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LISTEN TO THE EAGLE SCREAM: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE FOURTH OF JULY IN NORTH CAROLINA (1776-1876)

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PART I

The day after the Continental Congress had agreed upon a declaration of independence, John Adams, writing to his beloved Abigail, predicted that "The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America."¹ "I am apt to believe [said he] that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore." But it was to be July 4—the day Congress adopted the Declaration drafted by Thomas Jefferson—not July 2 that was to be celebrated "as the great anniversary festival." And had Adams added dinners, orations, the drinking of toasts, the reading of the Declaration, an evening ball or dance, and the shooting of firecrackers to his list of the means by which the day was to be celebrated, his prophecy would have been more nearly accurate.

Charles Warren, distinguished historian of the Supreme Court of the United States, writing in 1945, said: "It is a singular fact that the greatest event in American history—the

¹ Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: With a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations*, 10 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1850-1856), IX, 420.

Declaration of Independence—has been the subject of more incorrect popular belief, more bad memory on the part of participants, and more false history than any other occurrence in our national life.”² Warren cleared up some of the misconceptions concerning the date of the adoption and signing of the Declaration, the ringing of the Liberty Bell, the early celebration myth, and the poor memory of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and other participants in that historic event.³

It is my purpose in this essay to discuss the celebration of Independence Day from 1776 to 1876 in North Carolina and incidentally in the South. Today little attention is paid to July Fourth by the people of North Carolina, but during the first century of our national existence it was almost universally observed. A study of the orations and toasts delivered at those celebrations will throw light on public opinion and attitudes on the major problems, state, regional, and national, of the day and help to clear up some of the “false history” referred to by Charles Warren.

The American states received official news of the Declaration of Independence from the Continental Congress in July, 1776, and joyously proclaimed it to the people. Some legislatures ordered the Declaration to be printed in the state gazettes and to be proclaimed in each county by the sheriff. Others held public meetings in the capital cities where the Declaration was read and celebrated by a dinner, a toast to each of the thirteen states, illuminations, and ceremony in which an effigy of George III was either burned or buried.⁴

In Georgia public officials, gentlemen, and the militia drank a toast “to the prosperity and perpetuity of the United Free and Independent States of America.” And the President of the Council pronounced a funeral oration over King George in which he said:

² Charles Warren, “Fourth of July Myths,” *The William and Mary Quarterly: A Magazine of Early American History, Institutions and Culture*, Third Series, II (July, 1945), 237.

³ Warren, “Fourth of July Myths,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 237-272.

⁴ Charles D. Deshler, “How the Declaration Was Received in the Old Thirteen,” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXXXV (July, 1892), 165-187.

For as much as George the Third, of Great Britain, hath most flagrantly violated his Coronation Oath, and trampled upon the Constitution of our Country, and the sacred rights of mankind: We, therefore, commit his political existence to the ground—corruption to corruption—tyranny to the grave—and oppression to eternal infamy; in sure and certain hope that he will never obtain a resurrection to rule again over the United States of America. But, my friends and fellow citizens, let us not be sorry, as men without hope, for tyrants that thus depart—rather let us remember that America is free and independent; and that she is, and will be, with the blessing of the Almighty, Great among the nations of the earth.⁵

The North Carolina Council of Safety received news of the Declaration on July 22, 1776, and ordered “the committees of the respective Towns and Counties in this Colony on receiving the Declaration, do cause the same to be proclaimed in the most public manner, in Order that the good people of this Colony may be fully informed thereof.”⁶ On July 25, the Council adopted a resolution requiring the people to take a loyalty oath in which they were to declare that they “do absolutely believe” in independence, recognize no English authority, and promise to obey the Continental Congress.

At a meeting of the citizens of the town of Halifax on August 1, the Declaration was officially proclaimed to the state. On that day, “an immense concourse of people” and soldiers having gathered, Cornelius Harnett “read the Declaration to the mute and impassioned multitude with the solemnity of an appeal to Heaven.” When he had finished, “the enthusiasm of the immense crowd broke into one swell of rejoicing and prayer.” The soldiers seized Harnett and “bore him on their shoulders through the streets, applauding him as their champion, and swearing allegiance to the instrument he had read.”⁷

⁵ Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., *History of Savannah, Georgia* (Syracuse: D. Mason and Company, 1890), 234-235.

⁶ William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh: P. M. Hale and Josephus Daniels, 1886-1890), X, 682-684.

⁷ The description of the celebration at Halifax is taken from Jo. Seawell Jones, *A Defence of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina from the Aspersions of Mr. Jefferson* (Raleigh: Turner and Hughes; Boston: Charles Bowen, 1834), 268-269. Jones says he received the account of this ceremony “from a pious elderly lady, who was present on the occasion.”

Celebrations of the Fourth in 1777 were few in number, but were widely scattered throughout the country. The day was observed by an unofficial celebration at Philadelphia, which included a dinner for members of Congress, state officials, and the officers of the army. A number of toasts were drunk to the Fourth, to liberty, and to the memory of fallen troops. Throughout the city bells were rung; ships in the harbor fired thirteen cannon each; there was a parade, followed by fireworks. And music was furnished by a Hessian band that had been captured at Trenton.⁸ A similar celebration was held in Boston.

The most elaborate celebration held anywhere in the country took place at Charleston, South Carolina. A newspaper reported it as follows:

Friday last being the first anniversary of the glorious formation of the American empire . . . the same was commemorated by every demonstration of joy. Ringing of bells ushered in the day. At sunrise, American colors were displayed from all the forts and batteries, and vessels in the harbor. The Charleston regiment of militia, commanded by the Honorable Colonel Charles Pinckney, and the Charleston artillery company, commanded by Captain Thomas Grimball, were assembled upon the parade, and reviewed by his excellency the President. . . . At one o'clock in the several forts, beginning with Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, discharged seventy-six pieces of cannon, alluding to the glorious year 1776, and the militia and artillery three general volleys. His Excellency the President then gave a most elegant entertainment in the council chamber, at which were present all the members of the Legislature then in town, all the public officers civil and military, the clergy, and many strangers of note to the amount of more than double the number that ever observed the birthday of the present misguided and unfortunate King of Great Britain. After dinner the following toasts were drank, viz: '1. The free, and independent, and sovereign States of America. 2. The great council of America—may wisdom preside in all its deliberations. 3. General Washington. 4. The American army and navy—may they be victorious and invincible. 5. The nations in friendship or alliance with America. 6. The American ambassadors at foreign courts. 7. The Fourth of July, 1776. 8. The memory of the officers and soldiers who have bravely fallen in defense of Ameri-

⁸ Warren, "Fourth of July Myths," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 254.

ca. 9. South Carolina. 10. May only those Americans enjoy freedom who are ready to die for its defence. 11. Liberty triumphant. 12. Confusion, shame, and disgrace to our enemies—may the foes to America (slaves to tyranny) humble and fall before her. 13. May the rising States of America reach the summit of human power and grandeur, and enjoy every blessing.' Each toast was succeeded by a salute of thirteen guns, which were fired by Captain Grimball's company from their two field-pieces, with admirable regularity. The day having been spent in festivity, and the most conspicuous harmony, the evening was concluded with illuminations, etc., far exceeding any that had ever been exhibited before.⁹

The 1777 celebrations were unofficial gatherings, but on June 24, 1778, Congress gave official recognition to the day, and appointed a committee which arranged for a celebration, including a sermon. Under federal sponsorship the celebration became firmly established by 1783. The first celebration in North Carolina under federal authorization was held at Newbern in 1778. John Adams, who observed the festivities of the day, wrote Governor Richard Caswell on July 10 describing the celebration. "On Saturday last [said he] the ever-memorable Fourth of July, the Rising United States of America entered the Third year of their Independence, in spite of numerous fleets and armies; in spite of tomahawks and scalping knife; in spite of the numerous wicked and diabolical engines of cruelty and revenge, played off against us by the magnanimous and heroic, humane and merciful George the Third, the father of his people, and his wicked and abandoned soldiery. On this day, the bright morning star of this western world arose in the east and warned us to emerge from the slavish tyranny and servile dependence on a venal and corrupt court, and to assume to ourselves a name among nations, a name terrible to tyrants, and wrote in indelible characters by the Almighty as a refuge from persecution. This day was observed here with every possible mark and demonstration of joy and reverence; triple salutes were fired from the batteries in town, and on board the ship Cornell, and the privateer brig Bellona, belonging to this port, the gentlemen

⁹ *The Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser* (Boston: John Gill), No. LXII, July 31, 1777.

of the town met, where many toasts suitable to the importance of the day were drunk, and the evening happily concluded."¹⁰ Captain R. Cogdell, also an observer, added some details in a letter which he wrote the governor. Said he: "In celebration of this day great numbers of Guns have been fired, at Stanley's wharf, and Mr. Ellis' ship three different firings from each from early in the morning midday and evening, and Liquor given to the populace. Stanley and Ellis seem to vie with each other, in a contest who should do the most honor to the day, but Mr. Ellis had the most artillery."¹¹

The recognition of American independence by England in the Treaty of Paris of 1783 gave additional meaning to the Fourth of July. The action of Congress "declaring the cessation of arms as well by sea as land" reached North Carolina on April 30, 1783. "A great wave of rejoicing and gratitude thrilled through the Legislature," and on May 16 "it recommended a Statewide observance of the Fourth of July," and called upon Governor Andrew Martin to issue a proclamation to that effect.¹² Whereupon, Governor Martin on June 18, 1783, issued a proclamation, declaring that in accordance with the legislature's resolution that he appoint "the Fourth of July next, being the anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence, as a Day of Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God," he strictly commanded "all Good Citizens of this State to set apart the said Day from bodily labour, and employ the same in devout and religious exercises. And I do require all Ministers of the Gospel of every Denomination to convene their congregations at the same time, and deliver to them Discourses suitable to the important Occasion, recommending in general the Practice of Virtue & true Religion, as the great foundation of private Blessings as well as National Happiness & prosperity."¹³

¹⁰ Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina*, 16 vols. (Winston and Goldsboro: M. I. & J. C. Stewart and Nash Brothers, 1895-1907), XIII, 456.

¹¹ Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina*, XIII, 187.

¹² Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina*, XIX, 223, 287.

¹³ The proclamation is not found in the *State Records*, but is printed in full in Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 7 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, and North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1922-1947), IV, 1919-1920.

The Moravians were the only group in the state to act on the governor's proclamation. They assembled at Salem at ten o'clock on the Fourth and celebrated with wind instruments, a Te Deum, a sermon, and a prayer. At two o'clock there was a dinner after which songs were sung; later in the afternoon the congregation marched in a procession, and in the evening the houses were illuminated and bells were rung. The Bethabara congregation "favored making it as impressive as our circumstances allow" and ordered all members do no work on the day. They assembled at ten o'clock, read the proclamation, and had prayers. The Friedland group "solemnly and happily celebrated" the day.¹⁴ According to Adelaide L. Fries, late lamented member and former president of the Historical Society of North Carolina, this was "the first celebration of the Fourth of July by state Legislative enactment in the United States."¹⁵ But the Moravians were the only group in the state to obey the governor's proclamation. In the same year Boston became the first municipality to order an official celebration.¹⁶ Boston also claimed the distinction of having the first orator of the day in 1783, but this claim was disputed by David Ramsey, South Carolina's distinguished historian of the Revolution, who said he "delivered the first oration that was spoken in the United States, to celebrate this great event" in Charleston in 1778.¹⁷

Prior to the adoption of the Constitution the celebration of July Fourth had been non-partisan but, according to Charles Warren, that event transformed the day in the northern states into a political holiday, celebrated chiefly by the Federalists. The orators of the day were Federalists; Jefferson was seldom toasted, and his part in the drafting of the

¹⁴ Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, IV, 1834, 1835, 1863, 1868, 1885.

¹⁵ Adelaide L. Fries, "An Early Fourth of July Celebration," *Journal of American History*, 29 vols. (Greenfield, Ind., New York, 1907-1935), IX (September, 1915), 469-474. Warren, "Fourth of July Myths," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 258, states that the legislature of Massachusetts had requested the governor of that state "to direct that a suitable preparation be made for the celebration" of July 4, 1781.

¹⁶ Warren, "Fourth of July Myths," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 258.

¹⁷ David Ramsey, *An Oration Delivered on the Anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1794, in Saint Michael's Church, to the Inhabitants of Charleston, South Carolina* (London: W. Winterbotham, 1795), 1-2.

Declaration was minimized. Such was not the case in the South where Federalists and Republicans jointly celebrated the day. There are few references to celebrations in North Carolina from 1785 to 1790, but after the state ratified the Constitution the people once again began to celebrate Independence Day. The Edenton *State Gazette*, July 2, 1790, published an ode, titled "The American Union Completed," which proclaimed:

'Tis done'. 'tis finish'd! guardian Union binds,
In voluntary bands, a nation's minds:

.....

Now the *new* world shall mighty scenes unfold
Shall rise the imperial rival of the *old*.

.....

O happy land! O ever sacred dome!
Where PEACE and INDEPENDENCE own their home:
COMMERCE and TILLAGE, hail the Queen of *Marts*,
Th' Asylum of the world, the residence of ARTS.

The toast at the 1790 celebration generally emphasized the bonds of union. For instance, among the fourteen toasts drunk at Newbern was one to "the Federal Union, may it be Perpetual."¹⁸ Others of similar nature were "Energy to Government and a Federal Head"; and "May our Sister State, Rhode Island, be convinced of her error without the necessity of coercion."

As the rivalry between Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans became more bitter the representatives of each used the Fourth of July celebrations as a means of publicizing their party's position. A Federalist toast to "The Hon. John Jay—may that worthy citizen in the execution of the mission committed to his charge, secure to his fellow-citizens the invaluable blessings of peace, and in every other act, excell their most sanguine expectations" was balanced by a Republican toast, "An honorable negotiation or a decided and vigorous opposition to the measures of the British Court." The Republican toast, "The Republic of France—may her sons persevere in their glorious efforts for Liberty, until they obtain com-

¹⁸ Edenton *State Gazette of North Carolina*, July 16, 1790.

plete victory and permanent peace," was matched by a Federalist one, "The State of North Carolina—may the virtuous union of her citizens baffle the boasted SKILL of the French and their emissaries." If a Federalist, with the Whiskey Rebellion in mind, toasted "The forces of the Union! May their bayonets push home the argument when remonstrance fails," one Republican was ready with "May the spirit of wisdom dictate our laws, and impartial justice enforce them," and another with "May the snowy mantle of American Freedom, never be stained with the black corruption of monarchical sway."¹⁹

Both Federalists and Republicans endorsed the sentiments expressed in many toasts. They jointly drank to "The progress of useful knowledge! May the arts and sciences be cultivated with success, and their great end be directed to the improvement of social happiness." And both cheered the toast on the Revolution: "The wisdom that planned, the spirit that upheld, and the bravery that achieved the American Revolution." Both fervently hoped that American citizens "May . . . justly prize the blessing we enjoy." Both were interested in prosperity, so they drank to the various economic interests in the following: "The farmers and manufacturers of America"; "May the sails of American Commerce be filled with the winds of prosperity"; "The agricultural, manufacturing and commercial interests of the United States; may they be cherished with wisdom, . . . protected with valor, [and] support and cherish each other." Both, too, were hopeful that liberty would endure and be expanded. Hence they drank to many versions of a toast to liberty. "May the tree of Liberty never wither, but be immovable as the Appalachians"; may it "take root in the center of the earth, and its branches spread from pole to pole"; and "may its roots be cherished in this its native land, until its branches extend themselves over the remotest corners of the earth." Both Federalists and Republicans claimed to be gentlemen, hence they were chivalrous

¹⁹ These toasts with several variants and many others may be found in the *Halifax North Carolina Journal*, July 9, 1794, and July 9, 1798; *Fayetteville North Carolina Minerva and Advertiser*, July 9, 1796; and the *Wilmington Chronicle and North Carolina Weekly Advertiser*, July 17, 1795.

and considerate of the ladies. They might require the ladies to leave the dinner before the men began to drink, but they invariably toasted the fair sex. Typical of their sentiments are the following: "The American *Fair!* May the perfections of their minds excell the beauties of their persons"; "May they bestow their smiles on none but the friends of their country"; and, more seriously, "May they impress on the rising generation the value of the prize their fathers fought and bled for."²⁰

The victory of the Jeffersonian Democratic Republican party in the elections of 1800 changed somewhat the mood and spirit of the Fourth of July celebrations. Quite naturally the orations, and especially the toasts, put more emphasis on Jeffersonian ideas and principles and less on Federalism. In 1799, for the first time since the 1770's, the Declaration of Independence was read in North Carolina celebrations. Gradually the practice developed, and from 1805 until 1860 it was regularly read at all celebrations. Numerous odes were written on the Declaration and read on the Fourth. One by Alexander Lucas, editor of the Raleigh *Minerva*, written at the request of the citizens of Raleigh, was sung with much gusto. Describing the utopia which would follow the general acceptance of the principles of the Declaration, Lucas declared:

Discord no more shall roam abroad,
The fire and sword no more destroy,
But friendship smile o'er all mankind,
And all their sorrows end in joy.²¹

Republicans emphasized Jefferson's authorship of the Declaration. In one of the many such toasts, Joseph Gales, editor of the Raleigh *Register*, toasted Jefferson "as the sage and patriotic author of the Declaration of Independence." William Boylan, a Federalist editor of the Raleigh *Minerva*, corrected Gales; he contended that John Adams and other members of the Committee that wrote the Declaration should have equal recognition with Jefferson. The controversy, com-

²⁰ Fayetteville *North Carolina Minerva and Advertiser*, July 9, 1799.

²¹ The Ode is printed in full in the Raleigh *Star* of July 5, 1811.

plicated by rivalry over state printing, finally ended in a fight between the two editors in which Gales was severely beaten.²²

The orators, generally Republican, the leaders who offered the regular toasts, and most of those who gave voluntary toasts reflected Jefferson's views on party unity. Among the numerous toasts that expressed this sentiment are the following: "Union. Let the bickerings of party be heard no more. . . . We are all Americans, and belong to the great family of the Republic"; "Goodwill—may the fervor of political zeal never disturb the harmony of social intercourse"; "Parties. There is not talismanic virtue in names. Let us appreciate men for their deeds"; and "National Unanimity—may the hateful demon of discord be banished from our land and the name of American absorb all other distinctions."²³ During the Jeffersonian period North Carolinians also toasted "Freedom of the Press," and "Trial by Jury," and emphasized Jeffersonian principles and philosophy by reading the Bill of Rights as well as the Declaration of Independence on July Fourth.²⁴

As the controversy with England over neutral rights became more and more bitter it largely absorbed the attention of the Fourth of July celebrants. A Raleigh meeting drew up a long resolution on the *Leopard* affair and transmitted it and an address to President Jefferson. One of the toasts drunk on that occasion was: "The memory of the seamen who fell a sacrifice to British outrage—May the atrocity of this act produce the adoption of such measures as shall secure us from future violence, and establish our maritime rights on a firm foundation."²⁵ But such measures were not immediately adopted, and the next year the Raleigh citizens toasted, "*Neutral Rights*. The surrender of an inch only countenances a claim for an ell; may a hair's breadth never be yielded, till the conqueror is led to make his sword the yard stick." But France, too, was violating neutral rights, so North Carolinians

²² Raleigh *Register*, July 16, December 3, 10, 1804.

²³ Raleigh *Register*, July 17, 1812; Raleigh *Minerva*, July 7, 1808; Raleigh *Star*, July 26, 1810, July 17, 1812.

²⁴ Halifax *North Carolina Journal*, July 8, 1805; Raleigh *Register*, July 24, 1812.

²⁵ Halifax *North Carolina Journal*, July 8, 1805.

toasted "*The French Tiger and British Shark*. Paring to the nails of one, and a file to the teeth of the other."²⁶

When war came Wilmington citizens cheered a toast to "The 4th of July 1776. The sword of America again drawn from its scabbard in the spirit of that day—May its strokes be directed with such energy as speedily to force the enemy to a just and reasonable peace."²⁷ Hoping that Canada would be won by war a Raleigh citizen cried, "Canada—May her Star be speedily added to our Constellation." But another declared, "Our maritime Rights . . . are the objects of the War, and they will not be abandoned."²⁸ When the tide of battle turned against American forces the Wilmington citizens could still say: "Eternal war with all its privations and concomitant horrors, in preference to a peace that does not recognize and acknowledge our every right as a sovereign and independent Nation."²⁹ Enraged by England's use of Indian troops and the burning of the public buildings in Washington, a Raleigh crowd cheered the toast, "May the war in which we are engaged be carried on with ability and vigor, tempered with humanity; and may our enemy become sensible that a resort to wanton conflagrations, and the employment of the Scalping Knife, disgrace a civilized nation."³⁰ North Carolinians were anxious for peace and praised President James Madison's "Mission to Russia: It proves to the world, that whilst we are fighting for our Rights, we are willing to avail ourselves of the first occasion of negotiating an honorable peace."³¹

Patriotic though they were North Carolinians could find little about which to boast in the Peace of Ghent. The best they could do in 1815 was to recognize "Our late Ministers at Ghent." In 1816 they toasted "Our Navy—bold, enterprising and successful," "The Army of the United States—they fought bravely," and "Peace to the World"; but it was 1817 before they declared, in "The Last War—We plucked the laurels from the Crown of the conquerors of Napoleon."

²⁶ Raleigh Star, July 5, 1811.

²⁷ Raleigh Register, July 17, 1812.

²⁸ Raleigh Register, July 10, 1812; July 9, 1813.

²⁹ Raleigh Register, July 17, 1812.

³⁰ Raleigh Register, July 9, 1813.

³¹ Raleigh Register, July 9, 1813.

Finally, in 1820, they recognized "General Andrew Jackson—the immortal Hero of New Orleans," and condemned "The Hartford Convention—Commenced in iniquity, carried on in malignity, and ended in disgrace."³²

The form of July Fourth celebrations gradually evolved and by 1820 had assumed a fixed pattern that changed very little until the coming of the Civil War. In the early days the upper classes—gentlemen, government officials, the military, the Society of the Cincinnati, the Association of '76, and professional men including lawyers, doctors, and preachers—in a word what the press regularly called "men of Respectability," were the chief participants with the populace merely lookers-on. Most celebrations were held in the larger cities and county seats with only an occasional one at a country church, a cross roads store, or a tavern in the rural areas.

The day would begin with the ringing of bells at dawn followed by cannon or musketry salutes at sunrise. During the early morning various military organizations would parade the streets and go through their evolutions for the benefit of the populace. The people would then march in regular procession to a church, court house, or some other chosen place for the exercises. A newspaper account of a Raleigh celebration reports "the following was the order of the procession:

The Marshall of the Day on horseback and in uniform, Herald, Band, Infantry, Cavalry, Male students and teachers of Academy, Female students, Ladies, Police, Government Officials, The Reverend Clergy, Orators of the Day, The Governor, and Files of Infantry and Cavalry."³³ In most cases there was also a designated position in the procession for Visitors.

The public exercises consisted of prayers, an oration, the reading of the Declaration of Independence, the singing of patriotic airs, and occasionally the rendition of instrumental music. When these were concluded the select group of ladies

³² Raleigh *Minerva*, July 7, 1815; July 12, 1816; July 11, 1817; Salisbury *Western Carolinian*, July 18, 1820; Raleigh *Star*, July 7, 1820.

³³ Raleigh *Minerva*, July 7, 1808; see also Raleigh *Star*, July 5, 1810.

and gentlemen would adjourn to a tavern, hotel, or sometimes a private home where they were served an "elegant and sumptuous dinner." After dinner the ladies would retire and the gentlemen would drink thirteen regular toasts, one for each state, and numerous voluntary ones in fine wines and imported liquors. One group in Georgia drank eighty-seven toasts. In the afternoon the ladies would entertain at an "elegant tea party" at which there might also be vocal and instrumental music and dancing. The day would be concluded by a "splendid ball . . . given to the Ladies" by the gentlemen.³⁴

With the coming of the Jacksonian epoch there was a diminution of formalism and ceremony, but an increase in hilarity and boisterousness in the celebrations. With the decline of class distinctions the people participated to a much greater extent. In fact, all business and labor came to a stop, and everybody celebrated. Ladies and gentlemen were still present and popular leaders were in charge, but all groups were officially recognized. The working men and "Mechanics Societies" were given positions of importance.³⁵ In a single procession in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1831 "tailors, hatters, blacksmiths, carpenters, stone-cutters, tanners and leather dressers, cordwainers, coppersmiths and other workers of metal, printers, ropemakers, gunsmiths, and finally the Norfolk Marine Society, and The School Teachers," in that order, had their designated position.³⁶ And the streets of the county seats "were filled to overflowing with the generous yeomanry of . . . the country" districts.³⁷

The crowds, composed of men, women, and children, yea "all the little niggers in town," yelled and shrieked and screamed like mad.³⁸ These crowds, however, were assembled with a purpose that was serious, almost holy. They "listened attentively to lengthy prayers" distinguished for "fervent

³⁴ *Edenton State Gazette*, July 16, 1790; *Raleigh Minerva*, July 7, 1808; *Raleigh Star*, July 5, 1810.

³⁵ *Raleigh Register*, July 28, 1836.

³⁶ *Washington United States Telegraph*, July 8, 1831.

³⁷ *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 10, 1846.

³⁸ *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 15, 1837; *Raleigh Register*, July 13, 1853.

piety and patriotism," and greeted the Declaration and the oration with enthusiastic applause.³⁹ Instead of a dinner for a select few, barbecues were prepared for everybody. At one barbecue "long tables groaned beneath the fat of the land, [and] notwithstanding a well-directed and prolonged attack by all there . . . the reenforcements constantly furnished . . . drove the armed hosts, with reluctant step, from their entrenchments."⁴⁰ Of food there was enough and to spare. After everyone had eaten, the "call for Voluntary toasts was answered with promptitude and alacrity." But, instead of drinking to the toasts in Maderia and imported liquors as the early assemblies had done, these "motley crews" drank domestic wines and liquors, or even lemonade.⁴¹ And instead of indulging in "elegant teas" and "splendid balls" they closed their festivities by engaging in square dances or watching a "successful and beautiful assention of a Balloon in the evening."⁴² Beginning with July 4, 1836, the newspapers reported a new type of excitement, the "occasional popping of squibs," better known today as firecrackers.⁴³

The Moravians, first to celebrate officially the Fourth in North Carolina, became less enthusiastic in their observance of the day as the celebrations became more boisterous. Their exercises had at first consisted largely of sermons, prayers, and a "singstunde with instrumental accompaniment." But on July 16, 1811, the Salem Board "noted with regret that shooting as a sign of rejoicing, which we had tried to prevent, was carried on by several of the younger Brethren" on July 4. The next year the Board noted with regret that a letter of one of the conferences warning against worldly manifestations of joy on July 4 was disregarded by the young men who stuck cockades in their hats. In 1814 the secretary recorded in the minutes: "Disapproval is expressed concerning the behavior of the younger people on the fourth of this month, who made a noise by shooting in the Square and out of the

³⁹ *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 15, 1837.

⁴⁰ *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 10, 1846.

⁴¹ *Hillsboro Recorder*, July 8, 1841.

⁴² *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 15, 1837; *Raleigh Star*, July 7, 1836.

⁴³ *Tarboro Free Press*, July 9, 1836.

Brothers House. In addition they have repeatedly occupied themselves with marching, soldier fashion, with drum and fife, near the town in the evening." This action, said the Board, "must be considered disorder and must be suppressed." The Board ordered parents to warn their children, masters their apprentices, and Choir officers the "Single Brethren." Evidently the warning bore fruit for in 1815 the Fourth was "observed in a solemn manner"; in 1817 "the anniversary . . . was more still and quiet in our town than it has been in many years"; in 1818 there was "little celebration"; and in 1819 and 1820 the celebration consisted of only "a singstunde with instrumental music" and a sermon by the distinguished Lewis David von Schweinitz.⁴⁴ One concession, however, had been made to the youth. Beginning in 1815, and continued thereafter, the sermon for the Fourth was delivered in English rather than German.

Two new movements, the Sunday school and the temperance crusade, attempted to capitalize on the popularity of the Fourth during the Middle Period. The Guilford County Sunday School Union, an auxiliary of the American Sunday School Union, had charge of the exercises in Greensboro in 1834.⁴⁵ And in Raleigh in 1851 over four hundred Sunday school children from the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other Missionary churches gathered in the Presbyterian Church. They listened to the reading of the Declaration, heard an oration, sang songs, and in the evening attended a session devoted to speech making.⁴⁶

The temperance movement was better organized and had a more definite program than the Sunday schools; hence it exerted greater influence on the Fourth. The Washington Temperance Society of Mecklenburg County was joined by a large body of the citizens of Charlotte in its celebration in 1842. They listened to the reading of the Declaration of Independence, heard two prayers, and drank more than fifty toasts, twenty-five to temperance, all "in *pure cold water*."

⁴⁴ Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, VII, 3150, 3180, 3237, 3259, 3368, 3402, 3439.

⁴⁵ *Raleigh Register*, July 15, 1834.

⁴⁶ *Raleigh Star*, July 9, 1851.

The male members carried a banner, made of white silk by the women members, inscribed: "To guard against a practice which is injurious to our health, standing and families, we as gentlemen pledge ourselves not to drink any spirituous or malt liquors, wine or cider." They sang "Cold Water," one stanza of which reads:

Here's to the Cup of Cold Water—
The pure, sweet cup of cold water;
For nature gives to all that lives
But a drink of the clear cold water.⁴⁷

Every toast offered at the Wilmington celebration of 1847, conducted by the Wilmington Temperance Society, made reference to temperance. A typical one reads: "The day we celebrate—may its next advent find every member not present, faithful to his 'pledge,' and our number doubled."⁴⁸ That same year the "Concord Division No. 1 of Sons of Temperance" joined in a local celebration. A newspaper correspondent reported that, despite the fact that only cold water and ice lemonade were used in drinking toasts, "The racy pun, the sparkling jest, and witty repartee circulated most merrily."⁴⁹ And at each celebration in Raleigh from 1845 through 1851 Sons of Temperance, Raleigh Teetotalers, and other temperance groups joined Sunday school children, numbering from three hundred to four hundred, and the citizens of the town in the Fourth of July exercises.

Even the official July Fourth celebrations in Washington experienced the leveling influence of the rise of the common man during the Middle Period. In addition to "the vapid orations, stupid toasts and execrable speeches; hot meats and cold wines; the customary laudation of the nation, and the quantum of headaches that follow the usual indulgence," a visitor in Washington reported the new "squibs and popguns"; the "commingling of all the central functionaries with citizens of every class" in the White House; and a band of "Sunday

⁴⁷ *Charlotte Catawba Journal*, July 14, 1842.

⁴⁸ *Wilmington Journal*, July 16, 1847.

⁴⁹ *Raleigh Standard*, July 14, 1847.

school children marched through the walks of the capitol grounds."⁵⁰

What might be considered a typical Fourth of the antebellum period took place at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1843. The citizens of the town were awakened at dawn by the bells of St. Michael's in whose pews on Sundays sat the aristocracy of the Cotton Kingdom. But on this holiday the bells of St. Michael's called to worship all classes of citizens. As the clangor of the bells died away cannon on the battery boomed a salute across the sleepy harbor. Gradually the sidewalks filled with people, men, women and children, black and white. The Charleston Light Dragoons paraded down the avenue to the water front; the Sixteenth and Seventeenth regiments of infantry and a battalion of artillery followed. Near the reviewing stand, occupied by the officials, were assembled men in tall hats and women in hoop skirts. When the troops were drawn up at attention the United States cutter *Van Buren*, riding at anchor in the harbor, fired a salute; the artillery battery replied; and the infantry raised its muskets and fired a round to complete this part of the ritual.

The crowd then dispersed, but after a short interim new processions were formed. The Society of the Cincinnati and the Association of '76, their members few in number and now feeble old men, moved slowly to the First Baptist Church where they heard prayers and an oration by a member of the '76. Meanwhile the Washington Society had marched to St. Mary's where it heard prayers, an oration, and the Declaration of Independence. A third procession made up of temperance societies marched through the streets to the New Theatre where, after prayers and an anthem, Albert Rhett addressed "a numerous, brilliant and gratified audience of both sexes." After "a brief allusion to the grateful and hallowed occasion," Rhett took "the boldest and highest ground in favor of total abstinence."

In the afternoon thirteen hundred Sunday school children, preceded by ministers, teachers, and a "band of music,"

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Fries Ellet, *Court Circles of the Republic, or The Beauties and Celebrities of the Nation* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Publishing Company, 1872), 308.

marched to the Presbyterian Church. There the exercises consisted of a prayer, a religious parody on the Declaration of Independence, an original poem, and an oration on the blessings of liberty and the higher blessings of Sunday schools, all delivered by boys. Appropriate anthems were sung by a girls' choir. The exercises were followed by a picnic of box lunches and games. The day was concluded by fire works at Tivoli Garden during the evening.⁵¹ A North Carolina celebration similar to this one would have included also a dinner or barbecue, regular and voluntary toasts, and probably a dance in the evening.

The orator and his oration played a significant role in the celebrations. The orator was selected by a committee in charge of arrangements, and throughout the country some of the most distinguished statesmen, preachers, lawyers, and editors were pressed into service. But in North Carolina the orators, while selected from the above named professions, were relatively unknown. Joseph Gales, Jesse R. Bynum, Jesse Speight, and James Branch addressed July Fourth crowds, but the better known Nathaniel Macon, Archibald D. Murphey, William Gaston, Willie P. Mangum, William A. Graham, and Judge Thomas Ruffin seem not to have done so.

The early orators had a chance at originality of thought and expression, and some of them delivered thought provoking as well as stirring addresses. David Ramsey, the South Carolina historian who in 1778 "delivered the first oration that was spoken in the United States, to celebrate this great event," was again the orator in Charleston in 1794. He not only traced the colonial and revolutionary history of the United States, as most speakers did, but he reminded his hearers that they, as American citizens, enjoyed "advantages, rights, and privileges, superior to most, if not all, of the human race. . . . We ([said he] have hit upon the happy medium between despotism and anarchy." According to Ramsey, we have freedom and equality of opportunity; we are all equal under the law; we have free press, free speech,

⁵¹ *Charleston Courier*, July 5, 1843; see also Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1940), 96-97.

and no state church. Tolerance and equality leads to peace between factions. And, we can look forward to continuing peace, progress, and prosperity. "To what height of national greatness may we not aspire?" he asked. There was no limit, replied he, if the United States would educate all its people and maintain peace with all nations.⁵² Ramsey painted an idyllic picture of peace, liberty, and equality, yet he passionately believed in the future growth and progress of the United States. His vision was that of the American dream.

By mid-nineteenth century, however, the phraseology of July Fourth orations had become so hackneyed and time worn that one orator, the Reverend Mr. Moore of Virginia, spent considerable time in explaining his difficulty in preparing anything either fresh or acceptable to his audience. Said he: "The situation of a Fourth of July orator now is like that of a man at the third table of a public dinner, who has left to him little more than scraps and empty dishes. All the rhetoric and logic of the occasion have been used up, and there is really not a respectable metaphor left. The American Eagle—a very respectable bird in its way—has been so plucked and handled that it has become as tame as a barnyard fowl. The British Lion has been so belabored and becudgeled by an indignant eloquence that he roars as gently as a suckling dove. The Stars and Stripes have been so vehemently flourished above admiring crowds of patriotic citizens that there is hardly a rhetorical shred left of them, and even that is somewhat the worse for handling. Even classic antiquity—Hercules and the serpent, Julius Caesar, Demosthenes, Greece and Rome—have so long been compelled to perform annual muster that they have really become exempt from military service. Even patriotism is not in season, because it is not near enough the election. The very Union would almost be dissolved by eulogizing it at such a melting temperature as this. Even 'the Ladies' have been deemed too exciting a topic for the orator on this heated occasion and hence has been monopolized by the committee on toasts, where its exciting character may be tempered

⁵² Ramsey, *An Oration Delivered on the Anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1794*, 1-20.

by ice water and other cooling compounds. So it is obvious that the path of a Fourth of July orator . . . is like that spoken of in a popular song not unknown in this community, 'A hard road to Travel'.⁵³

Nevertheless a few North Carolina orators found some new ideas to emphasize. The Reverend Joshua Lawrence, speaking in Tarboro in 1830, warned against a state supported church. Said he: "I tell you that in my candid opinion, that the independence and liberty of our country is in more danger at this time from priestcraft, than it has ever been since the revolution, from all the nations of the earth, or any past or present source whatever; and I wish to remind you, that united we stand, divided we fall, a prey to the tyranny of kings or priests. Yea, if you suffer the priests by law to ride on your back, you will soon, I assure you, have to carry a king behind him."⁵⁴ T. Loring, speaking at Wilmington in 1833, chose to emphasize the preservation of the Union against the threat of nullification and secession. He declared that "the most effectual safeguard of our liberties will be found in public education."⁵⁵ An orator at Tarboro in 1844 chose to speak on "The Importance of Female Education." Pleading for equal rights for women he argued that liberty and freedom could be maintained only by an educated citizenry.⁵⁶ In the crisis of 1850, a Tarboro orator exhibited intellectual courage as well as love of the Union. "Surrounded by an audience, whose sentiments on the topics it was his duty to discuss he knew to be as opposite as possible, he yet by founding his sentiments on those facts which all Unionists knew to be true and all secessionists felt to be true, impressed upon each and all the strict equality in importance of Southern Rights and Union, and made all feel that though the one was nearly essential to our glory and prosperity, it could not stand unless the other was respected."⁵⁷ In like manner an orator at Ra-

⁵³ Washington *National Intelligencer*, July 15, 1854.

⁵⁴ Reverend Joshua Lawrence, *A Patriotic Discourse, Delivered by the Rev. Joshua Lawrence, at the Old Church in Tarborough, N. C., on Sunday the Fourth of July, 1830* (n.p. or d.), 29.

⁵⁵ *Wilmington People's Press and Advertiser*, July 17, 1833.

⁵⁶ *Tarboro Free Press*, July 9, 1844.

⁵⁷ *Tarboro Free Press*, July 12, 1851.

leigh on the same day chose the Union as his theme, and "portrayed in a most impressive and masterly manner its value and importance to the maintenance of our liberties, and the safety, peace and prosperity of the whole country."⁵⁸

Dr. J. N. Danforth, in an address on "Thoughts on the Fourth of July, 1847," reached a new high in originality of thought and courage of expression. He decried illiteracy and ignorance, the misery and cruelty of the state prison system, and the destitution of the poverty stricken, and demanded that the state and the nation give every possible aid to the eradication of these evils. He likewise called upon the people to encourage progress in science, to improve the means of communication of ideas as well as of things, and to extend equal political rights to all people. But his special plea was for pacifism. "Let us not deceive ourselves," said he, "with the phantom of military glory, after which so many are grasping only to be disappointed. Military glory depends for its acquisition on war, and war is one of the most bitter and blasting conditions of humanity. It is the daughter of pride and the mother of all kinds of abominations and disasters. It is one of the greatest curses to which humanity was ever abandoned. It breeds idleness, intemperance, infidelity, and all manner of licentiousness. It robs wives of their husbands, and children of their fathers. As it authorizes murder on a large scale, so it affords the opportunity and shield for all sorts of petty murders and assassinations. It involves an enormous expenditure of money, and encourages all kinds of wastefulness, creating bloated fortunes for some, and ruining others. It converts peaceful fields into the arenas of horrid strife, making of them shambles for the shedding of human blood, and instead of the quiet, cheerful, golden harvest of nature, substitutes the gloomy harvest of death, where, instead of the grateful song of the reaper, may be heard the bitter oath and execration; instead of the tranquil toil of the husband-man, yielding fruit, may be seen the fierce tumult of armed men, resulting in nothing but weeping widows, childless parents, and mourning brothers and sisters. . . . War

⁵⁸ Raleigh *Star*, July 9, 1851.

introduces a train of evils which a whole generation is scarcely sufficient to repair, polluting the morals, [and] prostrating the barriers of society."⁵⁹ Danforth further ridiculed the ideas of honor, glory, chivalry, and the *beau ideal* in warfare. It must have taken a good deal of moral and intellectual courage for a man to deliver such a philippic against war at the very time the United States was engaged in the popular war with Mexico. In recent times a Danforth would have been thrown into prison for saying much less.

By and large the Fourth of July orations reveal a common pattern of thought and feeling. The orator generally recited American colonial history and found the hand of God directing in every crisis and leading the colonists along the road to independence; he emphasized the love of liberty of the early Americans; he lauded the colonists for their long suffering endurance of tyranny; he damned George III and the British government for their flagrant disregard of the rights of man; he glorified the heroism of American men and women in the bitter struggle for independence; he expressed reverence for the leaders of the Revolution, especially George Washington; and he praised the system of government established in the United States as the most perfect under heaven. He then urged his hearers to attack current problems in a spirit similar to that of the founding fathers. He pointed with pride to the wonderful progress of the country and expressed hope and faith in the future progress and greatness of the United States. Throughout the discourse he indulged in Biblical quotations, classical allusions, and high sounding phrases that made his speech a masterpiece "of oratory according to the canons of the day." But despite its bombast and platitudes the Fourth of July oration "epitomized the whole pattern of American political thought and feeling. . . . [It] was . . . an invitation to patriotism . . . and [an] inspiration for loyalty to the nation."⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Reverend J. N. Danforth, "Thoughts on the Fourth of July, 1847," *The Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review*, XIII (July, 1847), 502-505.

⁶⁰ Merle Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), 140-141.

While not as important as the orator, newspaper editors played a significant role in the Fourth celebrations. They were often called upon to deliver an address, but more important they published plans for the day, tried to whip up enthusiasm on the part of the people, wrote an annual editorial on the Fourth, always printed an account of the day's festivities often including the address in full and occasionally reprinting the entire Declaration of Independence.

In the 1830's northern newspapers reported a decline in interest in the festivities in that section. They declared that in many towns and cities the day passed without any observance, and they noted general apathy on the part of the people. North Carolina editors, almost without exception, expressed satisfaction that such was not the case in the Old North State and in the South generally. "Notwithstanding the apathy complained of in some parts of the Union," said the editor of the *Raleigh Register*, on July 6, 1839, "our national Jubilee was celebrated in this city with becoming honors." Ten years later he declared, "there are but few places in the Union, where, in proportion to means and population, the day is celebrated with more lively enthusiasm" than in North Carolina.⁶¹ "Unusual demonstrations," "much enthusiasm," "unusually animated gathering," and "unusually spirited" were descriptive phrases he used during the 1850's. The editor of the *Raleigh Southern Weekly Post* corroborated the *Register's* views. He said, "while in other sections of our country the day is permitted to pass without any special demonstration, we are rejoiced to see that in North Carolina the spirit of patriotism burns as brightly as it did in the days of the Revolution."⁶² In Tarboro also the people continued to celebrate the day with old time vigor. In 1852 they did so with "more than usual enthusiasm."⁶³

South Carolina editors found that the people of that state, too, were unflagging in their "devotion to the principles of the revolution." Year after year rolls on but they are "determined to keep burning for ever the vestal fire of liberty,

⁶¹ *Raleigh Register*, July 7, 1849.

⁶² *Raleigh Southern Weekly Post*, July 7, 1842.

⁶³ *Tarboro Southerner*, July 10, 1852.

kindled by our fathers in the temple of union," and they rejoice in the success of the "glorious experiment of popular self-government." South Carolinians had had their "reverses and trials" but nothing had transpired to shake their "confidence in the stability and permanence" of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the value of the Union. On the "contrary, the experience of the past only brightens the hope of the future, that our career will continue to realize its full promise of individual happiness and national glory."⁶⁴

However, a Wilmington, North Carolina, editor in 1851 recognized "a gradual abatement of the fervor which signaled the earlier celebrations. The heart of the nation is less powerfully moved. The chord of public feeling responds less strongly to the note of festivity."⁶⁵ Among the reasons which he offered for the decline was the repetitious nature of the celebrations which, attended year after year, tended to develop an attitude of boredom. Furthermore, a new generation, born and nurtured in peace and prosperity, did not and could not respond to the Fourth as did their forefathers who had fought and bled for their independence.

Another Wilmington editor in the late 1850's admitted a declining interest in the Fourth throughout the entire South. He attributed the change to growing sectional divergence and charged northern abolitionists with responsibility. The harmony which the Fourth should engender, said he in 1856, was being submerged by the "wild torrent of fanaticism" which was sweeping over the North." "Thousands of preachers and orators at the North [said he] will avail themselves of the opportunity [on the Fourth] to instil hatred to the South and her institutions. . . . We cannot, therefore, look forward to the influence of the day with the same hopeful feelings that used to animate us on such occasions. . . . We cannot but think that the state of affairs is such as to induce a deeper and more thoughtful tone than usually characterizes the occasion."⁶⁶ The next year he declared that the liberty of the South was threatened by the North. Will we, he asked, be

⁶⁴ *Charleston Courier*, July 4, 1843.

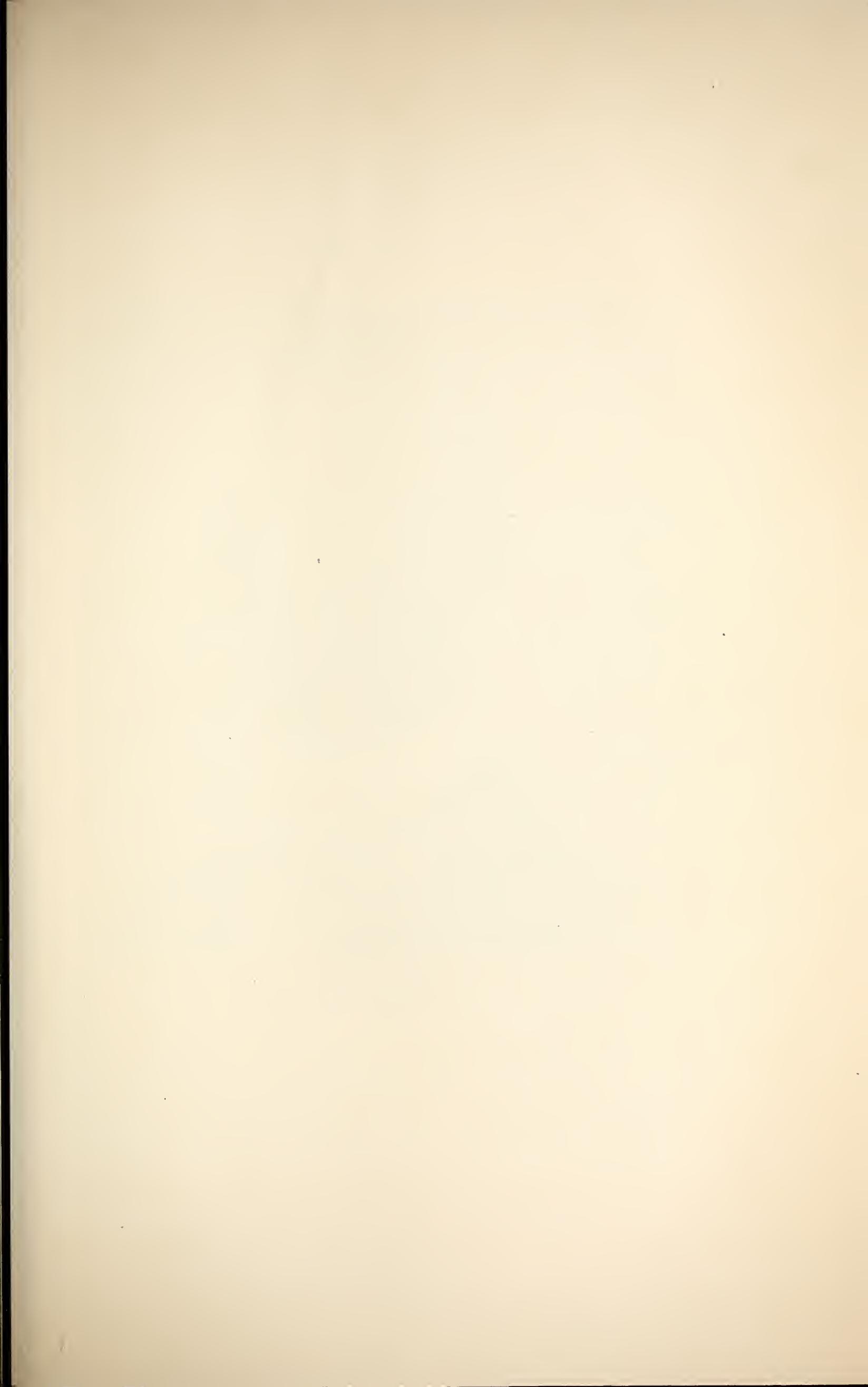
⁶⁵ *Wilmington Tri Weekly Commercial*, July 5, 1851.

⁶⁶ *Wilmington Daily Journal*, July 3, 1856.

able to celebrate the centennial of the Fourth which is only nineteen years off? He concluded that Southern orators could not content themselves "simply with glorifying over the great even in honor of which the day is celebrated." We may congratulate ourselves that we can still meet around a common altar, but "the more ominous question will obtrude itself on the mind — How long will this be so?"⁶⁷ Unfortunately his speculations were true; in less than five years his own city was to abandon the celebration of the birthday of the republic.

[*To be concluded*]

⁶⁷ *Wilmington Daily Journal*, July 3, 1857.





JAMES E. MCGIRT
North Carolina Negro Poet

JAMES EPHRAIM MCGIRT: POET OF "HOPE DEFERRED"

By JOHN W. PARKER

James Ephraim McGirt's (1874-1930) forthright pronouncement that "I would not have written one line had nature not forced me" together with the constantly-recurring conviction that he was destined to remain on the outer slopes rather than to ascend the heights of Parnassus, probably points up the fact that he continued to turn out creative verse for one reason: he simply could not help himself. Once the urge to write struck him, it straightway became an obsession; it loomed as the measure of a worthwhile existence. He saw, or thought he saw, beyond the immediate difficulties that combined to obscure his view—financial insecurity, limited training, a dearth of contacts with men of like interests, and of course, his movement in a disadvantageous "out-group" in a land of plenty. His contribution to American letters, by no means pronounced, is perhaps more individual than racial. A dreamer whose dreams never come true, this literary enthusiast nevertheless deserves to be remembered not so much because of the radiance and charm of his personality or the excellence of his literary output, but because of his devotion to a worthy ideal and his struggle to reach it in the face of overwhelming odds.

McGirt's roots were deeply regional. Born the son of Madison and Ellen (Townsend) McGirt, he first sat up and took notice out in the hinterlands of Robeson County near Lumberton, North Carolina, a region that to this day has remained almost wholly rural in outlook as in atmosphere and economy. His father had grown up in these fertile cornlands and had become a part of them as had the several generations of McGirts that had preceded him. With his mother, however, the mettle was reversed, for while she was brought up on a farm near Rowland, North Carolina, she became a woman of fine bearing and of strong personality, a punctilious religionist

who was wont to call into her home casual passers-by for a moral lecture and to quote for them at great length from the Bible. It was she who invisioned for the poet-to-be a life far removed from the hill regions of Robeson County. Perhaps more than anything else, it was her insistence upon "living apart" even from the neighbors next door that accounts for the fact that no one of her four children was ever married. A second cousin, Mrs. Zilphia McNair Waugh, who came in 1930 to live with the then-depleted McGirt family tells of how at the age of 82, "Aunt" Ellen talked mysteriously to the neighbors about "going away" and how on the following Sunday, in response to what she construed to be a fire alarm, she rushed out of the church into the path of a moving vehicle and sustained injuries from which she never recovered.¹

The warmth and encouragement of a stable Christian home facilitated McGirt's struggle to outdistance the discouragement that was almost invariably part and parcel of his daily lot. A strong in-group feeling was always present, perhaps too much so. For his early training he enrolled in a private school at Lumberton, North Carolina, where for many years the principal was David Allen. It was here that romances were established with three youthful schoolmates, Alice Peppers, Edith Merritt, and Anna Allen, daughter of the principal. The memory of each of them he immortalized in a love poem written many years later. Presently, however, the McGirts moved on. This time they settled in a rural community not a great distance from Rowland, North Carolina, where again they devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits.²

Traditionally, the Lumberton-Rowland region, more or less symbolic of the South as a whole, has fostered a bi-racial organization with its corresponding social codes and conventional mores which have resulted in the maintenance of social distance between the races. The business of growing up in this rural community back in the eighties and the nineties hardly makes a fascinating story. For young McGirt the days

¹ Information secured in interview on August 24, 1952, with Mrs. Zilphia McNair Waugh, 605 Ramsey Street, Fayetteville, North Carolina.

² Information secured in interview on August 24, 1952, with Mrs. Mary Gavin (McGirt's first cousin), P. O. Box 38, Lumberton, North Carolina.

came and went; they were wont to afford more work than play, more rain than sunshine, but somehow at the end of the day there was always time for serious reflection upon what the tomorrows might bring. Quite unconsciously, during these formative years, the poet-to-be was acquainting himself with a mode of life subsequently to be reflected in his published writings. Today, however, James E. McGirt is a forgotten man even by the scattered McGirt families that still cluster in the remote sections of Robeson County. His name is mere fiction; farmers and veneer-plant workers alike speak in vague and uncertain terms about this poet of the long ago.

As a youth McGirt moved with his parents from Rowland to Greensboro, North Carolina. Here working as laundress and as drayman they combined their efforts to establish a home on Island Street.³

Writing poetry during his spare moments, McGirt continued his education in the Greensboro public schools and earned money by doing an assortment of odd jobs. "Bud," as he was known about the campus, entered Bennett College in 1892 and after a three-year period of study was awarded the bachelor's degree in 1895.⁴

Meanwhile, the impulse for literary expression, an inclination that had lingered since childhood, became increasingly insistent and McGirt was content to follow no other. In some respects the years immediately following the turn of the century were favorable to pioneering in American Negro literature. By 1906, Paul Laurence Dunbar, writing both in dialect and in standard English, had captured the popular imagination of the American people; Charles W. Chestnutt was the best writer of prose fiction the race had produced; and William Stanley Braithwaite whom McGirt had chanced to meet in Washington, D. C., around 1900 was turning out scholarly verse that was free from racial exclusiveness. Moreover, the dialect tradition was enjoying a heyday, and a critic of the calibre of William Dean Howells was loud in his praise

³ Information secured in interview on March 6, 1952, with Miss Geneva J. Holmes, 1308 Lindsay Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.

⁴ Letter (in author's possession), dated February 19, 1952, from Dr. Willa B. Player, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina.

of Dunbar's dialect poems, but remained indifferent to his pieces in standard English. Indeed, it was a brave new period in American Negro literature when one heard an occasional Negro voice in lonesome wood.

In 1899, McGirt's initial volume of poems, *Avenging the Maine*, made its appearance. For the most part short and lyric in quality, the poems that comprise this slender book touch upon a number of topics. A good many of them are concerned with the poet's love of land and of country things during the flow of season. "The Evening," for example, points up the joy and mirth that settles upon "children in the harvest field" at the close of the day; and the four-line lyric, "Our Picnic," portrays a social and an emotional situation in which rustic life is glorified for a day perhaps by contrast with the drudgery that normally attaches to it. It falls short, however, in the matter of structure; everywhere the style unlike the mood is heavy and the rhymes uncertain. And the piece, "A View of Childhood," amounts to the definition of a situation in which the simple pleasures of rural life pass all but unnoticed by a "playful lad" but gather luster when viewed in retrospect. Certainly his initial love poem, "Edith," reveals the author's penchant for moralizing and for eighteenth century artificiality. It is an extravaganza written in response to his love affair with Edith Merritt at the Allen Private School in Lumberton where they were wont to meet "in the park under a mossy tree."

Smarting under the pressure exerted by his forced movement in a "disadvantaged out-group," it is small wonder that the Negro-white aspect of the American racial problem should have become the basis for much of McGirt's literary striving. In the poem "Slavery," for example, he holds up to ridicule the moral and spiritual enslavement of Negro women, otherwise as "pure as the dewdrops," and the central figure in "Don't Laugh, Boys" is an old Negro man whose shattered body and blurred outlook bespeak the tragedy of slavery in America. Pathetic irony finds its way into "Memory of Lincoln and the Yankees," a poem which by implication pits the "dear old friends we darkies cherish" against the whites

below the Mason-Dixon line, much to the disparagement of the latter group. "Classes" is a clever satire on the conventional mores that combine to obscure the perspective of the race. In it McGirt implies the paradox described in Countee Cullen's moving lines:

Yet do I marvel at this curious thing—
To make a poet black and bid him sing.

And as though it had not been done to death already, McGirt employed the dialect medium in some of his poems; but, for the most part, it was dialect characterized by a strange and irregular blending of dialect words with those of standard English. In the preface to *Avenging the Maine*, he explains that "since most illiterate persons live with those who are cultured, they speak correctly one half of their words."⁵ He insists that he has written just as the masses impressed him. The line "Dat's no Sin Yer going ter get mad" from the poem "No Use in Signs" suggests something of the character and the quality of his dialect expression. As sensitive and dignified a man as he was, it is hard to believe that McGirt had any serious interest in dialect as a literary medium. William Dean Howells's praise for Dunbar's pieces in dialect as opposed to those in standard English may have inspired McGirt to bid for similar recognition.

Perhaps as a natural consequence of the influence that attended his early years, especially the religious example set by his mother, a fairly sizable group of McGirt's poems possesses a distinct didactic flavor. Not infrequently the tone is that of a sermon directed at the wayward sinner who has fallen victim to the pleasures of the moment. A case in point is the long narrative poem, "A Drunken A. B.," which recounts the progress of degradation on the part of a brilliant college-bred youth in response to an unhappy love affair. Similarly, in the lyric outburst, "Satan," the author deplors this ever-present evil force in the whole range of human endeavor:

⁵ James E. McGirt, *Avenging the Maine* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1900, Second Edition), preface, 1. Volume located in The University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

He lurks around poverty,
 He lurks in gold;
 He's always on duty
 Seeking a soul.

And an accounting for laxity in social vision and in social action is implied in "Nothing to Do":

Jails are crowded,
 In Sunday Schools few;
 We still complain,
 There's nothing to do.

Heathen are dying,
 Their blood falls on you;
 How can you people,
 Find nothing to do?

Obviously, *Avenging the Maine* is a collection of poems of uneven quality. By and large, the poems it contains are crude in rhyme and in verse form, limited in vocabulary, and defective in poetic diction. They exhibit all too few of the subtler qualities that distinguish poetry from prose. McGirt's awareness of these shortcomings found expression in the preface to the volume. "These poems were written under very unfavorable circumstances. . . . Often at my work bench when I thought greater speed was needed to finish my daily task, these poems would flash into my mind and I would be restless to sketch them upon paper that I might retain them until the day's work was done. Sometimes I could find it convenient to do so; sometimes I could not, and when I would fail to sketch them, at night the muse would not return."⁶ There is this, however, to say about the mixed feeling that was accorded his initial literary production: it brought him concern as to the futility of his literary striving, but not dismay. Running throughout this, as through his succeeding publications, is a distinct Darwinian note which may account in part for his obvious lack of humor.

Meanwhile in 1900, McGirt brought out the second en-

⁶ James E. McGirt, *Avenging the Maine* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1899, First Edition), preface, 1. Volume located in The University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

larged edition of *Avenging the Maine*. Even with the presence of seventeen new poems, the second edition is scarcely an improvement over the first. One notes no greater depth of feeling, no wider range of interests, and no more firm mastery of the art of poetry. Disillusionment and pessimism persist in poems like "Blame Not the Poet" and "Why Should I Deplore?" Of the poems that appear for the first time, "Two Spirits" and "God Bless Our Country" are perhaps the best.

Even though the Register of Copyrights⁷ in Washington, D. C. has been able to track down only one copyright for *Avenging the Maine* under the date of October 21, 1899, there appeared in 1901 the third revised and "enlarged edition," McGirt's third book of poems in as many years. It was released in Philadelphia by George F. Lasher, Printer and Binder, although the preface was dated from Greensboro, North Carolina. Actually, this was neither larger nor an improved edition; far from it. As a matter of fact, it contained one poem less than the volume of 1900. It is difficult to see how the third printing of essentially the same book adds anything whatsoever to the young poet's literary reputation. One probable explanation for the quality of the work found in *Avenging the Maine* (1901), however, is the fact that during the same year McGirt's fourth volume of poems, *Some Simple Songs and a Few More Ambitious Attempts*, was released in Philadelphia. The collection contained exactly twenty-one poems, only six of which had not appeared previously in one of the three editions of *Avenging the Maine*. In the preface the poet took stock of the quality of his poetic output. "In my first volume of poems," he observed, "I made some apology for my work and I feel I should do the same for this little volume . . . I feel that *Some Simple Songs* is a great improvement over *Avenging the Maine*, and if my next volume is as much better than *Some Simple Songs*, it will need no apology."⁸ The collection discloses increased facility in the

⁷ Letter (in author's possession), dated April 17, 1952, from Richard A. MacCarteney, Chief, Reference Division, Copyrights Office, Washington, D. C.

⁸ James E. McGirt, *Some Simple Songs and a Few More Ambitious Attempts* (Philadelphia: George F. Lasher, Printer and Binder, 1901), preface, 1. Available in The University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

matter of poetic art. There is, for example, the extravaganza "Queen Victoria" done in Popean couplets; it reflects the type of overly-elaborate praise that is often characteristic of eighteenth century English literature. Implicit in "The Century Prayer" is the author's growth of perspective, for it amounts to a fervent and a dignified prayer for the reign of peace throughout the world; everywhere, it is reminiscent of Kipling's "Recessional."

Other poems in the collection are clearly autobiographical in character. "Success" turns out to be a sober declaration of intention to bid, come what may, for literary immortality. He ponders:

Yet to despair I can but droop and die,
'Tis better for me to try the lashing deep.
I much prefer beneath the surge to lie,
Then death to find me on this bank asleep.

But dejection settles upon him. Temporarily at least, he experiences a loss of faith. "Tell Me, O Fate," written in the vein of "My Song" breathes a note of impending demoralization:

Years have I labored, toiled and fought
But yet no prize I see.
Tell Me, O Fate, if this is all
That shall ever be.

With respect to the poems that comprise *Some Simple Songs*, however, Professors Newman I. White and Walter C. Jackson, formerly of Trinity College and the Woman's College of The University of North Carolina respectively, conclude that "the best of them are mediocre."⁹

Something of McGirt's pride and of the financial strain and the frustration that accompanied his literary efforts during the early years of the century are implied in a letter he wrote on May 12, 1903, to Thomas Nelson Page from Hampton, Virginia:

⁹ Newman I. White and Walter C. Jackson, Editors, *An Anthology of Verse by American Negroes* (Durham: Trinity College Press, 1924), 230.

May 12, 1903

Mr. Page:

Were you a man who did not know my people, I would not write you this letter for fear you would not understand me. But somehow I feel as though you can interpret my feelings and consider them.

Now for fear you do not remember who I am, I will say that I am the would-be-poet (colored) that called to see you last winter. I wish to say that on the account of a mother and a disabled father to look after, my mind is not as clear for poetry as I would like.

I have been striving for some time to get a little money ahead in order that I could give more time to my poetry. But, Sir, for the love of my sickly father and mother, I must have some assistance.

Excuse what I have said about assistance. No, I shall not beg. But let me ask that if you see any way to aid me, I shall gladly accept. Should you need anyone to take care of your house this summer, please give me the position. If you need a man to do anything around the house, please give me the place. Give me a trial. I think I can please you.

If you can give me anything to do, I hope you will consider me; and if God will give me the strength, I will add a line to American poetry for which you shall have the praise—for I must say that he who comes to my rescue at this time shall be the saving of my literary proclivities, if I have any, for it seems as though fate will conquer me at last.

I hope you will see more in these lines than I have stated. Pride will not let me say more.¹⁰

I remain yours,
James E. McGirt
203 Lincoln Street
Hampton, Virginia

Gradually, however, McGirt came to understand that his talents could never be brought to full fruition in the South, and by August, 1903, he had taken up permanent residence in Philadelphia. Here he hoped to gain a fresh start in the business of creative writing. Disappointed with the mixed reception of *Some Simple Songs*, he turned temporarily from the writing of poetry to a position as editor and publisher of *McGirt's Magazine*, an illustrated monthly devoted to art,

¹⁰ McGirt to Thomas Nelson Page, May 12, 1903. Rare Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina.

science, literature, and to the general interest. "I publish this magazine," he wrote, "in order that we may have a paper that will be read by the white race as well as the colored that they may know great men of our race and what they are doing and saying."¹¹ The publication sold for ten cents a copy or one dollar a year and, like the *Crisis* that made its appearance seven years later, it was an organ for the expression of all sorts of ideas calculated to enhance the position of the Negro people in American life. Success stories and pictures of Negro leaders abounded; throughout one discovered a strong undercurrent of exhibitionism and propaganda—minority techniques to which the American Negro has resorted recurrently.

The business grew and by 1905 McGirt found it necessary to secure larger quarters. "For two years," he pointed out, "I have had complete control of the magazine, and I have been so well pleased with it that I have placed both the savings of a lifetime in it, as well as a reputation that has taken me more than twelve years of hard labor and honest dealing to build up. This year I have merged the *McGirt Magazine* and its entire property into what is known as McGirt's Publishing Company in order that persons who invest with us may be absolutely safe, and at the same time clear at least 21¼ per cent on every dollar."¹²

Shares in the business sold for a minimum of one dollar each, and the sales multiplied. *McGirt's Magazine* was nevertheless weak in content as in organization and balance. No issues of it are available beyond that of December, 1907.¹³

McGirt wrote music also and gave a portion of his time to lecture-reading tours. Those were the days of the honorary Ph.D. degree and beginning in 1905, the caption beneath the poet's name read: James E. McGirt, Ph.D. Nevertheless, he remained an unhappy man, for despite his growing success in business, he longed for the day when he would move as an established poet. True to the prediction made in 1901, his new

¹¹ James E. McGirt, *McGirt's Magazine*, I (September, 1903), 1.

¹² McGirt, *McGirt's Magazine*, I (September, 1903), 28.

¹³ Issues of *McGirt's Magazine* for September and December, 1903, November, 1907, may be found in the Moorland Collection, Howard University Library, Washington, D. C.

book of poems, *For Your Sweet Sake* (1905) did reflect improvement over *Some Simple Songs*. While a majority of the forty-four poems had been published elsewhere, and while the volume as a whole discloses the stamp of the novice, it remains the best collection of poems he has turned out. Nowhere else in the whole range of his poetic output does one find the buoyancy, the intensity, and the genuine lyric quality as that reflected in "Born Like the Pines." In one of the three stanzas he insists that he was:

Born like the pines to sing,
The harp and the song in m' breast,
Though far and near,
There's none to hear
I'll sing at the wind's request.

A good many of the poems in this collection stem from McGirt's own unhappy experience in love. "If Love Were Wooing" and "Anna, Won't You Marry Me?," for example, point up the poet's romantic interests in Alice Pepper and in Anna Allen respectively, one time schoolmates of his at the Allen Private School in Lumberton, North Carolina. They had somehow commanded an increasingly large place in his imagination as the years had passed. It so happens that the title of his concluding volume of poems, *For Your Sweet Sake* (1905), was inspired by his high regard for Irene Gallaway, the one woman whom he loved almost to the point of desperation, but never ventured to marry. At length, she married another and settled in Greensboro as a teacher of history at the Dudley High School. Coupled with an all-consuming love affair, forever confused by his mother's intervention, was the growing conviction that he would never be a poet of consequence. A defeatist note runs through the poem, "Defeated," and occasionally one senses here as elsewhere an undercurrent of self accusation akin to Dunbar's.

The question of the existence of *A Mystery and Other Poems*, a book of verse reputed to have been written by McGirt and published in Philadelphia in 1906, remains a matter of conjecture. The lone reference to it is found in *The Library*

of *Southern Literature*.¹⁴ *For Your Sweet Sake* (1906) contains no preface which might conceivably illuminate the matter, and while *McGirt's Magazine* for November, 1907, calls attention to both *The Triumphs of Ephraim* (1907) and *For Your Sweet Sake* (1906), it fails to mention *A Mystery and Other Poems*. Likewise, it is significant that neither Dorothy B. Porter's *North American Negro Poets: A Bibliographical Checklist of Their Writings, 1760-1944*, nor a special search conducted by the Copyrights Office in Washington, D. C.,¹⁵ reveals any such title. It is likely that *A Mystery and Other Poems* was never written nor published, and that McGirt's poem, "A Mystery" found in *For Your Sweet Sake* (1906), was sometimes erroneously listed as a book. The fact that in each case the year of publication is identical further supports this position. And, interestingly enough, there is no record that McGirt ever mentioned *A Mystery and Other Poems* as a publication he had authored.

*The Triumphs of Ephraim*¹⁶ (1907), a book of short stories released by the McGirt Publishing Company in Philadelphia, may mean that in desperation McGirt turned to yet another literary medium—the short story. This group of stories, everywhere indicative of a limited locale, stems from the problems arising from the Negro's juxtaposition with the white majority in America—color prejudice, exploitation, the operation of restrictive covenants and of the frustration—aggression phenomenon. By and large they are problem stories the author has to tell. Those like "Hail the King and Queen" and "From the Clutches of the Devil" point up the friction that results from the presence of the color line among Negroes themselves, while "In Love as in War" reaches deep down in North Carolina soil. As sketches go, some of these despite their consistent weakness in characterization and in plot, make good reading. Obviously, they reflect the author's

¹⁴ Lucian L. Knight, Editor, *The Library of Southern Literature* (Atlanta: The Martin and Hoyt Company, 1910), XV, 277.

¹⁵ Richard A. MacCarteney, Chief, Division of Copyrights Office, Washington, D. C., reported his investigation of the matter in a letter dated April 17, 1952, which is in author's possession.

¹⁶ In Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, 104 West 136th Street, New York 30, New York.

penchant for the "happy-ending" story which, as he conceives it, exists not so much for "sheer delight" as for attesting to the virtue of the black man's struggle for first-rate citizenship in America. Throughout, however, McGirt's stories lack warmth and freshness and vigor; nor do they always focus attention upon aspects of life that stir our emotions deeply.

By 1910 McGirt's sojourn in Philadelphia had come to an end and he returned to Greensboro to attend the funeral of his brother, and to provide for his parents. As regards the quality of his literary output and the task that lay ahead of him, an anonymous writer for the *North Carolina Review* (Raleigh) commented in 1910:

McGirt has been in a sense "lucky" in the sense of opportunity. He found friends who had both encouragement and money to offer him. He went to Philadelphia and he "made good." He has written poetry and short stories. It is real poetry, and they are real short stories.

Chestnutt, who promised much has a successor who promises even more

The North has lauded McGirt. It has sung his genius, bought his poems, and hailed him as what he was not — an exponent of his race. Intellectually, he is, on the other hand, an exception. What the North does not see — and what the South can appreciate — is that, barring his gift, he is typical of his race.

Poet McGirt's present mission is to write of the Southern Negro for Northern magazines. We do not doubt, after a casual interview, that he will do so wisely.¹⁷

But McGirt did not follow this injunction. Except for desultory writing and occasional lecture-reading tours, his literary career had run its course. Having withdrawn himself from the literary scene, he proceeded to purchase a ten-room house on fashionable Ashe Street in Greensboro, and with the aid of his sister, Mary Magdalene, to convert the little-known Star Hair Grower Manufacturing Company into a lucrative business concern. In Greensboro as in Philadelphia his con-

¹⁷ "North Carolina Negro Poet," *The North Carolina Review*, Supplement of *Raleigh News and Observer*, April 3, 1910, p. 7. Available in The University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

cern provided employment, as he once remarked, "for scores of Negro men and women." For nearly a decade he manufactured hair grower and a complete line of toilet articles and notions for markets throughout the United States. Some of his products went to Canada and to markets abroad.¹⁸

By 1918 McGirt's property holdings in Greensboro and in adjacent towns were considerable and he gave up his work with the Hair Grower Manufacturing Company to become a realtor, a position which subsequently he had to relinquish because of continuing ill health, business incompetence, and dissipation.

On the occasion of the author's passing in Greensboro in 1930, the *Greensboro Daily News* for June 14, 1930, commented: "James E. McGirt, one of the best-known Negro citizens of Greensboro, died early Friday morning at the L. Richardson Memorial Hospital. He was a poet, a writer of songs, and the editor of *McGirt's Magazine*, and had been engaged in business for many years."¹⁹ Unfortunately there is no marker for his grave in the Maplewood Cemetery in Greensboro.

Despite the brilliant afterglow of his success in business, James Ephraim McGirt's interest in creative literature persisted; he remained a poet at heart, but forever a poet of "hope deferred."

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- For Your Sweet Sake* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1906).

¹⁸ Information obtained in interview on August 28, 1952, with Sterling Waugh, 605 Ramsey Street, Fayetteville, North Carolina.

¹⁹ *Greensboro Daily News*, XLII (June 14, 1930), 4.

The Triumphs of Ephraim (Philadelphia: The McGirt Publishing Company, 1907). Materials on McGirt.

Lamor L. Lucian, Editor, *The Library of Southern Literature* (Atlanta: The Martin and Hoyt Company, 1907), XV, 503.

Newman I. White and Walter C. Jackson, Editors, *An Anthology of Verse by American Negroes* (Durham: Trinity College Press, 1924), 230.

COWPENS: PRELUDE TO YORKTOWN

By HUGH F. RANKIN

As the year 1780 drew to a close, the rebellious colonies which had dared challenge the military might of Great Britain were hanging on the ropes. The capricious gods of war, always fickle in conferring their favors, seemed to have once again switched allegiance. The hard-earned victories and near-victories by the Americans had now faded into pleasant memories. The triumph at King's Mountain was the only bright spot in an otherwise gloomy picture.

In the North, the gifted and gregarious Benedict Arnold had almost succeeded in transferring control of West Point and the Hudson River into the hands of the British, and had thrown the patriots into a frenzy of outraged dignity.

The southern states were in even more desperate straits. From the early part of 1779 the British had concentrated their chief efforts in this region because the South was considered to be the easier to reduce and, from the nature of its products, the more valuable to the mother country.¹ It was in this locale that the American generals had appeared so inept. General Benjamin Lincoln had surrendered somewhat ingloriously at Charleston and General Horatio Gates, the hero of Saratoga, had indeed exchanged "the laurels of the North for the willows of the South"² at Camden. Lord Cornwallis stood poised in South Carolina to strike at the rich state of Virginia. North Carolina stood between, but North Carolina was considered as only "the road to Virginia."³ Only a few ragged remnants of Gates' defeated army stood between the British general and his goal.

The southern army was in a state of crisis. General Gates was attempting to reorganize his shattered army at Hills-

¹ Charles Stedman, *The History of the Origin, Progress and Termination of the American War*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for the Author, 1794), II, 316.

² Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*, edited by Robert E. Lee (New York: University Publishing Company, 1870), 208. Hereafter cited as Lee, *Memoirs*.

³ *The Annual Register for 1780*, 54.

boro in North Carolina, the place to which he had fled after the rout of his forces by Cornwallis at Camden. Members of the Continental Congress who, in the not too distant past, had sent Gates to the South with cheers and assertions that he would "Burgoyne" Cornwallis for sure, were now clamoring for his recall. The general indignation was reflected in the angry statement of one army officer, "He will be blasted in this World, and humanly judging, he ought to be in the next . . . had he behaved like a soldier himself, Cornwallis would have been ruined, and to use a common term, Cornwalladed. . . ." ⁴ Alexander Hamilton openly accused Gates of cowardice and emphatically stated his choice for Gates' successor:

was there ever such an instance of a general running away as Gates had done, from his whole army? And was there ever so precipitous a flight? One hundred and eighty miles in three days and a half? It does admirable credit to the activity of a man at his time of life. But it disgraces the general and the soldier. . . . But what will be done by Congress? Will he be changed or not? If he is changed, for God's sake, overcome prejudice and send GREENE. You know my opinion of him. I stake my reputation on the events, give him but fair play.⁵

Rumblings from the South added to congressional irritation as rumors indicated that Gates had lost the confidence of the people and was at odds with General William Smallwood, his second in command.⁶ The cry for the removal of the unfortunate general became louder and more persistent.

Major General Nathanael Greene had been General Washington's original choice for the southern command, but he had been by-passed by Congress in favor of Gates.⁷ In this

⁴ Richard Varick to John Lamb, Sept. 11, 1780. Isaac Leake, *Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb, An Officer of the Revolution* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1850), 255.

⁵ Alexander Hamilton to William Duane, September 6, 1780. John C. Hamilton (ed.), *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, 7 vols. (New York: Charles S. Francis and Company, 1851), II, 124.

⁶ Ezekial Cornel to William Greene, October 17, 1780. Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, 8 vols. (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1931), V, 421-422. Hereafter cited as Burnett, *Letters*.

⁷ Washington to Greene, n.d., quoted in George Washington Greene, *The Life of Nathanael Greene, Major-General in the Army of the Revolution*, 3 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1890), II, 367.

instance Congress refused to assume the responsibility of appointing the new commander, directing Washington to select a successor to Gates.⁸ Greene was in disfavor with many members of Congress, but he was the choice of the delegation from the southern states, who urged Washington to designate him as the new commander.⁹

Greene, who had just finished presiding over the board of general officers which had tried and convicted Major André,¹⁰ had his eyes on the West Point command so recently held by Arnold,¹¹ but Washington would only consent to a temporary appointment.¹² Despite the uncertainty of the tenure, Greene felt that he was situated for the winter; but before he could become settled, a dispatch arrived from headquarters informing him that he was the choice for the southern command, and urging him to set out without delay.¹³

Greene displayed a reluctance to make his departure, but under constant prodding from Washington, he left for the South on October 23, accompanied by his aides and Baron Steuben, who had been ordered to the South, for "there is an army to be created, the mass of which is at present without any formation at all."¹⁴ Greene was no stranger to the desperate situation of the southern army. Nine days were

⁸ Worthington C. Ford and others (eds.), *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 39 vols., Library of Congress edition (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1937), XVIII, 906.

⁹ John Matthews to Washington, October 6, 1780. Burnett, *Letters*, V, 408.

¹⁰ One British observer said of him: "General Greene was originally a Quaker, a stern republican, and such was the rancor displayed throughout the whole transaction, by him and the Marquis De La Fayette that they almost literally be said to have thirsted for the blood of the unfortunate victim whom fate had put in their power." R. Lamb, *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences During the Late American War, From Its Commencement to the Year 1783* (Dublin: Wilkinson and Courtney, 1809), 330.

¹¹ Greene to Washington, October 5, 1780. Jared Sparks (ed.), *Correspondence of the American Revolution: Being Letters of Eminent Men to General Washington, From the Time of His Taking Command of the Army to the End of His Presidency*, 4 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1853), III, 106.

¹² Washington to Greene, October 6, 1780. John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of Washington From the Original Manuscript Sources, 1754-1799* 39 vols., Bicentennial edition (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931-1941), III, 370-371.

¹³ Washington to Greene, October 14, 1780. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XX, 181-182.

¹⁴ Washington to Steuben, October 22, 1780. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XX, 240-241.

spent in Philadelphia—nine days of begging and pleading for supplies. He addressed the Congress on the business of the southern department, but it was soon apparent that prospects of aid were “dismal” as that body could furnish no money, and the Board of War was devoid of clothing and “necessaries.”¹⁵ Some six weeks later he described his stay in the capital city to Alexander Hamilton:

At Philadelphia . . . I endeavored to impress those in power [with] the necessity of sending clothing and supplies of every kind, immediately to this army. But poverty was urged as a plea, in bar to every application. They all promised fair, but I fear will do little: ability is wanting with some, and inclination with others. Public credit is so totally lost, that private people will not give their aid, though they see themselves involved in common ruin.¹⁶

After leaving Philadelphia the new southern commander visited Annapolis and Richmond with the hope of instilling some degree of enthusiasm in the governments of Maryland and Virginia, but as one of his aides noted, “their ability is but small, their funds are empty, and their credit low.”¹⁷ Leaving Baron Steuben in Virginia to expedite the movement of supplies and assume the responsibilities of the state, Greene hastened southward.¹⁸

He expected to find the southern army at Hillsboro. There was no sign of them. He found that Gates had marched toward Salisbury where, according to the North Carolina Board of War, there was an adequate supply of provisions.¹⁹ At Salisbury he discovered that General Gates had marched for Charlotte, as that village had presented better prospects

¹⁵ Greene to Washington, October 31, 1780. Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, III, 137-139.

¹⁶ Greene to Hamilton, January 10, 1781. Hamilton, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, I, 204.

¹⁷ Lewis Morris, Jr., to Jacob Morris, November 20, 1780. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1875* (New York: The Society, 1876), VII, 473.

¹⁸ Greene to Steuben, November 20, 1780. Friedrich Kapp, *The Life of Frederick William Von Steuben, Major General in the Revolutionary Army* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1859), 347-349.

¹⁹ O. H. Williams to William Smallwood, November 8, 1780. *Calendar of the General Otho Williams Papers in the Maryland Historical Society*. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Records Survey Project, 1940), 27.

as a site for a winter quarters.²⁰ Hurrying to Charlotte, Greene found the army busily constructing huts against the chill of approaching winter.

In spite of the rumored ill feeling between the two, the new commander was received by his predecessor with the utmost cordiality and respect.²¹ The general orders of December 3, 1780, carried the news of the transition in command. Later in the day, Greene addressed the troops and paid the retiring general the compliment of confirming all of his standing orders.²²

Inspecting his army, Greene was appalled by his findings. His force was "but the shadow of an army in the midst of distress."²³ The army with which he was expected to drive the enemy from the South was nothing more than a ragged, undisciplined mob, using the exigencies of war as an excuse for plundering. The militia, usually considered and used as infantry, insisted upon coming out on horseback. Foraging for their mounts only added to the privations of the already depleted countryside. When the militia were not looting the holdings of the inhabitants, they were pillaging each other. Officers were openly criticised by their subordinates for their conduct of the war, for as Greene remarked, "With the militia everybody is a general."²⁴

The problem of supplies was even more critical. On the day that General Greene assumed the command, Brigadier General Daniel Morgan had reported back into camp from a foraging expedition which had penetrated South Carolina

²⁰ Otho Williams, "Narrative of the Campaign of 1780," William Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene, Major General of the Armies of the United States, in the War of the Revolution*, 2 vols., (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1822), I, 510.

²¹ George Washington Greene claimed the hostility between the two generals was the result of the suffering caused both Greene and Washington as a consequence of Gates' ambition. There had also been evidence that Gates had been rude to Mrs. Greene in the past. Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, III, 373. However, at every stop on the way south, Greene had defended Gates' action at Camden. Edward Carrington to Gates, November 27, 1780. Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina*, 16 vols. (Winston, Goldsboro, 1895-1905), XI, 761-762.

²² Williams, "Narrative of the Campaign of 1780," Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, I, 495.

²³ Greene to Abner Nash, December 6, 1780. "Original Letters of General Greene," *Portfolio*, 3d series, I (1813), 203.

²⁴ Greene to Henry Knox, December 7, 1780. "Original Letters of General Greene," *Portfolio*, 3d series, I (1813), 290-291.

almost to the limits of Camden. He reported that the cattle had been driven off, and that there was so little grain that it would hardly be worth the trouble of the troops to collect it.²⁵ That night Greene engaged in an all-night discussion with Colonel Thomas Polk, Gates' commissary-general, in an investigation of the military supplies and resources of the neighborhood.²⁶ It was found that there was a scant three days supply of provisions on hand and that ammunition was dangerously low. The country around Charlotte had been laid waste by the foraging parties of both armies and the inhabitants were concealing those cattle that had escaped the British army.²⁷

Foraging parties had discovered that there were abandoned plantations to the south, with fields of corn still untouched.²⁸ The methodical Yankee mind of Nathanael Greene rebelled at the idea of moving into an unknown situation. Summoning Colonel Thaddeus Kosciusko, his engineer, he instructed him to locate a camp site on the Pee Dee River, near those plantations with particular reference to food, water, transportation facilities, and avenues of retreat.²⁹

While awaiting Kosciusko's return, Greene became acquainted with his army and attempted to instill a degree of discipline into his ragged mob. Numerous letters were dispatched to persons of influence and authority begging for aid. His army, in spite of, or perhaps because of, Gates' attempt at reorganization, was in a ferment of inefficiency.

²⁵ Williams, "Narrative of the Campaign of 1780," Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, I, 502.

²⁶ Polk later made the statement that Greene had, on the following morning, better understood the situation of the country than had Gates in the entire period of his command. Winslow C. Watson (ed.), *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York: Dana and Company, 1856), 269.

²⁷ Charles Stedman, Cornwallis' commissary general states that the British army slaughtered 100 head of cattle per day while they were in Charlotte. In one day thirty-seven "cows in calf" were butchered. Stedman, *History of the . . . American War*, II, 216-217n.

²⁸ North Carolina Board of War to Abner Nash, December 25, 1780. Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XIV, 481.

²⁹ Greene to Kosciusko, December 8, 1780. Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, III, 83-84. Kosciusko had applied for a command of light infantry troops in the South as early as August, 1780. No command being vacant, Washington had offered him the post of engineer in the southern department which he had accepted. Washington to Kosciusko, August 3, 1780. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XIV, 316.

Greene determined to mold his ragamuffins into a semblance of a fighting force. Despite the shortage of men, one troop of Virginia cavalry was sent home, Greene warning Governor Thomas Jefferson not to send them back until they were properly clothed and equipped.³⁰

Ominous news came from the north. It was now definite that the British were going to make the South their main theatre of war in the approaching spring. Greene immediately called a council of war with Generals William Smallwood and Daniel Morgan, with the idea of taking the initiative and making a sudden surprise attack upon Cornwallis, then in the midst of preparations for invasion at Winnsboro, South Carolina. This burst of optimism was opposed by both generals as impracticable.³¹

Kosciusko returned from his exploration of the Pee Dee with a favorable report, and the army was straightway placed under marching orders. Before they could move the rains came. As the rain continued to fall, Greene made his first major decision as commander of the southern army—he split his army. To command the detached segment of his army he selected Daniel Morgan, who commanded a legionary force which had been created for him by Gates.³² The stratagem was that Greene was to move the main portion of the army to the Pee Dee, while Morgan's detachment was to move to the southwest and take a position near the Broad

³⁰ Greene to Jefferson, December 14, 1780. William P. Palmer and others (eds.), *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781*, 11 vols. (Richmond: The State, 1876-1893), I, 398.

³¹ Greene to Thomas Sumter, December 13, 1780. *Year Book: City of Charleston, S. C., 1899* (Charleston: Lucas and Richardson, 1899), 71-72.

³² Congress had ordered Morgan south as early as June 16, 1780. Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVII, 519. The temperamental rifleman had refused to serve under Gates, believing that he had not been given due credit by Gates for his part in the victory at Saratoga. Morgan had sulked in his home in Virginia until after the Camden disaster. He had then thrown prejudice aside and hurried south to offer his services. Gates had welcomed the prodigal with open arms, and out of the remains of his army had created for Morgan a special corps, composed of four companies of infantry and one company of riflemen under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John Eager Howard of Maryland. The remains of two regiments of cavalry had been united under Lieutenant Colonel William Washington. George Bancroft, *History of the United States Since the Discovery of the Continent*, 10 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1896), V, 477. Gates had been instrumental in securing Morgan's promotion to Brigadier General, October 13, 1780. Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVIII, 921.





DANIEL MORGAN (1736-1802)

In the uniform of his Virginia rifle company which he led to Boston and Quebec in 1775.

River.³³ In his instructions Morgan was told that his mission was to give protection to that section of South Carolina and "spirit up the people." The enemy was to be annoyed wherever possible, and provisions and forage were to be collected and moved out of the path of the British Army. In the event of a move against Greene, Morgan was to harass the flank on the rear of the enemy. As he was moving into an area marked by the strife of civil war, he was to restrain his men from plundering and a receipt should be given for all supplies taken from the inhabitants.³⁴ This move effectively blocked the British from drawing supplies from the upper part of the state, and Greene hoped that Morgan would be able to establish a number of small magazines which would provide a haven if the American army were forced to retreat from the Pee Dee.³⁵ If Morgan were attacked, there was a large area in which to conduct a strategic withdrawal, and if Cornwallis attacked in force, Charleston would be open to attack by Greene. If Cornwallis attempted a conquest of North Carolina between the two forces, the militia of Mecklenburg and Rowan counties, which Cornwallis later termed "one of the most rebellious tracts in America,"³⁶ could possibly slow his progress, while Greene and Morgan hammered at his flanks. In the event of the failure of this scheme, and should Cornwallis successfully run the gauntlet, Greene and Morgan could confine him to a narrow corridor with Greene and the main army of the Americans keeping between the British and the seacoast and supplies separating them from their loyal adherents in the lowlands. With all factors taken into consideration, this decision to split his army was the greatest, and had the most far reaching results of any made

³³ This operation may possibly have been the result of counsel by Brigadier General William Davidson, who had advanced, before Greene's arrival, a similar plan to detach Morgan's corps to the west. Davidson to Alexander Martin, November 27, 1780. Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina*, XIV, 759.

³⁴ Greene to Morgan, December 16, 1780. Theodorus Bailey Myers (ed.), *Cowpens Papers, Being Correspondence of General Morgan and the Prominent Actors* (Charleston: The News and Courier Book Presses, 1881), 9-10.

³⁵ Greene to Washington, December 28, 1780. Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, III, 189-191.

³⁶ Cornwallis to Lord George Germain, March 17, 1781. Charles Ross (ed.), *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis* (London: John Murray, 1859), I, 503.

by Greene during the entire period of his command of the southern army. By this decision Nathanael Greene shaped his own destiny—and initiated a series of chain reactions which terminated in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

The basic unit of Morgan's detachment was to be his legionary force. It was composed of about 400 of the Maryland Line and two companies of Virginians, under the command of John Eager Howard, with a cavalry support of 100 dragoons led by Lieutenant Colonel William A. Washington.³⁷ This force was to be augmented by militia units from North Carolina under the command of Brigadier General William Lee Davidson and other groups from South Carolina and Georgia.³⁸

On Wednesday, December 20, Greene left Charlotte and marched his army to the banks of the Pee Dee and there established a "camp of repose" on the high ground across the river from the tiny village of Chatham.³⁹ On the following day Morgan moved out. By sunset he had reached Biggin's Ferry on the Catawba River, fifteen miles away.⁴⁰ The passage of the river was completed on December 22, and the next four days were spent marching across rough and torturous terrain. On Christmas day he had crossed the Broad River and had established his camp on the north bank of the Pacolet. The march from Charlotte had totalled fifty-seven miles.⁴¹ Here Morgan rested.

These troop movements had not gone unnoticed by the British. Morgan's presence on their flank presented a grave problem. Lord Cornwallis' original blueprint of invasion had

³⁷ William Augustine Washington was the son of Bailey Washington of Stafford, Virginia, and a kinsman of George Washington. He had served in the South as a leader of cavalry under both Lincoln and Gates. He served with distinction under Greene until the battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8, 1781. In this engagement he was captured and remained a prisoner of the British until the end of the war. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 10.

³⁸ Greene to Morgan, December 16, 1780. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 9-10.

³⁹ Chatham became the present day town of Cheraw, South Carolina. As late as 1867 evidences of Greene's camp could still be distinguished. Alexander Gregg, *History of the Old Cheraws* (New York: Richardson and Co., 1867), 352.

⁴⁰ Robert Kirkwood, *The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line*, edited by Joseph Brown Turner (Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1910), 13. Hereafter cited as Kirkwood, *Journal*.

⁴¹ Kirkwood, *Journal*, 13.





BANASTRE TARLETON (1754-1833)
Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1782.

been to drive through North Carolina in three columns. Major James Craig was sent up the coast with a detachment of 400 men to secure Wilmington as a means of insuring the control of the Cape Fear as a supply route. The left flank, towards the mountains, was to be under the command of Major Patrick Ferguson, who was to collect loyalists as he marched. The main column under Cornwallis was to drive up the center in the avenue formed by these flanking parties.⁴²

After the victory over Gates at Camden, the British army moved north to Charlotte, "an agreeable village, but in a d---d rebellious country."⁴³ The news that had come out of the west that Ferguson had been killed and his army routed at King's Mountain on October 7, wrecked all the carefully laid plans. Charlotte became untenable, and the British fell back to Winnsboro to regroup. A dispatch to Sir Henry Clinton requested that the troops of Major General Alexander Leslie, then in Portsmouth, Virginia, be transferred to South Carolina as reinforcements.⁴⁴ This request had been granted and the transports conveying Leslie and his men had dropped anchor in Charleston harbor on December 14. Cornwallis busied himself with last minute details as Leslie marched inland from the sea.

Among Cornwallis' subordinate officers was an arrogant young lieutenant colonel—Banastre Tarleton, a favorite of the British general.⁴⁵ The Whig inhabitants of South Carolina

⁴² Cornwallis to Lord George Germain, March 17, 1781. Ross (ed.), *The Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, I, 503.

⁴³ *New Jersey Gazette*, January 31, 1781, quoting an aide to Cornwallis. Frank Moore (ed.), *The Diary of the American Revolution: From Newspapers and Original Documents*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles T. Evans, 1863), II, 352.

⁴⁴ Lord Rawdon to Clinton, October 29, 1781. Benjamin Franklin Stevens (ed.), *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy Growing Out of the Campaign in Virginia, 1781*, 2 vols. (London: John Lawe, 1910), I, 63-64.

⁴⁵ Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833) had purchased a cornetcy of dragoons and, at the outbreak of hostilities, had obtained leave to come to America. He had previously served under Howe and Clinton, and had commanded the advance guard which had captured General Charles Lee in New Jersey, December, 1776. He surrendered with Cornwallis at Yorktown. Upon his return to England he was elected to the Parliament as a member from Liverpool. In 1812 he was promoted to general and created a baronet. As a member of Parliament he considered himself a military expert, which he demonstrated by criticizing the campaigns of the Duke of Wellington on the floor of the House of Commons. R. H. Vetch, "Sir Banastre Tarleton," *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Sidney Lee and Leslie Stephens (London: Smith Elder and Company, 1885-1900), LV, 364-369.

reserved their special hatred for this ruthless young officer. His raids through the countryside had earned him the epithets of "the Red Raider" and "Bloody Tarleton." His useless slaughter of the troops of Colonel Abraham Buford as they were begging for quarter⁴⁶ had made the term, "Tarleton's Quarters," synonymous with bloodshed and cruelty. The brutality of his corps in defeating General Huger's troops in the engagement at Biggin's Bridge, April 12, 1780, had so enraged Major Patrick Ferguson that he had to be forcibly restrained from shooting several of Tarleton's dragoons on the spot.⁴⁷ Tarleton is reported to have expressed the opinion, "that severity alone could effect the establishment of regal authority in America," and his actions certainly implied that he could have been the author of such a statement.⁴⁸ His corps, the British Legion, was one of the most disliked in the British army.⁴⁹

On December 26 a Loyalist refugee reported from Charlotte that Greene had marched towards the Pee Dee and that Morgan had crossed the Catawba.⁵⁰ The news was confirmed on December 30.⁵¹ This movement presented a threat to the British post at Ninety Six, the westernmost British fort in South Carolina. Ninety Six was situated in an area

⁴⁶ In the Waxhaws, May 24, 1780, as they were fleeing after the capitulation of Charleston.

⁴⁷ Sir John Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 13 vols. (London: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1911), III, 309.

⁴⁸ Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the American Revolution, Illustrative of the Talents and Virtues of the Heroes of the Revolution, Who Acted the Most Conspicuous Parts Therein*, 3 vols. (Brooklyn: "The Union" Press, 1865), II, 269.

⁴⁹ This unit was originally raised in Philadelphia by Sir William Cathcart in 1778, and was composed of loyalists. They were first known as the Caledonian Volunteers, but this organizational title was later changed to the British Legion. The corps included both infantry and cavalry. They wore a uniform of green with light green facings. This organization surrendered at Yorktown with 24 officers and 209 enlisted men. John W. Wright, "Some Notes on the Continental Army," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d series, XI (July, 1931), 201. One troop of regulars from the 17th Light Dragoons was attached to the Legion, "who seemed to hold the irregulars in contempt, since they refused to wear the green uniforms of the Legion, but stuck to their own scarlet." Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, III, 309n.

⁵⁰ Cornwallis to Tarleton, December 26, 1780. Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London: T. Cadell, 1787), 243. Hereafter cited as *Tarleton, Campaigns*.

⁵¹ Cornwallis to Tarleton, December 30, 1780. *Tarleton, Campaigns*, 243-244.

predominantly Tory in sentiment, and the garrison was needed for their protection. Morgan must either be eliminated or driven from the district before the campaign into North Carolina could be launched. On January first Cornwallis ordered Tarleton, with the British Legion reinforced by the First Battalion of the 71st Regiment, to cross the Broad River and push Morgan "to the utmost," and urged haste as "no time is to be lost."⁵²

Morgan still rested on the Pacolet. Greene had directed militia leaders to join Morgan with their troops as soon as possible. The response had been slow. General Davidson was experiencing difficulty in raising his North Carolina militia because of Indian uprisings on the frontier, but he had written confidently that he would soon join Morgan with a thousand men.⁵³ On December 28, Davidson had arrived with only 120 men, but he immediately returned to North Carolina for at least 500 men who he claimed were being embodied at Salisbury. Colonel Andrew Pickens came into camp with sixty South Carolina militia.⁵⁴ Small groups also drifted in, many of whom had banded together to plunder the Tories and had come into Morgan's camp for protection.⁵⁵ On December 27, Morgan received a false report that the British were on his trail. He had speedily placed strong pickets on the perimeter and had established a defensive encampment. Officers were instructed to conduct roll

⁵² Cornwallis to Tarleton, January 2, 1781. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 244-245.

⁵³ Davidson to Morgan, December 14, 1780. James Graham, *The Life of General Daniel Morgan, of the Virginia Line of the Army of the United States, with Portions of his Correspondence: Compiled from Authentic Sources* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1858), 263-264. Hereafter cited as Graham, *Morgan*.

⁵⁴ Andrew Pickens was risking death in the event of capture by the British. He had formerly been captured and paroled by them. He had observed the conditions of his parole until his home was plundered by a band of Tory raiders. These men had placed a noose around the neck of Pickens' son and had threatened to hang the lad unless the hiding place of valuables was divulged. Pickens had considered this a violation of his parole and had sent his family across the mountains for safekeeping, then had notified the British of his actions and rejoined the patriot forces. Edward McGrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1781* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1902), 18-22.

⁵⁵ James F. Collins, *Autobiography of a Revolutionary Soldier*, edited by John M. Roberts (Clinton [Louisiana]: Feliciana Democrat, Print., 1869), 56. Hereafter cited as Collins, *Autobiography*.

calls every two hours and all absentees were to be reported immediately.⁵⁶

On the same day a patrol reported that a body of about 350 Tories, under the leadership of a Colonel Waters, had advanced into the district to the vicinity of "Fair Forest," about twenty miles from Morgan, where they "were plundering and insulting the good people of the neighborhood."⁵⁷ Morgan resolved to destroy this group before they had the opportunity to make a junction with the British army. Within two days 200 mounted militia had been added to William Washington's dragoons and were sent to dispose of the invaders. As Washington's detachment advanced the Tories retreated twenty miles back to a place known as Hammond's Store.⁵⁸ There with Cornwallis on their right flank and their left protected by Ninety Six, they felt reasonably safe. After a pursuit of forty miles, Washington reached the vicinity of Hammond's around noon of December 30. Colonel Waters had drawn up his Tories in a battle line across the crest of a slope. To reach the position, Washington's troops would have to descend a long incline and then charge up a hill. As they approached the site, they captured several of the Tory pickets, who revealed the disposition of the enemy troops. Arriving opposite the enemy position, Washington deployed his forces. The mounted militia, with their rifles, were placed on the flanks to provide a covering fire, while the dragoons were located in the center. At the command, the militia fired, and the cavalry, shouting and drawing their sabres, charged across the ravine. The terrified Tories fled precipitately through the trees without firing a shot, only to be ridden down by the horses or struck down by a dragoon's sword.⁵⁹ One hundred and fifty were killed and forty taken prisoner. Washington did not lose a man. Booty collected after the skirmish included forty horses and some bag-

⁵⁶ William Seymour, *A Journal of the Southern Expedition, 1780-1781* (Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1896), 12. Hereafter cited as Seymour, *Journal*.

⁵⁷ Morgan to Greene, December 31, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 267.

⁵⁸ Hammond's Store was near the present day site of Abbeville, South Carolina.

⁵⁹ William C. Edwards (ed.), "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion: A Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art*, III (October, 1843), 87.

gage.⁶⁰ A small detachment was dispatched to pursue the fleeing Tories and, if practicable, to surprise the loyalist stronghold at Williams' plantation, about fifteen miles from Ninety Six. This stratagem was frustrated when the post was notified of the defeat by the fleeing refugees and the garrison joined the flight and scurried to the protection afforded by the fort at Ninety Six. The fortifications at the plantation were destroyed as were the supplies that could not be carried away. As the victorious group was returning they met a force of 200 men sent by Morgan to cover their return.⁶¹ This foray led to cries of dismay from the loyalists of the district and influenced Cornwallis' decision that Morgan must be destroyed before any campaign could be originated.

In the short interval of Washington's absence, Morgan's little army had been increasing rapidly, but it soon developed that the sudden growth was restricting operations. The multiplying number of men and mounts were draining the area of its resources. Provisions and forage were becoming increasingly scarce. Morgan was also becoming aware of his isolated position. A communication was dispatched to Greene suggesting that the army on the Pee Dee create a diversion while Morgan's troops swung down into Georgia to harass and attack British posts in that sector.⁶² While awaiting approval of this scheme, Morgan constantly shifted his troops in an attempt to make the most of the limited supplies. An effort was made to instill discipline into the new recruits by forcing them to witness the execution of malefactors. One of the Tories taken prisoner by Washington was court-martialed, convicted and hanged on the charge of desertion to the enemy and acting as a guide for Indians raiding the outposts of the American army.⁶³ Several days later a deserter from Washington's corps was captured, found guilty, and shot, all in the same day.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ John Rutledge to the Delegates of South Carolina in Congress, January 10, 1781. John W. Barnwell (ed.), "Letters of John Rutledge," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XVIII (February, 1917), 65.

⁶¹ Morgan to Greene, January 4, 1781. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 16.

⁶² Morgan to Greene, January 4, 1781. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 16.

⁶³ Seymour, *Journal*, 12.

⁶⁴ Seymour, *Journal*, 13.

A message arrived from Greene, but it had been dispatched before the receipt of Morgan's request for approval of the Georgia expedition. General Morgan was advised of the recent arrival of Leslie's troops and was warned that the British would likely attempt to give him a "stroke." Greene suggested that persons who would be unsuspected by the enemy be stationed twenty or thirty miles from camp to observe and report on the movements of the British army, for "The Militia, you know, are always unsuspecting and therefore are the more easily surprized. Don't depend too much on them." Then, as if recalling Gates' scattered army after the battle of Camden, he cautioned Morgan to select and inform his officers of a rendezvous in the event that he were attacked and defeated.⁶⁵

Another communication from Greene soon arrived in response to Morgan's proposal for a southern expedition. The message was disappointing as the suggestion was vetoed. Greene explained that the British controlled nothing of value in Georgia except their forts, to which they would retire and pay little or no attention to him. Such a move would result only in removing the services of Morgan's detachment from the southern army, which would then be vulnerable to attack by the British. It was suggested that small details be dispatched to cut the supply lines to Ninety Six and Augusta. An attack upon Ninety Six, Augusta, or even Savannah was approved if such an offensive action could be conducted with the element of surprise. As another antidote to the restlessness of Morgan, Greene recommended that small units be detached with the mission of destroying the draught horses of the enemy and waylaying British recruiting parties. A hundred expert riflemen under Colonel William Campbell had been ordered to report to the camp on the Pacolet. The action at Hammond's Store had emphasized the value of Washington's dragoons. Morgan was requested "to have Col. Washington's horse kept in as good order as possible and let the Militia do the foraging duty. We may want

⁶⁵ Greene to Morgan, January 3, 1781. Greene Letter Book, 1781, New York Public Library, New York, New York, 19-20.

a body of heavy cavalry, and if they are broke down we shall have nothing to depend upon."⁶⁶

Word was received that Tarleton was near Ninety Six and that his movements indicated a thrust at Morgan. This was followed by a warning from Greene who expressed a note of confidence in Morgan's ability to deal with the situation as he said, "Col. Tarleton is said to be on his way to pay you a visit. I doubt not he will have a decent reception and a proper dismissal."⁶⁷

Spies and deserters delivered alarming reports. Tarleton had been joined by reinforcements, had crossed the Tiger River and was pressing the pursuit. Morgan's army continued to increase as militia units supplemented his basic group, but they only accentuated the critical supply problem. The straggling militia destroyed the cohesiveness and efficiency of the detachment, and they were plundering the inhabitants when the opportunity presented itself. As the enemy approached and he surveyed his position, Morgan became uneasy and dissatisfied. He requested General Greene to recall his troops, leaving the militia in the district under the command of General Davidson and Colonel Pickens. It was his opinion that if only the militia were left in the area, Cornwallis would consider them of such little importance that Tarleton would be recalled. The militia would be just as effective in keeping the disaffected in their places as his detachment could. His troops were trained for combat, not police action.⁶⁸ Greene's answer, although it did not arrive until after the ensuing engagement, still insisted that Morgan and his troops remain in the district.⁶⁹

The day after Morgan had dispatched this last request, the details left to guard the fords on the Pacolet came into camp. Tarleton had crossed the river and was even then close on their heels. It was now obvious that Morgan, with his straggling militia, could retreat no farther. He was, however, determined to choose the battle site. Early on the morning of

⁶⁶ Greene to Morgan, January 8, 1781. Greene Letter Book, 1781, 51-52.

⁶⁷ Greene to Morgan, January 13, 1781. Greene Letter Book, 1781, 63-64.

⁶⁸ Morgan to Greene, January 13, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 286.

⁶⁹ Greene to Morgan, January 19, 1781. Greene Letter Book, 1781, 92-94.

January 16, forcing many of his men to leave their food cooking, he marched his men toward the Broad River.⁷⁰

Tarleton had been ordered in pursuit of Morgan on January first. The tidings of Hammond's Store and William's Plantation had implied an American thrust at Ninety Six. Upon Tarleton's arrival at that place, he had found the post unmolested and was under no immediate danger of assault. He had taken the opportunity to rest his troops and had issued orders "to bring up my baggage, but no women." He reported the situation to his commander and requested that he be allowed to attack and destroy Morgan. He suggested to Cornwallis that the main army move towards King's Mountain as a block to Morgan's retreat if he refused to fight and was driven back across the Broad River.⁷¹ As Tarleton awaited approval of this plan of operation, Lieutenant Colonel Allen, commandant at Ninety Six, offered to reinforce him with troops from his garrison. Tarleton refused.⁷²

Dispatches from his commanding officer contained encouragement and approval of the plan of his subordinate. Cornwallis endorsed Tarleton's strategy and commented, "You have exactly done what I wished you to do, and understood my intentions perfectly." He also informed Tarleton that his baggage was being escorted by the 7th Regiment, which was to reinforce the garrison at Ninety Six.⁷³ With this expression of confidence in his ability by his superior, Tarleton initiated a series of rapid marches in pursuit of Morgan. His movements for the first few days were limited, to allow the time necessary for Leslie to make a junction with Cornwallis. Reports indicated that the militia were flocking to Morgan. To counterbalance this additional strength of his opponent, Tarleton requested and received permission to attach the 7th Regiment and their three-pounder to his command.⁷⁴ On the fourteenth Cornwallis wrote, "Leslie is at

⁷⁰ Stedman, *History of the . . . American War*, II, 320.

⁷¹ Tarleton to Cornwallis, January 4, 1781. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 246.

⁷² Roderick Mackenzie, *Strictures on Lt. Col. Tarleton's "History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781, in the Southern Provinces of North America,"* (London: Printed for the author, 1787), 92. Hereafter cited as Mackenzie, *Strictures*. Mackenzie was a lieutenant in the 71st Regiment and was wounded at Cowpens.

⁷³ Cornwallis to Tarleton, January 5, 1781. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 246-247.

⁷⁴ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 212.

last out of the swamps,"⁷⁵ and the tempo of the pursuit quickened. Morgan was now only six miles away. Tarleton planned to use log houses, previously constructed by Major Patrick Ferguson, as a base from which to observe Morgan and wait for him to make a decisive move. Before he could establish himself in this position, patrols reported that the Americans had decamped in such haste that half cooked food was still simmering over dying fires. Morgan's vacated position offered promising possibilities for provisions and forage and Tarleton accordingly marched his troops to this location.⁷⁶

Small detachments were ordered to follow closely upon Morgan's line of march. A party of Tories brought in an American militia colonel who had been captured when he wandered too far from his troops. From interrogation of this prisoner and the reports of patrols, it was determined that the enemy was marching in the direction of the Broad River and Thicketty Mountain. There was also evidence that additional reinforcements of militia were on the march to join Morgan.⁷⁷ To insure the success of his operation, Tarleton felt that he must strike before these new troops united with his opponent. He planned an immediate action.

The following morning, January 17, the troops were awakened at three o'clock in the morning and marched toward Morgan's last reported position, with the baggage and its guard to take its position at daybreak. Tarleton planned either to surprise Morgan or force him to fight before he had the opportunity to deploy his troops properly. Approaching the American camp, two videttes were captured⁷⁸ and they revealed that Morgan had halted and had decided to make a stand at a place called the Cowpens.⁷⁹ Tarleton was jubilant

⁷⁵ Cornwallis to Tarleton, January 14, 1781. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 248.

⁷⁶ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 213-214.

⁷⁷ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 214.

⁷⁸ Mackenzie, *Strictures*, 97. Videttes were mounted pickets.

⁷⁹ Stock raisers comprised a large portion of the population of upper South Carolina. Pens were erected for the purposes of marking and salting the cattle, although at this time any grazing area was normally designated as a cowpen. The site selected for the battle had first been located on a Cherokee trading path and was known locally as "Hannah's Cowpens" from its owner. See Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, I, 377; Benjamin F. Perry, *Revolutionary Incidents*, No. 11, Benjamin F. Perry papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; J. B. C. Landrum, *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina* (Greenville: Shannon and Co., 1897), 19.

as the prisoners and his guides described the site. Open woods offered unlimited opportunity for cavalry maneuvers. Morgan would be forced to leave his flanks exposed as there were no physical irregularities into which to tie the extremities of his battle line. The Broad River ran parallel to his rear line, eliminating any possibility of flight. Without delay Tarleton moved up within sight of the American forces and began to deploy his troops, confident that the day was as good as won.⁸⁰

A plausible supposition is that Morgan planned to cross the Broad River and fight in the vicinity of Thicketty Mountain, where the terrain could be better adapted to his style of combat. When he had arrived on the banks of the Broad, he had found that stream swollen and deep because of the recent rains.⁸¹ To attempt a passage would possibly have allowed Tarleton to come up while his troops were still engaged in fording the river, an event which could only result in disaster for his little army.

Military men have long made a practice of criticising Morgan's choice of a battle site and Tarleton himself stated:

The ground which General Morgan had chosen for the engagement . . . was disadvantageous to the Americans, and convenient for the British. An open wood was certainly as good a place for action as Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton could desire; America does not produce many more suitable to the nature of the troops under his command.⁸²

The position selected for the American stand was at the summit of a long, gently sloping ridge, covered with an open woods facilitating cavalry operations. The Broad River at the rear discouraged all thoughts of retreat and Morgan's exposed flanks invited encirclement. It was a situation designed to grant victory to the army with the best cavalry, and Tarleton's British Legion was generally acknowledged to be one of the

⁸⁰ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 215.

⁸¹ Robert Smith to James Iredell, January 31, 1781. Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1837), I, 483.

⁸² Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 221. Henry Lee made the oft disputed statement that Morgan's decision to fight grew out of an "irritation of temper." Lee, *Memoirs*, 226.

best cavalry units in America. Morgan, in later years, defended his choice with the statement:

I would not have had a swamp in view of my militia on any consideration; they would have made for it, and nothing could have detained them from it. And as to covering my wings, I knew my adversary and was perfectly sure I should have nothing but downright fighting. As to retreat, it was the very thing that I wished to cut off all hope of. I would have thanked Tarleton had he surrounded me with his cavalry. It would have been better than placing my own men in the rear to shoot down those who broke from the ranks. When men are forced to fight, they will sell their lives dearly; and I knew the dread of Tarleton's cavalry would give due weight to the protection of my bayonets, and keep my troops from breaking up as Buford's regiment did. Had I crossed the river, one-half of the militia would immediately have abandoned me.⁸³

Morgan's army had arrived at the Cowpens near sunset of January 16, and he had addressed the troops and revealed his determination to stand and fight. The men cheered. Throughout the course of the day's march he had been cursed heartily by many of the troops who had felt that the retreat had been a display of cowardice.⁸⁴ Two colonels, Brandon and Roebuck, rode in and reported that they had counted Tarleton's forces as they crossed the Pacolet and that the enemy numbered approximately 1,150 men. As soon as the men were settled, preparations for battle were initiated. Orders were issued that the militia have twenty-four rounds of ammunition ready for use before they slept.⁸⁵ The sign and countersign for the night, "Fire" and "Sword" were designed to stimulate slackening spirits.⁸⁶ The first action taken by Morgan to strengthen his forces was the addition of forty-five volunteers to Washington's corps as a measure to more nearly equal, numerically, Tarleton's cavalry. Patrols and

⁸³ Morgan quoted in Johnson, *Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, I, 376.

⁸⁴ Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 88.

⁸⁵ Colonel Samuel Hammond in Joseph Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South: Including Biographical Sketches, Incidents and Anecdotes. Few of Which Have Been Published, Particularly of Residents in the Upper Country* (Charleston: Walker and James, 1851), 527.

⁸⁶ A. L. Pickens, *Skygunsta, the Border Wizard Owl: General Andrew Pickens* (Greenville: Observer Printing Co., 1934), 68.

scouts were sent out with orders to observe the enemy's movements. Baggage was sent back to the Broad River and messengers dispatched to the bodies of militia reported to be coming in, urging them to accelerate their pace.⁸⁷ Pickens brought in a body of new recruits. Other groups hurried in, calling for ammunition, and wanting to know the state of affairs. One officer commented, "They were all in good spirits, related circumstances of Tarleton's cruelty, and expressed the strongest desire to check his progress."⁸⁸ After a council of war with the officers Morgan went among the campfires and mingled with his men, aiding his recently created cavalry to become acquainted with their newly acquired sabres. He passed from group to group, laughing with the men and "telling them that the old wagoner would crack his whip over Ben [Tarleton] in the morning as sure as they lived."⁸⁹ To the militia he said, "Just hold up your heads, boys, three fires, and you are free, and then when you return to your homes, how the old folks will bless you, and the girls kiss you, for your gallant conduct."⁹⁰

The next morning, January 17, a scout reported that Tarleton was only five miles away and was marching light and fast.⁹¹ Morgan's shout of "Boys, get up, Benny is coming," awakened the men.⁹² The day dawned bright and bitter cold, but the troops were already being placed in position. They were all in good spirits and apparently looking forward to the approaching battle.⁹³

The battle ground was slightly undulating with a thick growth of red oak, hickory and pine. Because of the grazing cattle, there was little undergrowth.⁹⁴ At the crest of the long slope Morgan placed his main line of defense, composed of

⁸⁷ Graham, *Morgan*, 291-292.

⁸⁸ John Eager Howard quoted in Lee, *Memoirs*, 226n.

⁸⁹ Edwards, "Memoir of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 89. Morgan was often referred to as the "old wagoner" because of his earlier occupation. He had hauled supplies for Braddock's troops in the French and Indian War. Graham, *Morgan*, 22-28.

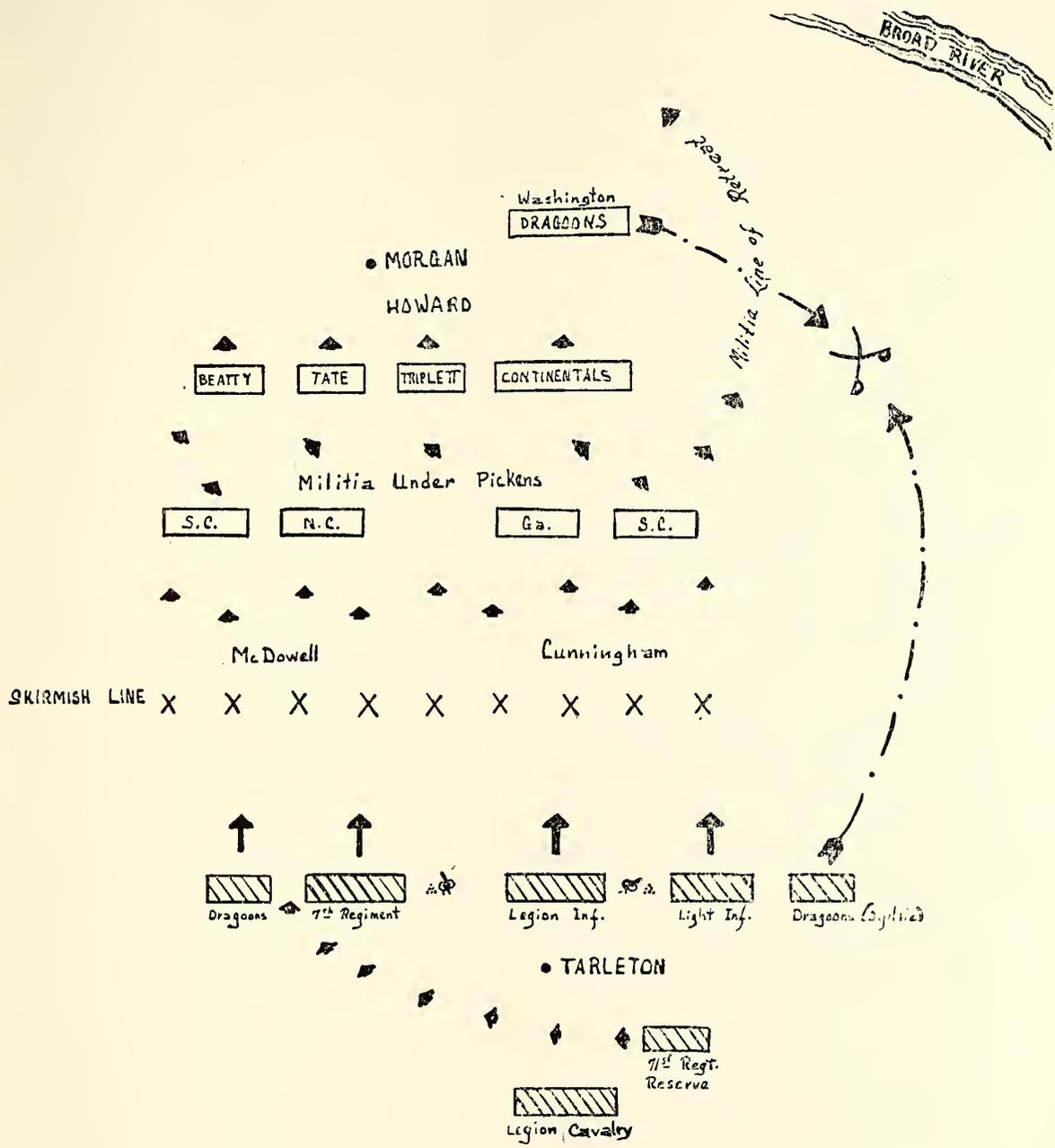
⁹⁰ Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 89.

⁹¹ Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 468.

⁹² "Memoir of Thomas McJunkin of Union," *The Magnolia: Or Southern Appalachian*, II (January, 1843), 38.

⁹³ Seymour, *Journal*, 13.

⁹⁴ Colonel Samuel Hammond in Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences*, 527.



*Battle of the Cowpens
January 17, 1781*

the Maryland Line, a skeleton company of Delaware Continentals, and two companies of Virginia militia under Major Triplett and Captain Tate.⁹⁵ Beatty's Georgians covered the right flank. This line of 437 men was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John Eager Howard. Approximately 150 yards down the slope were the volunteers of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, about 270 men under the "brave and valuable" Colonel Pickens. A skirmish line of 150 men was posted 150 yards in front of Pickens' second line. The right segment of this line was composed of Major Joseph McDowell's North Carolina back-country riflemen, while Major Cunningham's Georgia volunteers were posted on the left. Colonel Washington's dragoons were stationed behind the main line, out of the line of fire, but still in such a position as to guard the horses of the militia and act in support.⁹⁶

Before the appearance of the enemy, Morgan went forward and spoke to the men then placing themselves on the skirmish line. He indicated that the time had come to prove whether they were entitled to their reputation as brave men and good shots. "Let me see," said Morgan, as he turned to leave, "which are entitled to the credit of brave men, the boys of Carolina or those of Georgia."⁹⁷

Riding back to the second line he addressed the militia commanded by Pickens. His speech rang with optimism and was calculated to fire enthusiasm. He confidently assured them that they would display their usual zeal and bravery and maintain the reputation they had gained when he had led them. He pointed out that he had experienced success in dealing with British troops and that his experience was superior to theirs. He exhorted them to remain firm and steady, to fire with careful aim, and if they would but pour in two volleys at killing distance, he would take it upon himself to insure the victory.⁹⁸ Morgan's opinion of militia was actually similar to that held by Greene, but he did recognize their value as shock troops.

⁹⁵ These Virginia troops were above the average militia for they were, for the most part, continental soldiers who had been discharged and were now serving as paid substitutes for wealthier men. Lee, *Memoirs*, 254-255.

⁹⁶ Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 468.

⁹⁷ Graham, *Morgan*, 297.

⁹⁸ Lee, *Memoirs*, 227.

As Morgan rode back to the main line, Pickens told his militia, "Ease your joints." He then told them that they could shelter themselves behind trees, but they were not to fire until the enemy was within thirty yards of their position. He cautioned them to fire low and aim at the officers.⁹⁹

After leaving the militia Morgan addressed the main line of seasoned veterans. He spoke briefly and quietly, reminding them that he had always placed confidence in their skill and courage, and he assured them that victory was certain if they did their part. They were also warned not to become alarmed at a sudden retreat by the militia as that eventuality was included in his plan of action. At the conclusion of this short talk, he assumed his post and quietly sat his horse, awaiting the appearance of the enemy.¹⁰⁰

The British troops came into view at approximately eight o'clock. Tarleton, prematurely imagining the laurels of victory upon his brow, immediately deployed his fatigued command about 300 yards in front of the American skirmish line. No time was allotted by Tarleton for a reconnaissance or a conference with his subordinates. The rank and file were ordered to discard all gear and accoutrements except their arms and ammunition. The Light Infantry, the Legion Infantry, and the 7th Regiment formed the line of battle. To protect their flanks and threaten those of the Americans, fifty dragoons under the command of a captain were placed on each extremity. The 71st Regiment, with the remaining dragoons was held in reserve 180 yards to the rear. The two cannon were placed in the center of the battle line.¹⁰¹ The Americans, with no artillery to annoy the enemy could only watch with awe the precision with which the British swung into position.¹⁰² As the attacking troops were extended they were subjected to sporadic rifle fire from small groups which had been sent out from the skirmish line. The nervous recruits of the 7th Regiment returned a scattered fire, but their uneasiness was soon calmed by British officers.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Pickens, *Skygunsta, The Border Wizard Owl*, 70-71.

¹⁰⁰ Lee, *Memoirs*, 227-228.

¹⁰¹ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 216.

¹⁰² Thomas Anderson, "Journal of Lieutenant Thomas Anderson of the Delaware Regiment," *Historical Magazine*, 2d series, I (April, 1867), 209.

¹⁰³ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 216.

The impetuous Tarleton, impatient with the sluggish deployment of his weary troops, issued the order to advance before the formation was complete. As the artillery roared the infantry gave three "huzzas" and swung into a slow trot toward the American lines.¹⁰⁴

Morgan, as he galloped among his men, heard the cheers and shouted, "They give us the British halloo, boys, give them the Indian halloo, by God."¹⁰⁵

The British advance was met with "a heavy and galling fire" as they drew near the skirmish line of McDowell and Cunningham.¹⁰⁶ The green and scarlet line halted, then pushed on. The skirmish line faded back through the trees, firing as often as they could reload their rifles. One section of this first line fell back and merged with Pickens' militia. The remainder circled around and reformed in the rear of the third line. The British halted, regrouped, dressed their line, and continued their advance.¹⁰⁷

Pickens ordered his command to fire by regiments, providing a covering fire for those reloading their pieces. The British assault wavered under this steady fire, but discipline overcame fear and the attack still moved forward. As the British approached within forty yards of Pickens' line, they fired a volley, few of the shots finding a mark.¹⁰⁸ Then, with empty muskets, and with a shout, the British rushed forward with the bayonet.¹⁰⁹ The courage of the untrained militia waned at the sight of the cold steel and they began to fall

¹⁰⁴ Anderson, "Journal of Lieutenant Thomas Anderson. . . .," *Historical Magazine*, 2d series, I, 209.

¹⁰⁵ Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 101.

¹⁰⁶ Morgan to Greene, January 17, 1781. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 25.

¹⁰⁷ Anderson, "Journal of Lieutenant Thomas Anderson. . . .," *Historical Magazine*, 2d series, I, 209.

¹⁰⁸ In 1835 a visitor to the battlefield found evidence that many shots had lodged in the trees, some as high as thirty or forty feet. Benjamin F. Perry Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

¹⁰⁹ At the beginning of the war the Americans had little faith in the bayonet, while the British regarded it as a special weapon for their regulars and it was their custom to charge with the bayonet whenever practicable. Steuben, apostle of shock tactics, urged that the light infantry keep bayonets continually fixed. The assault upon Redoubt No. 9 at Yorktown by the American Light Infantry was made with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. Wright, "Notes on the Continental Army," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d series, XI, 89-90. The British sergeant turned historian, R. Lamb, made the statement that the frequent rains in North America often prevented the use of the musket and made the bayonet a very important weapon. R. Lamb, *Memoir of His Own Life* (Dublin: J. Jone, 1811), 202.

back. Pickens managed to control the movement of many of his men and conducted an orderly retreat although "with haste." He led this group to the rear of the Continentals and reformed them on the right flank. The remainder, panic-stricken, fled precipitately to the spot where they had left their horses.¹¹⁰

The commander of the dragoons protecting Tarleton's right flank, a Captain Ogilvie, detected the fleeing militia and his troops were ordered to charge them.¹¹¹ As the British rode among the frightened Americans, they became scattered and disorganized. Washington, after a hurried conference with Howard, charged the British dragoons with such force that many were thrown from their horses and were unable to remount under the flashing sabres of the Americans. Those who had been able to retain their seat turned and fled with such haste that one witness later declared that "they appeared to be as hard to stop as a drove of wild Choctaw steers, going to the Pennsylvania market."¹¹²

Meanwhile, the British infantry had gained confidence with the flight of the militia. Their step quickened as they neared the final American line. The advance slowed as they were met with a steady and well-directed fire, and "it seemed like one sheet of flame from right to left."¹¹³ Tarleton, having missed an excellent opportunity by failing to throw in his cavalry reserve in the pursuit of the militia, now ordered his infantry reserve into action, but still refused to commit his dragoons.¹¹⁴ The British line, longer than that of the Americans, gradually began to turn the left flank of the defenders. Howard, fearing encirclement, ordered Wallace's Virginia Company to change its front. The order was mistaken and the group began to fall back. The other unit commanders, assuming that a general retreat had been ordered, also be-

¹¹⁰ Lee, *Memoirs*, 228.

¹¹¹ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 217.

¹¹² Collins, *Autobiography*, 57.

¹¹³ Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 101.

¹¹⁴ Major McArthur, commanding Tarleton's reserve, had urged an all-out cavalry charge as the Americans retreated. At his subsequent capture he complained bitterly that the best troops in the service had been put under "that boy" to be sacrificed. John Eager Howard quoted in Henry Lee, *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas: with Remarks Historical and Critical on Johnson's Life of Greene* (Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1824), 96n.

gan a gradual withdrawal with their troops. Morgan, although the retirement was orderly, rode among the troops pleading for just one more volley and shouting, "Old Morgan was never beaten."¹¹⁵ Morgan expressed apprehension to Howard, who answered by indicating the orderly line and observing that men who retreated in that good order were never beaten. This logic of his subordinate was convincing and Morgan ordered Howard to continue the retrograde movement until the infantry was under the protection of Washington's cavalry, while he rode back to fix a spot at which he wished the Americans to face about and pour a sudden volley into the face of their pursuers. Howard busied himself with straightening out his line and communicating this stratagem to his officers.¹¹⁶ It was then that Washington had ridden up and told Howard that if the infantry could hold, he was going to charge Ogilvie's dragoons who were then riding down the fleeing militia in the rear.¹¹⁷ Even as Howard assented, the British, thinking an American rout imminent, broke their formation and, shouting as they came, pressed forward.¹¹⁸ The Americans, having retreated approximately fifty yards, reached the spot designated by Morgan, suddenly faced about and fired a volley, at a range of about ten yards, into the faces of their astonished foe. Those troops which had been, moments before, an example of British discipline and bravery, now became a milling mass of confused individuals. Howard was quick to seize the initiative. He shouted the command "charge bayonets," and "augmented their astonishment."¹¹⁹ The day was won for the Americans. The British were thrown into an "unaccountable panick,"¹²⁰ and discarding their muskets and cartouche boxes, "did the prettiest

¹¹⁵ Collins, *Autobiography*, 57.

¹¹⁶ John Eager Howard quoted in Lee, *Campaigns of 1781 in the Carolinas*, 97-98n.

¹¹⁷ William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution, So Far as It Is Related to the States of North and South-Carolina and Georgia*, 2 vols. (New York: David Longworth, 1802), II, 255. Hereafter cited as Moultrie, *Memoirs*. William Washington is supposed to have given Moultrie his account of the battle of the Cowpens.

¹¹⁸ Anderson, "Journal of Lieutenant Thomas Anderson . . .," *Historical Magazine*, 2d series, I, 209.

¹¹⁹ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 217. Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 468.

¹²⁰ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 216.

sort of running away."¹²¹ This sudden flight of the infantry which coincided with Ogilvie's retreat before Washington's dragoons transformed Tarleton's crack troops into a panic-stricken mob.

The Americans pushed forward in vigorous pursuit. There was a cry of "Tarleton's quarters," but Howard counteracted this with the command of "Give them quarter." Riding among the routed troops, he called upon them to lay down their arms and they would receive good quarters. More than 500 took advantage of this promise and laid down their arms.¹²² Only the artillerymen fought on, defending their cannon until they were either all killed or wounded.¹²³ Howard personally saved the life of one of these men, in addition to a frightened British captain who admitted that the British troops had been instructed to give no quarter and was afraid that the Americans "would use him ill."¹²⁴

About 250 British dragoons, held in reserve, had just received orders to go into action when the critical maneuver of the Americans had thrown back the infantry, whose headlong retreat, in turn, threw the cavalry into confusion. Tarleton gave orders to reform the mounted troops approximately 400 yards to the rear while he went forward to rally the infantry and protect the artillery.¹²⁵

The panic generated by the fleeing foot soldiers was communicated to the cavalry. The mounted troops fled through the forest, riding down such officers as dared to try to oppose their flight. Tarleton, screaming curses, attempted to rally his dragoons for a charge on the Americans, who were rushing in pursuit of the defeated enemy with a complete disregard for military formation. Tarleton's horse was killed be-

¹²¹ Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 101. Although the strategy which won the battle of Cowpens developed out of a mistaken order, the maneuver of feigning retreat and then suddenly turning upon the disorganized pursuers is quite old. William the Conqueror used it to advantage in defeating Harold at the Battle of Hastings in 1066. It was also a favorite maneuver of Genghis Khan.

¹²² Moultrie, *Memoirs*, II, 255-256.

¹²³ Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, January 18, 1781. Ross, *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, I, 82. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 217.

¹²⁴ John Eager Howard quoted in *The Magazine of American History*, VII (October, 1881), 279.

¹²⁵ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 216-217.

neath him. He caught another. Only fourteen officers and fifty men responded to his orders to reform.¹²⁶

This struggle was fierce, but short and decisive. Washington personally led his men into action. His zeal almost cost him his life as he repeatedly found himself far ahead of his troops. Twice he was saved from injury, once by a stroke from his sergeant's sword and later by a lucky shot from the pistol of his bugler. Tradition states that Washington and Tarleton were engaged in personal combat and that Washington's horse had been killed by a pistol shot from Tarleton, who is reported to have received a gash on his head from a sword wielded by Washington. The British commander, finally realizing the defeat was inevitable, wheeled and fled, closely pursued by the American cavalry.¹²⁷ Respite was gained as Washington followed the wrong road for a short distance.¹²⁸ The chase continued to the Pacolet River. There the Americans were informed by a Mrs. Goudelock that Tarleton had passed some time before, although at that moment he was actually engaged in crossing the river only a few hundred yards distant. Tarleton had pressed the woman's husband into service as a guide and she feared for his safety in the event of violence. Her deception was successful. Washington turned back.¹²⁹ The British baggage train had been sent approximately fifteen miles from the scene of battle, guarded by a detachment from each unit and commanded by Lieutenant Fraser of the 71st Regiment. Fraser

¹²⁶ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 218.

¹²⁷ Lee, *Memoirs*, 229. This flight later proved embarrassing to Tarleton, according to the following anecdote. When Cornwallis marched into Virginia from Wilmington he rested his troops in Halifax, North Carolina. In the home of Mrs. J. B. Ashe, in whose house General Leslie was quartered, Tarleton made the remark that he would be happy to see Colonel Washington as he understood he was ugly and diminutive in person. Mrs. Ashe angrily replied, "If you had looked behind you, Colonel Tarleton, at the battle of Cowpens, you would have enjoyed that pleasure." John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina, from 1584 to 1851. Compiled from Original Records, Official Documents, and Traditional Statements* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Granbe and Co., 1851), 186.

¹²⁸ Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 469.

¹²⁹ Perry, *Revolutionary Incidents*, No. 7, Benjamin F. Perry Papers, Southern Historical Collection. One report stated that as Tarleton and his fugitives reached Hamilton's Ford the men hesitated to enter the swollen Broad River, even though they had just received word that Washington was close on their heels. Tarleton eventually drove them into the water by whipping them with the flat of his sabre. Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 102.

had early received news of the defeat from "some friendly Americans," and immediately destroyed or burned that part of the baggage which could not be carried off. The men were loaded into a wagon or mounted on spare horses and hastily made their way to the encampment of Cornwallis. This was the only body of infantry which escaped, all others being killed or taken prisoner.¹³⁰

Cornwallis first learned of the disaster of Cowpens from this group and a detachment of dragoons who arrived at his camp on the evening of January 17. Tarleton and his fugitives did not arrive until the following morning.¹³¹ An American prisoner of war who witnessed Tarleton's report of the battle to his superior reported that Cornwallis was leaning forward on his sword as Tarleton spoke. In his fury the British general pressed forward so hard that the weapon broke beneath his weight, and he swore loudly that he would recover the prisoners, no matter what the cost.¹³²

General Leslie was now less than a day's march from making a junction with Cornwallis and further action by the British force was delayed until the arrival of these additional troops. While awaiting the scattered remnants of his dragoons to regroup, Tarleton displayed a sudden interest in the welfare of his troops which he had neglected in their somewhat injudicious employment at Cowpens. He dispatched, under the protection of a flag, a surgeon to care for, and a sum of money to be used for, his captured soldiers.¹³³

When the refugees from Cowpens had been reassembled and strengthened with additional troops from other units, they were dispatched, under the command of Tarleton, upon Morgan's trail in an effort to rescue the prisoners. The chase continued for two days before it was determined that the Americans were out of reach.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Mackenzie, *Strictures*, 102-103. David Ramsey, *History of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (London: John Stockdale, 1793), II, 235. Tarleton, to save his wounded pride, and possibly to restore a minute portion of his vanquished glory, later declared that he had attacked the wagons, dispersed the enemy guard, and had burned the wagons and baggage to prevent them from falling into American hands. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 217.

¹³¹ Mackenzie, *Strictures*, 102-103.

¹³² "Memoir of Joseph McJunkin of Union," *The Magnolia*, II, 39.

¹³³ Tarleton to Morgan, January 19, 1781. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 29.

¹³⁴ A. R. Newsome (ed.), "A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (July, 1932), 284-285.

The defeat at the Cowpens had been a severe and unexpected blow to British expectations, and was even more significant in its consequences than King's Mountain, for Tarleton's drubbing deprived Lord Cornwallis of the light troops which had been destined to play a major role in the invasion. Britain could not afford to lose face a second time in the South as "defensive measures would be certain ruin to the affairs of Britain in the Southern Colonies."¹³⁵ The British general made the decision to pursue Morgan with his entire command, force him to fight, and wipe out the humiliation of Cowpens. It was thus that the decision was made to launch the campaign which was to culminate in the termination of major hostilities on American soil.

Back at the Cowpens Morgan had surveyed the field of battle. He had just won an overwhelming victory over a force with which he would have been happy to fight a drawn contest. With a motley force of between 900 and 1,000 men, of whom only about 800 were actually engaged and a large number were untried militia, he had defeated a superior army of approximately 1,150 well-trained British soldiers. His casualties were amazingly light. Only twelve had been killed and sixty wounded. In contrast, British losses were staggering. Ten officers were included among the 110 killed. There had been 702 captured, 200 of them wounded. The American militia had become scattered in rounding up those of Tarleton's group who had escaped the carnage. Twenty-nine British officers were counted among the prisoners. Much valuable equipment had been taken, including two field pieces,¹³⁶ two standards,¹³⁷ 800 muskets, one travelling forge,

¹³⁵ Cornwallis to Germain, March 17, 1781. Ross, *The Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, I, 503.

¹³⁶ These cannon had an interesting background. They had been taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga by Morgan, and had been retaken from General Thomas Sumter by Tarleton in the engagement at Blackstock's, November 20, 1781. "Extracts from William's Notebook," *Calendar of the General Otho Williams Papers*, 36. These two field pieces were also probably among the four cannon captured from Greene at the battle of Guilford Court House by Cornwallis.

¹³⁷ These were the colors of the 71st Regiment and the British Legion. According to British army custom, these two units were required to henceforth wear their tunics without facings. The 71st Regiment, a Scottish Regiment, also lost their bagpipes. O. H. Williams to Dr. James McHenry, January 23, 1781, *Calendar of the General Otho Williams Papers*, 36-37.

thirty-five wagons, 100 horses and "all their music." Among the booty were seventy Negroes, who had been brought along as servants for the British officers.¹³⁸ This surprising triumph had been achieved in less than an hour.

It was apparent to the victorious Morgan that although he had won the field, he could not retain possession. Cornwallis would soon be marching with his entire army in an attempt to recover the prisoners and remove some of the tarnish from British military glory. A defeat would spoil the fruits of victory, and the decision was to move at once to the northward. Lieutenant Colonel Washington had not returned from his pursuit of Tarleton, but Morgan, after paroling the captured British officers and dispatching the news of his victory to Greene, marched north to the Catawba with his prisoners on the morning of January 18. Instructions were left for Washington to follow as soon as he returned to the field.¹³⁹

Colonel Pickens was left behind with the local militia to bury the dead and collect the wounded of both commands. Approximately a day was spent in this operation. The wounded were placed in captured British tents and left with a guard, under a flag of truce. The militia took full advantage of their opportunities and plundered both the dead and the wounded.¹⁴⁰ At the completion of this task, Pickens dismissed the militia and hurried after Morgan. The race to the Dan had begun.

The battle of the Cowpens, a small engagement when considered as to the numbers engaged, was far-reaching in its results. The first reaction of Sir Henry Clinton, commandant of British forces in North America, was, "I confess I dread

¹³⁸ Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 310-311. Tarleton also claimed that the money entrusted to him for the purchase of horses and intelligence had been "lost by the unfortunate affair of the Cowpens." He also reported that similar accounts for 1781 had been lost during a forced march in North Carolina. Tarleton to the Secretary of the Board of Auditors, May 25, 1789, *Year Book: City of Charleston, S. C., 1882* (Charleston: Lucas and Richardson, 1883), 371.

¹³⁹ Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 469. Washington's cavalry rounded up nearly 100 additional prisoners while on their return to the battlefield. Graham, *Morgan*, 308.

¹⁴⁰ Collins, *Autobiography*, 58.

the Consequences.”¹⁴¹ For Cornwallis, it was the first link in a chain of circumstances which led to Yorktown and ultimate defeat. British critics of Tarleton have stated that the defeat at Yorktown can be traced to the loss of the light troops at Cowpens.¹⁴²

The attention of the Continental Congress was directed towards the South at the seldom received report of a southern victory. One member of the Congress wrote to Greene:

the intelligence received was a most healing cordial to our drooping spirits . . . it was so very unexpected. It seems to have had a very sensible effect on some folks, for this is convincing proof that something is to be done, in that department.¹⁴³

Another member felt that Maryland's acceptance of the Articles of Confederation had been a result of the news of the triumph at Cowpens.¹⁴⁴

A grateful Congress voted a gold medal to Morgan, silver medals to Howard and Washington, and a sword to Pickens. Both officers and men of Morgan's army were extended "the thanks of the United States in Congress Assembled."¹⁴⁵ The Virginia House of Delegates voted to award Morgan a horse "with furniture," in addition to a sword.¹⁴⁶ John Rutledge of South Carolina, penniless and a governor without a state, could only send his "warmest and most cordial thanks."¹⁴⁷

Opinion in England was, as usual, divided along political lines. The *Gentleman's Magazine* attempted to minimize the blow by declaring, "there is no great reason to believe our

¹⁴¹ Clinton to Cornwallis, March 5, 1781. Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XVII, 989.

¹⁴² Stedman, *History of the . . . American War*, II, 327. Mackenzie, *Strictures*, 89. *Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature for the Year 1781*, 56.

¹⁴³ John Matthews to Greene, February 10, 1781. Burnett, *Letters*, V, 568.

¹⁴⁴ Ezekiel Cornell to Governor Greene of Rhode Island, February 9, 1781. Burnett, *Letters*, V, 566n. Actually, Maryland's decision rested on the fact that she was unable to defend the Chesapeake against British sea power. The clinching argument had come when the state had applied to the French Minister for naval aid and he had, in turn, urged Maryland to ratify the articles. Edmund Cody Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), 500.

¹⁴⁵ Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIX, 246-247.

¹⁴⁶ Graham, *Morgan*, 320.

¹⁴⁷ Rutledge to Morgan, January 25, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 332-333. Rutledge also enclosed a commission as brigadier general of the South Carolina militia for Andrew Pickens.

loss so great as the enemy would insinuate.”¹⁴⁸ Horace Walpole, whose writings portray the extreme Whig point of view, write:

America is once more not quite ready to be conquered, although every now and then we fancy it is. Tarleton is defeated, Lord Cornwallis is checked and Arnold not sure of having betrayed his friends to much purpose.¹⁴⁹

General George Washington, ever cautious, warned against overconfidence and premature victory celebrations. He feared that the southern states would regard the victory as decisive in its consequences and would tend to relax in their military exertions.¹⁵⁰ But his pessimism failed to dim the jubilation of the people. An aide to General Greene wrote with prophetic insight, “This is but the prelude to the aera of 1781 the close of which I hope will prove memorable in the annals of history as the happy period of peace, liberty, and independence in America.”¹⁵¹ William Gordon, even then collecting materials for his projected history of the Revolution, evaluated the victory thus, “Morgan’s success will be more important in its distant consequences, than on the day of victory.”¹⁵²

Probably the significance of the battle was best expressed in a letter from Nathanael Greene to Henry Knox written during the siege of Yorktown. Greene said, “We have been beating the bush, and the General has come to catch the bird.”¹⁵³ Cowpens was the first stroke, and “the bird” that Washington caught had been flushed.

¹⁴⁸ *Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, LI (March, 1781), 186.

¹⁴⁹ Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, March 30, 1781, Mrs. Paget Toynbee (ed.), *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Oxford*, 16 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1914), XI, 419.

¹⁵⁰ Washington to the President of Congress, February 17, 1781. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XXI, 238.

¹⁵¹ Lewis Morris, Jr., to Jacob Morris, January 24, 1781. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1875*, VII, 477. This letter was reprinted in the *New Jersey Gazette*, February 21, 1781, as its account of the battle. Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, II, 375-376.

¹⁵² William Gordon to Washington, February 28, 1781. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929-1930* (Boston: The Society, 1931), LXIII, 452.

¹⁵³ Greene to Henry Knox, September 29, 1781, Noah Brooks, *Henry Knox, Soldier of the Revolution* (G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1900), 157.

COLD WAR AGAINST THE YANKEES IN THE ANTE-BELLUM LITERATURE OF SOUTHERN WOMEN

By ROBERT LEROY HILLDRUP

More women of the Old South than is generally realized used their literary talents in behalf of their section during the cold war of propaganda that preceded the outbreak of hostilities at Fort Sumter. They not only defended the culture and institutions of their section but they also attacked life in the North.

Puritanism was one of the elements in northern life which was exceedingly distasteful to many southerners. Anne Newport Royall, a vigorous crusader for most of the virtues of eighteenth century enlightenment, found it a cloak of respectability for a conspiracy of "pious bigots" who were determined to gain power for themselves by pretending to be better than other people. She identified the Presbyterian revivalists then sweeping the country with New England Puritans, called them "blueskins," and stated that they were fleecing poor, ignorant folk of their hard-earned cash by selling them religious tracts of dubious authenticity. She further charged that they possessed no Christian charity and were attempting to establish within the United States an economic and an ecclesiastical tyranny. She asserted they used higher law doctrines and abolitionism merely as devices to deceive more people into believing that they were morally superior when, actually, they were less interested in the welfare of their fellowmen than most people, for they placed profits above everything else, including honesty.¹

The only difference in the terms of employment that she could discover between the slave owners of Mississippi and the "blueskin" employers of New England was "that the slaves of the latter work for their masters, find themselves and pay their own taxes," while the slaves of the former work

¹ Anne Royall, *The Tennessean: A Novel Founded on Facts* (New Haven, 1827), 4; and *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour or Second Series of the Black Book* (Washington, 1831), III, 80-91, 150-151, 159, *passim*.

for *their* masters, who find them in victuals and clothes and pay their taxes.”² Southern slaves were, she continued, a hundred times better off than northern paupers. She apparently believed each state should decide for itself whether it would be slave or free, but she was opposed to federal laws that excluded slaves from the territories, including those remaining in the Old Northwest.³

In keeping with her position on the issue, Royall expressed contempt for Henry Ward Beecher, the high priest of the “blueskins,” whom she canonized with withering sarcasm “St. Beecher of Boston.”⁴

She stated her charges against the North in *The Tennessean: A Novel Founded on Facts*, published in 1827, prior to the era of the most bitter sectional literature. Nevertheless, it seems to have been popular.⁵ She then reiterated her views in *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour or Second Series of the Black Book* (1831); and she kept her interpretations of current affairs before the public by publishing a small, independent newspaper in Washington, D. C., entitled *Paul Pry*, from December 3, 1831, to November 19, 1836, and then *The Huntress* from December 2, 1836, to July 24, 1854, approximately three months before her death.⁶

Delaware-born Mary J. Windle⁷ also disliked northern Puritans. She depicted the self-righteousness and unjust sternness of their English forebears and of Oliver Cromwell in a historical novelette of genuine literary merit, “The Lady of the Rock.”⁸ She found that they cried out against slavery as abolitionists, but were so engrossed in the pursuit of

² Royall, *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour*, III, 87, 93.

³ Royall, *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour*, III, 80, 165, 193.

⁴ Heber Blankenhorn, “The Grandma of the Muckrakers,” *American Mercury*, XII (September, 1927), 92.

⁵ It is in the Taylor Collection of Bestsellers, The Alderman Library, The University of Virginia. Because of Royall's attacks the “blueskins” resurrected a medieval common law under which she was convicted in Maryland as a common scold, the only person in the history of the republic who can claim this distinction. Blankenhorn, “The Grandma of the Muckrakers,” 92.

⁶ From a newspaper clipping in the front of Royall's *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour*, III, in the Mercantile Library of Philadelphia.

⁷ John S. Hart, *The Female Prose Writers of America* (Philadelphia, 1852), 423-429.

⁸ Mary J. Windle, “The Lady of the Rock,” *Life at the White Sulphur Springs; or, Pictures of a Pleasant Summer* (Philadelphia, 1857), 93-225.

wealth that they neglected the paupers of their own cities.⁹ Too, as consolidationists they favored national banks, but only for private gain at the expense of the public welfare.¹⁰ Besides, she averred that New Yorkers worshipped the "molt-en calf," and that preachers there were more interested in handsome bequests than in sinful souls, while Philadelphia was a city of brotherly love—like that of the first brothers.¹¹

Perhaps she was most effective in depicting northerners as artificial and ill-bred in manners and dress and as lacking in oratorical and conversational graces, a mental stereotype which still persists. She harped on this theme repeatedly as a society reporter in some of the leading southern newspapers, including *The Charleston Mercury* and *The Richmond Enquirer*.¹² It was reaffirmed in two of her books: *Life at the White Sulphur Springs; or, Pictures of a Pleasant Summer* (1857), and *Life in Washington, and Life Here and There* (1859). It was also a topic of discussion in novels by other southern women.

A few quotations will illustrate Windle's bold technique. On one occasion she wrote: "Pretty faces are more general in the North, but in grace, beauty and expression, the South has the superiority. In elegance of dress, the southern girl is able to beat the Parisian 'elegantes' of the North with their own weapons, when they consider it worthwhile. The New York belles, in spite of the time and money they waste upon their toilet, are the worst dressed ladies in America." She then reported that when this true observation reached the eyes of the northern women staying at the White Sulphur Springs they immediately displayed their ill-manners by descending upon her in a body, tongue-lashing her and villifying the South until she was forced to flee to her room in

⁹ The relation between Puritanism and certain New England writers, abolitionists and transcendentalists—Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes and Stowe—was found to be close by Barris Mills, "Attitudes of Some Nineteenth-Century American Writers Towards Puritanism," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1942), 165, 170, 231, 268, 270, 317-319.

¹⁰ Mary J. Windle, *Life in Washington, and Life Here and There* (Philadelphia, 1859), 91.

¹¹ Windle, *Life in Washington*, 104, 136.

¹² Windle, *Life in Washington*, preface; Windle, "Pen and Ink Sketches at the Virginia Springs," *The Richmond Enquirer*, September 16, 1856.

tears. What seemed to hurt her most was the attitude of complacent superiority that the northern women assumed and their dastardly charge that her criticism was "all jealousy."¹³

She nevertheless persisted in expressing her views. Moreover, she declared that southern males "had an *air distingue*, inimitable by the northerners with all their Frenchifications."¹⁴ And, as for northern orators, the speech of one was "a grotesque compound" composed of "convulsive flights and exaggeration." Others, including Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, descended to levels of gross indecency when they spoke in Congress. In contrast southern leaders were courteous gentlemen and judicious statesmen. Speaker Orr, a South Carolinian, presided with dignity and impartiality over the House of Representatives and Alexander H. Stephens enthralled the chamber with his eloquence.¹⁵

Several southern writers found in commercialism an explanation of some of the undesirable qualities of northerners. Maria J. McIntosh was one of those who favorably contrasted the influence upon character of southern plantation life with northern commercialism. In one of her popular novels, *The Lofty and the Lowly* (1852), a stooge of Yankee speculators named Uriah Goldwire took advantage of unsuspecting southerners of little business sense and high ethical standards. He and his northern friends used the banks to force southern debtors into bankruptcy, and then bought their property at a mere fraction of its true value. Since Maria McIntosh was a native of Georgia who had lost her fortune during the panic of 1837 because of speculations, she undoubtedly wrote with a conviction that was rooted in personal experience. In her novels commercialism led to inhospitality, devious financial schemes, insincerity, dishonesty, a brisk aggressiveness, frugality, and industry.

McIntosh, who resided in the North many years, found that the commercial spirit even penetrated the most exclusive circles of northern society. It caused hardheartedness

¹³ Windle, *Life at the White Sulphur Springs*, 41-42.

¹⁴ Windle, *Life at the White Sulphur Springs*, 164.

¹⁵ Windle, *Life in Washington*, 19, 26, 30-32, 42, 58-61, 295-300.

toward bereaved kinsmen among the wealthy merchants of Boston to such a degree as to cause indignant protests from generous plantation kinfolk and slaves in Georgia. It was the real cause of the painfully embarrassing remarks made by New York ladies about the dresses of southern belles who brought their wardrobe with them to Saratoga instead of giving northerners a profit by purchasing the latest Parisian creations from New York stores. It caused northern dowagers to seek financially successful marriage contracts for their daughters with such zeal as to set a style of manners in northern society that was obnoxiously aggressive, blatantly unchivalrous, and grossly indelicate.

Maria McIntosh was one of the most prolific and popular writers of the mid-century. Her theme song, the superiority of the South, was found even in some of the popular stories for children which she wrote under the title of *Aunt Kitty's Tales*.¹⁶

Mary Virginia Hawes Terhune, whose pseudonym was Marion Harland, also deplored the adverse effect of northern commercialism upon character. Deprecating marriages for money she wrote in a novel entitled *Moss-Side* "Girls are sold as publicly and unblushingly as was ever an Eastern slave, to gratify the passion of their parents for wealth and distinction."¹⁷ When discussing the character of northerners elsewhere she used such expressions as "shrewd Yankee" and "Yankee cunning,"¹⁸ thereby contributing to the idea that they were crafty in trade.

She did not attribute to commercialism the sole responsibility for the cold materialism, uncouth manners, and unromantic qualities in northern society. She held feminism partly responsible. In *Moss-Side*, women had equal rights already if they behaved themselves and entered into matrimony only when it was prompted by mutual love; government by men was preferred to "a female autocracy;"¹⁹ and where feminists

¹⁶ Maria McIntosh, *Aunt Kitty's Tales* (New York: G. S. Appleton); McIntosh, *Northern and Southern Life* (1852); Hart, *The Female Prose Writers of America*, 63-75.

¹⁷ Marion Harland, *Moss-Side* (New York, Carleton edition, 1876), 43.

¹⁸ Harland, *Moss-Side*, 31, 77.

¹⁹ Harland, *Moss-Side*, 303.

gained control in the North their children became unruly and ill-mannered because they were neglected; their husbands were timid because they were brow-beaten; and divorces increased because of the resulting unhappiness.²⁰

Mary Howard Schoolcraft, an ardent southerner from South Carolina, connected the growing disrespect for the sacredness of marriage in the North with abolitionism. If abolitionists had their way every white woman would marry Negro brutes and the purest African-blooded "Mumbo Jumbo" would some day be elected to the presidency of the United States. But, fortunately, any "refined Anglo-Saxon lady would sooner be burnt at the stake than married to one of these black descendants of Ham." Northern abolition preachers were loosening the ties of marriage as well as of slavery, although both were divinely ordained. They were encouraging crime and Mormonism. Divorces were unusually high among the abolitionists of Kansas. The Negroes would gladly enter into such a scheme because they did not regard matrimonial relations seriously. Naturally chivalry could not survive in such a milieu.

Only the South stood firmly against this unholy thing. There womanhood was respected. There divorces were frowned upon. Indeed, they were not permitted at all under the laws of one southern state—South Carolina. Rape was still classed with murder there, and death was the penalty for both crimes. Chivalry still flourished. Hence there was no talk of woman's rights or woman's influence in the South, for her wish was a command.²¹

Emma Dorothy Nevitte Southworth of Maryland furnished still another interpretation of northern matrimonial problems. She saw in the wild scramble among fashionable northern urbanites for titled European sons-in-law an incipient American aristocracy. In the South, contrariwise, social democracy still prevailed, she declared, for in Maryland men "met as peers on equal terms, the only precedence being that

²⁰ Harland, *Moss-Side*, 310-342.

²¹ Mrs. Henry R. Schoolcraft (Mary Howard Schoolcraft), *The Black Gauntlet: A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1860), vii-viii, 46, 159, 213, 226-227, 239.

given by courtesy.”²² The extent of this democratic quality in southern life was demonstrated in *Ishmael*, a supposedly true story of the rise of a poor boy of eastern Maryland to a position of social and political prominence despite the belief that he was of illegitimate birth.

Ishmael, like a number of the other novels of Southworth, was published serially in newspapers. It is said to have been the most popular story ever printed in the *New York Ledger*. Emma Southworth was probably the most popular American novelist of the mid-century.

Sue Petigru Bowen, a South Carolinian, also wrote unfavorably upon northern morals and manners. She contributed to the notion in the South that northern city-bred men were weaklings and philanderers, describing in *Lily, A Novel* (New York, 1855) a typical New York society man as being “small and thin, slightly knock-kneed, and very carefully dressed.” He “lived on dancing and a little opium” and he flirted furiously with southern belles. As a result they often came home “pursued by rumors” but “seldom by the causes of those rumors.”²³

She claimed, moreover, that northerners lacked the qualities of good hostesses and gracious guests, citing a New York matron who caricatured one of her guests for the amusement of the others. The remonstrances of a southern lady only “flashed a momentary shame into their callous souls.”²⁴ In her writings the northerners displayed these same poor manners when they came as guests to Charleston by ridiculing the dress, the gentle leisurely ways, and the dancing of their hostesses or of southerners in general.²⁵

The hard lot of the laborers in the North was a theme often repeated by the women writers of the Old South. It was used by Royall, Windle and McIntosh, as has been shown, and by Eliza Neville in “Lines on Reading Mrs. Trol-

²² Emma Dorothy Nevitte Southworth, *Ishmael* (New York: Mershan), 154. In the foreword of this edition it is stated that *Ishmael* was originally published in the *New York Ledger* under the title of “Self-Made, or, Out of the Depths,” and was the most popular story ever printed in that paper. James D. Hart, *The Popular Book* (New York, 1950), 96-97.

²³ Sue Petigru Bowen, *Lily, A Novel*, 83-84, 115, 116.

²⁴ Bowen, *Lily, A Novel*, 233.

²⁵ Bowen, *Lily, A Novel*, 88.

lope's *Factory Boy*,"²⁶ and by Mrs. Woodson in *A Southern Home*.²⁷ Mary Schoolcraft cited the *Charleston Mercury* as authority for a statement that 100,000 poor folk in New York City alone would be glad to exchange places with southern slaves; and she quoted a resolution adopted by the laborers of Pemberton Mills to the effect that Negro slavery was vastly preferable to the low wages and tyranny of their company, which made within a year a net profit of \$150,000.-00.²⁸ As a result of such conditions, ignorance, malnutrition, disease, pauperism and even starvation allegedly pervaded northern industrial centers.

Mistreatment of orphans by northerners was another topic popular with many southern writers. Augusta Jane Evans Wilson described this evil in a northern community in *Beulah* (1859). Margaret Couch Anthony Cabell brought the scene to her own home town, Lynchburg, Virginia, by relating how cruel northerners over-worked, whipped, and starved a friendless little orphaned girl there until the good people of the town rescued the child and indignantly drove the northern family from the community. She concluded the narration with this gibe; "Had Ann Hindershot been a slave on a southern plantation, this incident might have done admirably as a fresh horror for Mrs. Beecher Stowe to add to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'; but as Ann Hindershot was only a white servant, and her master and mistress natives of a northern state, it is not likely that Mrs. Stowe will venture to weave such a narrative in any of her productions."²⁹

Southern women writers also publicized the idea that the plight of the free Negroes of the North was deplorable. Caroline E. Rush contrasted New York squalor with the abundance of a plantation in Mississippi, where even the slaves were well-fed.³⁰ Schoolcraft declared that the North was "a

²⁶ Eliza Neville, "Lines on Reading Mrs. Trollope's *Factory Boy*," *The Magnolia* (Savannah), I (1842), 313-314.

²⁷ Authorship attributed to Mrs. [?] Woodson of Charlottesville by Margaret Couch Anthony Cabell, *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg* (Richmond, 1858), 112; recommended as reading for southerners. *The Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond), XXI (February, 1855), 127.

²⁸ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 254n, 307-309.

²⁹ Cabell, *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg*, 258-265.

³⁰ Caroline E. Rush, *The North and the South; or, Slavery and Its Contrasts* (Philadelphia, 1852).

snare of the devil" for the Negro, causing him to become lawless or homesick for the South.³¹ Mrs. H. E. Wilson's *Our Meg* (Boston, 1859) was a discourse on the suffering of free Negroes in the North, and Mrs. G. M. Flander's *The Ebony Idol* was a satire upon the efforts of an abolition organization to care for a Negro.³²

The North was viewed as a region of strange cults and erratic beliefs by some southern writers as *ism* after *ism* arose there: Unitarianism, transcendentalism, feminism, bloomerism, Mormonism, teetotalism, socialism, free-loveism, styleism, abolitionism, and racial amalgamationism. "The fact is, you northern people are full of your *isms*," scoffed Mary H. Eastman in *Aunt Phillis's Cabin*, "you must start a new one every year."³³ Mary Eastman was a daughter of Dr. Thomas Henderson, of Warrenton, Virginia. She later wrote *Fashionable Life* (Philadelphia, 1856), a dissertation on the artificiality of New York styles and fashions.³⁴

Several southern women attributed much of the sectionalism to economic differences. Sue Pettigru Bowen and Louisa S. McCord were among these economic determinists. In a passage of one of Bowen's novels, a southern planter is made to declare philosophically that the abolitionists really were not inspired by moral or religious indignation but by economic self interest.³⁵

Louisa McCord emphasized in scholarly economic treatises that northern manufacturers favored protective tariffs only because of the special monopolistic advantages they could obtain therefrom. She stood firmly for laissez-faire doctrines and free trade, declaring they furnished the best policy for the South and for the nation. She cited the new free trade program of Great Britain as a sign of its enlightenment and its economic progress. She asserted that protectionism must

³¹ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 51, 530. A southerner, C. J. Brown, opened an office in Detroit to assist fugitive slaves who wished to return to their southern home. Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 253n.

³² Francis Pendleton Gaines, *The Southern Plantation* (New York, 1925), 46-47; Herbert Ross Brown, *The Sentimental Novel 1789-1860* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 271.

³³ Quoted from Mary Eastman, *Aunt Phillis's Cabin* (Philadelphia, 1853). Brown, *The Sentimental Novel*, 271.

³⁴ Hart, *Female Prose Writers of America*, 226.

³⁵ Bowen, *Lily, A Novel*, 45.

inevitably lead to high cost, state socialism, the dole system, and loss of freedom. She maintained that "all commercial intercourse" is "beneficial to both sides" and that normal international trade must soon cease when nations adopt navigation laws. She freely admitted that laissez-faire was accompanied by struggle and some injustice; but she affirmed that it furnished the only road to achievement, to self-reliance, and to freedom, for people cannot be free until they have won the right to be free.

She wrote a reply to a book by H. C. Carey, one of the leading northern protectionists, in which she maintained the northern advocates of high tariffs were seeking them to gain greater profits for themselves by enslaving the exporting agricultural South.³⁶ She quoted Bastiat, Ricardo, Molinari, John Lewis and several other economists in expounding her theory. She published many articles on the subject in *The Southern Quarterly Review*.³⁷ Her translation of Francois Bastiat's *Sophismes Economiques* under the English title "Sophisms of the Protective Policy" elicited from one reviewer the statement that it was "the very best of its class that we have ever read."³⁸

Finally, southern women saw in the North an alarming growth of un-American influences. An influx of immigrants to that region and the activities of the American or "Know Nothing" party helped to confirm them in this view. Mrs. Woodson asserted in *A Southern Home* that the Federal Union was in mortal danger because elections were controlled in the northern states by foreigners, uneducated workingmen, fanatics, and Roman Catholics who had vowed to obey the popes.³⁹ Some anti-Catholic and anti-foreign passages are in Augusta Jane Evans Wilson's *Inez: A Tale of the*

³⁶ D. J. M. [Louisa S. McCord (Mrs. D. J.) ?], "Art. IV. Navigation Laws," *The Southern Quarterly Review* (Charleston), I n.s. (April, 1850), 49; L. S. M. [Louisa S. McCord], "Carey on the Slave Trade," IX n.s. (January, 1854), 115-184.

³⁷ L. S. M. [Louisa S. McCord], "Justice and Fraternity," *The Southern Quarterly Review*, XV (July, 1849), 356-374; "Negro and White Slaves Wherein do they Differ," IV n.s. (July, 1851), 118-132.

³⁸ No reviewer named, *The Southern Quarterly Review*, XIV (July, 1848), 252.

³⁹ By a Virginian [Mrs. Woodson of Charlottesville?], *A Southern Home* (Richmond, 1855), 217-219.

Alamo,⁴⁰ Catharine Ann Ware Warfield's *The Household of Bouverie; or The Elixir of Gold*,⁴¹ and Marion Harland's *Alone*.⁴² Louisa McCord was disturbed by the growth of the foreign doctrines of socialism in the North and the conversion thereto of prominent Americans, among whom she included Horace Greeley and Albert Brisbane.⁴³

In Mary Schoolcraft's opinion abolitionism was an un-American movement, promoted by stockholders of the British East India Company to cripple southern agriculture and to gain for India the supremacy in producing cotton and tobacco. She warned that if this British scheme should succeed, Russia probably would seize India and make English cotton manufacturers dependent upon its caprices for their supply of raw materials. Schoolcraft asserted, moreover, that Europeans and foreigners in the United States were agitating the slavery issue to keep the United States from becoming a world power, and quoted a speech by Senator Clingman of North Carolina as evidence of the discovery of such an international plot to break the American Union.⁴⁴

Naturally Southern women did not allow Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to go unchallenged. They replied by denying that southern life was as cruel as Mrs. Stowe described it, by enlarging upon the dangers of Africanization, by emphasizing the advantages of slavery to the slave, to the South, and to the nation, and by reiterating the evils of northern life and character.

Perhaps the first reply to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was Carolina Lee Hentz's *Marcus Warland; or a Tale of the South* in 1852. Except for attacks upon the untruthfulness of fanatical abolitionists, Mrs. Hentz contented herself with a description of life in the South as she had seen it in many parts of the black belt during twenty years of residence therein, believing ap-

⁴⁰ Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, *Inez: A Tale of the Alamo* (New York, 1864), [7], 34. Originally published by Harpers in 1855. John D. Wade, "Augusta Jane Evans," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 195.

⁴¹ Catherine Ann Ware Warfield, *The Household of Bouverie; or The Elixir of Gold* (2 vols., New York, 1860), I, 46-48, 55.

⁴² Marion Harland, *Alone* (New York: Carleton, 1876; originally published in 1854), 306-307.

⁴³ L. S. M. [Louisa S. McCord], "The Right to Labor," *The Southern Quarterly Review*, XVI (October, 1849), 145.

⁴⁴ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 215, 403.

parently that such a first-hand account would destroy the influence of abolitionists among the northern masses.⁴⁵ In a second book on the subject, *The Planter's Northern Bride*, she reminded her readers that she was a native of the North who had lived in the South long enough really to understand the region. Of slavery she wrote, "One thing is certain, and if we were on judicial oath we would repeat it, that during our residence in the South, we have never *witnessed* one scene of cruelty or oppression, nor beheld a chain or manacle, or the infliction of a punishment more severe than parental authority would be justified in applying to filial disobedience or transgression. This is not owing to our being placed in a limited sphere of observation, for we have studied domestic, social, and plantation life, in Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida."⁴⁶

Caroline Hentz's northern birth and extensive literary reputation were significant factors in assuring a cordial reception of her writings in the North. She was the wife of a former professor at the University of North Carolina, and she enjoyed a reputation as a playwright as well as a novelist.⁴⁷

Her intersectional experience was used by other southern writers to advance their cause. When Martha Haines Butt, of Norfolk, Virginia, wrote her reply to Harriet Stowe, *Antifanaticism: A Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1853), she inscribed it to Caroline Hentz as a northerner who had lived in the South before she undertook to write about it. Stowe, in contrast, she pointed out, had never visited the region but had written instead a fanatical, prejudiced, ignorant fabrication of falsehoods. Butt's description of the South was utopian.

Mary Eastman's *Aunt Phillis's Cabin* was likewise obviously a reply to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was advertised by Lippin-

⁴⁵ Caroline Lee Hentz, *Marcus Warland; or a Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1852), 7.

⁴⁶ Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter's Northern Bride* (Philadelphia, 1854), I, v.

⁴⁷ George Harvey Genzmer, "Caroline Lee Hentz," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 565-566; Evert A. Duyckinck and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1855), II, 486-487. Hentz's *Lovell's Folly* (Cincinnati, 1830) was a well executed novel of about 300 pages in which she treated sectional prejudices long before the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. *The Magnolia*, II n.s. (1843), 358.

cott, Grombo, and Company with a picture showing a comfortable frame home with a porch and a happy Negro woman.⁴⁸ Like Butt, she remarked upon the irrational state of the northern mind and the fanatical distortions of truth by abolitionists.

Schoolcraft strengthened the impression that abolitionists were murderous and treasonable fanatics as well as liars by relating how Mr. Gorsuch and one of his sons were lynched by abolitionists in Pennsylvania when they went there unarmed to recover a fugitive slave.⁴⁹ She contrasted abolition violence with the peaceable conditions of the South, declaring that she had heard of only one instance in her entire life of a southern planter having killed a slave and that in that case the killer had committed suicide out of remorse over the accident.⁵⁰ Like many others, she saw in John Brown's raid the logical result of northern fanaticism, a planned "midnight assassination of all the inhabitants of Harper's Ferry."⁵¹

Since the abolitionists had failed to accept her challenge to join in a campaign to purchase the slaves and provide them with sufficient funds to become self-supporting freedmen, she branded them as thieves, "Pharisees," enemies of the prosperity of the country, Chartists, warmongers, and "anti-slavery latter-day saints" who looked upon God as an "old fogey."⁵² Those among them who advocated racial equality were unchristian because they had departed from the teachings of the Bible, unscientific because "the merest allusion to anthropology denotes the inferiority of the African mind,"⁵³ impractical because their theory required the removal of all immigration restrictions, opening the United States to "a worse barbarianism than Columbus found at the discovery of America,"⁵⁴ and unhistorical because the author of the American phrase "born free and equal"—Thomas Jef-

⁴⁸ Martha Haines Butt, *Antifanaticism: A Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1853), appendix, [32].

⁴⁹ Schoolcraft, *Letters on the Condition of the African Race* (Philadelphia, 1852), 1-34.

⁵⁰ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 82-83.

⁵¹ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 96-97.

⁵² Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 96, 208-212, 376, 562, 565-567.

⁵³ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 241.

⁵⁴ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 216.

person—obviously had not intended it to apply to all human beings, since he had not only continued to keep but had actually increased his holdings in slaves.⁵⁵ The southern slaves even spurned the abolition preachers sent among them because these agitators obviously lacked interest in their personal welfare and eternal salvation.⁵⁶

Mary Schoolcraft was the wife of Dr. Thomas Rowe Schoolcraft, an eminent authority on Indian history. Hence she moved in influential social and intellectual circles; and when she asserted that there were insuperable racial barriers between the whites and the blacks and that “all hybrids are subject to the fixed law of moral deterioration that the half-breed Indian almost universally develops,”⁵⁷ her statements naturally possessed considerable authority. Furthermore, she revealed a wide knowledge of the literature on the subject, having served as her husband’s amanuensis for many years; and she cited Barrow, Hegel, and Dr. Benjamin Coates of Philadelphia, in support of her racial thesis.⁵⁸ Her best-known books were *Letters on the Condition of the African Race in the United States* (1852), and *The Black Gauntlet: A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina* (1860).

Since the Republican party absorbed the abolitionists, it naturally became a party of fanatics in the eyes of many southern women—a party that would cause the Africanization of the South and retrogression. Hence a vote against the Republican party was a vote for progress.

Mary Sophie Shaw Homes of New Orleans, writing under the pseudonym of Millie Mayfield, elaborated upon this theme in a remarkable long poem, *Progression, or, The South Defended*, which was published in the year of Lincoln’s election. As an evolutionist she brought into play much of the most advanced scientific thought of her day to prove that the doctrine of racial equality was a violation of the natural progressive order and therefore false. She warned that the Republicans were as ignorant of science and as fanatically

⁵⁵ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 561.

⁵⁶ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 372.

⁵⁷ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 540-541.

⁵⁸ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, ix, 68-69, 216-218, 405.

prejudiced as their ancestors, the witch burners of Salem, and that if such reactionary fanatics, egalitarians and amalgamationists gained control of the national government, they would bleach the bones of each slaveholder: ⁵⁹

“On cold fanaticism’s stones,
The while his blistering flesh would writhe
and broil
On Black Republican gridirons!”

Since many in the lower South were in Homes’s state of mind by 1860, the election of Lincoln was viewed by them as a sufficient cause for secession. President Lincoln’s call for 75,000 volunteers to force the seceded states back into the Union compelled four more southern states into the Confederacy. Then the cold war became a shooting war and the nation was plunged into the worst holocaust in its entire history. What is thought to be the facts is frequently of greater historical importance than the facts themselves to an era. Of more current interest, perhaps, is that money shibboleths and thought patterns used in the propaganda campaigns a century ago still survive both in the North and South of today.

⁵⁹ Millie Mayfield (pseud.), *Progression, or, The South Defended* (Cincinnati, 1860), 130.

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Two important laws affecting the Army Medical Department were enacted on March 6, 1861. The act of February 26, 1861, had provided medical officers for the Regular Army. The first of the two acts passed on March 6, 1861, entitled "An Act to provide for the Public Defense," authorized medical officers for the Provisional Army. This law empowered the President to appoint one surgeon and one assistant surgeon for each regiment when volunteers or militia were called into the military service in such numbers that the medical officers of the Regular Army could not furnish them proper medical attention. Medical officers appointed under the authority of this act were "to continue in service only so long as their services may be required in connection with the militia or volunteers."²

¹ James M. Matthews (ed.), *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, from . . . February 8, 1861, to . . . February 18, 1862 . . .* (Richmond, 1864), 38-39.

² Matthews, *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 45-46.

Alamo,⁴⁰ Catharine Ann Ware Warfield's *The Household of Bouverie; or The Elixir of Gold*,⁴¹ and Marion Harland's *Alone*.⁴² Louisa McCord was disturbed by the growth of the foreign doctrines of socialism in the North and the conversion thereto of prominent Americans, among whom she included Horace Greeley and Albert Brisbane.⁴³

In Mary Schoolcraft's opinion abolitionism was an un-American movement, promoted by stockholders of the British East India Company to cripple southern agriculture and to gain for India the supremacy in producing cotton and tobacco. She warned that if this British scheme should succeed, Russia probably would seize India and make English cotton manufacturers dependent upon its caprices for their supply of raw materials. Schoolcraft asserted, moreover, that Europeans and foreigners in the United States were agitating the slavery issue to keep the United States from becoming a world power, and quoted a speech by Senator Clingman of North Carolina as evidence of the discovery of such an international plot to break the American Union.⁴⁴

Naturally Southern women did not allow Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to go unchallenged. They replied by denying that southern life was as cruel as Mrs. Stowe described it, by enlarging upon the dangers of Africanization, by emphasizing the advantages of slavery to the slave, to the South, and to the nation, and by reiterating the evils of northern life and character.

Perhaps the first reply to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was Carolina Lee Hentz's *Marcus Warland; or a Tale of the South* in 1852. Except for attacks upon the untruthfulness of fanatical abolitionists, Mrs. Hentz contented herself with a description of life in the South as she had seen it in many parts of the black belt during twenty years of residence therein, believing ap-

⁴⁰ Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, *Inez: A Tale of the Alamo* (New York, 1864), [7], 34. Originally published by Harpers in 1855. John D. Wade, "Augusta Jane Evans," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 195.

⁴¹ Catherine Ann Ware Warfield, *The Household of Bouverie; or The Elixir of Gold* (2 vols., New York, 1860), I, 46-48, 55.

⁴² Marion Harland, *Alone* (New York: Carleton, 1876; originally published in 1854), 306-307.

⁴³ L. S. M. [Louisa S. McCord], "The Right to Labor," *The Southern Quarterly Review*, XVI (October, 1849), 145.

⁴⁴ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 215, 403.

parently that such a first-hand account would destroy the influence of abolitionists among the northern masses.⁴⁵ In a second book on the subject, *The Planter's Northern Bride*, she reminded her readers that she was a native of the North who had lived in the South long enough really to understand the region. Of slavery she wrote, "One thing is certain, and if we were on judicial oath we would repeat it, that during our residence in the South, we have never *witnessed* one scene of cruelty or oppression, nor beheld a chain or manacle, or the infliction of a punishment more severe than parental authority would be justified in applying to filial disobedience or transgression. This is not owing to our being placed in a limited sphere of observation, for we have studied domestic, social, and plantation life, in Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida."⁴⁶

Caroline Hentz's northern birth and extensive literary reputation were significant factors in assuring a cordial reception of her writings in the North. She was the wife of a former professor at the University of North Carolina, and she enjoyed a reputation as a playwright as well as a novelist.⁴⁷

Her intersectional experience was used by other southern writers to advance their cause. When Martha Haines Butt, of Norfolk, Virginia, wrote her reply to Harriet Stowe, *Antifanaticism: A Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1853), she inscribed it to Caroline Hentz as a northerner who had lived in the South before she undertook to write about it. Stowe, in contrast, she pointed out, had never visited the region but had written instead a fanatical, prejudiced, ignorant fabrication of falsehoods. Butt's description of the South was utopian.

Mary Eastman's *Aunt Phillis's Cabin* was likewise obviously a reply to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was advertised by Lippin-

⁴⁵ Caroline Lee Hentz, *Marcus Warland; or a Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1852), 7.

⁴⁶ Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter's Northern Bride* (Philadelphia, 1854), I, v.

⁴⁷ George Harvey Genzmer, "Caroline Lee Hentz," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 565-566; Evert A. Duyckinck and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1855), II, 486-487. Hentz's *Lovell's Folly* (Cincinnati, 1830) was a well executed novel of about 300 pages in which she treated sectional prejudices long before the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. *The Magnolia*, II n.s. (1843), 358.

cott, Grombo, and Company with a picture showing a comfortable frame home with a porch and a happy Negro woman.⁴⁸ Like Butt, she remarked upon the irrational state of the northern mind and the fanatical distortions of truth by abolitionists.

Schoolcraft strengthened the impression that abolitionists were murderous and treasonable fanatics as well as liars by relating how Mr. Gorsuch and one of his sons were lynched by abolitionists in Pennsylvania when they went there unarmed to recover a fugitive slave.⁴⁹ She contrasted abolition violence with the peaceable conditions of the South, declaring that she had heard of only one instance in her entire life of a southern planter having killed a slave and that in that case the killer had committed suicide out of remorse over the accident.⁵⁰ Like many others, she saw in John Brown's raid the logical result of northern fanaticism, a planned "midnight assassination of all the inhabitants of Harper's Ferry."⁵¹

Since the abolitionists had failed to accept her challenge to join in a campaign to purchase the slaves and provide them with sufficient funds to become self-supporting freedmen, she branded them as thieves, "Pharisees," enemies of the prosperity of the country, Chartists, warmongers, and "anti-slavery latter-day saints" who looked upon God as an "old fogey."⁵² Those among them who advocated racial equality were unchristian because they had departed from the teachings of the Bible, unscientific because "the merest allusion to anthropology denotes the inferiority of the African mind,"⁵³ impractical because their theory required the removal of all immigration restrictions, opening the United States to "a worse barbarianism than Columbus found at the discovery of America,"⁵⁴ and unhistorical because the author of the American phrase "born free and equal"—Thomas Jef-

⁴⁸ Martha Haines Butt, *Antifanaticism: A Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1853), appendix, [32].

⁴⁹ Schoolcraft, *Letters on the Condition of the African Race* (Philadelphia, 1852), 1-34.

⁵⁰ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 82-83.

⁵¹ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 96-97.

⁵² Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 96, 208-212, 376, 562, 565-567.

⁵³ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 241.

⁵⁴ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 216.

feron—obviously had not intended it to apply to all human beings, since he had not only continued to keep but had actually increased his holdings in slaves.⁵⁵ The southern slaves even spurned the abolition preachers sent among them because these agitators obviously lacked interest in their personal welfare and eternal salvation.⁵⁶

Mary Schoolcraft was the wife of Dr. Thomas Rowe Schoolcraft, an eminent authority on Indian history. Hence she moved in influential social and intellectual circles; and when she asserted that there were insuperable racial barriers between the whites and the blacks and that “all hybrids are subject to the fixed law of moral deterioration that the half-breed Indian almost universally develops,”⁵⁷ her statements naturally possessed considerable authority. Furthermore, she revealed a wide knowledge of the literature on the subject, having served as her husband’s amanuensis for many years; and she cited Barrow, Hegel, and Dr. Benjamin Coates of Philadelphia, in support of her racial thesis.⁵⁸ Her best-known books were *Letters on the Condition of the African Race in the United States* (1852), and *The Black Gauntlet: A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina* (1860).

Since the Republican party absorbed the abolitionists, it naturally became a party of fanatics in the eyes of many southern women—a party that would cause the Africanization of the South and retrogression. Hence a vote against the Republican party was a vote for progress.

Mary Sophie Shaw Homes of New Orleans, writing under the pseudonym of Millie Mayfield, elaborated upon this theme in a remarkable long poem, *Progression, or, The South Defended*, which was published in the year of Lincoln’s election. As an evolutionist she brought into play much of the most advanced scientific thought of her day to prove that the doctrine of racial equality was a violation of the natural progressive order and therefore false. She warned that the Republicans were as ignorant of science and as fanatically

⁵⁵ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 561.

⁵⁶ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 372.

⁵⁷ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 540-541.

⁵⁸ Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, ix, 68-69, 216-218, 405.

prejudiced as their ancestors, the witch burners of Salem, and that if such reactionary fanatics, egalitarians and amalgamationists gained control of the national government, they would bleach the bones of each slaveholder: ⁵⁹

“On cold fanaticism’s stones,
The while his blistering flesh would writhe
and broil
On Black Republican gridirons!”

Since many in the lower South were in Homes’s state of mind by 1860, the election of Lincoln was viewed by them as a sufficient cause for secession. President Lincoln’s call for 75,000 volunteers to force the seceded states back into the Union compelled four more southern states into the Confederacy. Then the cold war became a shooting war and the nation was plunged into the worst holocaust in its entire history. What is thought to be the facts is frequently of greater historical importance than the facts themselves to an era. Of more current interest, perhaps, is that money shibboleths and thought patterns used in the propaganda campaigns a century ago still survive both in the North and South of today.

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¹ James M. Matthews (ed.), *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, from . . . February 8, 1861, to . . . February 18, 1862 . . .* (Richmond, 1864), 38-39.

² Matthews, *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 45-46.

The second measure concerning the Medical Department enacted by Congress on March 6, 1861, established a pay scale for army medical officers. The Surgeon General was to receive an annual salary of \$3,000. A surgeon's pay ranged from \$162 to \$200 a month; assistant surgeon's from \$110 to \$150 a month. The exact pay received by surgeons and assistant surgeons depended on length of service in either grade. In addition to the base pay certain allowances, such as fuel and quarters, were granted.³ Only one important change concerning pay was made in this law. On January 23, 1865, Congress repealed so much of the earlier bill as affected the Surgeon General's pay and allowances, and enacted that thereafter his pay and allowances would be equivalent to the officers of his rank serving in the cavalry.⁴ The pay of private physicians employed by contract varied considerably, depending in part on whether or not they gave all of their time to the service. It was ultimately decided that contract physicians who gave all of their time to the service would receive the pay and allowances of assistant surgeons.⁵ The pay and allowances of dentists amounted to about \$10 per diem.⁶

The growing military establishment and large-scale epidemics of measles, malaria, typhoid fever, and other camp diseases during the early months of the war led to further increase in the number of medical officers authorized by Congress. On April 27, 1861, Leroy Pope Walker, Secretary of War, recommended, in a communication to President Davis that the army medical staff be increased.⁷ Acting upon Secre-

³ Matthews, *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 49.

⁴ Charles W. Ramsdell (ed.), *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress (November 7, 1864-March 18, 1865) Together with the Secret Acts of Previous Congresses* (Durham, North Carolina, 1941), 22.

⁵ *Regulations for the Medical Department of the Confederate States Army* (Richmond, 1861), 9; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index, (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. IV, Vol. III, 623; S. P. Moore to E. S. Gailard, November 21, 1862, Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Surgeon General's Office, Chapter VI, Vol. 739, War Department Collection of Confederate Records (The National Archives, Washington, D. C.).

⁶ W. A. Carrington to S. P. Moore, January 30, 1865. Letters Sent and Received, Medical Director's Office, Richmond, 1864-1865, Ch. VI, Vol. 364, WD Coll. of CR (The National Archives).

⁷ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 248.

tary Walker's advice the Congress, on May 16, 1861, authorized the addition of six surgeons and fourteen assistant surgeons to the Medical Department of the Regular Army.⁸ And on August 14, 1861, the President was empowered "to appoint in the provisional army as many surgeons and assistant surgeons for the various hospitals of the Confederacy, as may be necessary."⁹

The organization of the Confederate States Navy was authorized by Congress on March 16, 1861. The act of organization provided for the appointment of five surgeons and five assistant surgeons. Medical officers appointed by authority of this act became, of course, officers in the permanent naval establishment.¹⁰ Provision for temporary appointments was made by Congress in a bill approved on December 24, 1861. This measure empowered the President to appoint thirty additional assistant surgeons. Such appointments were "to be made from the navy and from civil life, as the President may see fit, and to terminate at the end of the war."¹¹ An increase of medical officers in the Regular Navy was authorized by an act of April 21, 1862, following the expansion of naval activity. This law authorized a permanent medical staff of twenty-two surgeons, fifteen passed assistant surgeons, and thirty assistant surgeons.¹² The need for Navy medical officers continued, however, and on May 1, 1863, Congress, in "An Act to create a Provisional Navy of the Confederate States," empowered the President to appoint in the Provisional Navy as many additional medical officers as the public service required.¹³

The pay scale of the Navy's medical officers was established

⁸ Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 115.

⁹ Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 176.

¹⁰ Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 70.

¹¹ Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 229.

¹² James M. Matthews (ed.), *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . First Session of the First Congress; 1862* (Richmond, 1862), 50.

¹³ James M. Matthews (ed.), *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Third Session of the First Congress; 1863* (Richmond, 1863), 161. The word "regular" instead of "provisional" was used in this act, but it was undoubtedly inserted through error. On June 14, 1864, an amendment caused the proper word to be used. James M. Matthews (ed.), *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . First Session of the Second Congress: 1864* (Richmond, 1864), 277.

by Congress in acts of March 16, 1861, and September 26, 1862. Fleet surgeons were to receive an annual pay of \$3,500. A surgeon's pay for the first five years after the date of his commission was set at either \$2,200 or \$2,000 annually, depending on whether he was or was not on sea duty.¹⁴ For service afloat passed assistant surgeons were to receive a yearly pay of \$1,700; for shore or other duty they would receive \$1,500, and, when on leave or awaiting orders, their yearly pay would be \$1,200.¹⁵ The annual stipend of assistant surgeons was to be either \$1,250 or \$1,050.¹⁶

The proper uniform to be worn by the army medical officer was carefully explained in regulations. The officer's tunic of gray cloth, known as cadet gray, was to have black facings with a stand up collar. His "trowsers" were to be made of dark blue cloth, and [they] were to have "a black velvet stripe, one inch and a quarter in width, with a gold cord on each edge of the stripe." A black cravat, ankle or Jefferson boots, white gloves, a star on the tunic collar, a sash of "green silk net," and a cap on which the letters "M.S." were embroidered in gold completed the medical officer's prescribed dress.¹⁷ Few were ever able to clothe themselves in such regalia.

Several unsuccessful efforts were made during the course of the war to alter the overall organization of the Medical Department as set forth above. On August 22, 1861, President Davis returned to Congress for reconsideration "An Act to authorize the appointment of an additional Assistant Surgeon to each regiment in the Army of the Confederate States." The President took the position that the expenditure which the proposal would require was unnecessary, inasmuch as existing legislative enactments were adequate to meet the needs of the service. The President wrote:

I am aware that there have been causes of complaint in relation to neglect of our sick and wounded soldiers; but this, it

¹⁴ Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 71-72.

¹⁵ Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Second Session of the First Congress; 1862*, 61.

¹⁶ Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 72.

¹⁷ *Uniform and Dress of the Army of the Confederate States* (Richmond, 1861), 3-4; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 369-373.

is believed, arises not so much from an insufficiency in the number of the surgeons and assistant surgeons as from inattention or want of qualification, and I am endeavoring to apply the proper remedy by organizing a board of examiners, so as to ascertain who are the officers really to blame, and replace them by others more competent and efficient.¹⁸

Another proposal, "An Act to reorganize and promote the efficiency of the Medical Department of the Provisional Army," received the veto of the President on October 13, 1862. The bill was carelessly framed and should have been blocked. The measure provided, for example, "that the rank, pay, and allowances of a brigadier general in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States be, and the same are hereby, conferred on the Surgeon General of the same." As the President pointed out, however, there was no such officer as the Surgeon General of the Provisional Army and no "Medical Department of the Provisional Army." Sections 3 and 4 of the bill required the assignment of additional surgeons and assistant surgeons, but no authority was given for the increased number. The President's chief objections to the bill were directed against its fifth section. The latter provided for an infirmary corps of fifty men for each brigade. This corps would aid in the care of sick and wounded and was to be officered by one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, two sergeants, and two corporals. In his veto message President Davis blasted the proposal and asserted that it was inadequate as "no provision whatever is made for any additional medical officers, nor does the act provide for any control by medical officers over these infirmary corps, nor assign to these corps any fixed duties."¹⁹

The final reorganization proposals to receive serious congressional consideration originated in April, 1863. A House bill, approved by its Committee on the Medical Department,

¹⁸ James D. Richardson (comp.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, Including the Diplomatic Correspondence 1861-1865*, 2 vols. (Nashville, Tennessee, 1905), I, 130. See also *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1904-1905), I, 390.

¹⁹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 263-265; *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, V, 557-558; *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, 1876-1943), XLVII (1930), 39.

provided, first, that the Surgeon General be given the rank, pay and allowances of a brigadier general in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States. The second proposition in the measure was for the appointment in the Provisional Army of two assistant surgeons general, as many as ten medical inspectors charged with supervising hospitals and camp sanitary conditions, and as many surgeons as the President might direct. The assistant surgeons general and the medical inspectors were to enjoy the rank, pay, and allowances of a colonel of cavalry. Surgeons were to receive the rank, pay, and allowances of either a lieutenant colonel or a major of cavalry, depending on their duty assignment. The House Bill also proposed the establishment in the Provisional Army of an infirmary corps of medical officers "in number not to exceed one surgeon for each brigade and one assistant surgeon for each regiment, who shall not be attached to the organization of troops, but shall serve in the field, or in field hospitals, under such regulations as the Secretary of War shall prescribe." The bill provided further that the appointment of Regular Army officers to offices created by the act would not affect their position in the Regular Army and that the rank conferred by the bill carried with it no authority to command outside of the Medical Department.²⁰ Thus did the House of Representatives endeavor to meet the chief executive's objections to the reorganization bill of October, 1862. The measure was approved by a vote of forty-four to twenty-seven in the lower chamber,²¹ but was blocked in the Senate.²² A Senate reorganization measure, not so comprehensive as the House bill, passed that body on April 11, 1863,²³ but was not concurred in by the House.²⁴ A bill to reorganize the Medical Corps of the Confederate States Navy, presented in the Senate on January 28, 1863, was referred to the Committee on

²⁰ *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, VI, 324; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX (1943), 121-122.

²¹ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX (1943), 122.

²² *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, III, 379.

²³ *Journal of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, III, 279; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX (1943), 128-129.

²⁴ *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, VI, 463.

Naval Affairs.²⁵ On March 13, 1863, it was reported out and laid on the table.²⁶ No other such proposal was made during the life of the Confederate Congress.

The Surgeon General, according to available records, seems to have lent his support to the reorganization proposals of April, 1863, and to have been disappointed upon the inability of the lawmakers to fashion a comprehensive measure for the President's signature.²⁷ The judgment of the Confederate Army and Navy surgeons themselves on the organization of the Medical Department was stated succinctly in their journal early in 1864:

Although the organization of the medical department is not as complete as it is believed it could have been, had the ideas and suggestions of its experienced presiding officer met with more favorable consideration, still, in view of the exactness with which its varied duties have been defined and systematized, it may be confidently asserted that, in the full performance of these duties by its members, the objects for which it was instituted have been, if not perfectly, yet, to a very great extent, satisfactorily accomplished.²⁸

The structure of the medical service, as it existed late in 1864, is impressive. Six medical officers, including the Surgeon General, were on duty in the Surgeon General's office. Eighteen surgeons were serving as medical directors in the field and supervising the work of medical officers there. There were also eight medical directors of hospitals, six field medical inspectors, and seven medical inspectors of hospitals. Five Army Medical Boards were engaged in the examination of applicants for appointment as assistant surgeons and of assistant surgeons for promotion. The number of principal hospitals in the various states was as follows: Virginia—39, North Carolina—21, South Carolina—12, Georgia—50, Alabama—23, Mississippi—3, Florida—4, and Tennessee—2.

²⁵ *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, III, 37; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLVII (1930), 219.

²⁶ *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, III, 164.

²⁷ Samuel P. Moore, "Address of the President of the Association of Medical Officers of the Confederate States Army and Navy," *The Southern Practitioner* (Nashville, 1879-1918), XXXI (October, 1909), 494.

²⁸ *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal* (Richmond, 1864-1865), I (February, 1864), 26.

Medical laboratories, with a surgeon in charge of each, were located at Lincolnton, North Carolina; Tyler, Texas; Macon, Georgia; Augusta, Georgia; and Columbia, South Carolina. Thirty-two medical purveyors, employed in the procurement of medical and hospital supplies, were located throughout the Confederacy.²⁹ The Navy's Bureau of Medicine and Surgery was located in Richmond with Surgeon William A. W. Spotswood of Virginia in charge. There were naval hospitals at Richmond, Charleston, Wilmington, Savannah, and Mobile.³⁰

The most important medical officer in the Confederate service was, of course, the Surgeon General of the Confederate States Army. According to army regulations the Surgeon General was "charged with the administrative details of the medical department, the government of hospitals, the regulation of the duties of surgeons and assistant surgeons, and the appointment of acting medical officers, when needed, for local or detached service." He was also charged with the issuance of directives "relating to the professional duties of medical officers."³¹ Many important papers of the Medical Department were burned when the buildings in Richmond that housed the Surgeon General's office were destroyed by fire during the fall of the city. This loss has deprived those interested in knowing how effectively the Surgeon General and his staff functioned of much pertinent material.

The first Surgeon General of the Confederate States Army was David C. DeLeon, a surgeon in the "old army." DeLeon, a resident of Mobile, Alabama, was ordered to assume the duties of "acting Surgeon General" on May 6, 1861.³²

²⁹ *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal*, I (September, 1864), 152; I (October, 1864), 176; I (November, 1864), 200.

³⁰ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of Rebellion*, 30 vols. and index (Washington, 1894-1927), Ser. II, Vol. II, 761; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy from Its Organization to the Surrender of Its Last Vessel* (New York, 1887), 30.

³¹ *Regulations for the Medical Department of the Confederate States Army*, 3; *Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States, 1863* (Richmond, 1863), 236.

³² *Special Orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Confederate States, 1861* (Washington, 18—?), 18; E. Robert Wiese, "Life and Times of Samuel Preston Moore, Surgeon-General of the Confederate States of America," *Southern Medical Journal* (Nashville and Birmingham, 1908-), XXIII (October, 1930), 917.

His occupancy of the Surgeon General's office, consisting of only one room at that time, was of brief duration. On July 12, 1861, orders were issued that relieved DeLeon and ordered Charles H. Smith of the office staff to take "temporary charge of the medical bureau."³³ A little over two weeks later, on July 30, 1861, the man who was to preside over the Medical Department for the duration of the war, Samuel Preston Moore, was assigned to duty as "acting Surgeon General."³⁴ Moore went to work immediately. A few weeks after his appointment he advised the Secretary of the Treasury, who was in charge of arrangements for establishing the public offices in Richmond, that it was "impossible to transact the business of this bureau (connected most intimately with the welfare of the Army in the field) in one single room, crowded to over-flowing with employees, soldiers, and visitors on business."³⁵ On November 29, 1861, the President sent Moore's name to the Senate for approval as Surgeon General. The nomination was confirmed on December 13, 1861.³⁶

Samuel Preston Moore, Surgeon General of the Confederate States Army, was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1813.³⁷ His father and mother were Stephen West Moore and Eleanor Screven (Gilbert) Moore. Samuel was a lineal descendant of Dr. Mordecai Moore who came to America as Lord Baltimore's physician, and the Moore family enjoyed a high social standing.

Moore acquired his early education in Charleston, and was graduated from the Medical College of South Carolina on March 8, 1834. A year later he received an appointment

³³ *Special Orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Confederate States, 1861*, 50.

³⁴ *Special Orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Confederate States, 1861*, 59.

³⁵ S. P. Moore to C. G. Memminger, September 11, 1861. Letters of the Secretary of the Treasury, Chapter X, Accession 212, General Records of the Department of the Treasury (The National Archives).

³⁶ *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, I, 495, 568.

³⁷ For this sketch of the life of Samuel Preston Moore I have drawn liberally from the following: Percy M. Ashburn, "Samuel Preston Moore," Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Harris E. Starr (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1945), XIII, 137; James Evelyn Pilcher, *The Surgeon Generals of the Army of the United States of America* (Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1905), 95-98; and Samuel E. Lewis, "Samuel Preston Moore, M.D., Surgeon General of the Confederate States," *The Southern Practitioner*, XXIII (August, 1901), 381-386.

as assistant surgeon in the United States Army and entered upon an extended tour of duty in Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Florida. It was while he was stationed in Florida, at Camp Barrancas, that he married a daughter of Major Jacob Brown in June, 1845.

Moore saw service in the Mexican War and received his surgeoncy while on duty at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, on April 30, 1849. Between the years 1849 and 1860 he served duty tours at Fort Laramie, Oregon; San Antonio and Brownsville, Texas; Governor's Island, New York; and the United States Military Academy. In April 1860 Moore was ordered to New Orleans as medical purveyor.

The secession of South Carolina on December 20, 1860, brought Moore's service in the United States Army to a close. Loyal to his state, he resigned his commission and entered upon the practice of medicine in Little Rock, Arkansas. Then he was called to organize the Medical Department of the Southern Confederacy.

The new Surgeon General soon had the Medical Department operating efficiently. Examinations were prescribed to weed out incompetent personnel. The competent were assigned to key positions, and a reporting system intended to inform the Surgeon General of all pertinent medical facts and problems was instituted. Medical societies and the publication of professional journals and books were suspended early in the war.³⁸ Moore saw the need for discussion and publication and attempted to meet it. In August, 1863, he organized the Association of Army and Navy Surgeons of the Confederate States, "the oldest American military medical society."³⁹ He became its first president. The Association met regularly and heard reports on medical and surgical subjects proposed by its members.⁴⁰

In the realm of publication Moore encouraged the publication of the *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Jour-*

³⁸ See Isaac C. Harrison, "A Historical Sketch of the Medical Society of Virginia," *Virginia Medical Monthly* (Richmond, 1874-), LIX (December, 1932), 510; *The North Carolina Standard*, January 15, 1862.

³⁹ Edgar E. Hume, *Victories of Army Medicine* (Philadelphia, 1943), 22.

⁴⁰ The last meeting of the Association was held on March 18, 1865. Records of the Association of Army and Navy Surgeons (Confederate Museum, Richmond).

nal (January, 1864-February, 1865), ably edited by James Brown McCaw.⁴¹ Well-written editorials, articles on their medical and surgical experiences by Confederate surgeons, and analyses of articles in foreign journals characterized this fine periodical. Despite numerous difficulties its editor reported in May, 1864, that the journal had "attained a larger circulation than was ever reached before by any Southern Medical periodical and promises . . . to surpass the most sanguine expectations of its friends."⁴² The Surgeon General also prompted the publication and distribution to his medical personnel of two highly useful books: *Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests, Medical, Economical, and Agricultural*, written at Moore's request by Francis Peyre Porcher of South Carolina, and *A Manual of Military Surgery*, prepared by a group of surgeons working under Moore's direction. Both were published in 1863. The Surgeon General hoped that Porcher's book would enable his medical officers to supply many of their drug needs through the preparation of medicines from plants indigenous to the southern states. The surgical guide, he hoped, would improve operative procedure.

One of the chief distinctions claimed for Surgeon General Moore is that he introduced the hut or one story pavilion hospital, the forerunner of the modern general hospital. In the pavilion type hospital arrangement the sick and wounded were not lumped together in large buildings, but were treated in a number of huts. Each hut thus became an independent ward housing from twenty-five to fifty patients. A general hospital consisted of from forty-five to sixty huts.⁴³

The end of the war brought Moore's active professional career to a close although he did serve as first President of the Association of Medical Officers of the Army and Navy of the Confederacy, organized in 1874, and delivered the

⁴¹ Percy M. Ashburn, "James Brown McCaw," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 575-576.

⁴² *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal*, I, (May, 1864), 78.

⁴³ Charles W. Chancellor, "A Memoir of the Late Samuel Preston Moore," *The Southern Practitioner*, XXV (November, 1903), 637; Wiese, "Life and Times of Samuel Preston Moore," *Southern Medical Journal*, XXIII (October, 1930), 920; Moore, "Address," *The Southern Practitioner*, XXXI (October, 1909), 491-497.

presidential address in 1875. He remained in Richmond, interesting himself in agricultural and educational matters, until his death on May 31, 1889.⁴⁴

The ability of the Confederate Surgeon General seems not to have been questioned. He was intelligent, thorough, impartial, but unfortunately, perhaps, addicted to the formality of army discipline. One of Moore's admirers wrote of "his great work as an organizer, his remarkable executive ability, fitness for the high position, and his official work."⁴⁵ "The Surgeon General," reported William A. Carrington, Medical Director of Virginia's hospitals, "attends to all papers coming to his office in regular rotation, and neglects none."⁴⁶ The praise of still another contemporary was even more sweeping as he asked "where, or under what government so complicated and extensive as this, was there ever a department of the public service characterized by such order and precision? Every paper emanating from that office was a model of despatch and neatness."⁴⁷

Moore's relationship with the officers of his department was extremely formal and conducted in a true military manner. According to a fellow officer "the Emperor of the Russians was not more autocratic. He commanded and it was done. He stood in *terrorem* over the surgeon, whatever his rank or wherever he might be—from Richmond to the trans-Mississippi, and to the extremest verge of the Confederate States."⁴⁸ Moore insisted that subordinates conform to the

⁴⁴ The Association of Medical Officers of the Army and Navy of the Confederacy, in annual session at Memphis, 1909, proposed a monument to commemorate Moore's work. *The Southern Practitioner*, XXXIII (1911), 203-212. The movement was kept alive and during the annual meeting held in Richmond in 1915 it was stated that "the outlook was bright for a successful outcome of the plan to erect a monument to Dr. Samuel Preston Moore . . ., the medical officers of both branches of the service, and to the women who served as nurses." *Virginia Medical Semi-Monthly*, XX (June 11, 1915), 127. No such monument was ever erected.

⁴⁵ John R. Gildersleeve, "History of Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, Va., and Its Medical Officers During 1861-1865," *The Virginia Medical Semi-Monthly*, IX (July 8, 1904), 153.

⁴⁶ W. A. Carrington to J. P. Fitzgerald. Letters Sent and Received, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, 1864-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 364, WD Coll. of CR.

⁴⁷ Francis Payne Porcher, "Confederate Surgeons," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XVII (1889), 16.

⁴⁸ Porcher, "Confederate Surgeons," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XVII, 16.

rules of military correspondence in their messages to his office.⁴⁹ He complained of the many leaves of absence granted to surgeons and failed to understand why medical officers serving in general hospitals even wanted them.⁵⁰ Medical officers were warned that charges would be preferred against those who failed to comply with regulations,⁵¹ and on one occasion the Surgeon General ordered a medical director to arrest all the members of an examining board and prefer charges against them because they had committed a minor infraction of orders.⁵² Moore's extreme formality sometimes offended those with tender sensibilities, but even these acknowledged his ability. "He was a man of great brusqueness of manner," wrote one such, "and gave offense to many who called on him, whatever their business, and without any regard to their station or rank, though he was an able executive officer, and I believe an efficient and impartial one."⁵³ Underneath his rough exterior there was a more appealing and sympathetic side as is evidenced by his correspondence with the mothers of hospitalized soldiers. At times, upon their request, he investigated individual cases and reassured the mothers as best he could.⁵⁴

The number of medical officers that served in the Army and Navy of the Confederacy has received a reasonable amount of inquiry. Joseph Jones, one of the ablest Confederate surgeons, estimated the total to be something less than 3,000. Only 73 medical officers, he thought, saw service in the Navy.⁵⁵ At the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Asso-

⁴⁹ S. P. Moore to Richard Potts, November 19, 1861. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Surgeon General's Office, Chapter VI, Vol. 739, WD Coll. of CR.

⁵⁰ S. P. Moore to W. A. Carrington, April 6, 1863. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Vol. 740.

⁵¹ S. P. Moore to W. A. Carrington, August 14, 1863. Order Book, General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Virginia (Confederate Museum, Richmond).

⁵² S. P. Moore to W. A. Carrington, July 21, 1863. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Vol. 740.

⁵³ John Herbert Claiborne, *Seventy-Five Years in Old Virginia* (New York and Washington, 1904), 199-200. See also W. D. Somers to H. F. Scott, May 10, 1864. William D. Somers Papers (Duke University Library Durham, N. C.).

⁵⁴ S. P. Moore to Mrs. Ann E. Gates, November 22, 1864. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Chapter VI, Vol. 741.

⁵⁵ Joseph Jones, "The Medical History of the Confederate States Army and Navy," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XX (1892), 119-120.

ciation of Medical Officers of the Army and Navy of the Confederacy in 1916, the "Committee on the Roster of the Medical officers of the Confederate States" reported the following number of officers to have been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate for service in the Army Medical Department:

Surgeon General	1
Surgeons	1,242
Assistant Surgeons	1,994
	<hr/>
	3,237

The same committee found the following number of officers to have been nominated and confirmed for service in the Medical Department of the Navy:

Surgeons	26
Passed Assistant Surgeons	13
Assistant Surgeons	63
Assistant Surgeons for the War	5
	<hr/>
	107 ⁵⁶

In view of the figures set forth above it is interesting to note that an officer who served throughout the war could remember having seen only one medical officer.⁵⁷

The nucleus of the Confederate States Army and Navy Medical Departments was formed by those who resigned from the medical staffs of the Union Army and the Navy. When the year 1861 opened, the Medical Corps of the United States Army consisted of one Surgeon General, thirty surgeons, and eighty-three assistant surgeons. Three surgeons and twenty-one assistant surgeons resigned their commissions and entered the Confederate service.⁵⁸ Much the same is true as regards the Navy. J. Thomas Scharf, historian of

⁵⁶ *The Southern Practitioner*, XXXVIII (July, 1916), 270.

⁵⁷ Joseph B. Cumming, *War Recollections*, 11-12, typescript (University of North Carolina Library).

⁵⁸ Harvey E. Brown, *The Medical Department of the United States Army from 1775 to 1873* (Washington, 1873), 215; Hume, *Victories of Army Medicine*, 15.

the Confederate States Navy, asserts that "by June 3, 1861, about one-fifth of the officers of the United States navy had resigned." Of 148 medical officers listed as of that date 28 southerners had resigned.⁵⁹ A register published in 1931 indicates 35 southern resignations from the Union Navy Medical Corps. William A. W. Spotswood of Virginia, who became the top-ranking naval surgeon of the Confederacy, was among those who relinquished their commissions.⁶⁰

It was to be expected perhaps that in a conflict characterized by heavy fighting during summer and relative inactivity in winter there would be alternating periods of sufficiency and insufficiency in regard to the number of medical officers. Surgeon General Moore sometimes noted an excessive number of medical officers in certain Virginia general hospitals,⁶¹ and early in November, 1863, he informed a Georgia doctor who had filed an application to appear before an Army Medical Board that no invitations were being issued "as the Medical Department has its sufficiency of medical officers."⁶² A similar message was also sent out early in the year 1865.⁶³ The coming of winter generally meant the cancellation of contracts between the Medical Department and private physicians employed during the months of active campaigning.⁶⁴

It was sometimes difficult, late in the war, to keep the army in the field supplied with its complement of medical officers, summer or winter. Lafayette Guild, General Lee's Medical Director, advised Surgeon General Moore on February 24, 1864, that there were thirteen regiments in the Army of

⁵⁹ Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, 32.

⁶⁰ *Register of Officers of the Confederate States Navy* (Washington, 1931). A register reportedly containing a list of all officers who had resigned from the U. S. Navy was found on a Confederate gunboat captured in North Carolina waters. On this list were the names of nine surgeons, ten passed assistant surgeons, and eleven assistant surgeons. Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events, with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, etc.*, 11 vols. and Supplement (New York, 1861-1868), IV, 217-218.

⁶¹ S. P. Moore to W. A. Carrington, June 20, 1863. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Vol. 740.

⁶² S. P. Moore to Matt Calvert, November 3, 1863. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Vol. 740.

⁶³ S. P. Moore to William Bell, January 30, 1865. Letters, Orders and Circulars Sent, Vol. 741.

⁶⁴ W. A. Carrington to S. P. Moore, January 4, 1865, and to S. Funsten, February 3, 1865. Letters Sent and Received, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, 1864-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 364.

Northern Virginia understaffed in medical officers,⁶⁵ and the deficiency had not been made up by the middle of April.⁶⁶ The need for medical officers increased sharply after the summer fighting got underway, and the Medical Department used the newspapers to urge private physicians to come forward for immediate service.⁶⁷ On June 15, 1864, the Medical Director of Virginia's hospitals asserted that he had been compelled to employ the most inefficient doctors in Richmond to care for the wounded. Each medical officer, according to Carrington, "had an average of far over 100 wounded men" to care for.⁶⁸ The Navy also had its problems. On April 28, 1864, W. A. W. Spotswood, the Navy's chief medical official, informed the Secretary of the Navy that there were not enough surgeons authorized by Congress to meet the demands of the service.⁶⁹ Six months later found him presenting the same complaint.⁷⁰ President Davis himself stated well the overall situation in a veto message of March 13, 1865. In blocking a proposal that would have required some 150 medical officers for work connected with conscription, the President explained: "We have no medical officers to spare from attendance upon the troops and in the hospitals" ⁷¹

The Confederate Congress gave considerable attention to the establishment of an effective and efficient hospital program. Early confusion, ascribable primarily to the unexpectedly large number of sick and wounded during the opening months of the war, was ended through the cooperative efforts of Congress and the Medical Department. Problems were better understood, appropriations were increased, and an adequate number of carefully located general hospitals were soon ready for occupancy by those needing hospital

⁶⁵ Lafayette Guild to S. P. Moore, February 24, 1864. Letters Sent, Medical Directors' Office, Army of Northern Virginia, 1863-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 642.

⁶⁶ L. Guild to S. P. Moore, April 9 and 13, 1864. Letters Sent, Medical Directors' Office, Vol. 642.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Augusta, (Ga.) *Daily Constitutionalist*, May 28, 1864.

⁶⁸ W. A. Carrington to R. H. Chilton, June 15, 1864. Letters Sent and Received, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, 1864-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 364.

⁶⁹ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 647.

⁷⁰ *Official Records of . . . Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 758.

⁷¹ Richardson *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 643.

care. Private hospitals were closed or taken over by the War Department.⁷²

An illustration of congressional effort to effect improvement in the hospital arrangement, and to recognize the State Rights idea at the same time, was the "Act to better provide for the Sick and Wounded of the Army in Hospitals," dated September 27, 1862. Prior to the passage of this act no definite system was followed in the assignment of patients to hospitals. Representative James Farrow of South Carolina "thought most of the hardships which beset the soldier whilst in hospitals, grew out of the practice of mixing up soldiers from all portions of the Confederacy, in the same hospital, and scattering men from the same neighbourhood and regiment" in many different institutions.⁷³ The bill, as approved, provided that hospitals "be known and numbered as hospitals of a particular state," and directed that, when feasible, the sick and wounded be assigned to hospitals representing their states.⁷⁴ The arrangement ordered by this important measure, seems to have received compliance, but the Medical Director of Virginia's hospitals informed Surgeon General Moore that it resulted in greatly increased expenditures.⁷⁵

⁷² Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Nineteenth Century* (Richmond, Virginia, 1933), 297-298; S. P. Moore to E. N. Covey, July 16, 1863, copy. John and Edmund Burke Haywood Papers (Duke University Library). The Fair Grounds Hospital, Raleigh, North Carolina, went into operation as a Confederate Hospital on August 1, 1862. E. Burke Haywood to E. S. Gaillard, October 15, 1862. Ernest Haywood Collection (University of North Carolina Library).

⁷³ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLV (1925), 230; *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, V, 304.

⁷⁴ The act of September 27, 1862, also authorized the employment of matrons, assistant matrons, ward matrons, ward masters, and additional nurses and cooks as needed. Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Second Session of the First Congress; 1862*, 64.

⁷⁵ *Report of the Apportionment of the General Hospitals in and around Richmond*, February 13, 1864. This item, an eight page pamphlet, was found in the Rare Book Collection, Library of Congress. See also Special Order No. 133, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, August 27, 1863, Order Book, General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Virginia (Confederate Museum, Richmond); George P. Kain to Phoebe Y. Pember, September 14, 1864. Mrs. Phoebe Y. Pember Letters (University of North Carolina Library); *Richmond Examiner*, June 11, 1863. On February 9, 1863, Representative David Clopton of Alabama obtained support for a resolution which instructed the Committee on the Medical Department "to inquire into the expediency of establishing one or more hospitals in each State, and of providing for the transportation to such hospitals of the sick or wounded soldiers from such States respectively who may be unfit for service for thirty days." *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, VI, 86; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLVIII (1941), 86.

Another significant act to improve the Confederate hospital program became law on May 1, 1863. This statute, an amendment to the legislation of September 27, 1862, directed the Surgeon General to establish, in addition to hospitals already existing, a number of "way hospitals." These latter institutions were to be located along the routes of important railroads and were to furnish rations and quarters to sick and wounded furloughed and discharged soldiers during the course of their trip home. Way hospitals were to be administered in the same way as general hospitals.⁷⁶ This act was a much needed one, and the authority delegated to the Surgeon General was soon implemented by specific directives from his office. There were seventeen way hospitals established in Virginia and North Carolina alone.⁷⁷

Congressional legislation also outlined the procedure to be followed in the granting of furloughs and discharges to sick, wounded, and disabled soldiers in hospitals. This, of course, was another matter of paramount importance. Numerous bills on the subject were proposed, but no comprehensive measure was enacted until May 1, 1863. In the meantime furloughs and discharges to men in hospitals were conferred in accordance with army regulations, directives from the Surgeon General, and general orders issued by the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office. The inevitable result was a considerable amount of confusion.⁷⁸

On August 25, 1862, Senator Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia, asserted that he had "learned from the Secretary of War, that not one man in three, who were furloughed, ever re-

⁷⁶ Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Third Session of the First Congress; 1863*, 162.

⁷⁷ W. A. Carrington to Benjamin Blackford, June 19, 1863. Order and Letter Book, General Hospital, Liberty, Virginia (Confederate Museum); Circular No. 10, Office of the Medical Director, Richmond, August 11, 1864; Order Book, General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Virginia, (Confederate Museum); Circular No. 32, Office of the Medical Director, Raleigh, September 14, 1864; Letters, Orders, and Circulars Issued and Received, Military Prison Hospital, Salisbury, North Carolina, 1864-1865, VI, Vol. 35, WD Coll. of CR.

⁷⁸ *Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States, 1863*, 17-18; Order of S. P. Moore, September 19, 1862, Order Book, General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Virginia (Confederate Museum); *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 98, 243; A. S. Mason to J. B. McCaw, December 18, 1862, Letters Received and Sent, Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, 1861-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 707, WD Coll. of CR.

turned to the army.”⁷⁹ Such a situation, of course, demanded more efficient administration. It was also declared, with some exaggeration, that there was too much delay encountered by those entitled to furloughs and discharges. The charge was levelled in Congress early in 1863 that applicants for discharges might die before their applications were processed. Representative Caleb C. Herbert, of Texas, claimed that there were patients in the Richmond hospitals who had been there for more than a year. There were “hundreds,” he thought, who were permanently disabled. Thus, “the Government was subjected to millions of expense, with no possible good to anybody.”⁸⁰ The act of May 1, 1863, followed upon the heels of such assertions.

“An Act regulating the granting of Furloughs and Discharges in Hospitals” provided for the creation of boards of examiners, comprised of hospital surgeons. These boards were to visit the hospitals to which they belonged twice each week and examine applicants for furloughs and discharges. Applicants for furlough, found unfit for military duty and likely to remain so for at least thirty days, were to receive furloughs for such period of time as the board should deem them unfit for duty, but not to exceed sixty days. The boards of examiners were empowered to recommend discharges. Recommendations for discharge had to be approved by the Surgeon General or the Commanding General of the army or department to which the soldier belonged. This act also required the surgeon in charge of every Confederate hospital to make a daily visit to each patient under his care.⁸¹

Provision was made later for the extension of furloughs when soldiers were unable to travel,⁸² but Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens complained that many thousands had

⁷⁹ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLV, (1925), 224.

⁸⁰ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX, (1943), 186.

⁸¹ Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Third Session of the First Congress; 1863*, 153-154. Senator Louis T. Wigfall, of Texas, opposed the bill and termed it “a proposition to take this power [of granting furloughs] from the hands of the President and the line officers and give it to the surgeons.” This, Wigfall felt, “would be a bouleversement of the whole army.” *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX, (1943), 241.

⁸² *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 913.

died in returning to the army before they were fully recovered.⁸³ On February 17, 1864, Congress amended the act regulating furlough and discharge procedure by extending the disability period which entitled the sick and wounded to furloughs to at least sixty days.⁸⁴

A brief survey of furlough and discharge statistics suggests why the matter of a uniform and workable policy was of so much importance. Hospital reports for the Department of Virginia, covering the period from September, 1862, to August, 1864, reveal that 60,506 men were furloughed and 4,667 others were discharged during this 23 month interval.⁸⁵ Thus, an average of 2,631 furloughs and 203 discharges was granted monthly in this department alone. The largest number of furloughs allowed in one month was the 6,556 allowed in June, 1864. The highest number of discharges was the 1,550 granted in September, 1862. Records kept in the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General's Office list a total of 27,599 discharges conferred during the course of the war.⁸⁶ The board of examiners at Richmond's Chimborazo Hospital, largest in the Confederacy, furloughed 1,283 men between August 19 and September 30, 1864, and approximately 1,465 troops were furloughed from Howard's Grove Hospital, another Richmond institution, from August 20, 1864, to November 25, 1864.⁸⁷ Available records indicate that the

⁸³ John Beauchamp Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* (ed. by Howard Swiggett, 2 vols., New York, 1935), II, 99-100.

⁸⁴ James M. Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Fourth Session of the First Congress; 1863-64* (Richmond, Virginia, 1864), 194.

⁸⁵ Statistical Report of Hospitals in the Department of Virginia, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, 1862-1864, Chapter VI, Vol. 151, WD Coll. of CR (The National Archives).

⁸⁶ Record of Discharges on Surgeon's Certificate of Disability, 1861-1865, Chapter I, Vols. 176-185, WD Coll. of CR. This list is probably not complete. The number of white and colored soldiers discharged from the United States Army for reasons of disability totaled 215,312 and 8,223 respectively. Surgeon General of the United States Army, *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, 6 vols. (Washington, 1870-1888), *Medical History*, I, 648, 718. John Thomas Graves, a Missouri soldier discharged in 1863 for reasons of poor health, died in the Missouri State Confederate Home in May, 1950, at the age of 108. Graves was the oldest Confederate veteran. "Milestones," *Time* (New York, 1923-), LV (May 22, 1950), 102.

⁸⁷ Register of Furloughs, Medical Director's Office, Richmond, 1864, Chapter VI, Vol. 177, WD Coll. of CR. On May 24, 1864, the Medical Director of Virginia's hospitals charged that the Board of Examiners at Chimborazo was not furloughing as many disabled men as it should. W. A. Carrington to J. B. McCaw, May 24, 1864. Letters Received and Sent, Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, 1861-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 709.

number of discharges allowed dropped sharply after passage of the new legislation. Conversely, the number of furloughs given increased noticeably and reached record highs in the summer of 1864.⁸⁸

Perhaps the chief criticism directed against the new policy for granting furloughs and discharges was raised by Lafayette Guild, Medical Director of the Army of Northern Virginia. Guild asserted that "a very large number of soldiers" had become permanently disabled for field service chiefly due to the fact that after being wounded they had been sent home where their wounds were neglected "at a period during the process of healing when judicious surgical attention was required to prevent Anchylosis, Atrophy or contraction of the muscles and other deformities." To avoid this loss of manpower Guild was in favor of granting furloughs only to the permanently disabled. He also proposed the establishment of a hospital in which men who had developed deformities while on furlough could be treated.⁸⁹ It is probable that Guild overstated his case, but undoubtedly many wounded men were sent home who would have fared better in the hospitals. In general, the act worked satisfactorily.

The growing shortage of manpower gave increasing concern to the President and Congress, and in his message to Congress of December 7, 1863, President Davis recommended the organization of an Invalid Corps. Such a corps, he believed, "could be made useful in various employments for which efficient officers and troops are now detached."⁹⁰ The Congress responded with "An Act to provide an Invalid Corps," and this measure became law on February 17, 1864. The enactment provided for a corps composed of officers and men who were retired or discharged as the result of wounds or disease contracted in the line of duty. As some-

⁸⁸ Statistical Report of Hospitals in the Department of Virginia, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, 1862-1864, Chapter VI, Vol. 151, WD Coll. of CR.

⁸⁹ L. Guild to W. H. Taylor, January 27, 1865. Letters Sent, Medical Directors' Office, Army of Northern Virginia, 1863-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 642. Surgeon General Moore, in an address after the war, stated that the establishment of a hospital in which deformities caused by wounds could be treated had been contemplated. Moore, "Address," *The Southern Practitioner*, XXXI (October, 1909), 496.

⁹⁰ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 373.

thing of a reward for their service-incurred disabilities the rank, pay and emoluments of officers and men assigned to the corps were to continue during the war or as long as they remained on the retired or discharged list. Each member of the Invalid Corps was required to undergo a physical examination at least once every six months in order that any change in his condition might be discerned. It was expected, of course, that many in the Invalid Corps might be able to perform limited service, and the Secretary of War was authorized to assign officers and to detail men "for such duty as they shall be qualified to perform." Men relieved from disability were to be ordered back to their commands.⁹¹ An amendment enacted by Congress on January 27, 1865, reduced the compensation of retired officers to half pay.⁹²

A Register of Officers of the Invalid Corps, maintained in the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, lists a total of 1,063 names. Of this number 231 were described as "totally disqualified," and almost all the rest were assigned to some sort of duty.⁹³ A Register of Enlisted Men of the Invalid Corps, kept in the same Office, lists a total of 5,139 names. The enlisted men described as "totally disqualified" numbered 2,061. The record is not complete as to what proportion of the remainder was assigned to light service.⁹⁴

Congress, throughout the war years, attempted to furnish the Army and the Navy medical staffs sufficient funds to insure their efficient operation. Large sums of money were necessary to purchase medical and hospital supplies, to establish and support military hospitals, to pay the salaries of contract physicians and to meet ever increasing operations everywhere. The estimates of Surgeon General Moore always received respectful attention from Congress, and that officer, in a post-war address, adverted to the cooperation he had

⁹¹ Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Fourth Session of the First Congress*, 203.

⁹² Ramsdell, *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress*, 27.

⁹³ Register of Officers of the Invalid Corps, 1864-1865, Chapter I, Vol. 192, WD Coll. of CR.

⁹⁴ Register of Enlisted Men of the Invalid Corps, 1864-1865, Chapter I, Vol. 193, WD Coll. of CR.

received from the legislative branch.⁹⁵ Congressional appropriations to the Army Medical Department increased rapidly during each year of the war.

The war-time appropriations were as follows:

1861	
Medical and hospital departments	\$ 75,000
Medical and hospital supplies	350,000
Surgical and medical supplies	250,000
Establishment and support of military hospitals	50,000
Pay of contract physicians	50,000
Pay of cooks and nurses	130,000
	\$ 905,000
1862	
Medical and hospital supplies	\$ 2,300,000
Surgical and medical supplies	2,520,000
Establishment and support of military hospitals	97,000
Pay of contract physicians	110,000
Pay of cooks and nurses	96,000
Pay of hospital stewards	12,000
Pay of hospital laundresses	10,000
	\$ 5,145,000
1863	
Medical and hospital supplies	\$ 11,000,000
Establishment and support of military hospitals	300,000
Hospital clothing	625,000
Alcoholic stimulants	604,800
Pay of contract physicians	400,000
Pay of cooks and nurses	490,000
Pay of hospital stewards	135,000
Pay of hospital laundresses	125,000
Pay of matrons, assistant matrons, and ward matrons	490,000
Pay of ward masters	310,000
	\$ 14,479,800
1864	
Medical and hospital supplies	\$ 30,240,000
Establishment and support of military hospitals	350,000

⁹⁵ Moore, "Address," *The Southern Practitioner*, XXXI (October, 1909), 494.

Pay of contract physicians	450,000
Pay of cooks and nurses	700,000
Pay of hospital stewards	200,000
Pay of hospital laundresses	300,000
Pay of matrons, assistant matrons, and ward matrons	700,000
Pay of ward masters	200,000
	\$ 33,140,000

1865

Medical and hospital supplies	\$ 14,300,000
Establishment and support of military hospitals	100,000
Hospital clothing	500,000
Alcoholic stimulants	4,000,000
Pay of contract physicians	250,000
Pay of cooks and nurses	350,000
Pay of hospital stewards	100,000
Pay of hospital laundresses	150,000
Pay of matrons, assistant matrons, and ward matrons	350,000
Pay of ward masters	200,000
	\$ 20,300,000

A grand total of \$73,969,800 was appropriated to the Army Medical Department during the war period. Appropriations to the Navy Department's medical staff likewise increased year by year. They totaled \$1,716,500, and are broken down as follows:

1861	\$ 20,000
1862	61,500
1863	250,000
1864	1,010,000
1865	375,000
	\$ 1,716,500 ⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Army and Navy appropriation figures were extracted from the various appropriation bills of the Confederate Congresses as set forth in the works edited by J. M. Matthews and C. W. Ramsdell, all of which have been cited heretofore. There is one other figure which might be noted. An act approved on August 21, 1861, provided an appropriation of \$57,000,000 to be used for the payment of troops, quartermaster supplies, ordnance supplies, engineering, and surgical and medical expenditures. It is not known how much of this was distributed to the medical service. Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 187. The total expenditures of the United States Army Medical Department, from June 30, 1861, to June 30, 1866, exclusive of salaries to medical officers, reached the sum of \$47,351,982.24. Brown, *The Medical Department of the United States Army from 1775 to 1873*, 246.

These figures do not include the salaries paid to Army and Navy medical officers.

The increasing medical expenditures, while partially the result of a steady price rise,⁹⁷ reflect a constant increase of medical services. Not only did the appropriations for such items as medical and hospital supplies, the establishment and support of military hospitals, and the pay of contract physicians mount steadily, but new items were added from time to time and old ones dropped. By 1863, following the passage of the act of September 27, 1862, which authorized the employment of matrons, assistant matrons, ward matrons, and other attendants, the objects of appropriation had become almost standardized.

The medical service of the Confederate States bore a close resemblance to that of the United States. Just as the Confederate Constitution coincided in many ways with the Federal Constitution, medical regulations drafted at the war's outbreak were almost identical with those of the "old army." The legislation enacted by the First and Second Congresses, however, was the product of experience and investigation rather than duplication, and it reflected credit on those bodies.

⁹⁷ See, for example, E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1950), 219 ff.

LETTERS OF YOUNG NOVELIST:
CALVIN HENDERSON WILEY

EDITED BY RICHARD WALSER

The heroic, determined, and conscious effort of a small group of North Carolinians to create and then to establish firmly a state literature is particularly exemplified in the novels of Calvin Henderson Wiley, who in the late 1840's wrote and had published two intensely patriotic Revolutionary romances dealing with North Carolina's past.

Wiley is chiefly remembered as the first superintendent of common schools in North Carolina, an honor which came to him in 1853. Born in Guilford County in 1819, he graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1840 and the following year, upon receiving a law license, settled in the village of Oxford to practice his profession.¹ His clients, unfortunately, were not burdensome,² and he turned in his spare time to literary pursuits, editing the *Oxford Mercury* from 1841 to 1843. In 1847 he published *Alamance*,³ in 1849 *Roanoke*.⁴ Wiley was well aware that novels dealing with

¹ For biographical data see sketches by R. D. W. Connor in Samuel A. Ashe (ed.), *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1905), II, [427]-440; and by C. Alphonso Smith in Bettie D. Caldwell (compiler), *Founders and Builders of Greensboro, 1808-1908* (Greensboro, 1925). The latter discusses Wiley's literary career in some detail and quotes a letter of Wiley's dated from Philadelphia, August 31, 1847, in which he writes of his having always "cherished a desire to immortalize my old mother state. . .," adding "I have made my native place shine in the glories of my first attempts at fame" (p. 137). See also Mary Callum Wiley (ed.), "Unpublished Letters of Calvin Henderson Wiley," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX (January, 1952), 91-103, which includes a letter to his mother dated from New York, July 17, 1848, telling of his "trying to make something by my pen as well as by my profession" and of his being in New York "on business connected with my books" (p. 93).

² In the Preface of *Alamance* Wiley gives a highly descriptive picture of the everyday humdrum of his law office. Constantly disturbed by unprofitable visitors, he had great difficulty finding time to write. He makes clear, however, his great love for his state, and his fervent desire to use her unexploited history and character in works of fiction, as Sir Walter Scott had done for his native Scotland (p. vii).

³ *Alamance; or, The Great and Final Experiment* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1847). The novel was published anonymously.

⁴ *Roanoke* has had a most peculiar publishing history. First it appeared serially in *Sartain's Union Magazine* in ten installments from March through December, 1849 (vols. IV-V). It was pirated in London in 1851 as

A L A M A N C E;

OR,

THE GREAT AND FINAL EXPERIMENT.

One good deed, dying tongueless,
Slaughters a thousand waiting on that.
Winter's Tale.

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,
82 CLIFF STREET, NEW YORK.

1847.

University of North Carolina Library

Plate I

WILEY'S FIRST NOVEL

North Carolina were almost unknown,⁵ for in the preface to *Alamance* his imaginary character "Horace Lockwitter, of New York" exclaims: "A North Carolina book! What a gem for the curious in literature!"⁶ It was Wiley's express purpose to put his state into the records of literature, from which he felt it had been disgracefully and inexcusably absent for too long a time.

Alamance is the story of several families before, during, and after the Revolution in the community surrounding the little Presbyterian church of Alamance in Guilford County. (It does not concern, as one might suppose, the Battle of Alamance.) The conflicting loyalties of local Whigs and Tories result in dissension among friends and lovers. The hero, Henry Warden, takes part in the Battle of Camden; later Warden and his trustworthy, comical friend Uncle "Corny" Demijohn participate in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. For the most part, the story is seen through the eyes of the schoolmaster, Hector M'Bride. Historical personages appearing briefly are Dr. David Caldwell, Flora Macdonald, Francis Marion, and George Washington. *Alamance* was Wiley's novel of the central part of the state. In his next, he deliberately planned a move to the east.

Roanoke is not so successful a novel as Wiley's first. This time he seems determined more than ever to fill his book with North Carolina history and tradition and to let the plot get along as best it can. For instance, after recounting the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, he steps from his position as narrator to exclaim: "This was one of the most decisive and important victories achieved during the Revolution . . . yet who out of North Carolina has heard of Moore's Creek,

Adventures of Old Dan Tucker, and His Son Walter, published by Willoughby & Co.; in 1852 another pirated edition appeared in London as *Utopia; An Early Picture of Life at the South*, published by Henry Lea. Again in 1852 T. B. Peterson issued it under the title *Life in the South, A Companion to Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In 1866 Peterson reissued it under its original title *Roanoke*. This last is the edition which is most common. *Alamance* and *Roanoke* are the first novels to be written by a native of North Carolina.

⁵ Wiley does not show any familiarity with Robert Strange's *Eoneguski* (1839), the first novel with its setting almost entirely within the boundaries of North Carolina. See Richard Walser, "Senator Strange's Indian Novel," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVI (January, 1949), [1]-27.

⁶ Wiley, *Alamance*, vi.

or of its heroes Lillington and Caswell?"⁷ The story, moving from Nags Head to New Bern and then to Wilmington and Moore's Creek, is principally concerned with the adventures of Walter Tucker, a type of young democratic American who will not accede to his being inferior to anyone else, and of Utopia Ricketts, a sort of Neoplatonic child of nature. The time is 1775 and 1776. There are elaborate scenes of the palace in New Bern with Governor Josiah Martin entertaining for Lady Susannah Carolina Matilda, sister of the Queen of Great Britain. Folk characters are Old Dan Tucker of North Carolina and Zip Coon of Virginia. Surprise revelations are frequent, and no reader is alarmed when Walter turns out to be the descendant of Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Manteo of Roanoke. Generally, the author has carefully documented his material to provide authenticity; for instance, he quotes Martin's *History of North Carolina* when mentioning Governor Tryon's sister-in-law, the questionable Esther Wake.⁸ Still, in spite of its diffuseness, in 1849 *Roanoke* helped to spread abroad the historical background of North Carolina of which the novelist was so proud.

Luckily, letters by Wiley and about him, written during the time of the composition and publication of these two novels, have been preserved. The struggle of the young novelist for recognition is a matter of record—a record heretofore, for the most part, never before in print.⁹ These letters relate the battle of a man under thirty who was contending not only for his own place in the world¹⁰ but for the literary honor of his state. Read chronologically, they give an excellent picture of Wiley's life during that period.

⁷ Wiley, *Roanoke*, 143.

⁸ Wiley, *Roanoke*, 39.

⁹ True, several Wiley letters of this period have been printed; but none of them have been reissued in the present series. Unless otherwise noted, all letters are from the T. B. Kingsbury Letterbook, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

¹⁰ Wiley's fame was hardly established until the publication of his *North Carolina Reader* (Philadelphia, 1851). See Howard Braverman, "Calvin H. Wiley's *North Carolina Reader*," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX (October, 1952), 500-522.

I. W. GARROTT¹¹ to JOHN W. ELLIS¹²Marion, Ala—Apr 7, 1847¹³

. . . How flourishes the law with *you*? I received a letter yesterday from our old college mate C. H. Wiley now of Oxford in the Old North & he gives a most woeful account of the Prospects of the Profession in your state. From the tenor of his letter, I infer that he is completely disgusted with law & politics; & what do you think he purposes to do? Why *turn author & write—novels*. This in course is *entre nous*— He says that he has already prepared one & that when revised & corrected it will be ready for the Press. If this takes, he thenceforth bids farewell to the green bag¹⁴— Poor fellow, is he cracked? I most sincerely hope that he will succeed to the full extent of his brightest anticipations but think the enterprise of doubtful issue

WILEY to MANGUM¹⁵Raleigh, June 29th, 1847—¹⁶

Dear Sir:

I shall have to call on you to redeem a promise which you made in sincerity but which, I hoped, you would not have to perform. The exigencies of my situation demand that I should go *immediately* North-ward, & it is important that I go under the most favorable auspices.—

I did not when I was at your house reveal to you the full extent of the perils that environ me, & shall now merely glance at them by way, not of exciting your heart which needs no spur, but of conquering your laziness which stands in the way of your kindness.

To begin at the beginning— When I finished my education I was in debt. My father's circumstances having begun to fail, I undertook to shift for myself & my standing was so fair that, altho' a boy, I was enabled to borrow money on the most accomodating terms. For this & another sum afterwards obtained I was in debt when I commenced the practice of the law.

¹¹ Isham W. Garrott (1816-1863) was born in Wake County, attended the University of North Carolina, then removed to Alabama, where he became a lawyer.

¹² John Willis Ellis (1820-1861), first a lawyer, was governor of North Carolina (1859-1861).

¹³ Ellis Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

¹⁴ Symbol of the legal profession.

¹⁵ Willie Person Mangum (1792-1861), Hillsboro resident, was U. S. Senator from 1840 to 1853.

¹⁶ This letter and the one following are from the Willie P. Mangum Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Both are addressed to Mangum at Red Mountain, Orange County.

These debts were a millstone about my neck. As you know, no one can succeed at the Bar unless he is independent, or at least has a small capital to begin with. I have had to waste, for a bare existence, energies that might have made me eminent at the Bar or distinguished in politics. My old school-mates are all astonished at not hearing of me from the voice of the public, but they do not know that I have had to strive with a Hercules who has kept me down. My difficulties have latterly increased, but not by my own imprudence. My parents' circumstances have, at last, become so involved as to demand my immediate supervision for I have no brothers. This is not all. When I commenced the law Gov. Morehead,¹⁷ knowing my history proffered me the use of his library until I could buy one. Thinking no doubt that I am now prospering he has made a call for his books. Thus will my very tools be taken away for I cannot ask him (the Gov.) to extend his favors—

Anticipating these things I last winter ran for the Office of Solicitor, & the result you know.¹⁸ Still untiring I went home & commenced a literary production which I have now finished & wish to publish. I shall start North soon & must ask you to say all for me your conscience will permit. I shall rely mostly on your letters for altho' I get a few here, the two men best able to recommend me (Badger¹⁹ & Haywood²⁰) are men to whom I cannot apply. With one I have only a speaking acquaintance & the other I never wish to ask for a favor. You will please give me a letter to Edward Johnson²¹ of Washington City the man who writes the literary articles for the *Intelligencer*—to Brooks²² of New-York & Webb²³ of the same place, & to any

¹⁷ John Motley Morehead (1796-1866) was governor of North Carolina (1841-1845).

¹⁸ During this period, solicitors for the various circuits throughout the State were named by the Legislature. In November, 1846, Wiley ran against John F. Poindexter, John Kerr, and Henry K. Nash for solicitor of the 4th circuit. The House gave Poindexter a majority on the third ballot. Wiley ran last in all three votings. See *Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives* (1846-1847), 308-312.

¹⁹ George Edmund Badger (1795-1866), judge, Secretary of the Navy (1840-1841), elected to the U. S. Senate from North Carolina in 1848.

²⁰ William H. Haywood, Jr. (1801-1852), political leader from Raleigh, served in the U. S. Senate from 1843 to 1846.

²¹ Wiley misspells the name. Edward William Johnston (1799-1867) was a versatile journalist. For ten years he was literary editor of the *National Intelligencer* in Washington, for which he evidently wrote the unsigned columns called "Notes on New Books" and "International Literary Exchange." He was a contributor to the *Southern Literary Messenger*. His most brilliant writing appeared under his penname "Il Segretarios."

²² Probably James Brooks (1810-1873), founder in 1836 of the *New York Evening Express*.

²³ James Watson Webb (1802-1884), author, editor of the *New York Morning Courier and New York Enquirer* (1829-1861), United States Minister to Brazil (1861-1869) and one of the founders of the Associated Press.

ADVENTURES
OF
OLD DAN TUCKER,
AND
HIS SON WALTER;
A TALE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

BY C. H. WILEY.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY FELIX O. C. DARLEY.

—————"Give me the broad prairie,
Where man, like the wind, roams impulsive and free;
Behold how its beautiful colours all vary,
Like those of the clouds or the deep-rolling sea?
A life in the woods, boys, is even as changing;
With proud independence we season our cheer;
And those who the world are for happiness ranging,
Won't find it at all if they don't find it here."
Life in the West. By GENERAL MORRIS.

LONDON:
WILLOUGHBY & CO., 22, WARWICK LANE.

University of North Carolina Library

Plate II

THE 1851 PIRATED EDITION OF ROANOKE

other influential or literary characters in New-York & Philadelphia, particularly the latter. I will call & see you as soon as I return & will also, of course, send you a copy of my book.

I wish my letters to place me in a position to command the respect of publishers.

I shall leave this place in a few days & send this letter by a servant.

Wishing you health & success,

I remain,

Yours very truly & sincerely,

WILEY to MANGUM

Oxford, July 14th, 1847—

Dear Sir:

The enclosed letter²⁴ was written at Raleigh several days ago & will speak for itself. I had intended to send it to you by a boy but finding a conveyance otherwise I must trust to your writing to me by the mail. You *must* write, & I shall look for the packet on Friday night. The Hillsboro mail comes in that night & will not again arrive until the Friday following. I wish to start North-ward on Saturday & must rely mainly on your letters. If you knew me better I could with more confidence ask the favor mentioned, but even then I should not do it but for the strong case I make out. I love my pen & have some confidence in its ability to make a reputation for me; but matters are so pressing with me now that I must jump into immediate favor with publishers or I will fall to a position whence I may not be able to rise. I have two objects in view; *first* to sell my book & form a favorable acquaintance with publishers & *secondly*, to get a situation if I can as a writer with a permanent salary. I can say, without any disposition to boast that *any thing* from my pen in the way of a book will sell sufficiently in N. C. to pay double the cost of publication. In addition to this my scholastic career which was long and thorough brought me acquainted with students from all parts of the South & I now have enthusiastic friends & admirers (excuse me) in some of the most intelligent and prominent young men of Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, & Missouri. Add to this the fact that critics here think my book has *some* intrinsic merits & it will justify the hope of a moderately fair price. I wish to form the acquaintance of literary men in Philadelphia & New York & want some obliging critic high in the confidence of publishers to pass judgment on the manuscript.

²⁴ The one preceding this, dated June 29.

I wish to make a short stop in Washington City & to see Edward Johnson who perhaps can give me much information that will be useful.

I will see you immediately after my return & also, if you like, give you the interesting news by letter, that may occur in my travels— —

Let me ask you again to spur up your energies & let me hear from you by Friday. It strikes me that one letter might be addressed to several in the same city—

I never forget a favor.

I am most truly,
& with high regard,
Your obliged Servant,

JA. T. LITTLEJOHN²⁵ to Doct. THOMAS D. MUTTER,²⁶ Phila.

Oxford, No. Car. July 20, 1847²⁷

My dear Cousin:

This will be handed you by Calvin H. Wiley Esq. a lawyer of this place of highly respectable attainment in his profession and a gentleman of high standing and of a liberal education, as well as of fine literary taste and acquirements and a practiced and gifted writer, whom I beg to commend to your favorable notice.

Mr. Wiley visits your City upon a purely literary enterprize—having in view the publication of a literary work, which he has now ready for the press. Of the merits of the Work I have no opportunity of judging; but from the Known reputation of the Author in this community as a Writer and a man of genius, I have no doubt it is entitled to very high consideration—and that in North Carolina the Work will meet with a favorable reception and command a large sale.

Mr. Wiley will desire to make the acquaintance of some of your publishers. Any assistance you may be able to render him in the furtherance of his object, I shall very highly esteem.

* * * * *

²⁵ James Thomas Littlejohn (1816-1887), whose family were among the original inhabitants of Oxford, was a local figure of considerable importance. He was the grandfather of Jacques Busbee of Jugtown-pottery fame. For the identification of most of the Granville County names, I am indebted to Francis B. Hays, antiquarian and historian of Oxford.

²⁶ Though born in Richmond, Mutter (1811-1859) was descended from pre-Revolutionary North Carolina settlers. After attending Hampden-Sydney College, he went to the University of Pennsylvania, from which he received an M.D. degree at the age of twenty. He won a reputation as surgeon and teacher at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia.

²⁷ Wiley Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

WILEY to KINGSBURY²⁸

Philadelphia, Aug. 27th, 1847—

My dear *The*:

You must excuse me for my long delay in writing to you, one of my dearest friends. I received your very kind letter while passing thro' Philadelphia & it has done me good service. I disliked to shew it & others but Webb²⁹ of the "Courier & Enquirer" & in fact every body else told me that while at the North I must do as Northerners do, blow my own trumpet. The Rev. Mr. Griswold³⁰ (a scholar, critic & gentleman) I found at New-York & after a careful examination of my book³¹ he passed such a high encomium on it that the Harpers took it. Editors, authors & publishers, one & all, here & in New-York express great astonishment at my success for it is a rule with the Messrs. H. to publish *no* untried work of an unknown author. This book is now printing & I have already corrected a good many of the proof sheets. I have Mr. Griswold's written opinion & he says the book is, "*original, & fresh with indigenious scenes & characters drawn with spirit & felicity & is obliged to be successful from its merits*" &c &c—. I have just arrived in this City & went to see Graham³² the prince of publishers. I shewed him Mr. G's opinion & we at once struck a new bargain. I am to write a Novel³³ of 100 pages for his Magazine & he is to give me \$500 for the privilege of publishing & leave me the copyright! *This is fact.*

All the leading Northern Editors will give me a shove & Mr. Graham is going to announce for December, "A New & exciting story by the popular author of *Alamance*" &c &c. So we go.

I have purposely delayed writing you until I could give you good news. When I am more at leisure I will give you an account of my travels: in the mean time I wish you to do me another favor. The Harpers will attend to the interests of my book in other states but they desire me to see that a demonstration is made in N. C. I will get Gales³⁴ & Hale³⁵ to announce a

²⁸ Theodore Bryant Kingsbury (1828-1913) attended the Oxford Male Academy, the Lovejoy Military Academy (Raleigh), and from 1847 to 1849 the University of North Carolina. He became a minister. Also he edited the *Leisure Hour* (Oxford) and later the *Wilmington Star* and *Wilmington Messenger*.

²⁹ James Watson Webb. See above, n. 23.

³⁰ Rufus Wilmot Griswold (1815-1857), prominent New York and Philadelphia journalist and editor, literary executor of Edgar Allan Poe.

³¹ *Alamance*.

³² George Rex Graham (1813-1894), Philadelphia publisher of *Graham's Magazine* from 1840 until he sold it in 1853.

³³ Later titled *Roanoke*.

³⁴ Weston Raleigh Gales (1802-1848), at this time editor of the influential *Raleigh Register*.

³⁵ Edward Jones Hale (1802-1883), publisher of the *Carolina Observer* (renamed the *Fayetteville Observer* in 1834) from 1825 to 1865.

COMPANION TO "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN."

U T O P I A ;

AN EARLY PICTURE

OF

Life at the South,

BY C. H. WILEY.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY DARLEY.

"Who is God and where is he?" continued the negro, his nostrils dilating and his chest heaving; "does he not sit in heaven and mark the unexpressed wailings, the inward prayers, and the heart-sickness of those thousands of thinking, rational, and immortal souls, whom the white men drive and beat as they do their oxen and their horses? Do you know that the negro as well as the white man has an undying spirit that looks to heaven, and that it will meet its master's as an equal at the bar of God? *Master! God only is my master!*"—*Side Page 109.*

LONDON:—HENRY LEA, 22, WARWICK LANE.

University of North Carolina Library

Plate III

THE 1852 PIRATED EDITION OF ROANOKE

forth-coming N. C. Novel about which much interest is felt & you must attend to the "Standard." Write, immediately a communication stating that there is now in the press of the Harpers a N. C. novel & that you understand it has been highly commended by the first critics in the Union, (Griswold is *the* first) & is likely to make a sensation &c &c & then call on the Carolinians to look out & stand by their state.

My dear friend I rely on you, & when I am "famous,"

"We'll take a cup o' kindness

"In memory o' auld lang syne."

No time is to be lost for the book is coming fast. You will get a copy but you must let no one know it is a *present*. I cannot send to all my friends.

I[n] haste,

Your true friend,

WM. D. HEFLIN³⁶ to KINGSBURY

Oxford Sept 2nd, 1847

. . . C. H. Wiley was in N. York when last heard from which was about two weeks ago. he left here a few days after you did & went to Phil where he remained a short time & went to N. Y. He does not write any thing about coming home, I suppose he will not come until he gets his book out. He intimated that the Harpers would probably publish it, and I suppose it is now in course of publication. He says it has been read by the Literati of N. Y. & Phil & these judgements upon its merits are very favorable indeed & they think it will succeed admirably. He had been offered \$5. per column to write for the Courier & Enquirer,³⁷ which he has declined. He writes very independent. It is the opinion of some that he will not return here to live but will settle permanently in N. Y. I think he would succeed better as a writer than at the Bar

[*To be concluded*]

³⁶ Son of Lewis Heflin of Granville County. William D. and his brother Jesse moved to Sardis, Mississippi, early in their lives and lost contact with the North Carolina branches of the family. This information supplied by Wm. D. Heflin's grandnephew, W. J. Webb of Oxford.

³⁷ See above, n. 23.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of Willie Person Mangum: Volume III, 1839-1843.
Edited by Henry T. Shanks (Raleigh: State Department of
Archives and History. 1953. Pp. xxiv, 553. Illustrations. \$1.00.)

This, the third volume of the Mangum papers, covering the years 1839 to 1843, portrays the major role played by Willie P. Mangum in the turbulent affairs of the Whig party.

The most persistent theme in this correspondence is the extreme displeasure felt by Mangum and his fellow moderate Whigs toward what they regarded as President Tyler's betrayal of Whig policies. Tyler's anti-bank, anti-internal improvement and strict constructionist stand, which was almost completely at variance with the Whig platform of 1840, was acceptable only to the most extreme southerners. The fury of the moderates at Tyler's refusal to follow Clay's financial program is clearly expressed in a group of letters by the Maryland Whig Reverdy Johnson, whose opinion Mangum held in high esteem.

This volume would seem to lend considerable support to the suggested thesis of Charles G. Sellers, Jr., in "Who Were the Southern Whigs," *American Historical Review*, LIX (January, 1954) pp. 335-346, that during the 1830's and 1840's the South was politically divided on the basis of economic issues rather than on the question of states' rights vs. nationalism. Little mention of states' rights principles appears, whereas the increasing tendency of the southern Whigs to follow Clay's nationalist orientation is very much in evidence. A great many letters from prominent New York businessmen, such as James D. Ogden, James Auchincloss, and Nicholas Carroll, suggest the community of interest which had developed between leading southern and northern Whigs on important economic matters, especially on the necessity for establishing a new national bank.

In addition to matters of national interest, the letters reflect Mangum's important role as a dispenser of patronage and his popularity as a speaker at Whig meetings. A group of his letters to his wife contain various interesting personal details.

In keeping with the high standard of editing already established in this series, the present volume contains extensive explanatory notes and brief biographical identifications of virtually all of the correspondents.

Howard Braverman.

Brooklyn College,
Brooklyn, New York.

An Abstract of North Carolina Wills From About 1760 to About 1800. By Fred A. Olds. (Baltimore: Southern Book Company. 1954. Pps. 330. \$10.00.)

Before 1760 the law required that North Carolina wills be filed in the office of the secretary of the Province of North Carolina. Since that time they have been filed in the respective counties. In 1906 J. Bryan Grimes, Secretary of State, published *North Carolina Wills and Inventories*, containing abstracts of the so-called "state wills" before 1760.

Realizing that there was a sizable demand for Grimes' work, Colonel Fred A. Olds, Collector for the Hall of History, undertook to publish *An Abstract of North Carolina Wills From About 1760 To About 1800*. He personally visited 48 counties and abstracted approximately 9,900 wills. The bulk of the wills recorded in the other 12 counties in existence in 1800 had been destroyed by courthouse fires. Of the 125 copies printed in 1925, one went to each of the state's 100 courthouses and one copy to each of several libraries. Obviously, therefore, few copies were ever in the hands of the general public.

The edition under review is "a photographic reprint of the original." Referring to manuscript corrections made from time to time "by various people," the publishers do not "vouch for the validity of these corrections." The reviewer recommends that both the corrections and the original (printed copy) be used with caution inasmuch as both are secondary. In the interest of accuracy one should go behind the printed volume insofar as possible.

The first edition of this book has been used a great deal and it is safe to predict that this photographic reprint will

be in demand, especially by genealogists. Certainly this volume will invite the researcher to seek the original or the probated copy of any will in which he may be interested.

W. Frank Burton.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

Selected Papers of Cornelia Phillips Spencer. Edited by Louis R. Wilson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 753. \$7.50.)

This volume of the published writings and of much of the private correspondence of Cornelia Phillips Spencer is an admirable job of editing. The documents reproduced here are products of the years from 1865 to 1895, and they accomplish the two-fold purpose of the editor: "(1) to give a vivid impression of the times, and (2) to acquaint the present-day public with the literary excellence of Mrs. Spencer's style when she gave her imagination and pen full play."

The volume contains Cornelia Spencer's contributions to a number of publications, notably to the North Carolina *Presbyterian*, in which she conducted the "Young Lady's Column." In addition, there are her letters to members of her family and to friends and acquaintances of high and low estate. Her writings reveal a personality of great versatility and of undying loyalty to the University of North Carolina in the trying days following the Civil War. Her viewpoints on a multitude of matters, such as manners and customs, North Carolina attitudes and background, education, religion, and politics are always pungently stated and reveal a mind of great wisdom and common sense.

Although Cornelia Phillips Spencer was born in New York City, she came to Chapel Hill in 1826 with her parents, Professor and Mrs. James Phillips, when she was about a year old. She grew up to love Chapel Hill and the University which, to her, was the great institution in her life. Except for her brief married life in Alabama, Chapel Hill was her home until 1894, when she went to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to make her home with her daughter and son-in-law, Professor

and Mrs. James Lee Love. Her life, therefore, was cast in the days of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the restoration of Democratic rule in North Carolina.

In his arrangement of Cornelia Spencer's writings, which proceeded from her own experiences, observations, and study, the editor has presented the reader and student with a fund of information about a remarkable woman and the life of her generation in North Carolina.

Howard B. Clay.

East Carolina College,
Greenville, N. C.

The Rowan Story, 1753-1953: A Narrative History of Rowan County, North Carolina. By James S. Brawley. (Salisbury, North Carolina: Rowan Printing Company. 1953. Pp. 402. \$5.00.)

The county history is perhaps the most neglected phase of American historiography, at least in quality if not in quantity. The author of the county history is often a novice in historical research, biased by a natural feeling of local patriotism, and more a chronicler of tradition than an interpreter of his locality in the broader aspects of state or regional history. The labor and time involved, not to say skill, plus the difficulty of publication, the limited sales, and the author's purely local claim to fame (even this is apt to be denied if he has offended some of the local powers), have frequently turned the best talent away from local history.

The history of Rowan County is not ideal, but it does include much that is interesting and useful. It is attractive in appearance, with an unusual jacket, numerous illustrations, some useful appendices, and an extensive bibliography. It is comprehensive in scope, includes chapters on social and economic life as well as political, and it is replete with the names of early settlers, important officials, and distinguished citizens. It is a much better balanced work than Jethro Rumple's *History of Rowan County* (1881; reprinted, 1929), which put the main emphasis on biographical material.

Among other things Mr. Brawley's work stresses the importance of the early German and Scotch-Irish settlers, the fact that Salisbury was a western outpost, that the east-west conflict had much to do with shaping the political interests of the section, and the place of transportation in the scheme of local development. Unfortunately there are no footnotes to indicate the sources of some important information, probably obtained from local records. More attention to literary form would have made for greater clarity and precision. Since Rowan County at one time included a large part of the western half of the state, it would have been helpful if the author had indicated more exactly the area covered in any particular discussion, and this would be especially desirable when giving population figures and other statistics. Naturally the greater part of the story has to do with Salisbury and its immediate vicinity. The two folding maps, one by David A. Rendleman showing the location of the pioneer German settlers, and the other by William D. Kizziah showing early Rowan County, after Strother's map of 1808, are worthy of special mention. This is a bicentennial history, written by a native son, and dedicated to the late Kerr Craige Ramsay.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University,
Durham.

Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson: The Restoration of the Confederates to their Rights and Privileges, 1861-1898. By Jonathan Truman Dorris. Introduction by J. G. Randall. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1953. Pp. xxi, 459. Bibliography and index. \$7.50.)

This volume is primarily concerned with the pardons and amnesties granted by or in accordance with Lincoln's proclamation of December 9, 1863, and Johnson's four proclamations of May 27, 1865, September 7, 1867, and July 4 and December 25, 1868. There is also a discussion of Congressional efforts to curtail presidential amnesty and an analysis of the various congressional amnesty acts, the last of which was not passed until 1898, by which disabilities under the

Fourteenth Amendment were removed from former Confederates. Individual chapters are devoted to pardoning Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, and other sections treat specifically of the pardoning of Confederate cabinet members and other high civil officers. An illuminating chapter relates to pardon and amnesty in the courts.

Of especial interest to the readers of this review is a chapter on "Pardoning North Carolinians," previously published in somewhat longer form in 1946 (*North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIII, 360-401). In this are described the activities of W. W. Holden, John A. Gilmer, William A. Graham, Josiah Turner, Jr., Jonathan Worth, and Zebulon B. Vance during the period under discussion, and the interrelated problems that arose in connection with the reconstruction of North Carolina. Here, as indeed in the work as a whole, much ground is covered that has already been explored in numerous works relating to the Civil War and Reconstruction periods; but it is convenient to have the subject of clemency treated in a compact and specific work like this one. The author has spent nearly thirty years on his subject, and he appears to have been the first to make use of the extensive Amnesty Papers, formerly in the custody of the State, War, and Justice Departments but now in the National Archives.

It is unfortunate that so useful and handsome a book should be marred by so many typographical and other minor errors. In connection with North Carolina for instance, there occur B. S. "Hendrich" for Hedrick on page 151, although the name is spelled correctly on other pages (211, 212, 213) and in the index; and "Burton" Gaither for Burgess Gaither (p. 217 and index). A carelessly constructed sentence conveys the impression that Kemp P. Battle delivered the address on "The Duties of Defeat" that Zebulon B. Vance made at the University of North Carolina commencement in 1866, and in addition Battle's *History* is cited as though it were a one-volume work (p. 202). The misreading of "Dear Madam" as "Dear Mother" in a letter from Mrs. Richard S. Ewell to Mrs. Andrew Johnson (in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina) trapped the author into describing this as "a pecul-

iar and incoherent letter," a description hardly sustained by an examination of its contents (p. 162). Similar instances of poor editing and hasty proofreading occur on various other pages.

James W. Patton.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

Proceedings of the First Confederate Congress, Fourth Session, 7 December, 1863—18 February, 1864. Edited by Frank E. Vandiver. Southern Historical Society Papers, No. LI. (Richmond: The Virginia Historical Society. 1953. Pp. VIII, 463.)

This volume, the seventh of the series covering the proceedings and debates of the Confederate Congress, which was begun by the Southern Historical Society in 1923 with Douglas S. Freeman, George L. Christian, and H. R. McIlwaine as the committee of publication. It has been understood that editorial control was vested in Dr. Freeman, who became the sole survivor of the committee. He and Mr. J. Ambler Johnston constituted for some years the membership of the Society, and upon his death, Mr. Johnson requested the Virginia Historical Society to liquidate the resources of the organization which has now ceased to exist. The copy for the present volume and two more to follow was already prepared, and the projected fifty-second volume will complete the series.

This present volume follows the plan of the previous ones. The debates are taken chiefly from the Richmond *Examiner*, with other newspapers, chiefly the *Enquirer* and *Dispatch*, being used to supply deficiencies. It gives a clear picture of the operations of Congress, quite as clear as is possible where no stenographic reports of the debates were made, and an equally clear view of many of the members. It reflects the growing dissatisfaction of Congress with the President and certain executive officers, with numerous high officers of the army, with army treatment of civilians, with the wholesale speculation, which disgraced the country, and with the resulting problems of an inflated currency.

The value of the work to historical investigators will be very great, for it gathers scattered material and makes available much information hitherto difficult to obtain. One can wish that the newspapers had printed or summarized more of the speeches, particularly those made by the rank and file of the members. Equally it is a matter of regret that the proceedings of the frequent secret sessions are not available, but, despite these deficiencies, the sum of information made conveniently available is impressive.

Professor Vandiver, in a brief foreword, effectively points out the value of the contribution made by the publication.

Investigators will look forward to the completion of the series.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton.

Chapel Hill.

Americans Interpret Their Civil War. By Thomas J. Pressly.
(Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xvi,
347. \$5.00.)

The outstanding virtue of Mr. Pressly's study is that he shows how the varying interpretations of the coming of the Civil War are related to the social and economic conditions of the periods in which they were advanced. The Beardian point of view, for example, he observes, arose out of the Progressive Movement of the early twentieth century when historians with reformist tendencies, such as Charles A. Beard, were very critical of the control of big business over politics and were keenly aware of the working of economic forces behind the facade of politics. The interpretation of the causes of the War for Southern Independence by the Civil War generation extending to the 1880's naturally sought to place the war guilt on the opposing side. The southerners blamed the abolitionists as the responsible party and at the same time maintained secession to be a legal and constitutional act; the northerners attributed the war to a conspiracy of fire eaters and designated the secession movement as a rebellion. With the rise of the "New South" movement in the 1880's and 1890's and the acceleration of industrialization, a

new spirit dominated the interpretation of the Civil War. The desire to reconcile the two sections and promote nationalism, as well as the rise of the trained historian in this period led to a more objective writing of Civil War history and to an emphasis on great social forces rather than on evil individuals as the cause of the conflict.

One of the most interesting parts of this excellent study is an analysis of modern trends in the interpretation of the Civil War. During the decade of the 1920's and 1930's economic strains revised emotional tensions between the North and South, and there arose a school devoted to a new vindication of the South, the leaders of which were Charles W. Ramsdell and Frank L. Owsley. Also disillusionment over the results of World War I promoted a point of view extremely hostile to war, an outlook which regarded the Civil War as "a needless war," thus returning to the interpretation of the Copperheads or Peace Democrats of the 1860's. The revisionists of recent days have denied that the Civil War was inevitable and have emphasized emotionalism, the blunders of leaders, and propaganda as prominent causes of the conflict. Mr. Pressly has written an acute and scholarly analysis of the various interpretations of the coming of the Civil War. The reviewer only wishes that such an intelligent student of this great national crisis had stated his own views of its origin.

Clement Eaton.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington.

Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1954. Pp. x, 359. \$5.00.)

Rarely does one encounter in title or subtitle such a happy combination of alliteration and accuracy as is seen in Rembert W. Patrick's detailed story of American efforts to acquire by any means, fair or foul, the Floridas in the five year period from 1810 to 1815. The always vacillating, and often Machiavellian, policies of Madison and Monroe, alternately support-

ing and disavowing the activities of the "Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border," resulted in what has truly been termed a fiasco.

When Kendrick C. Babcock about fifty years ago wrote *The Rise of American Nationality, 1811-1819*, he prefaced his second chapter with "The persistent desire of the United States to possess the Floridas, between 1801 and 1819, amounted almost to a disease, corrupting the moral sense of each succeeding administration." *Florida Fiasco* sustains this judgment. While the *realpolitik* of Madison and Monroe is by no means neglected, the main emphasis is placed upon the "Rampant Rebels" from the St. Marys southward. Involved in this story are "governors and legislators of Southern states, frontiersmen and aristocrats, Indians and Negroes, smugglers and robbers, Spanish militiamen, and land-hungry American farmers." These diverse groups all appear in the Florida arena throughout the twenty-three chapters of Professor Patrick's study. Occupations, synthetic revolutions, bloody fights and evacuations are all minutely described. No encounters or skirmishes are too small or too remote to escape the author's attention. In fact, the criticism might be made that except for the local historian the accounts are too detailed.

The central figure of the first nine chapters is General George Mathews, Revolutionary soldier, twice governor of Georgia, and Madison's agent in 1812. Of this "lovable old Irishman" the author is prone to write with great admiration. His attitude toward later actors in the drama is much more detached.

Florida Fiasco is the product of exhaustive research. Well over half of the footnotes are citations from unpublished sources. These include letters and reports from many manuscript collections in Washington as well as in Georgia and Florida. In an earlier work, *Florida under Five Flags*, the author was most generous in the matter of maps. It is to be regretted that the present work does not include at least one map. Point Petre, Picolatti, Cow Ford, Moosa Old Fort and Payne's town are mentioned many times and will be familiar

only to the specialist or local historian. The orthodox historian might object to the lengthy conversations, sometimes covering two or three pages, interpolated in the text, especially since it is not always clear to what extent they are verbatim reports or reconstructions (pp. 72-74, 130-132, 291-294, 314, 320, 335). On the whole, however, it is an excellent work. While its main value is probably in the complete survey of the exciting activities of the "Rampant Rebels" on the border, the Washington angle is also both interesting and timely. At present when the United States is occupying the position of ethical arbiter in international affairs, it is well to recall that in the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century we were, diplomatically at least, not always in the category of Caesar's wife.

D. H. Gilpatrick.

Furman University,
Greenville, S. C.

Planter Management and Capitalism in Ante-Bellum Georgia.
By Albert Virgil House. (New York: Columbia University
Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 329. \$4.75.)

Within the last twenty years many valuable studies of rice culture along the South Atlantic coast have been published. Most of these studies have focused attention on the South Carolina tidewater where rice was first grown and most intensively cultivated. The volume under review deals with the cultivation, processing, and marketing of rice in Georgia. Since this area of rice culture has been neglected by historians, Professor House, with somewhat scanty but pertinent data, is warranted in publishing the results of his research in this region.

Since rice was not cultivated on the Georgia coast until about 1830 and did not reach the peak of production until about 1850, the Georgia records available to students are not so numerous as those for South Carolina. Accordingly, the author has had to rely chiefly on the plantation journal and the account book of Hugh Fraser Grant, an Altamaha River planter, supplemented by the Manigault Plantation records

and other related source materials in the Southern Historical Collection at The University of North Carolina.

The first eighty-two pages of the book are devoted to a trenchant and illuminating description of the production and marketing of rice on the Georgia coast. The remaining 211 pages of the text contain copies of the plantation journal of Hugh Fraser Grant together with accounts with factors, slave lists, crop summaries, accounts with overseers, field journals, tax returns and other miscellaneous items. Altogether, they constitute an impressive array.

As to the planting, cultivation and harvesting of rice, the author has contributed little that is new. He has, however, explored new angles in his treatment of the capitalistic aspects of rice culture. As the writer points out (p. 70), "Too few writers have attempted to learn or to recount the sources of the factor's credit and supplies or the type of customers who bought the crops entrusted to him." He points up the operations of the rice merchants and commission houses in purchasing rice of factors for speculative purposes. Furthermore, he reveals that as a result of the establishment of supply houses and banks in Savannah, which catered to the needs of the planters, the old style factors suffered a partial loss of their traditional functions.

Professor House asserts, and we think correctly, that his study is unique in that it presents in the original Elizafield Journal of Hugh Fraser Grant (in the author's possession) a continuous record of the cultivation of separate rice fields over a period of years together with "complete and continuous records of financial transactions with factors" from 1839-1859.

A cursory survey of the objective data spread on the pages of this book indicates that despite the mutations of the seasons, pests, floods, and sickness, rice planting under efficient management prior to 1860 was a profitable undertaking.

The editorial work in this volume is generally satisfactory. One could wish, however, that the author had explained such terms as "Dashed for two days" (p. 134), "white gomased" (p. 131), and "the multicalis patch" (p. 131).

The notes on sources and the directory of business firms

mentioned in the plantation documents constitute valuable explanatory aids.

Rosser H. Taylor.

Western Carolina College,
Cullowhee, N. C.

The Salzburgers and Their Descendants. By P. A. Strobel. With Foreword, Appendix and Index by Edward D. Wells, Sr. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 318. \$3.00.)

Published in 1855 and reprinted in facsimile, this history of the Salzburgers is, in style and purpose, a spiritual exercise. The author, their pastor (1844-1849), sought to rescue these devout German settlers of Colonial Georgia from obscurity and, from their story, to point a moral for his day (and ours), even as the original Salzburgers' example did in theirs.

The Ebenezer settlement was a religious community, less pervasive in its influence than the Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts but not without effect. Its people contributed piety, industry, and sobriety to the land that offered them a home. Sponsored by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the Lutheran Church, and in accordance with the regulations of the Georgia Trustees, they conformed their lives to the Church's discipline under the leadership of pious and practical pastors. After initial hardships, they attained prosperity and supported religion and education, although schisms, indifference, and neglect were to come with the years.

During the Revolution, many Salzburgers, some actively and prominently, sympathized with the Patriot cause; a few, including the disturbing Pastor Triebner, adhered to the British. Ebenezer was occupied by both sides and suffered depredations from Loyalist marauders, its church being used by the British as hospital and stable. Slowly the community recovered from material losses but continued to feel the effects of the corruption of morals and the decline of religion; and it was faced with problems of adjustment to a new age of freedom, Americanization, worldliness and emigration.

Strobel consulted some of the sources available to him—a few histories, church documents, private journals and persons. Many of the local records were destroyed or scattered. Frequently he uses the frustrating words: “It has not been found practical to ascertain.” The account is best for the early years and becomes quite sketchy for the period 1783-1855. At times moralizing replaces realistic portrayal of the daily life of the Salzburger. There are a few notes but no specific references. Mr. Wells contributes a foreword, appendix (a marriage list) and index but no editorial emendations.

As a tribute to a pioneering people and a source of some informative bits of social history, this book was worth writing and reissuing; one wishes that it could have been more adequately written and certainly more fully edited.

Lawrence F. Brewster.

East Carolina College,
Greenville, N. C.

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Volume VIII, 25 February to 31 October 1785. Edited by Julian P. Boyd, Mina R. Bryan, and Elizabeth L. Hutter. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. xxix, 687. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

The period covered by this volume of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*—February through October 1785—is an important one in the origins and foundations of American foreign policy. In March Thomas Jefferson was elected by the Congress to succeed Benjamin Franklin as American minister to France, and before the year had expired Franklin returned to the United States. In May John Adams left France for London to assume his duties as minister to Great Britain. These three commissioners had much to do with the formulation of policy and the foreign relations of the new nation.

Many of the papers in the volume concern the efforts of the three commissioners to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with European nations, which culminated in the signing of a commercial treaty with Prussia in September of 1785. Another important diplomatic event was the negotiation

of a treaty with the Barbary states. The correspondence between Jefferson and Adams, arranging for the mission of Thomas Barclay and John Lamb together with the official instructions and commissions presented by Barclay and Lamb as well as Jefferson's project for a treaty, are printed herein.

Jefferson's personal correspondence with a wide range of people both at home and in Europe makes up a large part of the volume. It throws much light on public and private affairs in France and other foreign countries. In addition it helps to illuminate many phases of American life as well as Jefferson's views and philosophy. He and his American friends discuss art, literature, science, and education; agriculture, commerce, internal improvements, and land speculation; the amendment of the Articles of Confederation, organization of new western state governments, and state and federal governmental policies; manners, habits, and social customs; slavery and religion; national characteristics and the contrasts between the northern and southern states of the American Union. In fact there are few if any aspects of American life that are not touched upon in these letters. Particularly interesting are the letters of Jefferson and Abigail Adams which show the warm friendship between the two. So informal were they that Jefferson did not hesitate to ask Abigail to purchase for him in London a dozen linen shirts because they were much cheaper there than in Paris. Other interesting exchanges are between Jefferson and his American friends about Jean Antoine Houdon's statue of George Washington, the plans for the Virginia state Capitol, the sale of Virginia tobacco in France, and the publication of David Ramsay's "History of the Revolution." Every student of the period will find something of interest in this volume.

Julian P. Boyd and his associates have maintained the high quality of editorial work which characterizes the earlier volumes of the set.

Fletcher M. Green.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. Studies in Maryland History, No. 2. By Raphael Semmes. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1953. Pp. xi, 208. Illustrations.)

The late Dr. Semmes's charming little book tells us that Baltimore, once the nation's third largest commercial port, exported enormous quantities of flour, tobacco, corn, salted meat, timber, and imported coffee, hides, sugar, guano, and copper on a large scale. European visitors, whether French émigrés, English farmers, or German noblemen, were invariably impressed by the bustling harbor and the beautiful Baltimore clippers. Streets, buildings, monuments, and other points of interest were described, but of greater interest to visitors were celebrations, parties, people, and manners. Although Europeans could not condone the chewing of tobacco and bolting of meals, they did agree that Chesapeake canvasback duck was justly famed as a delicacy.

Some observers with a preconceived dislike for slavery shared the astonishment of C. D. Arfwedson when he found "the situation of a slave . . . far more degrading" or of L. B. Mackinnon who could "only refer to the happy, good-natured and 'devil-may-care' appearance of the slaves themselves." Present-day readers may be surprised to learn that during Baltimore elections in the Know-Nothing era "respectable citizens were driven from the polls" with "deadly weapons . . . placed at their heads."

But the subject mentioned most frequently by ante-bellum visitors was the beauty of Baltimore women. Even Mrs. Matilda Houstoun, a critical English-woman, found their reputation for beauty well deserved and after further travel reported it a common saying that the greatest ambition of a Kentucky gentleman was "to have the surest rifle in his hand, the best horse in his stable, and a Maryland *gal* for his wife."

The author found approximately two hundred diaries, memoirs, and reminiscences of travelers containing material on Baltimore between 1783 and 1860. All are listed in the bibliography and nearly half are mentioned in the text. Skillfully blending statements of visitors with his own, Dr. Semmes has produced a collection of vivid pen pictures of Baltimore

and vicinity. He died before the publication of his work, but Mrs. Marguerite Harrison Blake has done a good job of preparing it for the press.

Henry Smith Stroupe.

Wake Forest College,
Wake Forest.

Arthur Pue Gorman. By John R. Lambert. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 397. \$6.00.)

Arthur Pue Gorman was a self-made man. With only one year of formal schooling, he rose from page in the United States Senate to Senate Postmaster, Collector of Internal Revenue in Maryland, member of the General Assembly in Maryland and member of the United States Senate. This remarkable rise to so influential and powerful a position was accomplished through a remarkably sound judgment of men and an ability to use them to his own advantage. By securing the election of the incumbent State Senator as Governor, Gorman made a place for himself in the State Senate of Maryland. This maneuver involved support of another candidate for the United States Senate at the next election and again Gorman was successful in his candidate's behalf. But such manipulation was dangerous, and to protect his own interests Gorman next sought and obtained the governorship of Maryland for another of his political allies. The General Assembly of Maryland in 1880 elected him United States Senator.

The most fundamental characteristics of Gorman were his genuine conservatism and his love of harmony. Because of these two innate qualities, his political course was nearly always one of compromise, of concession to expediency. This was certainly true in the case of the tariff imbroglio in both of Cleveland's administrations as well as his policy with respect to the silver issue during the second term. His primary aim was to maintain party unity and thus prevent defeat at the polls. But Cleveland had his way in both cases and the Republicans had their issue. The result each time was Democratic defeat.

There are fifteen well-organized chapters which cover

fully Gorman's life from his entry into politics. The treatment is sympathetic, but eminently fair both to Gorman and to his political associates. Professor Lambert has made a thorough study of the source material dealing with his subject. These include much that has never before been used. The work is well documented and includes a highly competent critical essay on authorities. The book is one of the Southern Biography Series.

John Mitchell Justice.

Appalachian State Teachers College
Boone, N. C.

The Territorial Papers of the United States: Volume XIX, The Territory of Arkansas, 1819-1825. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1953. Pp. xiv, 1003. Maps, charts. \$6.50.)

The first of three which ultimately will encompass the entire Arkansas territorial period, this volume should prove of great value to students of the history of Arkansas and the trans-Mississippi South and West. All except 20 of the 777 documents included have previously been available, only in the original in Washington. Most of the papers were chosen from official government files, but these have been supplemented with pertinent selections from the *Arkansas Gazette*, the only newspaper in the territory during the period. Also included (and published for the first time) is the Executive Register of civil appointments, heretofore to be seen only in the original in Little Rock.

The scope of the volume is wide. Documents on Indian affairs are most prevalent, followed closely in number by those concerning land matters—survey, sale, and administration of public lands, and adjudication of land titles, often in dispute because of conflicting claims originating in the French and Spanish periods. Other subjects range as widely as the postal service, road and river transportation, salt works, the militia, and routine administrative problems.

So rich a volume has many merits, but this reviewer, to whom the Arkansas territorial period has often seemed a his-

torical void spanned only by the thin files of the *Arkansas Gazette*, was especially impressed by the wealth of information concerning individuals. Many men known only imperfectly in the recent past now begin to emerge in detail. Among such are Matthew Arbuckle, William Bradford, George Gray, Hartwell Boswell, William Russell, and Matthew Lyon, all storied frontier characters. And there are the lesser men—hundreds of them. No other source for this period contains such a mine of names. Even our co-laborers in the vineyard, the genealogists, will find this volume highly rewarding.

The book measures up in every way to its uniformly excellent predecessors: the format is good, the typography clear, the editor's explanatory footnotes helpful. Only two errors were noted, one minor, a misdating of the Executive Register (p. xi), the other rather unfortunate: the "late" Professor John H. Reynolds (p. viii) is very much alive today in the midst of his eighty-sixth year.

For the nineteenth time Clarence Edwin Carter has performed his exacting task imaginatively and well. We of the trans-Mississippi South, especially, look forward with anticipation to the publication of the remaining volumes of Arkansas territorial papers.

Orville W. Taylor.

Little Rock Junior College,
Little Rock, Ark.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The University of North Carolina Department of History reports the following news:

During the summer session C. O. Cathey will teach at the University of Wyoming, and James E. King at The Johns Hopkins University.

Fletcher M. Green took over the lecture course and seminar of the late Charles S. Sydnor at Duke University during the spring semester.

Loren C. MacKinney, currently engaged in research in Italy, attended a conference in Spoleto, Italy, April 6-13, devoted to the study of the tenth century. He read a paper on "Early Medieval Medicine as Seen in Manuscript Illustration." Professor MacKinney has been awarded a research grant by The University of North Carolina.

Frank W. Klingberg will take leave during the year 1954-1955 on a Ford Fellowship. During the summer, 1954, he will work in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Harold A. Bierck, Jr., who has been awarded a research grant by the University, attended the Conference on the Teaching of History in the Western Hemisphere, held at San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 4-10. He was appointed by the Department of State as a member of the United States Advisory Committee on the Commission of History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Professor Bierck's article, "Spoils, Soils, and Skinner," appeared in the *Maryland Magazine of History*, XLIX (March, 1954).

Elisha P. Douglass participated in a conference on "Using Local Historical Resources in Teaching Social Studies," held at Duke University, March 26-27. He has received a research grant from The University of North Carolina.

James L. Godfrey served as Outside Examiner for the Honors Program at Sweet Briar College in May. He has been given the Faculty Award for outstanding service by the Dialectic Senate at The University of North Carolina, and, in addition, has been awarded a research grant by the University.

Charles G. Sellers, Jr., of Princeton University will teach in the second term of summer school.

George H. Callcott, doctoral candidate in history, has been appointed instructor at Longwood College.

Lenore O'Boyle, of the Woman's College history department, has been granted a Fulbright Fellowship to do research in the archives at Frankfurt, Germany. Her work will deal with liberal parties of Germany in the nineteenth century.

Duke University announces the appointment of E. Malcolm Carroll as chairman of the Department of History, succeeding Charles S. Sydnor, who died March 2.

Members of the history faculty currently engaged in research are Harold T. Parker, who is working this summer in the French Archives (Paris) on the Napoleonic Empire, and John S. Curtiss, who has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship to work during the academic year 1954-1955 on his history of the Russian Army under Nicholas I. After extensive work in American libraries, Dr. Curtiss plans to do research in Finland, England, and France. He will conclude his European work by participating in the International Congress of Historians in Rome. Allen S. Johnson, a research assistant in the department, is doing research this summer in England on George Grenville. Under a Ford Foundation grant, Arthur B. Ferguson will take sabbatical leave for the next academic year to write on chivalry and the society of fifteenth century England. Richard L. Watson will take sabbatical leave in the spring, 1955, to pursue work on his biography of Furnifold M. Simmons.

Publications of faculty members include William T. Laprade's "State Parties and National Politics," *The American Scholar* (winter, 1953); Laprade's "The Power of the English Press in the Eighteenth Century," reprinted in Edwin Ford and Edwin Emery, eds., *Highlights in the History of the American Press*; Joel G. Colton's "The French Socialist Party: A Case Study of the Non-Communist Left," *Yale Re-*

view (spring, 1954); and Richard L. Watson, Jr.'s "Roosevelt and Hoover," *South Atlantic Quarterly* (January, 1954).

Representing the department at the forty-seventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held at Madison, Wisconsin, April 22-24, were I. B. Holley, Jr., and Alexander De Conde, who commented on papers presented at the meeting.

Graduate students have collected a fund to be used by the Friends of the Duke University Library as a memorial to Dr. Sydnor. From other sources has come a Sydnor memorial contribution to the library for the purchase of books on southern history.

Jay Luvaas, director of the Flowers Collection, announces the receipt as gifts of the Willis Smith papers, which contains about 40,000 items, and the William Watts Ball Papers (1908-1951). The Ball Papers of approximately 24,000 items include correspondence, notes, editorials, and other papers of the South Carolina newspaperman and late editor of the *Charleston News and Courier*.

Percival Perry of the Wake Forest history faculty has been awarded a study and research grant by Duke University for the summer term, 1954.

Henry S. Stroupe has been promoted to professor and named chairman of the Social Sciences Department.

Winfred Buck Yearn and Davis L. Smiley attended the recent meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Dr. Smiley's article, "Abraham Lincoln Deals with Cassius M. Clay: Portrait of a Patient Politician," appeared in the *Lincoln Herald* (winter, 1953).

The Department of History of Davidson College reports the resignation of Edward O. Guerrant, who will return to California.

Frontis W. Johnston has been awarded a Ford Foundation faculty fellowship and will spend the next academic year studying and writing at The University of North Carolina.

Paul A. Marrotte, who received his doctorate from The

University of North Carolina, has joined the staff on a temporary basis as assistant professor.

The North Carolina Council for the Social Studies in cooperation with the State Department of Archives and History and with the departments of History and Education of Duke University held a conference on "Using Local History" at Duke University, April 3-4. The sessions were planned to appeal to elementary, junior, and senior high social studies teachers. They included demonstration lessons, displays of historical and instructional material, and discussion of ways of locating and utilizing local material.

The spring meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina was held at Meredith College, Raleigh, on May 8. Papers heard during the afternoon session included "Edgar W. Knight: Educator and Historian," by Fletcher M. Green, and "William R. Davie: Partisan Leader," by Blackwell P. Robinson. In the evening session, a panel discussion featured the subject, "Suggestions for the Study and Writing of Local History," with Hugh T. Lefler as discussion chairman, and William S. Powell, W. P. Jacocks, W. Frank Burton, and Phillips Russell as panel members. After the discussion, Blackwell Robinson spoke on the "Revision of the North Carolina Guide Book," and Christopher Crittenden gave a "Report on the Historic Sites Commission Program."

On March 16 in Charlotte the Historic Sites Commission, created by the 1953 General Assembly, held its second meeting. All members of the group were present. Among matters acted upon were a proposed report to the Governor and the Advisory Budget Commission, plans for the restoration of the Philip Alston House in Moore County, and the proposed development of Historic Halifax.

The annual meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association was held in Asheville, April 24, with D. J. Whitener presiding. Highlights of the meeting was the presentation of the first annual award of the Western North Carolina Historical Association trophy to Mrs. Sadie Smath-

ers Patton of Hendersonville. A committee composed of D. Hiden Ramsey of Asheville, George M. Stephens of Asheville, and Margaret Ligon of Asheville made the award selection based on Mrs. Patton's outstanding contribution towards the preservation of the history of the area. Miss Cordelia Camp read a paper on the Asheville Normal School, and Clarence N. Gilbert read a sketch of the life of Thomas L. Clingman. Officers elected during the business session for the year 1954-1955 are Samuel E. Beck of Asheville, president; Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City, vice president; and Albert S. McLean of Asheville, secretary-treasurer. The association will meet jointly with the State Literary and Historical Association at Mars Hill in August.

Under the sponsorship of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, a clinic on historical sources was held at Appalachian State Teachers College on March 26. The aim of the clinic was to continue the work of uncovering and preserving local history, and it attracted enthusiasts from Alleghany, Watauga, Avery, Burke, Caldwell and Wilkes counties. D. J. Whitener, president of the sponsoring association, plans to hold similar clinics throughout the 23 counties included in the Western North Carolina Historical Association. In the future, he plans to conduct clinics for public school history teachers at Brevard College, Western Carolina Teachers College, Gardner-Webb Junior College, and Montreat College.

The Stanly County Historical Society met at Albemarle, April 3, with Horace Carter addressing the group on changes within Stanly County during the past 50 years. Numerous projects currently being undertaken by members of the society were discussed, and Colonel Jeffrey E. Stanback of Mt. Gilead urged the group to back his suggestion that a highway be constructed from Troy straight through Morrow Mountain State Park to Albemarle. A committee, consisting of Mrs. J. N. Lilly, W. F. Snuggs, and Mrs. Florence C. Anderson, was appointed to secure a deed for the old

Marshall graveyard. Mrs. G. D. B. Reynolds presided at the meeting.

The Mitchell County Historical Association held its organizational meeting on April 20 at Bakersville. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History spoke on objectives of local historical societies, and assisted in organizing the group. Meeting again on May 17, the association elected the following permanent officers: Jason B. Deyton, president; Walter Thomas, vice president; George M. Baker, 2nd vice president; Paul Garland, 3rd vice president; Mrs. A. E. Gouge, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Ethel Blevins, curator.

The organizational meeting of the Graham County Historical Society took place in Robbinsville on April 23, with D. L. Corbitt assisting in organizational procedures. James A. Stanley was elected temporary chairman, Mrs. Wayne McClung was elected temporary secretary. In addition to other business, the following committees were activated: by-laws and constitution, membership, permanent officers, programs, and refreshments.

The Pasquotank County Historical Society was organized on March 31 at Elizabeth City. Officers elected were General John Wood, president; Reverend George F. Hill, honorary president; and Mrs. William Peters, secretary-treasurer.

The Currituck Historical Society held its third regular meeting on April 12 in the courthouse at Currituck, with Dudley Bagley presiding. The program dealt mainly with early educational institutions in Currituck County, and with data on the life of John Gibbs. Walter Smith, chairman of the cemeteries committee, announced the opening of a contest, sponsored by Dudley Bagley, to locate the oldest dated grave marker within the present boundaries of Currituck County. An award of \$10 will be given to the person finding the oldest marker prior to July 12, the date of the next meeting of the society. Chairmen of the permanent committees within the society are Mrs. Frank Roberts, publications; Mrs.

Pearl E. West, museum; Norman Hughes, library; General John Wood, historic sites; Miss Alice Flora, war history; Mrs. E. L. Griffin, genealogical; and Walter Smith, cemeteries. Wilton Walker, Jr., was named chairman of the tentatively named committee on geographical county history.

Meeting in April, the Wilkes County Historical Association elected the following officers: T. E. Story of North Wilkesboro, president; C. B. Eller of North Wilkesboro, vice president; Mrs. B. R. Underwood of North Wilkesboro, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Lawrence Critcher of Moravian Falls, curator.

On April 23, D. L. Corbitt assisted in organizing the Cherokee County Historical Society. Temporary officers were elected at the meeting.

The second annual historic tour of the Rutherford County Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, was made April 10. Miss Eva Hampton, tour chairman, introduced Horace L. Carpenter of Rutherfordton, who spoke on "Early Days in Rutherfordton," and Ben E. Washburn, retired physician, who spoke on "Early Doctors in Rutherfordton." Other speakers included John Twitty of Rutherfordton, speaking on Susan Twitty Miller, heroine of the Revolutionary War; and Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City, speaking on "The Significance of Mountain Creek and Broad River in Local Revolutionary Events." Inclement weather reduced the number of stops on the tour, but the group visited "Fox Haven," ancestral home of the Morris family, and presently owned by Mr. and Mrs. Ben Sumner.

Sponsored by the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, a historical tour of Sampson County was conducted by Mrs. Taft Bass of Clinton on May 9. From the gathering point in front of the county courthouse in Clinton, the group left for stops at the Taft Bass home; Clinton cemetery; the old Boykin family graveyard near Clinton; the gun

factory operated during the Revolutionary War, which is located near Butler Crossroads; the ghost town of Lisbon; the J. B. Seavey home; the Sampson Memorial Park where lunch was served; the William A. Faison home near Turkey; the Daniel Joyner home; the Captain Elias Faison Shaw home; the Major James Moore home located on the old stagecoach road; and finally House's Mill near Newton Grove where tea was served the group on the pavilion built over the mill-race.

A historical tour of Pender County, under the sponsorship of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, was conducted by Judge Clifton Moore of Burgaw on April 25. The group gathered at the Moores Creek National Military Park and proceeded on the tour, which had been largely planned by Miss Mattie Bloodworth, Pender County historian.

A state historical marker for Kiffin Yates Rockwell, first pilot of the Escadrille Lafayette to shoot down a German plane during World War I, was unveiled on May 18 during a ceremony near his home in Asheville. Among those participating in the program were Colonel Pol E. Charbonnaux, air attaché at the French Embassy in Washington, who represented Ambassador Georges Bonnett, and Lt. General Robert L. Eichelberger, retired commander of the United States Eighth Army. The ceremony was held on the thirty-eighth anniversary of the downing of the German plane by Rockwell, who was killed in action in France on September 23, 1916.

On April 23, near Rockfish Creek in Cumberland County, Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, presided at a ceremony for the unveiling of a state historical marker on the site where the forces of Brigadier General James Moore camped prior to the battle of Moores Creek Bridge. John A. Oates of Fayetteville was the principal speaker on the program, which was held as part of the Cape Fear Valley Festival in honor of Cumberland County's bicentennial celebration. The cere-

monies were sponsored by the Colonel Robert Rowan Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the marker was accepted by Mrs. Harvey P. Ferris, Chapter Chairman for the Preservation of Historic Spots.

A historical marker was unveiled at the Rutherford Trace, near Enka, April 20. The program included D. L. Corbitt, speaking on "North Carolina's Marker Program"; W. A. Edgerton of Enka speaking on "This Historic Place"; and D. J. Whitener of Boone speaking on "Today's Event in the Work of Our Organization." Albert S. McLean gave the dedicatory sentences, and H. C. Wilburn unveiled the marker. Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville presided.

The Camden County Historical Society sponsored the unveiling of a marker at the previously unmarked grave of Lemuel Sawyer near Camden on May 30. Elizabeth Gregory McPherson of Washington and Camden conducted the ceremony. Judge W. I. Halstead of South Mills and Richard Walser of Raleigh made brief talks.

Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, reviewed Clement Eaton's *A History of the Southern Confederacy* at a meeting of the Johnston-Pettigrew Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, in Raleigh, March 17. On April 10 Dr. Crittenden addressed the annual meeting of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati on the State Department of Archives and History and its program. On April 22 Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, museum administrator of the Department of Archives and History, met with a group of school teachers and others in Salisbury to discuss how the city and county schools could cooperate in building up the Rowan Historical Museum, for which an old house has been purchased. J. H. Knox, superintendent of the Salisbury city schools, C. C. Erwin, county superintendent of schools, and Mrs. Gettys Guille, president of the museum, participated in the Salisbury discussion.

D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, celebrated his thirtieth anniversary with the agency on April 1. Since 1935, he has had the additional duty of managing editor of *The North Carolina Historical Review*. He has edited or compiled such volumes as *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943*, and *Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590*, and the addresses of North Carolina's governors, from Cameron Morrison to R. Gregg Cherry. For the past two years, Corbitt has served as chairman of the committee on local historical societies of the State Literary and Historical Association, and is actively engaged in organizing local groups in North Carolina counties. He spoke to the Kiwanis Club of Forest City, April 26, on "The Publication Program of the State Department of Archives and History," and addressed the Smith, Peacock, and Hook family reunion at Benson, May 2, on "The Significance of History."

Clarence W. Griffin, member of the executive board of the Department of Archives and History, addressed the senior class of Ellenboro High School, February 12, on "Fifty Years of Progress in Agriculture in Rutherford County"; on February 13, he spoke at a meeting of the Rutherford Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on "What Makes North Carolina a Great State"; and on March 5, he delivered the latter address at Gilkey before the Young Men's and Women's Club, sponsored by the Farm Bureau.

J. F. Pugh, superintendent of the Camden County schools, has published a sketch of the history of Camden County entitled "Camden County, Named for Sir Charles Pratt, Birthplace of Famous Men," in the *Norfolk Virginian Pilot*, April 11.

Leonard W. Labaree, editor of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, which is sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University, requests information on the location of letters to or from Franklin and any other Frank-

lin materials with which *Review* readers may be familiar. Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. Leonard W. Labaree, 1319 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, announces the 1953 award of its annual book prize to Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University for *Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty*. Competition is now open for books published since January 1, 1954, in the field of early American history and culture. This field embraces all phases of American history to about 1815, including the borderlands of the British North American colonies and the British colonies in the West Indies to 1776. To be considered for the \$500 prize, books should be submitted to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia, not later than January 15, 1955.

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