by the papers that Minute Men are forming companies all over the country. They are forming one at Waresboro.

I hope and pray that God, In His Providence, will yet overrule the minds of our leading men, that they shall be for peace & not for war, & preserve our Union. How would the old powers of Europe like to divide us among them. And how old England would shake his old horns in glee that he had at last outwitted the Yankee.

The children are all well & the rest of the family & well pleased with the new home. We have made about two barrels of sugar at Burnt Fort this Fall and a little more than one of syrup. Here we have about six hundred bushels of potatoes & are now enjoying fine turnips & greens in plenty, The Dr. sent you a draft of one hundred & ten dollars more than two weeks since. We have received no letter from you acknowledging it. In love,

Sarah

Dec. 6th, 1860, Sunny Side

My dear Parents:

The box came safely to hand last night and four barrels of apples—the fifth was missing. We opened the box just after night and it was a time of rejoicing among the children. Many thanks for the pretty bed quilt, my Mother, and the same to you, Pa, for the medicine, which I shall take though I have long ago ceased to expect a cure, & rather regard my malady as a part allotted by Providence for good and wise purposes, and strive & pray to bear it patiently, but for want of faith, I often, often, fail. The borax came in good time, for I am suffering with a very sore mouth, & Dr. was out of it. Henry's clothes are beautiful. He and Jinnie dressed up this evening to ride with their father to Tebeauville. Many thanks for the pains you took. Now, that we are within a few hours ride of Savannah, I hope we shall not have to trouble you so much.

I like the country here better than in Charlton County. It is more diversified. The Dr. bought more land last week adjoining his. A lot about 300 acres on which the Savannah, Albany and Gulf Railroad & the Brunswick and Florida Railroad intersect. He considers it a good investment.

We are living in our kitchen and the house is going up slowly, but I had rather wait longer & have it more convenient. Opening the box made me dream of you last night. I thought you were both here. I should like to realize it, but in the present unsettled state of the Country, I cannot think it best for you to come.

Have you seen the retaliatory measures proposed by the Georgia Legislature? Are they not as consistent as some of the Ohio laws? and those of some other Northern states?⁷¹

I have not time to write more now. . . . With love, yours,
Sarah

Sunny Side, Georgia, April 28, 1861

My dear Parents:

It was with great surprise and joy that I received your letter of April 16th last week. I supposed the mails were entirely stopped and I prayed God for strength to be willing to give you up, if such was His will. As I write I have no feeling of certainty that this will reach you, but trust it in the Hands of Him who can still the wild passions of men, as well as the stormy sea.

Before this reaches you, I expect to hear that Lincoln and his Cabinet have found Washington too warm a place and have gone to Chicago. They have to contend with desperate men, men who fight for their altars and their fires. I tell you now that Lincoln has played the aggressor. He will have to leave every inch of Southern soil. I need not tell you there is excitement. It is more than that, it is determination, it is the spirit of '76, the will to conquer or die. . . .

They tell me that the prejudice is much stronger against Northerners in the country than it is in the cities and towns, of the South. I know that I have felt it ever since I was in the country, though marrying a slave holder ought to free me from the charge of Abolitionism.

But enough of this. I felt it my duty to state things to you as they are. Badly as I want to see you, I should feel worse to expose you to vexations and troubles than to deny myself the real pleasure of seeing you. I know not when I may see you again but may we not all strive by true repentance and faith in the Son of God to live here so that we may spend Eternity together. . . .

Sarah

Nov. 3rd, 1862

Sunny Side

Dear Father, dear Mother:

I feared the Father above would not grant me this opportunity soon, but thanks to His name, I may now tell you all that we are

⁷¹ In November, 1860, the Georgia legislature proposed a number of retaliatory measures against those northern states which had refused to surrender fugitive slaves under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Among these proposed measures was one which would permit the governor to seize the property in Georgia of any citizen of these states and sell it to indemnify the owner of lost slaves. *Daily Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Georgia), November 11, 1860.

well. Since last I wrote you (almost two years) another little one is added to our band, now numbering five. We call her Martha Fedorah, after two of the Dr's sisters. She was born Dec. 31st, 1861. Tell Coz Julia, with my love, that hers via Fortress Monroe, was received with gratitude. Love to Sisters, Brothers, Friends.

The little folks & "contrabands" are oppressing themselves with sugar cane. I send you a sample of home manufacture, spun & woven by Lizzie & Ann.

Trusting you will embrace every opportunity to let me hear from you, I am, as ever loving, your daughter

Sarah

Jan. 1, 1863

Tebeauville, Georgia

Blessings on you my Father, my Mother, Sisters, Brothers dear, this Happy New Year. Happy because I may write you once more. Our Secretary of War has kindly granted Mrs. Wyman⁷² permission to leave the Confederacy & as she goes at noon, I have only time to say that we are well. We number one more in our family circle. . . . Hope paints the time on the canvass of the future when Father, Mother, Children & Grandchildren may meet around the old Hearthstone, or better still, welcome you to Sunnyside. I know your hair is whiter & there are more wrinkles in your face. They are coming on your daughter's & her hair is sprinkled with the white. Our mid-day sun is dark with the clouds, but we expect it to set clear and unclouded, because our trust is in God. Love to all friends. . . .

Yours ever

Sarah

February 21st, 1864

My dear Hattie:⁷³

I wrote to you several months since, but no opportunity offering by which to send a letter, it still remains in my portfolio. I have written repeatedly to Father & Mother but receive no letters. Others hear from their friends North, why not I? I received two since '62—one via Fortress Monroe, the other via Memphis. My parents are both so aged, I have my fears that they

⁷² Mrs. F. Wiman, from Rome, New York, was living at Tebeauville in Ware County when the war began in 1861. Her husband, who was employed at a sawmill, died during the early part of the war leaving the widow and two children stranded in a hostile community. She came to the Williams home where she lived until 1863 when she was able to return to her family.

⁷³ Harriet Bernhard, of Oswego County, New York, was a college friend of Sarah Williams. She visited the Williams family in Georgia for several months during 1858.

may not be living. Write to me, Hattie, and let me know of them and yours, I know if you receive this, you will go and see them and let them know of your receiving this. And write to me immediately. There must be a way provided there, as well as here, for sending letters occasionally. It has been the coldest winter I have ever known South. We are still having frosts, although I have garden peas three or four inches high. I had my garden made Saturday & sowed & planted. Peach trees are in bloom, but I fear the cold will kill the fruit. Were you here, what a comfort you would be to me, what a blessing to my little ones. Hattie, I am almost sorry I made that last visit North, for the Dr and I think you might have been still with us.⁷⁴ We have five little ones, Jennie, Henry, Hattie, Samuel (Joseph Samuel) & Mattie (Martha Fedorah). The sixth, an infant born the 7th January, sleeps its long sleep under an oak in the garden. It never opened its eyes in this world. We pass no idle moments. We all wear clothes made upon the place. Ann and Lizzie do the spinning & weaving, I do the teaching, knitting & sewing. Charity is nurse and waiting girl. Virginia can spin real well and sews and knits a little. Fan and March do the cooking, washing and ironing & cleaning. Henry makes the chicken coops. But, Hattie, the children are not learning as fast as I would like. I have but little time to read to them & not half enough patience. They talk of you with as much affection as ever. The Dr sends love and hopes to meet you again. The best of love to Father and Mother & tell them to write. That God may bless them and you is the prayer of

Sarah F. Williams

Nov. 5th, 1864. Sabbath Evening

My dear Parents:

I have been to Tebeauville to Sabbath school this morning & there learned that a flag of truce was to leave Savannah, every day this week, so I hasten to tell you that we are all well, thanks to our kind Father in Heaven. I hope this may reach you in time to return me an answer before the Exchange at Savannah ceases. I think if Luther would take a little pains and find out how, you might send me letter oftener. My Sisters might write, too, I should think. Much love to them and theirs also to Hattie. Ask her why she doesn't write. Please send me some postage stamps in your next. The Dr and I are the children's only teacher. This with many other duties keeps heart and hand busy. I regret that they have not better opportunities, but God will send them in His own good time. They became much interested in the Sab-

⁷⁴ Sarah Williams visited her parents in New Hartford during the summer of 1858, at which time Harriet Bernhard returned with her to New York.

bath School. I have been taking all five, but we have had to stop them for a while on account of whooping cough in Tebeauville. I had the Bible Class, consisting of four young ladies & four young gentlemen. My thoughts have been with you much lately. And my night visions have been full of home, my childhoods home and early companions. I trust in God that we shall meet face to face in this world. If not, may all by true repentance & faith in the Son of God, meet in that better land. All send love. Ever yours,

Sarah

Sunny Side, Feb. 26th, 1865

My dear Parents:

I feel impelled to write by every opportunity to you, hoping that each letter may bring what I hope and pray for earnestly, viz a letter from you. It is almost a year since I have received a letter from you. I have received none from the others. I cannot be so uncharitable as to suppose none are written & yet many have received letters from the North. We have had another little son, born on the 20th of the present month.⁷⁵ He is named Benjamin Hicks. The first name was my choice, the second his father's. How I wish my little ones could have the opportunity of attending school I used to have. Being their only teacher in these times when all the clothing is to be spun, woven and made on the place, you can imagine that head, heart and hands are all busy. Tell Hattie I have wished a thousand times I could throw the teaching upon her. It seems as if I could bear the rest with a willing heart, but with so many cares, I have not patience enough for a teacher. The children talk of you much. Virginia still remembers many incidents in her visit North, particularly her interviews with Grandma in the front parlor chamber. She can sew very prettily & knit & spin. You may imagine these are noisy times here sometimes, with so many busy little hands, feet and tongues. I long to see you once more in the old home, but fear I may never know that pleasure. I cannot cease to love it and regard as holy the associations clustering around it. The children tease me often to tell them of my childhood and youth. The incidents seem so bright to them in comparison with the monotony

⁷⁵ Six children had been born to Sarah and Benjamin Williams. They were Sarah Virginia (July 14, 1854-May 10, 1933), Henry Clay (August 28, 1856-February 21, 1899), Harriet Josephine (March 31, 1858-May 6, 1947), Joseph Samuel (February 9, 1860-January 6, 1926), Martha Fedora (December 3, 1862-May 28, 1911), and Benjamin Hicks (February 20, 1865-October 1, 1928). The last child, William Parmelee, was born on January 23, 1868, and died on September 24, 1936.

of these pine woods. The articles you speak of making, let them be plain & durable. I appreciate such now. All send love with a "God bless you" from

Sarah

Sunnyside, Aug. 27th, 1867

My dear Mother:

. . . I thank you, Ma, for the wish you expressed in regard to your bank stock, but I hope & pray you may yet be spared to enjoy it many years yourself. . . . The Dr. and I came very near making you a visit, so near that I began to get ready. We left the matter for the mill books to decide. When the Dr. found that instead of making a draw he was still two or three thousand dollars in debt to Mr. R.⁷⁶ I gave up the thing of course. The mill is a fine thing for Mr. Reppard, but not so fine for the Dr. when you consider the enormous cost of feeding so many mules. As to hired help, I get along fast. Change almost every month. Three have run away during the last few months that we had clothed up to be decent. They came to us all but naked. They are an ungrateful race. They drive me to be tight and stingy with them. We have had a great deal of rain lately, and although healthy here, there is a good deal of sickness on the coast. Tell Pa, with much love, that I am looking for a letter from him, and whether he can get anyone to take St. John's Bluff. . . . Love to all, from your

Sarah

⁷⁶ Aaron Reppard was born in Pennsylvania in 1824 and came to Georgia at the age of twenty. After the war he was employed by Williams to manage his sawmills, apparently on a commission basis. The war had left Williams in a relatively impoverished condition. More than two-thirds of his wealth had consisted of slaves.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590. Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584. Edited by David Beers Quinn. (London: For the Hakluyt Society. 1955. Volume I. Pp. xxxvi, 1-496. Volume II. Pp. vi, 497-1004. \$22.00.)

Some American historians may perhaps have tended to write about the early period of our history too much from the colonial angle, and not enough from the British and international point of view. There has been a tendency for them to view the British colonies in America as the beginnings of the great and powerful United States that we know today, and not sufficiently as merely the outposts, at first weak and barely sustained if at all, of the England of that period. After presenting a brief and sometimes perfunctory account of the English background, these historians have launched into a detailed account of the colonies. The picture in many cases has not been well-rounded or portrayed in broad perspective.

The same has been true of most of our writers on North Carolina history. They have included a little about conditions and developments in the mother country, and then they have turned quickly to events and movements on this side of the Atlantic. Their readers have not been given the full and complete picture.

The two volumes here reviewed, written by an eminent historian of University College of Swansea (University of Wales), cover with the broad approach that is needed a significant phase of the beginnings of English colonization. The volumes consist mainly of documents, but there are a preface and a long general introduction, together with an adequate introduction to each of the twelve chapters. Included also are a preface, twelve illustrations and maps, four appendices (the last of which is a list of sources), a subject index, and a person and place index. The work is based on years of research in published materials, official archives, and private manuscripts in Britain, Spain, and the United States and in addition on the results of archeological research

at Fort Raleigh. The editor has visited Roanoke Island and adjacent areas and has interviewed various specialists who were (or might have been) able to supply useful information.

The work covers the voyages and attempted voyages to Roanoke Island from Walter Raleigh's patent, March 25, 1584, and the voyage of Amadas and Barlowe later that year, through the Lane colony, "The 1586 Ventures," the 1587 colony, the failure to relieve the colony in 1588-1589, the voyage of 1590, and the relationship of Spain to all of this. Some of the materials will be familiar to those who have read to any extent in this general field, but there is also much that is new. And even the familiar documents are presented and explained in a clearer and more comprehensive manner than elsewhere.

It is impossible in a limited review to do full justice to a work of this kind. The present reviewer, however, wishes to comment on three points. First, it is made more clear than ever before that these colonial ventures were very closely tied in with the conflict between England and Spain. Indeed, hostilities had already broken out and English sea dogs were having a field day capturing Spanish vessels bearing gold and silver and other valuable commodities from Spanish America. ". . . it is now clear," writes Professor Quinn, that the "short-term objective" of the English in establishing the colony "was to facilitate privateering by the establishment of a mainland base in North America from which the Spanish Indies and the fleets coming from them might be more effectively attacked." In fact, one after another of the vessels sailing to or from Roanoke Island would on the slightest provocation veer off in quest of Spanish treasure ships. It is suggested that the reason Simon Fernandez, the pilot of the 1587 expedition, refused to go on to Chesapeake Bay, as had been planned, was because he was anxious to get back to the Spanish shipping lanes before the buccaneering season was over. Even when White set out to try to relieve the colony in the critical year, 1588, his expedition went in for plundering and partly as a result was forced to turn back. Clearly the forlorn colonists on Roanoke Island were very much of a side issue to many of the sea dogs of that day.

Second, the amount of scientific interest in the expeditions and the intelligent way in which this interest was directed and carried through to fruition are impressive. Thomas Hariot, one of the foremost natural scientists of his day (as will be shown in the forthcoming biography by Dean John W. Shirley of North Carolina State College), and John White, the artist, both came to Roanoke Island. Hariot observed and took notes; White observed, drew maps, and painted pictures; and the two worked closely together and exchanged information. Hariot's account and White's pictures (and maps), relating to the flora and fauna of the region and also to the Indians, are today of great scientific and historical value. The editor devotes a good deal of attention to these two men, with detailed comments and bibliographical data.

Finally, the Spanish documents throw important new light on the subject. Many North Carolina and other American historians have long believed that a thorough search of the Spanish archives would unearth new information—might, indeed, even solve the mystery of “the Lost Colony.” We have a number of Spanish documents included here, and while they do not solve the fate of the colony they do contain a good deal of significant data. The Spaniards all along were receiving more or less vague reports, some of them grossly exaggerated, regarding the English efforts to plant a colony and were considerably perturbed. They sent expeditions from Florida up the coast to search for the colony. One of these expeditions in 1588 actually found one of the inlets leading to Roanoke Island. “And on the inside of the little bay they had entered there were signs of a slipway for small vessels, and on land a number of wells made with English casks, and other debris indicating that a considerable number of people had been here.” This was the year after John White had left the colony to return to England for aid, two years before he was to return. The Spaniards were within a few miles of Roanoke Island, and if they had only gone there they might have left us definite evidence as to the fate of the colony. But instead they did not venture into the sound and after a brief stop they sailed on down the coast. The mystery is still a mystery. Of one thing, however

we can now apparently be certain. From this document and others it seems clear that the Spaniards did not destroy the colony. One of the several possibilities as to its fate thus seems to have been eliminated.

Altogether this is the best-balanced, most complete work yet to appear on this general subject. It is quite readable—is recommended for the general reader as well as for the specialist.

Christopher Crittenden.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

The Historical Foundation and Its Treasures. By Thomas Hugh Spence, Jr., (Montreat: Historical Foundation Publications. 1956. Pp. xii, 174. \$2.50.)

Dr. Spence has directed The Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches at Montreat, since 1940. As a youth he lived in Smithfield, N. C. The first contact Spence had with Montreat was as a visiting student in 1928 and he was impressed. In preparation for his eventual leadership there were courses of study at Oak Ridge Institute, Davidson College, and in seminaries at Richmond, New York City, and Edinburgh, Scotland.

Dr. Samuel Mills Tenney fathered the Foundation in 1902. He and his capable, consecrated wife had romantically envisioned and forwarded the venture through the vicissitudes of thirty-seven years before his death in 1939. A sheaf of notes taken in 1845 by a senior student in theology at Hampden-Sydney, Va., occasioned the beginning fifty-seven years later of this "Archival Eldorado" of Presbyteriana. It was Tenney at Houston, Texas, who recovered for a trifle, from a dealer's outswept trash, the fugitive Virginia document, with his decrual of such heedless waste. He cherished "a hope that in some way I might be the means of awakening the church from her indifference and lack of appreciation of the past." He observed that the State had at last an active civic concern for its heritage, while the church was yet somnolent, inert.

The Tenneys continuing in Texas pastorates until 1922, pioneered their movement sacrificially. "I did without necessary things," he said, "to obtain precious additions to the collection." To subsist, Mrs. Tenney temporarily ran a store. Interest in the venture was all but localized for a quarter-century. Hawked about, but augmented, in Texas it was espoused by The General Assembly, and removed to Montreat in 1926. Shelved here for twenty-eight years at The Assembly Inn, its own separate building, of modern design, was opened July 1, 1954.

Spence's book presents in descriptive outline the "History, Home and Holdings," of this "Haven in the Hills." Briefly and in order are the "Museum, Archives, and Library." Volumes in the Archives exceed 5,500, which "are the heart of the Foundation and form its chiefest treasures . . . unique in the absolute and exact sense of that exclusive term." In the Library are 30,000 volumes, with 10,000 bound periodicals, and 1,400 histories of womens' work skillfully assembled. The Presbyterian family lists 23 denominated bodies.

The book is readable and the style good, with flashes of humor. Epitomizing the Montreat ensemble for study and intriguing observation, it is well done. One notes, however, that there is no categorized aid explicit for the ecclesiastical historian of heresies and splintering disputes of the ages. Of necessity these "hot" materials abound here in a sweep of the centuries. Albeit, Spence writes for the ecumenical to-day, highlighting the synthetic rather than the divergent. No guide here for yesteryear's polemical out-pourings and schizophrenic schisms. Further, there might have been an informative listing of other archival centers denominationally relevant to Montreat.

Specially meritorious is Spence's extended summing up of a normal archival philosophy. It rings the bell. "He who goes forth into the future with a competent knowledge of the past is the possessor of a candle amply fitted to light his path across its successive to-morrows."

C. C. Ware.

Carolina Disciplina Library,
Wilson.

The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, 1706-1717. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes. By Frank J. Klingberg. Volume 53 of University of California Publications in History, edited by J. S. Galbraith, R. N. Burr, Brainerd Dyer, J. C. King. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 220. \$3.50.)

Competently and informatively edited by Professor Klingberg, this collection of letters constitutes both a primary historical source for Proprietary Carolina and a self-portrait of the author. The letters are reports written by Le Jau to the Bishop of London and the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Le Jau, a Huguenot refugee to England, became an Anglican clergyman and was sent by the Society to South Carolina, where he served the Parish of St. James, Goose Creek, from 1706 to 1717.

Reaching the colony, which was not yet fifty years old and with its Church Establishment having just been enacted into law, Le Jau quickly identified himself with his charge. His letters reveal a truly Christian character and a life of dedicated service in the face of obstacles, privations and afflictions. He and his few brother clergymen of the Establishment (with two or three exceptions) remained true to their calling, although overworked and underpaid and often frustrated by an independent-minded and factious laity. Le Jau took a genuine interest in the spiritual needs of Indians and Negroes as well as whites; and he labored especially on behalf of the slaves in his parish, despite the initial opposition of some masters. He faithfully reported to his superiors not only his parish statistics but also his observations on persons and events in and beyond the parish; and much of what he reported he knew from personal experience, whether it be the chronic fevers and human foibles or the ravagings of nature and the Indian wars. Accepting whatever befell as God's will and design, and sustained by faith and the support of the Society and a few devoted parishioners, Le Jau carried on his mission in increasing infirmity and concern for his family and parish until relieved by death, just as the Bishop was promising to transfer him to Charleston as commissary.

To the modern reader, Le Jau seems older than his years as he broods over Carolina like an elder brother to his colleagues and a father confessor to the colonists. From his chronicle he emerges a more benign but less provocative figure than Woodmason, who a half century later labored for the Establishment in the Carolina Backcountry.

Lawrence F. Brewster.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

River of the Carolinas: The Santee. By Henry Savage, Jr. Rivers of America Books. Edited by Carl Carmer. (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc. 1956. Pp. x, 435. \$5.00.)

The Santee River, formed by a conjunction of the Wateree (called the Catawba for most of its course) and the Congaree, which in turn has been formed by the Saluda and the Broad and their tributaries, has its origin at some indefinite point on the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains in western North Carolina. This system drains an area of some seventeen thousand square miles. From the headwaters to the sea, as the river rolls, is a distance of 450 miles, with a total river front of some 2,000 miles. A chain of lakes, including the largest artificial lake east of the Appalachians, Lake Marion, and another, Lake Murray, "impounded by one of the largest earthen dams in the world," provides power for forty-nine hydroelectric installations which generate some 1,150,000 horsepower, more than any river east of the Mississippi except the Tennessee. By the decree of man, much of the Santee now empties into the Atlantic through Cooper River.

The story of the land and the people served by these waters is in good part the history of South Carolina, and to a lesser extent of North Carolina. Mr. Savage, a native of South Carolina and a former mayor of Camden, has chosen to follow, in the main, the traditional military and political sequence of events. Relatively more attention is given to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The institution of slavery, and King Cotton, so important to much of this re-

gion, he treats briefly and unsympathetically. Essentially it is the story of a rural society, and this reader would have preferred less on Charleston and the pirates and more on agriculture, social manners and customs, the church, and the intellectual and cultural activities of this heartland region. The Negro is mentioned sympathetically, but nowhere is his way of life adequately described. The author is at his best with the flora and fauna, internal improvements, problems of water control, and the present industrialization. We get a good view of the country, but less understanding of the people. The opportunity was missed to interpret South Carolina in terms of a people remarkably cohesive (until Tillmanism), and, contrariwise, strongly individualistic, with a fatal fascination for walking alone.

Mr. Savage writes well, though with a fondness for excess verbiage, and his offhand acceptance of certain moot points will give pause to some readers. Sometimes the omissions are as intriguing as the inclusions. It is definitely an interesting and informative book, however, with an optimistic view of the new order of affairs in the South.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University,
Durham.

David Crockett; The Man and the Legend. By James Atkins Shackford. Edited by John B. Shackford. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 338. Frontispiece, appendices, notes, bibliography, and index. \$6.00.)

For over a century and a quarter the name "Davy Crockett" has symbolized to hero-worshipping Americans the bold, adventurous, swashbuckling frontiersmen who with axe, gun, and tall tale led the great westward movement. Politicians, book publishers, movie and television producers, and countless others have capitalized on his fame, and in the process they have added a great many fanciful embellishments to an already colorful life. Unfortunately, this process has had the effect of shrouding *David* Crockett in the myth and fancy that created *Davy*.

James A. Shackford has ably demonstrated that Crockett does not need the Paul Bunyan traits given him by uncritical biographers and profit-conscious popularizers to stand as an important figure in American history. Through prodigious research in federal, state, and county records, contemporary newspapers, personal papers of Crockett's associates, and in painstakingly collected letters of Crockett himself, the author has gathered the facts of David's life; and, with assistance from his brother who edited the volume, he has presented these facts in a clear, carefully reasoned, and documented narrative.

David Crockett's place in American history rests largely on his political career, and on his authorship of that classic of frontier humor, his *Autobiography*. David rose from magistrate through state legislator to congressman in West Tennessee, representing a rural and pioneer electorate. His devotion to the interests of his constituents ultimately led to his downfall, because David throughout his political career fought with a singlemindedness for the security of his people, many of them "squatters," in the occupation of the farms they had laboriously hacked out of the wilderness.

Shortly after his election to Congress, as a supporter of Andrew Jackson, that body took up a proposal that the federal government relinquish title to its lands in Tennessee. David feared that these lands, if given to the state, would be sold at a price beyond the reach of the average pioneer. He, therefore, advocated that the lands be given directly to the squatter; and when opposed in this by the Jackson controlled state machine and congressional delegation, David broke with the dominant party of his state and aligned himself with the newly-formed Whig party.

David's increasingly intemperate hatred of Jackson, coupled with a passionate determination to pass his land bill, made him an easy mark for designing Whig politicians who sought to "use" him in opposing "King Andrew." Capitalizing on David's colorful personality and reputation, these Whigs not only promoted publication of his *Autobiography*, but also backed publication of three other books which appeared

under Crockett's name but were written by others—all of them designed for the purpose of destroying the power of the Jackson Democrats. Crockett's violent denunciation of Jackson and his supporters led to concerted efforts by the state machine to unseat the "Gentleman from the Cane." He was defeated in 1830, returned to Congress in 1833, and was defeated again in 1834 after his beloved land bill was again killed by the Jackson men as a means of breaking his political power.

Embittered and frustrated, Crockett set out on an exploring tour to Texas in November, 1835, and quickly became involved in another political struggle between the Jackson men, led by Sam Houston, and the anti-Jackson men, who denied Houston's authority as commander-in-chief of the army of the infant republic. Crockett, as might be expected, joined the anti-Jackson group, and in company with James Bowie and Colonel Travis remained in the Alamo despite Houston's orders to evacuate. Contrary to the glamorized version, he was among the first to be killed during the final Mexican assault on the fortress.

In a sense Crockett's blind hatred of Jackson had led both to his political and physical death, but this hatred in turn had its roots in Crockett's devotion to the interests of his fellow pioneers. Sincere in his desire to help the poor, his effectiveness was destroyed by his political naiveté; but with his martyrdom David Crockett became a symbol of the democracy of the American frontiersman. That David is also a symbol of man pioneering on "the spiritual frontier of universal brotherhood," as the author suggests, seems to this reviewer to be a flight of poetic fancy that is strangely inconsistent with the methodical reasoning and careful documentation of an excellent and important biography.

William T. Alderson.

Tennessee State Library and Archives,
Nashville, Tennessee.

The Present State of Virginia, from Whence Is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina. By Hugh Jones. Edited with an introduction by Richard L. Morton. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Published for The Virginia Historical Society. 1956. Pp. xiv, 285. Introduction, appendices, notes, and index. \$5.00.)

Historians are indebted to the reforming zeal of a young English clergyman for one of their most illuminating sources of information on life in early Virginia. Hugh Jones's tenure as professor of natural philosophy and mathematics at the College of William and Mary was cut short after only four years, apparently because he took Governor Alexander Spotswood's side in a dispute with the president of the college, Commissary James Blair. Returning to England, he published his book in 1724. Copies of *The Present State* and of its nineteenth-century facsimile edition have long been collector's items, and scholars are indebted to the Virginia Historical Society for making it available once again.

Jones's book was motivated primarily by his fervor for reforming Virginia's church establishment and college, but instead of writing an avowed tract he astutely sought a wider audience by embedding his polemic in a fair-minded survey of Virginia life as a whole. His descriptions of such things as trade, farming methods, recreation, food, manners, and the town of Williamsburg are comprehensive and enlightening, while his characterizations of Virginia's varied inhabitants—planters, servants, Indians, and Negro slaves—often make sprightly reading. Professor Morton has greatly enhanced the value of Jones's observations by his impressive editorial contribution. The introduction, based on assiduous research, dispels the shadows that formerly surrounded Hugh Jones's identity and, by tracing his subsequent flourishing career in Maryland as clergyman, author, and friend of the Calverts, reveals the kind of man he was. The editor's notes, exceeding the text in length, are a treasury of authoritative information on every phase of life in early eighteenth-century Virginia.

Jones tells us that many of his observations about Virginia are true also for Maryland and North Carolina, and his

specific remarks about the latter province should be of special interest to readers of this journal. "As for North Carolina," he writes, in a tone made all too familiar by his contemporary, William Byrd, "it is vastly inferior, its trade is smaller, and its inhabitants thinner, and for the most part poorer than Virginia." He also echoes Governor Spotswood's assertion that North Carolina has "long been the common sanctuary of all our runaway servants and all others that fly from the due execution of the laws in this and her Majesty's other plantations." Tar Heels may derive some consolation, however, from other passages which suggest that these "runagates" were found mainly in the fifteen mile strip along the disputed boundary between North Carolina and Virginia, "where they may pursue any immoral or vicious practices without censure and with impunity." It was while running the definitive boundary through this area, four years after Jones's book appeared, that William Byrd made the observations which he applied so indiscriminately to all North Carolinians.

Charles Grier Sellers, Jr.

Princeton University,
Princeton, New Jersey.

The Murder of George Wythe: Two Essays. By Julian P. Boyd and W. Edwin Hemphill. (Williamsburg, Va.: The Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1955. Pp. 64. \$.60 postpaid from Colonial Williamsburg, Va.)

George Wythe, the great Virginia jurist and devoted friend of Jefferson, died in 1806 at the age of eighty. Circumstantial and tangible evidence indicates that his death came as a result of the action of arsenic poison introduced into his food by his grandnephew and principal heir, George Wythe Sweeney or Swinney. Also poisoned at the same time were two Negro servants, one of whom subsequently died. When Sweeney was brought to trial on the charge of murdering his great-uncle and the Negro servant, skilled defense attorneys were able to secure his acquittal because of conflicting medical testimony and a Virginia statute which prohibited Negroes from testifying against whites. Sweeney's

desperate attempt to obtain the Wythe estate, for which he was willing to kill his aged benefactor, was foiled, however. The Chancellor, showing the stamina of an eighteen-year-old, lived for two weeks after being poisoned and managed to prepare a codicil to his will disinheriting his grandnephew.

The two essays which comprise this paper bound booklet tell this tragic story in detail. Both essays have been previously published in the October, 1955, issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly*, and Boyd's essay has appeared separately as a publication of the Philobiblon Club of Philadelphia.

Boyd, through skillful use of the letters of William DuVal to Jefferson, George W. Munford's *The Two Parsons*, and other accounts, has been able to reconstruct the story of the murder with perception and clarity. Boyd's essay was written without knowledge of the existence of Richmond's Hustings Court records relating to the Wythe case. These records, consisting largely of testimony by sixteen witnesses, were uncovered by W. Edwin Hemphill. They constitute the major portion of Hemphill's essay and form its major contribution to an understanding of the case. Both essays manage to clear away much of the legend and ill-conceived theories which have grown up about this murder.

When the much-needed life of Wythe is at last written, his biographer will have little trouble composing the last chapter.

Herbert R. Paschal, Jr.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, The Elder (1685-1753) and Daniel Dulany, The Younger (1722-1797). By Aubrey C. Land. Studies in Maryland History, No. 3. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1955. Pp. xviii, 390. \$6.27.)

The lives of the Daniel Dulanys, father and son, span a century. The elder Daniel's career is one of the early and unusual success stories. He arrived in Maryland in 1703 and became the indentured servant of Colonel George Plater, who

needed a law clerk in his office. The answer was this eighteen year old immigrant, obviously intelligent, and, surprisingly a university man. The young man had attended the University of Dublin, but had not received legal training at the Inns of Court—as some writers have stated. By 1707, when his indenture expired, Dulany had acquired a solid grounding in the law. Two years later he qualified as an attorney and soon had an extensive practice. As his law practice increased, he acquired property in lands and slaves and was soon looked upon as a “country squire.” By the time he was thirty-five he was “rich and solid, no longer dependent on Fortune, but master of his world—gentleman, member of Gray’s Inn, great landlord, Mr. Attorney.” For a number of years he was Attorney General and Councillor of State. At the time of his death he was Commissary General, Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, and Recorder of Annapolis. Professor Land has shown clearly that Dulany was “no democrat in the later sense of that term,” and “in leaving the country party for a place in the proprietary establishment he followed and confirmed precedent.” The nature and extent of Dulany’s economic interests, especially the “Western Enterprise” and the development of the back country, are treated here fully for the first time.

The rise of Daniel Dulany, the Younger, to pre-eminence in law and politics outdid the brilliant record of his father, and when he retired from active practice at forty many of his contemporaries considered him the foremost legal mind in America, “an estimate borne out by his constitutional writings and by the masterly legal opinions of his later years.” Professor Land has shown that the younger Dulany was not a blind upholder of Lord Baltimore’s palatine pretensions. As Secretary for the Maryland province, Dulany “might have defended with blind devotion every proprietary measure and fought all proposals of the country party without in the least surprising his colleagues on the Council or the delegates” of the lower house. His decision not to follow such a course led Governor Sharpe to write about Dulany: “That he is fond of being thought a Patriot Councillor and rather inclined to serve the People than the Proprietary is evident

to everyone." During the decade of controversy following 1765, Dulany continued to labor for the preservation of the empire and a province that he knew and in which he felt at home. Unlike many of his contemporaries he could not cross the line of revolution, and when independence came his retirement from public life was complete. During the Revolution, he remained neutral, refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the State of Maryland "but never obstructing the operation of the new government." Contrary to the accepted belief, his own properties were not confiscated. In his later years he was a "retired gentleman of fortune."

It is principally because of their political writings that the Dulanys have a relatively significant place in the history of eighteenth-century America, though Professor Land is extremely modest in his claims to their importance. From his first entry into politics until the publication in 1728 of *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws*, the elder Dulany's efforts to introduce the English statutes and to establish an independent judiciary were his most conspicuous activities. Better known and more influential was the publication of the younger Dulany in 1765 of *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, For the Purpose of Raising a Revenue, By Act of Parliament*. Dulany wrote that "It is an essential principle of the *English* constitution that the subject shall not be taxed without his consent." He declared that "the notion of a *virtual representation* [of America in Parliament] is a mere cob-web, spread to catch the unwary, and to entangle the weak." Yet he declared that until there was redress, "prudence, as well as duty, requires submission." To hasten the day of relief he recommended continual, but orderly, protest and economic pressure on England. The *Considerations* caught on quickly in Maryland and soon made Dulany's name well-known throughout most of the colonies. It received favorable comment from London reviewers. In the following months Dulany's comments on American problems were read and circulated among the policy makers in Great Britain, especially the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and William Pitt. The repeal of the Stamp Act in

1766 vindicated the methods Dulany had urged, but he warned that schemes which were brewing in Great Britain would "more Probably beget concerted Schemes of Revolt, than . . . any other Cause." The attitude of Dulany toward that revolt, when it came in 1775, has already been indicated.

Professor Land must have faced many obstacles in writing this joint biography. But he has done a superb job. The book is scholarly, heavily documented, well-indexed, and charmingly written. It is one of the best biographical studies this reviewer has read in many a year.

Hugh T. Lefler.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

James Wilson, *Founding Father, 1742-1798*. By Charles Page Smith. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 426. Portrait. \$7.50.)

In view of the current trend toward rehabilitating conservatism and conservatives, the appearance of a biography of James Wilson, published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, is appropriate. Such a biography was needed for Professor Smith points out in his introduction that although James Wilson "stood in the front rank of 'founding fathers'" he "alone among the great figures of his age . . . his been without a biography." (p. x) Sixty years ago when a two volume edition of Wilson's *Works*, edited by James DeWitt Andrews, appeared a reviewer lamented that no adequate biography of Wilson had been written and feared that one never would be. The late Burton Alva Konkle left at his death in 1944 an unpublished manuscript biography along with five volumes of Wilson letters. To these Professor Smith has had access. The footnotes indicate extensive research in manuscript collections. Unfortunately, the book lacks an annotated bibliography.

Born in Scotland in 1742 and educated at St. Andrews, James Wilson came to America at the time of the passage of the Stamp Act. The young immigrant was destined to become

conspicuous as "lawyer, political theorist, politician, financier, business man, and land speculator." (p. 207) The author follows Wilson in all of these phases of his career. Among other things, the reader is shown: Wilson's preparation for law in the office of John Dickinson; his practice at Reading, later at Carlisle, and his removal to Philadelphia; his career in the Continental Congress where he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence; his outstanding contributions at the Federal Convention of 1787; his fight in the state convention of Pennsylvania in 1790 for a new state constitution to replace the ultra-democratic one of 1776 which he abhorred; his career as one of the first associate justices of the Supreme Court (he applied to Washington for the chief justiceship); and through it all his vast land speculations and other business enterprises constantly growing larger and more vulnerable and leading to his ultimate ruin.

Amassing a great fortune and associating with the leading citizens of Philadelphia, Wilson, called James de Caledonia by his political adversaries, was often denounced as an aristocrat. He was not loved by the rank and file. His house was attacked by a Philadelphia mob in 1779 because of his legal defence of Loyalists and his apparently close association with war profiteers. A decade later he was burned in effigy at Carlisle for his support of the new federal constitution. Always an advocate of a strong central government tied in with financial interests he nevertheless exhibited some democratic leanings. At the Federal Convention of 1787 he advocated direct elections of both houses of the national legislature and of the chief executive. He took a somewhat similar position in the Pennsylvania state constitutional convention of 1790. Professor Smith believes, however, that his faith in popular government was "in a sense, doctrinaire" (p. 257) and that "It was among ideas, not men, that he was most at home." (p. 206)

It is generally conceded that the high spot of Wilson's public life was his part in the Federal Convention where he ranked with Madison. These days, maintains the author, "were the greatest of Wilson's life." (p. 219) But prior to 1787 he had formulated several ideas which foreshadowed later

significant developments. Among these, listed in the present work are: (1) The structure of the British Commonwealth of Nations, with autonomous units within the Empire. This idea comes from his *Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament* written in 1768 and published in 1774 (p. 57). (2) The treason clause in the federal constitution (pp. 123, 246, 248). (3) "the concept of a federal judiciary with appellate jurisdiction over the state courts" and the possible conception of the Supreme Court (pp. 127, 176, 392). (4) The doctrine of implied powers and the obligation of contracts. These ideas originated in his connection with the Bank of North America (p. 152). (5) "A system of national finances based on a national bank." On this point the author observes, "The relation between Wilson's economic ideas and those later popularized by Hamilton is patent." (p. 158)

Two chapters are devoted almost entirely to Wilson's law lectures prepared for and in part delivered to the College of Philadelphia in two sessions in 1790-1791. A lengthy discussion of Wilson's concept of law with his possible contributions to an American jurisprudence is interwoven with an excursus into legal history. Except for the political scientist this section will probably appear too detailed. Two other chapters deal primarily with Wilson's enormous business ventures in land, banks, mills, and other enterprises. Wilson was undoubtedly a "plunger" and even as his financial empire was toppling he was planning new projects. The author brackets him with Robert Morris and states that in Wilson "the spirit that could later be isolated and identified as American capitalism surged so strongly that it finally tore him assunder, and utterly destroyed him." (p. 168) While Wilson "was not above turning political situations to his own material advantage," (p. 243) the author does not feel that at the Federal Convention he was moved by "any idea of narrow self-interest." (p. 259) The last three years of Wilson's life were tragic ones. While serving as associate justice he was forced to flee from his creditors. He was imprisoned for debt both in Burlington, New Jersey and in Edenton, North Carolina. He died at the latter place on August 21, 1798. A man who could

plan for national finance on a grand scale was unable to manage his own business affairs. The author does not attempt to explain this inconsistency. In his introduction he states that for the biographer James Wilson is "a rewarding if thorny subject" (p. x) and in his epilogue admits "Yet, when all has been said, the inner man remains, despite our probings, an enigma." (p. 393)

For the most part the book is written with admirable restraint and extravagant claims are not made for its central figure. James Wilson does not exist in a vacuum and the places and times with which he was identified are fully described, perhaps even too fully at times. A few minor errors are discernable. The Scotch economist was Sir James Steuart, not Stewart (pp. 145, 153, 154, 276) and William R. Davie of North Carolina appears as William Davie and W. H. Davie (pp. 237, 247). These lapses do not detract from the value of a book that has long been needed.

D. H. Gilpatrick.

Furman University,
Greenville, South Carolina.

The Montgomery Theatre, 1822-1835. By Henry W. Adams. University of Alabama Studies. (University: The University of Alabama Press. 1955. Pp. iv, 81. Appendices, notes, bibliography and index. \$2.00.)

Mr. Adams begins his survey with a brief account of the settlement of Montgomery, the routes of the theatrical troupes in Alabama and the South, and the almost incredible hardships of transportation. These discussions are followed by the survey proper which begins with the first theatrical production in Montgomery, an amateur performance of *Julius Caesar* by the Montgomery Thespian Society on December 17, 1822, in the upper story of the Montgomery Hotel. Additional productions by the Thespian Society, assisted by a professional actor named Mr. Judah, are discussed.

The first full-fledged professional stock troupe to perform in Montgomery was the well-known N. M. Ludlow Company, which opened October 20, 1825, with *The Review* in the

Montgomery Hotel. After an interim of more than three and one half years, during which there were occasional visits by tightrope artists, magicians, etc., the Ludlow Company returned on March 13, 1829. In the meantime, the members of the Thespian Society had been active in getting subscriptions for the erection of a new theatre, which was opened on January 25, 1830, with the production of *The Soldier's Daughter* by the famous Sol Smith Company. The troupe remained for two weeks and returned for engagements beginning about March 17, 1832; May, 1832; and February 16, 1833. The next outstanding professional group was the George Holland Company, which opened on October 7, 1833. After this engagement the Holland Company combined with the Sol Smith troupe and opened in Montgomery on January 16, 1834, but the venture was a financial failure. The last prominent performer to play in Montgomery during the years covered by the survey was Miss Mary Vos, who appeared for six nights during early June, 1834.

For all engagements discussed, Mr. Adams gives a very detailed account of the backgrounds and careers of the personnel of the theatrical companies, including many contemporary newspaper reviews. The survey is well-organized, thoroughly documented, and quite readable. The book includes twenty-six appendices giving the personnel of companies, managers, etc. The twenty-seventh appendix gives detailed accounts of the authorship of all plays presented in Montgomery, 1822-1835.

Donald J. Rulfs.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

Gray Fox: Robert E. Lee and the Civil War. By Burke Davis.
(New York and Toronto: Rinehart and Company, Inc. 1956.
Pp. xi, 466. \$6.00.)

In 1861 Colonel Robert E. Lee, of Arlington, Virginia, disagreed with most southerners about southern rights and secession. "I look upon secession as anarchy," Lee told Montgomery Blair in Washington. And again, in an Alexandria

shop, Lee said, "I must say that I am one of those dull creatures that cannot see the good of secession." Yet Lee became the symbol of the Confederacy's struggle for independence; even more than the political leaders, Davis and Stephens, the Commanding General of the Army of Northern Virginia typified the Lost Cause. Despite his popularity, Robert E. Lee was not easy to know; he was not well-known in his lifetime and his biographers have found his personality an enigma. Mr. Davis, a Greensboro journalist, has not succeeded in bringing life to his subject.

In the first place, he has begun with a manufactured title to stick on Lee, and nowhere does he give any substance to the nickname he made up. Then, the inner workings of the Army are almost completely ignored—the machinery of command and the relations between Lee and his staff. Finally, the author has made no effort at original research to gain insight into the mind of Lee. There was conflict there which the author does not explore. His evidence indicates that Lee was a failure at discipline, the basic element in a military organization, while he was at the same time an instinctive tactician who occasionally failed in that department also. But there is no attempt here to plumb the depths. The book is interesting popularization, but it is no more than that.

David L. Smiley.

Wake Forest College,
Winston-Salem.

Territorial Papers of the United States, Volume XXI, Arkansas Territory 1829-1836. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington, United States Government Printing Office. 1954. Pp. v, 1415. \$11.00.)

This is the last of three volumes of the official papers of Arkansas Territory, selected from the files of the State, Treasury, War, Justice, and Post Office departments, and from twelve other federal agencies, including the General Land Office and the Office of Indian Affairs. The records cover the correspondence between territorial and United States officials during the administrations of governors Pope and Fulton.

Private correspondence, including letters from office seekers, and petitions and memorials from the people provide insight into the things nearest the hearts of early Arkansans. Most of the documents deal with public lands—fraudulent Spanish land grants, pre-emption certificates, surveys and the administration of land offices. Next in number are papers concerned with post roads, mail services, post offices, improvements of river channels, and proposed canals. Letters about Indian affairs reveal the tensions caused by the removal of Indians to the border of the territory with the attendant problems of military security and the heavy trade in “ardent spirits” by both licensed Indian traders and merchants along the border or in boats. Scholars interested in the cultural history of the Cherokee Nation West will find the description of the physical plant of Dwight Mission School of special interest.

The approximately 1,000 documents are reproduced in their original spelling and punctuation. The book is carefully indexed with more than 2,800 entries, ranging from names on petitions to topics covered by hundreds of references. Generous footnotes give cross references, biographical material, background information, and references to the files of Arkansas newspapers.

The work maintains the high standards characteristic of the National Archives. In addition to providing a comprehensive coverage of Arkansas Territorial documents, this book, with the other two volumes of the series, contains a wealth of information on native Indians and tribes that lived temporarily within the territory or along the borders.

Grace Benton Nelson.

North Little Rock High School,
North Little Rock, Arkansas.

Washington and His Neighbors. By Charles W. Stetson. (Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie. 1956. Pp. xii. 342. Illustrations, index, and end map. \$5.00.)

This book, despite its title indicating a study of personalities, is more in the nature of a somewhat disjointed history of Fairfax and Prince William counties in Virginia. Because of

its rather loose organization, it takes the form of a miscellany of architectural, genealogical, and historical detail.

At one point the author quotes long passages from the Reverend Andrew Burnaby's *Travels in North America*, which make delightful reading but many of the quotations somehow seem irrelevant in this work. In a like manner, material associated with later centuries destroys much of the continuity of the narrative. Anecdotes of General Benjamin S. Newell and the later generations of the Lees, however interesting, give a pendulum-like swing to the rhythm of the style and oft-times prove disconcerting. It would seem that much of the material included in the text would have been better relegated to footnotes.

Mr. Stetson writes in a clear and lucid style, but his organization sometimes leads the reader off on a tangent from which it is difficult to return to the central theme. An excellent index, however, will make this work more useful to many of its readers and offsets some of the irregularities of pace.

This book is more of a synthesis than a new interpretation. There is relatively little material that is new other than that which the author has mined from the county records. The work does serve as a catalyst to bind heretofore scattered material into one readily accessible volume. Because of its vignette-like organization and its emphasis on families, villages, and mansions, it would seem that this volume would appeal more to genealogists than to historians.

Hugh F. Rankin.

Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.,
Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865.
By Henry Smith Stroupe. (Durham: The Duke University Press. 1956. Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXXII. Pp. viii, 172. \$4.50.)

Before the advent of the great modern daily newspapers there was a time when few American families could afford to subscribe to a paper of any kind. If they did take a paper,

chances were that it came from the religious press. Along with the Bible and an almanac, religious publications were almost the only reading materials available to thousands in the South before the War Between the States.

A member of the history department faculty at Wake Forest College, Henry Smith Stroupe, has done a great service to students of history by charting a path through the many publications of a religious nature which appeared in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida between 1802 and 1865. Included in his study are the 159 publications known to have appeared in the South Atlantic states during the period under consideration and nine others which were proposed, but apparently never published.

Professor Stroupe begins with a very readable historical introduction to his subject. Here one can find many hints to the existence of a wealth of material little used by most social and political historians. The denominational issues of that period were closely allied to political conflicts, and it is evident that a careful reading of some of these journals would give new light to the questions of why North and South grew apart between 1830 and 1860.

More than half of this work is taken up with an annotated bibliography. This is the most useful section of the book. Where known, the author gives the location of files of the periodicals under consideration. In addition he furnishes publication data, identification of editors, and a brief historical sketch of each publication. Following the bibliography are lists arranged chronologically, by denomination, and by place of publication. A bibliography of works cited and an index conclude the volume. The whole organization tends to make this an excellent reference guide. Future use of the religious publications of the ante-bellum period is greatly simplified by *The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865*.

Daniel M. McFarland.

Columbia College,
Columbia, South Carolina.

The Desolate South, 1865-1866. A Picture of the Battlefields and and of the Devastated Confederacy. By John T. Trowbridge. Edited by Gordon Carroll. (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce —Boston: Little, Brown. 1956. Pp. xiv, 320. Illustrations. \$6.00.)

The Desolate South is said to be the most complete and objective of all accounts of the War of Secession written immediately after the war. This book was originally published under the title *A Picture of the Desolate States and the Work of Restoration* in 1866.

John T. Trowbridge spent four months in eight key states of the Confederacy during the summer of 1865 and the winter of 1866 observing, asking questions and conversing with ruined planters, merchants, legislators, destitute gentlewomen, former slaves, ex-soldiers, teachers of freedmen's schools, and with the newly rich. They told of such as night raids, battles, escapes, how they tried to hide their wealth, Sherman's march, the burning of cities, the attack on Fort Sumter, and the panic in Charleston. They voiced their bitterness, resignation, and hope. This he recorded to achieve his purpose, to make an unbiased report of the devastated South and its people.

Gordon Carroll stated in editing and condensing the book that he had removed nothing of significance from the original manuscript as published by L. Stebbins, Hartford. In the interest of brevity he eliminated repetitious text, and transposed a few chapters for the sake of continuity and deleted many footnotes since these were written at a time when neither the author nor the historians of the period were accurately informed of certain events which had recently transpired.

The editor substituted a series of photographs, which symbolize, even if they do not represent, the areas visited by Trowbridge, for the original steel engravings.

Trowbridge's first stop on his visit to the devastated South was Gettysburg, then Chambersburg, Antietam, Harper's Ferry, Washington, Bull Run, Richmond, East Tennessee, Vicksburg, Corinth, New Orleans, Andersonville, Alabama,

the route of Sherman's march, the Sea Islands, and many other places.

The author was born in Ogden, New York, educated in the public schools, and taught in Illinois. At the age of thirteen he had written verse and at sixteen his *The Tomb of Napoleon* was published in the *Rochester Republican*. He was editor of *The Nation* in 1850 and during the absence of Ben Purley Poore edited the *Sentinel*. He used the "nome de plume" Paul Creyton for several years. He contributed to many magazines and papers including the *Atlantic Monthly*, to which he was one of the original contributors. His first book, *Father Bright-hope; or An Old Clergyman's Vacation*, was published in 1856. He wrote many other books, a number with E. C. Cobb.

The book is readable. It gives a definite insight into a very important period in American history. The vivid descriptions, without the photographs, give one an excellent mental picture of the devastations of the South.

Sara D. Jackson.

The National Archives,
Washington, D. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, participated in the Institute of Historical and Archival Management which is given yearly by Radcliffe College and the History Department, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. On July 2 he lectured on "State Archives," and on July 3 on "Local Archives." On July 17 and 27, August 24, and September 7 Dr. Crittenden met with the directors and committees of the Calvin Jones Memorial Society, Incorporated, in Wake Forest in an effort to preserve the Calvin Jones home.

The Executive Committee of the Executive Board of the Department met on July 10 to consider the need of a new building. Governor Luther H. Hodges was present for the meeting. On August 7 the Board met with the Director and the Division Heads to consider the budgetary estimates for the 1957-1959 biennium.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator of the Department, accompanied by Mrs. Martha H. Farley of the staff of the Hall of History, made a trip to the Town Creek Indian Mound Museum on June 22. Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips, staff member, and Mrs. Jordan made a trip, June 25-27, through eastern North Carolina photographing places of interest with special emphasis on the production, *The Lost Colony*, at Manteo. Photographs selected will be used as a part of the teacher's slide program which is sponsored by the Hall of History.

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, made the presentation of a historical highway marker to the congregation of the Bethesda Presbyterian Church in Caswell County on July 22. The congregation was begun about 1765 as Hart's Chapel. Mr. Cecil Callis, present pastor, accepted the marker and a historical sketch prepared by Miss Hester Womack was read by Mr. David W. Wright, Jr. On July 6 Mr. Jones represented the Department at the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the

Association of Superior Court Clerks of North Carolina, which was held at the Carolina Inn in Chapel Hill.

A significant accession made by the Division of Archives and Manuscripts during the last quarter is the 43-reel, 16mm microfilm copy of the *Index to the Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of North Carolina*. The *Index* was made from the original card file in The National Archives and was purchased jointly by the Department of Archives and History and the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. As the title indicates, this is an index to all the service records of Confederate soldiers who served with North Carolina units which are in possession of The National Archives. Due to the loss of many of the Confederate records, there are no papers for many soldiers who fought on the southern side. The index card carries the name of the soldier, his rank upon entry, upon discharge or death, and the unit with which he served.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications of the Department, was the guest speaker at the reorganizational meeting of the Brunswick County Historical Association which met on June 21 at Clarendon Plantation. On July 22 he met with the following members of a committee to make preparations for the organization of the Harnett County Historical Society: Dr. Leslie Campbell, Buies Creek; Mr. Leon McDonald, Olivia; Mr. Robert Morgan and Miss Lois Byrd both of Lillington. The group worked out a constitution and by-laws and prepared a list of officers to be presented at a meeting to follow. On July 26 Mr. Corbitt made a talk to the Pitt County Historical Society in Greenville on "Early Religious Groups in North Carolina," and on August 2 he participated in the annual Workshop for Teachers, Principals, and Supervisors at Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone. He talked briefly on the history of the Department with emphasis on the way in which the Division of Publications serves the high schools and teachers of the State in making available historical material. On August 11 Mr.

Corbitt brought greetings from the Department at the unveiling of a memorial marker at Beech Gap.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent of the Department of Archives and History, made the featured speech at a meeting of the Historic Halifax Restoration Association on June 27, on the subject of conducting a historical survey of the town and preparing a prospectus of the proposed restoration of the colonial town. On September 28-29 he attended a meeting of the National Conference of Historic Sites Officials at Woodstock, Vermont, where he made a speech on the work of his division.

Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Norman C. Larson, Historic Site Specialist for the Alamance Battleground, announce the erection of a large aluminum plaque marking the Alamance Battleground which tells the story of the famous battle and traces the fighting on a large map. The plaque is four feet by six feet with a single plane relief map in the center. The story of the battle is told in raised bronze letters while the map is in seven colors on a cream background. The plaque is embedded in a base of stone native to the Alamance section and is covered by a roof which leaves the four sides open for viewing.

The joint summer regional meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association was held on August 10-11 at Brevard College. The afternoon meeting on August 10 was presided over by Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton, President of the Western Association, and the invocation given by Mr. Edward C. Roy. Mr. John Ford, Mayor of Brevard; Mr. John D. Eversman of the Brevard Music Festival; Mrs. Randall Lyday of the Waighstill Avery Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; and Dr. Robert H. Stamey, President of Brevard College, extended welcomes on behalf of the groups they represented. Mrs. Mary Jane McCrary read a paper on "Brevard on the Old Estatoe Path," and Mr. Virgil L. Sturgill spoke on the topic "Folklore of the Blue Ridge." At the evening meeting Dr. Christopher Crittenden presided and ad-

dresses were given by Dr. A. P. Hudson on "Prospectus of a Book of Tar Heel Humor" and by Mr. Albert S. McLean on "Robert Henry, Famous Pioneer Settler."

Mr. George W. McCoy presided over the morning session on August 11 with papers read by Mr. William F. Lewis on "Historic Hominy Valley" and by Miss Mary Greenlee on "Old Fort of Pre-Revolutionary Days." After a business session guests at the meeting were invited to the unveiling ceremonies at Beech Gap and later to the Transylvania Music Festival and the production, "Unto These Hills," at Cherokee. Members of the staff of the Department of Archives and History who attended were Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. H. G. Jones, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton.

Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton is the author of *Where Their Feet Stood Firm: St. James Episcopal Church, Hendersonville, N. C., 1843-1950. A Book of Memory*. The history of the parish and the church, which was published by the Western North Carolina Historical Association, traces the stages of growth of the early church and the growth of the parish property, lists the bishops who have had jurisdiction over the parish, and has a number of brief biographical notes about persons connected with the diocese in the western section of the State.

Professor O. C. Skipper of Mississippi State College for Women was a Visiting Professor of History at Western Carolina College during the second session of summer school.

Dr. J. Max Dixon has been named Associate Professor of History in the Social Studies Department of Appalachian State Teachers College. Other members added to the department are Mr. James Jones, formerly of High Point College, and Mrs. J. R. Melton of Boone.

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, Head of the Department of History of Meredith College, announces the removal of the offices and classes of the department into the recently completed Liberal Arts Building.

Mr. Thomas D. Hall has joined the faculty of Elon College as a Professor of History, and Mr. Dewey M. Stowers, Jr. has been appointed a member of the faculty of the Department of Social Sciences. He is a doctoral candidate in the field of geography at the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Alan Williams has been appointed as acting head of the Department of History at Queen's College and announces the following faculty changes: Dr. C. Louise Salley, Professor of History at Florida State University, will be Visiting Professor for the coming year; Dr. Philip Green, Professor of History, has retired; and Mr. Lawrence Nichols, former Assistant Professor of History, has been appointed to the faculty of the College of the City of Charleston.

Dr. William B. Hamilton, Chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements of the Southern Historical Association, announces that the following persons will serve in making plans for the Southern Historical Association which is meeting in Durham on November 15, 16, 17: Dr. Christopher Crittenden, North Carolina Department of Archives and History; Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, President of the State Literary and Historical Association; Dr. Joseph H. Taylor, North Carolina College; Dr. James L. Godfrey, Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, and Dr. J. C. Sitterson of the University of North Carolina; Dr. Joel Colton, Dr. Alexander DeConde, Dr. Robert F. Durden, Dr. Richard L. Watson, and Dr. Robert H. Woody all of Duke University.

Mr. Kirby Sullivan was elected President of the reorganized Brunswick County Historical Society which met at Clarendon Plantation near Southport on June 21. Other officers elected were: Mrs. Norman Hornstein, First Vice-President; Mr. Art Newton, Second Vice-President; Mrs. C. Ed Taylor, Treasurer; Mrs. Romona King, Secretary; and Mr. Cornelius D. Thomas, who was the society's first President, Historian. Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History was the guest speaker. The society decided to draw up resolutions to be sent to representatives in Congress protesting further destruction of Fort Johnson.

The members and visitors of the Currituck County Historical Society which met on July 9 in the courthouse heard a paper read by Mr. Dudley Bagley which was written by Mr. Ben Dixon McNeil about the late Joseph Palmer Knapp, of New York and North Carolina. Knapp was the little-known benefactor of many needy Currituck County schoolchildren creating among other charities a fund to clothe them. Another feature of the meeting was the presentation of several items which mark the beginning of the society's museum. These and other gifts will be housed in the home of Mrs. Alma O. Roberts who was re-elected Secretary. Other officers elected are: Mr. Burwell B. Flora, President; Mr. Wilton F. Walker, Vice-President; and Mr. E. Ray Etheridge, Treasurer. Mrs. Roberts and Mr. Bagley were appointed as a committee to make arrangements for the October dinner meeting.

The *Carteret County News-Times* for July 24 carried two articles written by Mr. F. C. Salisbury entitled "How Whiteoak River Nurtured Civilization," and "Three Prominent Landowners Dwelled in Cedar Point Area." Both articles are of interest to natives of both Onslow and Carteret counties as they relate facts relative to the formation of the counties and incidents in the lives of early settlers.

The Harnett County Historical Association, which was officially organized on August 2, 1956, elected the following officers to serve for one year: Dr. Leslie H. Campbell, Buie's Creek, President; Mr. I. R. Williams, Dunn, Vice-President; Miss Lois Byrd, Lillington, Secretary; and Mr. John W. Spears, Lillington, Treasurer. Charter memberships in the organization closed on October 2. The group plans to collect historical material and to make plans for the permanent housing of same as well as the publication of a news bulletin.

One of the features of the joint meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association was the unveiling of a historical marker honoring 125,000 North Carolina Confederate soldiers at Beech Gap in Haywood County on August 11. Mrs. Richard

Neely Barber, Sr., presided at the ceremonies with the following persons participating: Mr. Charles Isley, Mrs. Harry Stevens, Mrs. Lloyd M. Jarrett, Mrs. Roy Campbell, Mrs. F. C. Kirkpatrick, Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton, Mrs. A. T. St. Amand, Mrs. Roy Cagle, Mrs. J. P. Quarles, Mrs. C. K. Proctor, Miss Mary Barber, Miss Sarah Thomas, Mr. Sam Weems, Mr. Fred Gentry, and Mrs. John V. Erskin. Following the dedication of the marker a tour with guides furnished by the Brevard Chamber of Commerce was made through the memorial forest of 125,000 trees—one for each man who served in the Confederate Army. The plantings were begun in the Pisgah National Forest in 1942 with preliminary services held at that time sponsored by the National Forest Service and the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, Managing Editor of *The Forest City Courier* and retiring President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, was elected Historian of the North Carolina Press Association for the eighteenth consecutive year at the eighty-fourth annual convention held on July 14 in Asheville. Mr. Thomas Robinson, of the *Charlotte News*, was elected President; Mr. James Storey, of the *Marshall News-Record*, was elected Vice-President; and Miss Beatrice Cobb, of the *Morganton News Herald*, was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer. Four new directors were also named at the meeting.

The Bakersville Historical Celebration, held on June 21-23 in connection with the Roan Mountain Rhododendron Festival, marked the conclusion of another western North Carolina event in a series begun a few years ago to emphasize the historical heritage of that section of the State. The people of Bakersville presented a drama, "A Place of Some Mark," for three nights and an illustrated booklet was prepared with historical sketches of the town and surrounding mountains, as well as stories of the handicrafts, the Blue Ridge Parkway, the Museum of North Carolina Minerals, and other significant phases of contributing influences to life in the town. A mu-

seum of historical articles and documents attracted attention and more than 2,000 guests registered.

Mrs. Mary Jane McCrary of Brevard announces that she is collecting historical materials to be used in preparing a history of Transylvania County to be published in connection with the Transylvania County Centennial Observance scheduled for 1961. Mrs. McCrary has asked persons having pertinent materials to notify her of its existence as the actual collection will take place at a later date.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians sponsored a tour of Buncombe County on July 22 with the Western North Carolina Historical Association serving as host for the meeting which began at the Asheville Post Office and visited a number of places of interest. Some of the sites visited were: Log House with original timbers, birthplace of two governors (Lane of Oregon and Swain of North Carolina); home of Mrs. W. S. Porter, widow of O. Henry; birthplace of Governor Zebulon B. Vance; Richmond Hill, estate of the late United States Senator and Minister to Persia, Richmond Pearson, with the son and daughter of Minister Pearson acting as hosts. A booklet, "A Small Bit of History," by Mr. Owen Gudger supplemented the other materials given those who made the trip.

On August 12 the same group sponsored a tour of Iredell County with stops made at the following points: Bethany Church and Cemetery; Snow Creek Church; Concord Church, established in 1775; Mitchell College, built in 1856; Fourth Creek Cemetery; Third Creek Church with the grave of Peter Stuart Ney, designer of the Davidson College seal.

On September 23 the society sponsored a tour of Beaufort County meeting at "Elmwood" in Washington. Places seen and visited near Washington were: homes of Honorable Lindsay Warren, Shepherd-Brown-MacLean, Rodman, Fowle, Havens, "Bellevue," Telfair, and Myers. Following a short service at St. Thomas Church in Bath, oldest town and church in the State, the group visited Archbell's Point; Vandevier House, Joseph Bonner House; Kirby Grange; home of Edward

Teach, better known as "Blackbeard," the pirate; and other places of interest. Participants in all three tours carried picnic lunches.

The First Annual Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Scottish Clans Gathering was held on August 19 to commemorate the landing of Bonnie Prince Charlie at Glenfinnan and The Rising of the '45, August 19, 1745. The event, which took place at MacRae Meadows just off the Blue Ridge Parkway near Linville, had as its Scottish guest of honor Major R. H. MacDonald, O.B.E. Ard Toshachdeor, Clan Donald (The Senior Cadet of Lord MacDonald of MacDonald, Scotland). Bagpipe bands from Washington, D. C., Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga., and the brass bands from Laurinburg and Scotland County High School furnished music. Solo piping, Highland dancing, and sports events as well as prizes for the best Highland costume were features of the day. Religious services began at 11 A.M. and the sponsors included Clan Donald (MacDonalds, MacAlisters, MacQueens), Clan Macleod Society, William Douglas Clan, Clan Stewart, St. Andrew's Societies, Burns Clubs, and Order of Cape Fear Scottish Clans.

The Moravian Church of America has announced the establishment of a non-profit foundation for the development of research in early American Moravian music. The foundation, to be known as The Moravian Music Foundation, Inc., will be the first music foundation devoted exclusively to eighteenth-century American music. Headquarters will be in Winston-Salem. The new organization will concentrate its work on thousands of manuscripts and first editions collected over two centuries which are now in Winston-Salem or Bethlehem, Penna. The aim is to make available for public performance and research a great body of sacred and secular music heretofore unknown and unpublished.

Works of German and American churchmen and European non-Moravians, a total of some 7,000 compositions, including symphonies, string quartets, anthems, and songs, will be studied. The music collected in the Moravian Archives, generally

covering the period 1750-1850, includes the copies of works by major European composers, and in some cases these are the only existing copies. The earliest known copy (1766) of Haydn's "Symphony No. 17 in F. Major," for example, was found in Winston-Salem recently, a find which aroused the interest of musicologists around the world. News of the discovery was widely reported in American and European papers.

Creation of the Foundation comes as the Moravian Church is preparing to celebrate the quincentennial of its founding as a pre-Reformation church in Bohemia. Music has always been an integral part of the service of the church. The index of this work was begun in 1937 and is expected to be completed within the next five years. The Foundation operating as the music division of the Moravian Church in America will assist in the promotion of festivals, seminars, recitals, and concerts.

Dr. David A. Lockmiller has announced that the Lilly Endowment, Inc., of Indianapolis, Indiana, has made a grant of \$10,000 to the University of Chattanooga in support of a special collection of materials on the War Between the States. It will be called the John T. Wilder Collection in memory of the Union general who was both mayor of Chattanooga and one of the founders of the University. The collection will be housed in the University's Library and will be administered by Mr. Gilbert E. Govan, Librarian, and Mr. James W. Livingood, Professor of History. Interest in the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga has increased as the centennial of the war approaches. One recent evidence was the Disney motion picture, "The Great Locomotive Chase," based on the Andrews Raid which centered about Chattanooga.

The William and Mary Quarterly announces a special issue devoted to the *History of Science*, guest-edited by Dr. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., and containing articles by Dr. Brooke Hindle, Dr. Genevieve Miller, Dr. Denis I. Duveen, Dr. Herbert S. Klickstien, Dr. Harry Woolf, and Dr. William D. Stahlman. Copies may be ordered for \$1.25 from Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The South Carolina Archives Department announces a program to publish another series of volumes, the hitherto unpublished records of the journals of the two Executive Councils which functioned in the state shortly after it seceded from the Union in 1860. These volumes will be edited by Dr. C. E. Cauthen and will be packed with information concerning one of the greatest periods of crisis in the history of the state.

The Annual Awards of the American Association for State and Local History will be made at the annual meeting which is to be held at Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass., on October 7, 8, and 9. Dr. Louis C. Jones is Chairman of the Awards Committee for 1956 and Mr. William S. Powell of the University of North Carolina Library is Regional Chairman.

Books received during the last quarter are: Dexter Perkins, *Charles Evans Hughes and American Democratic Statesmanship* (Boston, Mass. and Toronto, Canada: Little, Brown and Company, 1956); Wesley Frank Craven, *The Legend of the Founding Fathers* (New York: New York University Press, 1956); Kenneth Farwell Burgess, *Colonists of New England and Nova Scotia: Burgess and Heckman Families* (privately printed by the author, 1956); Constance McL. Green, *Eli Whitney and the Birth of American Technology* (Boston, Mass. and Toronto, Canada: Little, Brown and Company, 1956); Richard Walser, *North Carolina Drama* (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1956); Charles E. Cauthen, *The State Records of South Carolina. Journals of the South Carolina Executive Councils of 1861 and 1862* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956); William Nisbet Chambers, *Old Bullion Benton, Senator from the New West. Thomas Hart Benton, 1782-1856* (Boston, Mass.: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1956); Cornelius Oliver Cathey, *Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860*. Volume 38 of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956); David M. Silver, *Lincoln's Supreme Court* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1956); Blackwell

P. Robinson, *A History of Moore County, North Carolina, 1747-1847* (Southern Pines: Moore County Historical Association, 1956); Nancy Alexander, *Here Will I Dwell (The Story of Caldwell County)* (Lenoir: published by the author, 1956); Lee B. Weathers, *The Living Past of Cleveland County—A History* (Shelby: Star Publishing Company, 1956); Kenneth M. Stampf, *The Peculiar Institution—Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956); Bell Irvin Wiley, *Reminiscences of Big I* (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1956); Wylma Anne Wates, *Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution, Book K* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956); Hennig Cohen, *Articles in Periodicals and Serials on South Carolina Literature and Related Subjects, 1900-1955* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956); and three reprints of bulletins originally issued by the Historical Commission of South Carolina and prepared by A. S. Salley, *The Introduction of Rice Culture into South Carolina*, Bulletin No. 6 (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Company. Printed for the Commission, 1919 [Second Printing, 1956]; *The Independent Company from South Carolina at Great Meadows*, Bulletin No. 11 (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Company, 1932 [Second Printing, 1956]; and *President Washington's Tour Through South Carolina in 1791*, Bulletin No. 12 (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Company, 1932 [Second Printing, 1956]).

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