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THE PROFESSIONAL THEATER IN WILMINGTON,* 1858-1870

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The first notice of a theater for professional entertainment in Wilmington apparently was an advertisement by a certain Robinson, manager of a traveling company, in the *State Gazette of North Carolina* (New Bern) for November 29, 1787, to the effect that he had arranged for an "elegant theatre" in Wilmington and that he had planned for the company to stay there one month.¹ Thereafter this theater, which was doubtless an improvised stage in one of the public halls, was occasionally used by traveling companies until the end of the century,² when, at an undetermined date, a theater was constructed on the lower floor of Innes Academy. This was a free school located on the northeast corner of Third and Princess streets and was erected with funds bequeathed in 1759 by Colonel James Innes. After its completion, arrangements were made between the trustees of the Academy and the Thalian Association, well-known amateur theatrical group, for the Thalias to rent the theater on perpetual lease, although it was continually sublet to professional entertainers.³

Beginning with the turn of the century, the history of professional theatrical activity in Wilmington remains obscure until about 1840 as a result of the limited number of extant newspaper files. After 1840, however, the files are more complete,

* This is the first in a series of three articles dealing with the professional theater in Wilmington, 1858-1930. Editor.

¹ Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina: the Old North State and the New* (Chicago: Lewis, 1941) I, 640.

² Richard G. Walsler, "Strolling Players in North Carolina 1768-1788," *Carolina Play-Book*, X (December, 1937), 108-109; Thomas H. Wetmore, Jr., *The Literary and Cultural Development of Ante-Bellum Wilmington, North Carolina* (unpublished Duke University A. M. thesis, 1940) 81-88; Henderson, *North Carolina*, I, 644-646.

³ James G. Burr, *The Thalian Association of Wilmington, N. C., with Sketches of Many of Its Members* (Wilmington: J. A. Engelhard, 1871), 3-6.

and a recent investigation indicates that between 1840 and 1855 the old theater in Innes Academy was frequently used for professional plays, concerts, panoramas, dance groups, minstrels, and variety entertainments.⁴ Since the theater apparently had a seating capacity of only 300 to 400,⁵ many entertainments were also given at Mozart Hall, located above stores at 20 South Front Street, and at Masonic Hall, 124 Market Street upstairs.⁶

It was not until the opening of the new Thalian Hall on Tuesday, October 12, 1858, therefore, that the professional legitimate drama of the sort that had been flourishing in such centers as Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans began in Wilmington. In the early 1850's the town authorities had decided upon the erection of a new city hall on the site of the old Innes Academy and had purchased the property, the Thalian Association receiving one-half of the purchase money with the understanding that the Association, of which Donald MacRae was president, should use the funds to furnish and equip a theater in the east wing of the new building.⁷ Consequently the state legislature of 1854-1855 passed an act authorizing the commissioners of Wilmington to issue bonds of the town not to exceed \$50,000 for the construction of the combined city hall and theater.⁸ The old academy was demolished in the fall of 1855, and the cornerstone of the new structure, which still stands, was laid on December 27 of the same year.⁹

The original plans for the building, of Corinthian design, were drawn by a certain Trimble of New York, and James F. Post of Wilmington was superintendent of construction.¹⁰ The exterior dimensions of the wing containing the theater measured 110 feet by 60 feet; the stage 42 feet by 57 feet; the auditorium 45 feet by 57 feet, with a ceiling of 54 feet.¹¹ The theater had a seating capacity of 950¹² and was lighted with 188 gas burners.¹³

⁴ Wetmore, *Ante-Bellum Wilmington*, 90-107. Mr. Wetmore closes his study in December, 1859, but does not mention the opening of the new theater or the nature of the first season, 1858-1859.

⁵ *Wilmington Daily Journal*, January 19, 1854.

⁶ Frank D. Smaw, Jr., *Smaw's Wilmington Directory 1866-1867* (Wilmington: Frank D. Smaw, Jr., 1867), 111, 117. According to a street diagram in the directory, 20 South Front was on the east side.

⁷ Burr, *Thalian Association*, 48-49.

⁸ *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1858.

⁹ *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1858.

¹⁰ *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1858.

¹¹ *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1858.

¹² *Wilmington Messenger's Encampment Edition*, July, 1889, p. 3.

¹³ *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1858.

The Thalian Association used the new theater for several productions, but it soon found itself in such a poor financial condition that it made arrangements with the town authorities to the effect that ". . . if they would assume the responsibilities of the Association, all of their right, title, and interest in that part of the building used for theatrical purposes, would be surrendered."¹⁴ The agreement was made, the Association was dissolved, and the theater, which was thereafter alternately called Thalian Hall and The Wilmington Theater, became the property of the town.

Upon the grand opening of the new theater on the evening of October 12, 1858, the ceremonies began with the national overture by the orchestra under the direction of H. Eckhardt, leader of the Charleston Theater orchestra; then the curtain rose on members of the Thalian Association, and James G. Burr delivered an address of welcome, followed by a history of the Association. The national anthem was then sung by the theatrical company. Lessee and manager for the season was G. F. Marchant, manager of the Charleston Theater, who delayed the opening of the Charleston season until November 15 in order that his company might play in Wilmington for one month.¹⁵ Since the Charleston Theater consistently offered only the highest quality of entertainment, the new theater in Wilmington was fortunate to have as its first tenants the Marchant Company. In fact, ten years later, as will be indicated below, there was still remembrance in the newspapers of the excellence of these performers.

The piece selected for the opening night was John Tobin's *The Honey Moon*, a romantic play in blank verse reminiscent of *The Taming of the Shrew* and other Elizabethan plays. *The Honey Moon* had been first produced in London at Drury Lane on January 31, 1805, and had remained a stock favorite in England and the United States for over fifty years. The Duke of Aranza was played by Marcus Elmore, Rolando by a certain Penistan, and Juiliana by Mrs. Mary Gladstane. At the end of the play there was a dance, "La Espanola," by Miss Adelaide Raymond; then, in accordance with a long standing custom in

¹⁴ Burr, *Thalian Association*, 50.

¹⁵ W. Stanley Hoole, *The Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1946), 149.

the English and American theater, an afterpiece in the form of James Robinson Planché's farce *The Loan of a Lover* completed the evening's activities.

In the lengthy unsigned review which appeared the next day in the *Daily Journal*, edited by James Fulton and A. L. Price, all performers were praised, and we are told that the audience "comprised a large portion of the most intelligent people of our town." The review concludes with an appeal for the support of the company:

Now, finally, the Company appears to be a good Company. They all evidently wish to please. They can and will present a pleasant and intellectual evening's entertainment, and really, even in the interests of morality and refinement, we think it very desirable that they should be sustained. There was certainly neither incident, scene, or allusion last night that the most religious Church member or the most bashful maiden could object to.

As for the means of supporting the new theater, the census of 1860 gives Wilmington a total population of 9,552, including 5,202 white persons. This represented an increase of 1,621 in the white population since 1850, when the total was 7,264 with 3,581 white persons. Furthermore, during the decade 1850-1860 there were great increases throughout the state in agricultural production as well as in industry, especially turpentine production in and near Wilmington.¹⁶ By 1858 the town was also being served by three railroads: the Wilmington and Manchester to the south; the Wilmington, Charlotte, and Rutherford, which by 1860 had been completed almost to Rockingham; and the Wilmington and Weldon, which connected with northern lines.¹⁷

As a result of these prosperous times, Wilmington could support the theater, and in return the Marchant Company offered nightly during its month's engagement a repertoire of good variety and quality, ranging from Shakespeare to the better melodramas. Of the six Shakespearean plays, *Macbeth* on October 27 and November 6, and *The Merchant of Venice* on October 30 had the best receptions. As for *Macbeth*, with Elmore and Mrs. Gladstane in the leading roles, the reviewer for the

¹⁶ Henderson, *North Carolina*, II, 176-178.

¹⁷ Henderson, *North Carolina*, II, 155.

Daily Journal stated that "Not one stock company in ten could have done better,"¹⁸ while *The Merchant of Venice* was said to have been ". . . better presented than we have seen it in pretentious Metropolitan Theatres."¹⁹ Among the best of the contemporary English and American offerings were Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Lady of Lyons, or Love and Price* on October 14, which was described as being "fresh, buoyant, youthful" and "the *Romeo and Juliet* of modern times";²⁰ Dion Boucicault's *The Willow Copse* on October 25; and James Sheridan Knowles's *The Wife* on October 26 and *The Hunchback* on October 29. In addition to *The Honey Moon* of the opening night, other romantic plays in the Elizabethan style were James Rees's *Lucretia Borgia* on November 2 and 11, and Henry Hart Milman's *Fazio, or the Italian Wife* on November 8. Among the better melodramas were William Dunlap's *The Stranger*, adapted from Kotzebue's play of the same title, on October 15; John Howard Payne's *Therese, or the Orphan of Geneva*, adapted from a French melodrama of the same title, October 16; and *Pizarro* on October 23, which could have been one of three adaptations from Kotzebue by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Charles Smith, or William Dunlap. On November 13 the company closed its engagement with a benefit performance for Marchant, the bill being *Paul Pry*, a contemporary American play by John Brougham, and two farces, *Bamboozling* by T. E. Wilks, and the anonymous *Who's My Husband?* The theater then remained unoccupied until December 21, when a portion of the Marchant Company returned from Charleston to feature Andrew Jackson Neafi for four nights. He appeared successively in Bulwer-Lytton's *Richlieu*, Morris Barnett's comedy *The Serious Family*, Boucicault's *The Corsican Brothers*, and R. T. Conrad's *Jack Cade, or the Kentish Rebellion*, which had recently been adjudged by Edwin Forrest the best play written by an American and for which Conrad received a prize.²¹

The season continued on December 27 at Mozart Hall with a week's exhibition of Dr. Beale's Grand Illuminated Panorama of the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky and the River and Falls of Niagara, with vocal and instrumental music and Signor Valdi's

¹⁸ October 28, 1858.

¹⁹ November 1, 1858.

²⁰ *Daily Journal*, October 15, 1858.

²¹ *Daily Journal*, December 24, 1858.

Marionette Family. Contemporaneously, Ravel's Martinetti and Blondin Troupe opened an engagement at Thalian Hall on December 28 and played nightly through January 8, featuring Charles Blondin, the famous tightrope walker who attracted nation-wide attention during the summers of 1859 and 1860 by walking across Niagara Falls several times.²² The troupe offered comic pantomines with various kinds of dancing by French artists.

The Blondin Troupe opened in Charleston on Monday, January 10, and played through January 22,²³ during which time the Marchant Company returned to Wilmington to star James E. Murdoch. After January 22 a portion of the company remained in Wilmington through February 25, with Miss Maggie Mitchell replacing Mrs. Gladstane after January 22, and Miss Amy Frost replacing Miss Mitchell after February 5. The stock plays were interrupted February 7-11 by Matt Peel's Original Campbell Minstrels, and February 12, 14-15 by the popular magician Wyman.

Among the new plays presented by the Marchant Company from January 10 through February 25 were Bulwer-Lytton's *Money, or Duplicity Exposed* on January 12 and 15; Schiller's *The Robbers*, January 13; the anonymous adaptation of Cooper's novel *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish, or the Indian*, February 4; the anonymous spectacle *The Sea of Ice, or a Thirst for Gold*, February 16-19 and 22; Knowles's *William Tell*, February 21; and John Banim's *Damon and Pythias, or the Test of Friendship*, February 24. In the meantime J. Insko Williams' Bible Panorama opened at Mozart Hall on January 25 but was moved on January 26 to the Military Hall in the rear of the Episcopal Church, where it continued through February 5. On February 2-3 Stephen Massett offered his Songs and Chit-Chat of Travel in Many Lands at the Court House, and the Panorama of Dr. Kane's Arctic Voyages was on display at Mozart Hall February 16-19.

On March 10 the well-known New Orleans English Opera Company under the direction of W. S. Lyster appeared for three nights at Thalian Hall, still under the management of Marchant.

²² William F. McDermott, "Niagara's Daredevils," *Readers' Digest*, XLI (December, 1942), 113.

²³ Hoole, *Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre*, 150.

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WILMINGTON THEATRE

H. M. JENKINS, **Sole Lessee and Manager.**
JOHN DAVIS, **Stage Manager.**

By request of numerous citizens and patrons of the Drama,

MR. GEORGE BAILEY

Being home on a visit from Lee's Army in Virginia, will appear in his celebrated character of "Major Jones," in the Comedy of

MAJOR JONES' COURTSHIP.

ASSISTED BY

MISS EMILY BAILY AS **MISS MARY STALLINGS**

AND

MISS FANNY BAILY AS **KESIAH STALLINGS**

Supported by the whole Company.

Fancy Dance - Miss S. Warner.

MONDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 7th, 1865.

Will be presented the admired Comedy of

MAJOR JONES' COURTSHIP!

OR,

THE ADVENTURES OF A CHRISTMAS EVE!

MAJOR JONES	Mr. GEORGE BAILEY
Miss Mary Stallings	Miss Emily Baily
Miss Kesiah Stallings	Miss Fanny Bailey
Dr. Peter Jones	Mr. Herbert.
Crotchett, (alias Wiggins,)	Mr. D. T. Anderson.
Bob Moreland, (a young planter,)	Mr. Webb
Bill Simpson (a Constable)	Mr. Van Osten
Ned,	Mr. Lewis
Brutus	Mr. Corbet
Mrs. Stallings	Mrs. J. Davis

After which

GRAND FANCY DANCE, **MISS SELINA WARNER.**

To Conclude with the Screaming Farce of

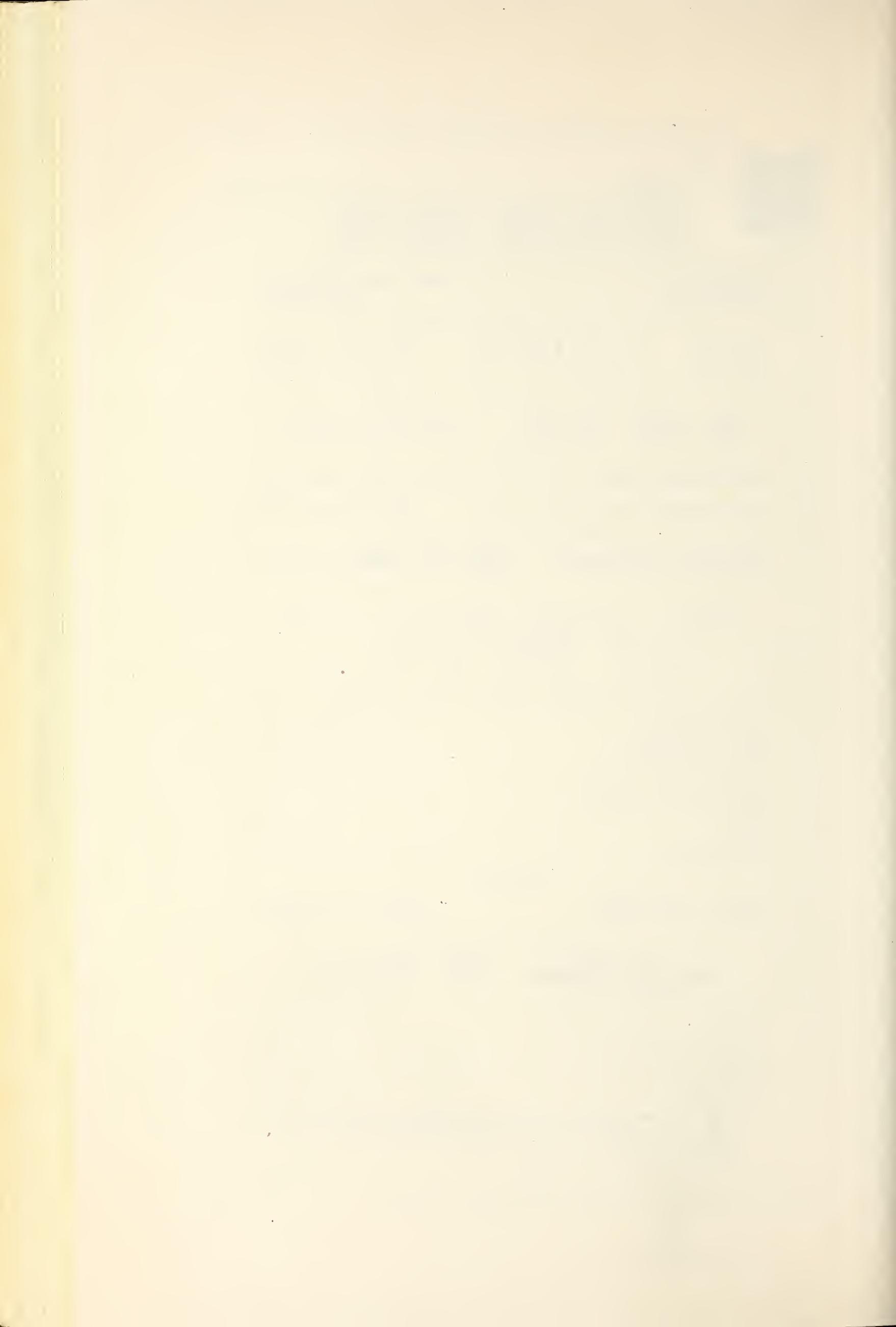
SKETCHES IN INDIA.

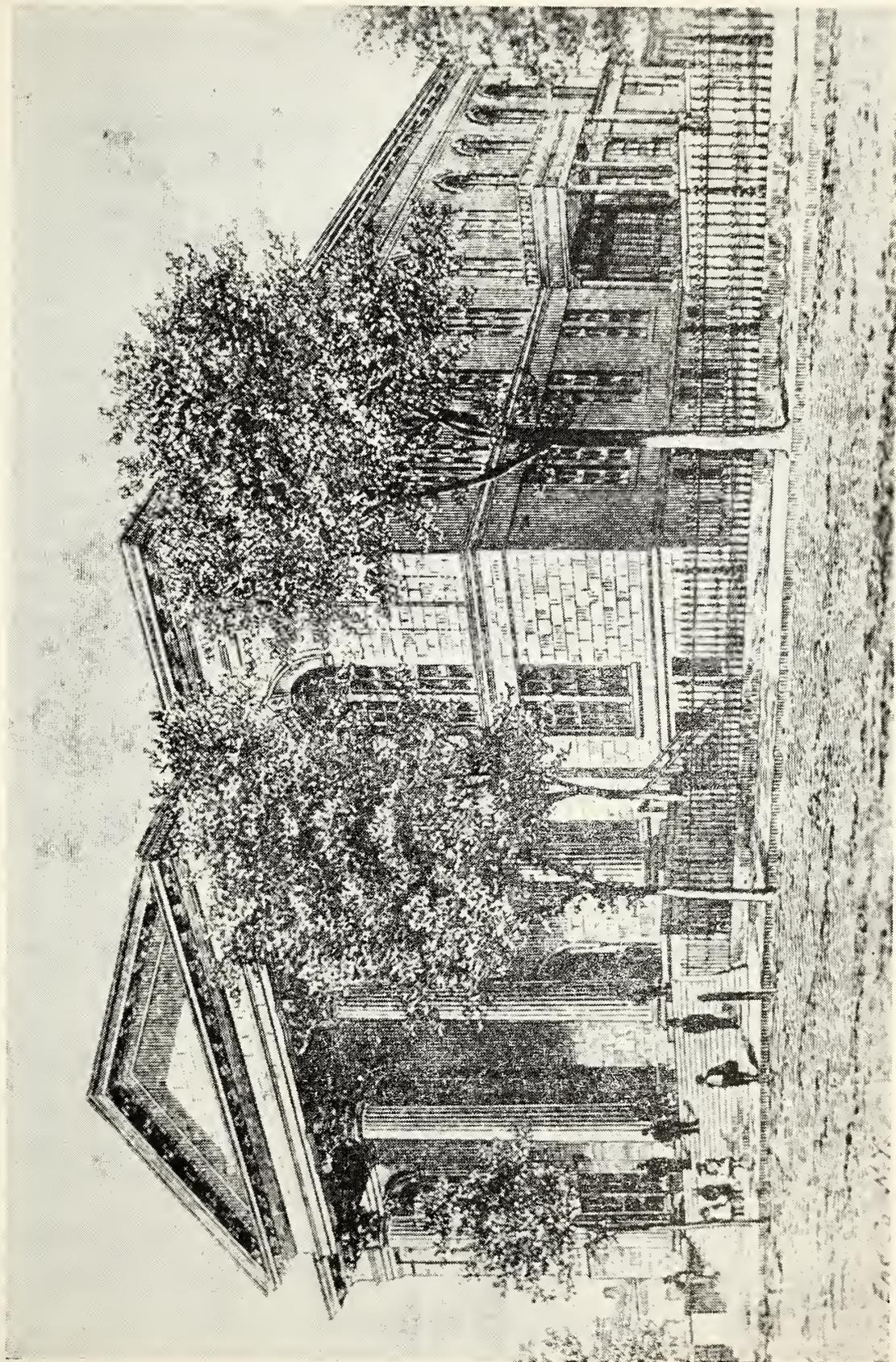
COUNT GLORIEUX	Mr. JOHN DAVIS.
Tom Tape,	Mr. D. T. Anderson.
Sir Matthew Scraggs	Mr. Coleman.
Captain Dorrington	Mr. Herbert.
Milton	Mr. Webb.
Sally Scraggs	Miss Ida Morton.
Lady Scraggs	Mrs. J. Davis.
Poplin	Miss Selina Warner.

Doors open at a quarter before 7; Commence at half past seven.

Price of admission as usual.

HANDBILL FOR MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1865. THE BILL IS ERRONEOUSLY DATED FEBRUARY 7. COURTESY OF THE STATE LIBRARY.





CITY HALL AND THALIAN HALL, ENGRAVED BY MOSS ENGRAVING COMPANY OF NEW YORK (c. 185—).
COURTESY OF THE WILMINGTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

The operas were Rossini's *Cinderella*, Bellini's *La Somnambula*, and Balfe's *Bohemian Girl*. Attendance was good, and the reviewer for the *Daily Journal* felt that the whole company "fully sustains all that has been said of them abroad."²⁴ Thus ended the first season at the new Thalian Hall, with a total of eighty-five nights of entertainment. Mozart Hall, however, carried on with D. D. Griswold's vocal concert on April 1; and the Katie Estelle Troupe, under the management of Charles Mackenzie, offered musical pieces, songs, and dances there April 12 through 16.

The season 1859-1860 opened on September 28 with the F. J. Christopher Minstrels, Charles Wood, manager, at Thalian Hall. Although the company played but three nights, we are told that "The entertainment was a *good one*,"²⁵ the instrumental music being especially admired as well as Christopher and Tim Morriss. The theater then remained closed until December 5, when J. S. Parker presented the Parker Family for two nights without advertising titles of plays, though H. W. Gossin was the featured actor. A week later, on December 12, Signor Donnetti's and Colonel Wood's Troop of Educated Dogs, Monkeys, and Goats brought the first animals to the new stage and drew good audiences for three nights. On December 26 an unusual type of entertainment in the form of B. G. Marsh's Company of Juvenile Comedians, forty in number, became a hit with a week's offering of plays and spectacles, including the popular *Sea of Ice* on December 30. The fad of the panorama continued the variety of entertainment on January 3 with Dr. E. Beale's Wonderful Panopticon and Mechanical Exhibition of India and the Sepoy Rebellion, which remained for five nights. The intricacy of the construction and operation of such exhibitions is suggested by the following portion of the *Daily Journal* review: "The aquatic scenery, with ships and steamers moving about, is truly remarkable, as are also the battle pieces, with the vast number of figures in actual march motion, cannon firing, etc., etc."²⁶ At the end of the month Buckley's Burlesque Opera Troupe with the Leviathan Band of the World played January 27-28 with no titles of pieces advertised. Next appeared the French Opera Comique

²⁴ March 11, 1859.

²⁵ *Daily Journal*, September 29, 1859.

²⁶ January 4, 1860.

and Operette on February 20-21, featuring Mlle. Darcy in *La Chatte Metamorphosee* and *Toinette et Son Carabinier*, with afterpieces.

The only stock company to appear during the season for a good run was W. M. Fleming's group "from the principal Southern Theatres," according to the advertisements. During its engagement from April 16 through May 5, the most significant new plays were Boucicault's *London Assurance* on April 20 and Mrs. Catherine Gore's *The Maid of Croissey, or Theresa's Vow* on May 5. In addition to the most popular Shakespearean plays, another Elizabethan play, Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, was offered on April 24, and the character of Sir Giles Overreach as played by Fleming was well received.

As an obvious result of growing tensions, the fateful third season, during which the war clouds were gathering and finally broke, was even more sporadic than the preceding one had been. Two panoramas, *Pilgrim's Progress*, September 17-28, and the Washington Panorama, October 1-3, both at the City Hall, opened the season. Beginning on October 29, Thalian Hall, under Marchant's management, presented the H. C. Cooper Opera Company, with twenty-two artists, in a week of grand opera. Then the theater was reopened for a week on November 12 under the management of Messrs. Thorne and Hamilton, whose company offered no important new plays except Daniel Terry's adaptation *Guy Mannering, or the Gypsy's Prophecy* on November 17. Although this was a capable company, the reason for its short engagement is plainly stated by the *Daily Journal* for November 17:

The political excitement now pervading the country interferes with every branch of business, and destroys the interest in every kind of amusement. At least so it would seem, judging by the inadequate support given to the really talented Dramatic Company now performing in our theatre. It is to their credit, as a correspondent says, that their efforts to please have suffered no diminution by reason of the smallness of their audiences.

After a three-day engagement by the George Christy Minstrels beginning December 13 and a two-day stand by the Duprez and Green New Orleans Burlesque Opera Troupe February 8-9, there was no professional entertainment until the J. H. Bailey

Troupe, offering stock and variety, appeared in its own tent on Boundary Street (now Fifth) between Chestnut and Princess from April 1 through 15. On April 16 the *Daily Journal* announced that the performance for that evening had been postponed "owing to circumstances of a public nature, which will be hereafter explained," but there was no further explanation.

The fourth season, 1861-1862, opened very late and was also irregular. On December 7 the famous Zouaves, French soldiers of the Crimea, offered a variety program with pantomines and drills. Then the theater was dark until January 9, when the Thespian Family offered rather weak stock for four nights. A month later, on February 10, appeared the Confederate Minstrels, which provoked the following editorial comment indicating that the troops passing through Wilmington and stationed there were attending the theater:

Now, the truth is, whatever people may think to the contrary, a place of public amusement is a public benefit in war times. Surely the soldier or officer who spends his time laughing at the witticisms of our friend "Bones," and he is apt to be very *dry* bones, does better than if he spends his time and money in a bar-room.²⁷

Entertainment for the remainder of the season was varied but not outstanding, except for the appearances on May 20, 21, and 30 of Blind Tom, a young Negro pianist of exceptional talent. The greatest attraction, perhaps, was the last one, the Pantechnoptomon, which was Lee Mallory's exhibition of "Thousands of Moving Figures Picturing Life in Camp and the Battle of Manassas," according to the advertisement. It remained at Thalian Hall from August 25 through September 5.

After the tragic yellow fever epidemic in Wilmington from the early part of September until the middle of November, 1862, the first performance of any kind was on January 15, 1863, when Thalian Hall advertised for the "First Night" Mago del Mage, a magician, who played for three nights. The stricken population, however, was apparently still not ready for theatrical entertainment, and the theater remained closed until March 3, when Lee Mallory's War Panorama returned for three nights. The first

²⁷ *Daily Journal*, February 11, 1862.

play was not offered until March 25, in this instance *The Fireman*, although the advertisement in the *Daily Journal* does not indicate the name of the company. This might have been the Bailey Company, which had appeared during the two previous seasons and which is identified in the advertisement for April 17 as the group offering *The Wept of the Wish-ton-Wish*, the next performance after *The Fireman*. Following an interval of the Grand Panoramic Mirror of the War, April 27-30 and May 2, 4-5, the Bailey Company became more or less established and offered scattered performances of stock through July 13. It was during this engagement that the first of the several popular war plays, John Davis's *The Roll of the Drum, or the Battle of Manassas, and Vivandiere of the Potomac*, was presented on June 11. The Bailey group was succeeded by the Katie Estelle Company, which opened on July 16 with *Lucretia Borgia*, and for the first time since April, 1861, the theater offered unbroken nightly productions. These continued through August 14, with contemporaneous offerings July 22-28 by the Excelsior Burlesque Opera Troupe in the large room on the second floor of the City Hall now occupied by the Wilmington Public Library. On August 25 the Bailey Company reappeared for one night with *Ben Bolt* and was followed by the Star Company with four performances beginning September 9. Thus closed the first summer season in the new theater.

By this time Wilmington, instead of suffering economically, was beginning to experience a war boom of no small proportions. As early as April, 1862, the chief ports still in Confederate control were Charleston, Mobile, and Wilmington;²⁸ and Mobile was captured in August, 1864.²⁹ Between November, 1861, and March, 1864, blockade-runners made 425 trips from Nassau to Wilmington, of which only sixty-two were unsuccessful.³⁰ Furthermore, during little more than a year preceding the fall of Fort Fisher on January 15, 1865, the transactions of British speculators in Wilmington for all kinds of merchandise amounted to sixty-six million dollars in gold, and sixty-five million dollars worth of

²⁸ James G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston and New York: Heath, 1937), 579.

²⁹ Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 592.

³⁰ Henderson, *North Carolina*, II, 261.

cotton in gold was exported in return.³¹ A general impression of this activity may be gained from the account of an eye witness, "A Late Confederate Officer," who submitted an article to *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1866:

It seemed singular to us that the United States should so long neglect to close the only port almost of the Confederacy into which every "dark of the moon" there ran a half dozen or so swift blockade-runners, freighted with cannon, muskets, and every munition of war—medicines, cloth, shoes, bacon, etc. Through that port were brought till January '65 all the stores and material needed by the indefatigable Colonel Gorgas, the Confederate Chief of Ordnance, the most efficient bureau officer the Confederacy had.³²

The town was crowded with American and foreign speculators, especially English, and in addition there were many transient troops as well as temporary encampments, such as that of Martin's Brigade in 1864.³³ Incidentally, there was an attempt on the part of the theatrical managers to capitalize on entertainment as a diversion from the war as observed in frequent lines inserted in the advertisements, such as the following for June 5, 1863, in the *Daily Journal*, announcing the Misses Sloman and their vocal varieties: "Let those now laugh who never laughed before, and those who love to laugh now laugh the more."

The effect of such circulation of money and temporary increase of population was that the season 1863-1864 proved to be the fullest one during the years covered by this survey. The season opened on November 30, 1863, with variety entertainment at Thalian Hall and with the Bates and Jenkins Company at the City Hall. During the season of ten months, through September 30, 1864, two hundred and forty performances were given in Thalian Hall; thirty-four were given by the Bates and Jenkins Company in City Hall through January 6; and a total of eleven entertainments was offered in Mozart Hall: the Stereoscopticon, consisting of portraits of Confederate generals and Belle Boyd, the Confederate spy, March 4-12; Charles Morton, comedian and vocalist, March 14-15; and the Bailey Company for one night

³¹ James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River 1660-1916* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1916, 2d ed.), 387.

³² John Johns, "Wilmington During the Blockade," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXIII (September, 1866), 498.

³³ Johns, "Wilmington During the Blockade," 497.

on March 23. The total of all performances during the season was two hundred and eighty-five, including matinees at City Hall on December 25 and January 1. Thalian Hall was closed only on January 6, 8-10 because of the freezing weather and July 13-17 for cleaning.³⁴

After a one-night engagement by the Rebel Minstrels on December 1, 1863, Mr. and Mrs. Harry McCarthy began on December 3 with their variety company and played through December 19. They were followed by the Estelle Company, which offered stock through January 5. The Bates and Jenkins Company then moved from City Hall to Thalian Hall and stayed there for the remainder of the season. Among the more significant new plays offered were the following: Dumas père's *La Tour de Nesle*, January 1; Knowles' *William Tell*, February 11; Hugo's *Angelo and Tisbe*, March 31; Maturin's *Bertram*, April 6; Boucicault's *Used Up*, April 13; Hugo's *Tyrant of Padua*, May 9; Byron's *Werner*, July 4; and Mrs. Henry Wood's *East Lynne*, September 21-27. Of the many capable performers appearing with the Bates and Jenkins Company, the following were the most popular: Walter Keeble, February 29-April 14, whose Shakespearean roles were outstanding; J. W. Thorpe, April 15-May 10; Miss C. A. Crystal, April 19-May 12; Theodore Hamilton, May 11-July 4; Miss Ida Vernon, May 30-July 9 and September 19 to the end of the season; and Mr. and Mrs. John Davis, August 4 until the end of the season.

The next season, October 1, 1864-August 26, 1865, was also full, with a total of 117 performances, all in Thalian Hall by the Bates and Jenkins Company, including a matinee at 11:00 on October 6 to accommodate the crowds wanting to see Miss Vernon in *East Lynne*. However, the fall of Fort Fisher, the occupation of Wilmington by Federal troops, and the generally unsettled state of affairs at the end of the war naturally caused an abatement of theatrical activity. In addition, the inflationary economy must have caused theater-goers to consider twice before buying a ticket. For example, on August 29, 1864, prices of admission at Thalian Hall were advertised as follows: dress circle, \$5.00; parquette, \$3.00; center gallery, \$5.00; and colored gallery, \$3.00.

³⁴ *Daily Journal*, July 18, 1864.

By October 26 of the same year, however, admission to all parts of the theater was \$5.00. Nevertheless, the Bates and Jenkins Company continued with almost nightly performances through January 13, the day on which the final two-day bombardment of Fort Fisher began.³⁵ The theater then remained closed until January 25, when nightly performances were resumed through February 20. On the morning of February 22 Federal troops entered Wilmington under the command of General A. H. Terry.³⁶

Within a week after Federal occupation, performances were resumed; on February 28 the following statement appeared in the advertisement for that evening's play, Miss Eloise Bridges's *Lady Audley's Secret*: "By permission of the military authorities the Theatre will be open this Tuesday Evening, February 28, 1865."³⁷ It is interesting to note also that the same advertisement announced a great drop in the prices of admission: dress circle, \$1.00; parquette, 50 cents; and center gallery \$1.00. A later advertisement on May 12 announced 25 cents as admission to the colored gallery. Stock pieces were offered nightly through March 13; thereafter the company presented an average of about two plays a week through May 15, when nightly performances were resumed through May 26. The management of the company was then taken over by John H. Davis, who had previously been stage manager and actor, and the troupe remained through the summer offering light variety. On July 12 the company humorously advertised itself as the Wilmington Nightingale Opera Troupe and "re-engaged" itself nightly, except on July 15 and 18, through July 26, and again August 18-19, 25-26.

The season of 1865-1866 began on October 19 with the Davis Company's *Lucretia Borgia*, and, except for November 2-5, plays were given nightly through December 4 with Davis and Miss Vernon in the leading roles. On December 5 H. M. Jenkins was announced as lessee and manager, with Davis as stage manager. Variety was offered through December 13 except for December 12, when Miss Vernon chose *Camille* for her farewell benefit performance. On December 25 the theater was advertised for

³⁵ R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, 1929), II, 253.

³⁶ Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River*, 495.

³⁷ *Herald of the Union*, February 28, 1865.

rent by the week or month,³⁸ although Charley White's Burlesque Opera Troupe appeared for only one night on January 17, and Artemus Ward for two nights on February 7-8 with his Great Salt Lake City and the Valley of the Utah Panorama and accompanying lecture. On March 19-20 Wilmington had the privilege of hearing grand opera when the Ghioni and Susini Company gave *Il Trovatore* and *Faust*. The theater was then leased by J. H. Rogers, who opened on March 29 with Davis as manager and Mme. Carlotta Pozzoni as star, supported by the members of the old Davis Company. Performances were unbroken through April 11, except for March 30. On May 1-2 appeared Carter's Grand Combination Troupe with "Fifteen Beautiful Young Ladies," according to the advertisement, and this was followed by the *Paradise Lost* Tableaux on June 1-16 and 18. During the summer of 1866 the Bailey Troupe returned and offered stock plays at the theater once a week, on Wednesday evenings, from August 7 through September 26.

During 1866-1867 the effects of reconstruction and the growing scarcity of surplus money resulted in the poorest season since the opening of the theater. During 1866-1868 the crop production in the Wilmington area was only one-fourth of the normal yield.³⁹ Furthermore, employment of labor became a problem after the freeing of over 10,000 slaves in the area;⁴⁰ shipping was falling off because of the competition of Norfolk and Charleston and high railroad freight rates; and no one had confidence in the town's banking facilities.⁴¹ Editorials on "hard times" appeared frequently in the newspapers.

The new season opened on October 2, 1866, with Edwin Blanchard's Company, which used trained dogs in the plays, and it reappeared on October 5 and 12. Thereafter the theater was open for only eight nights through February 21, after which it remained closed until November 14. On July 20 John J. Hedrick announced in the newspapers that he had leased the theater and that he would rent to legitimate or amateur groups.

The next season opened on November 14-15, 1867, with H. J.

³⁸ *Daily Dispatch*, December 25, 1865.

³⁹ Bryant W. Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction in Wilmington and the County of New Hanover," *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, XI (1915), 101.

⁴⁰ Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction," 100.

⁴¹ Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction," 105.

Sargent, *The Scientific Illusionist and Wizard of the South*. Two days after his appearance, the following editorial appeared in the *Daily Post*, edited by E. A. Paul:

The "local [intelligence]" of the *Journal* had yesterday an article regretting the small amount of amusements, which come in the way of the people of our city. His remarks are trite, and are worthy of more than passing attention. With one of the best and most handsomely furnished theatres in the South, and with a population of fourteen thousand souls, it is strange that the Thalian Hall should be allowed to remain idle. . . . There are many people who possess in the highest degree, a taste for the legitimate drama, and it would be no very difficult task to inculcate the same appreciation in others. Ours is an intelligent community, more so for its size, than is perhaps any other in the South. . . .⁴²

On November 19 the same editor stated that he had learned that Sargent had leased the theater and was forming a company. In the meantime, on December 21 a Panorama of the ruins of Columbia, South Carolina, was exhibited for one night, followed on December 23-26 by Marshall and Doyle's Mikado Troupe of Japanese, offering variety.

On December 30, 1867, the Sargent Company, featuring A. R. Phelps, opened with Banim's *Damon and Pythias* and played nightly through January 20. After the long dearth of dramatic entertainment and in spite of admission prices ranging from \$1.00 to 25 cents, the company was warmly received. The *Daily Journal* stated that ". . . the troupe far surpasses any which has appeared here since the celebrated Marchant Troupe,"⁴³ while the *Post* commented that "The beauty and fashion and elite of Wilmington nightly throng there . . . not since the days when Marchant first opened with his troupe in our then entirely new Theatre have such great pains been taken to please the lovers of the drama."⁴⁴ On January 18 there appeared in the *Post* a letter of thanks to the troupe signed by the mayor, John Dawson, and sixteen other "admirers of the Histrionic Art," offering Sargent a benefit performance. Sargent's letter of acceptance follows the letter of thanks, setting January 20 as the date of the benefit,

⁴² November 17, 1867.

⁴³ January 6, 1868.

⁴⁴ January 4, 1868.

with G. W. Lovell's *Love's Sacrifice*. Although the theater was open for only eleven nights during the remainder of the season, the quality of entertainment was high, including Grau's German Opera Company, which presented *Faust* and *The Magic Flute* on March 30-31; Charles M. Barres' *The Black Crook*, the first successful American revue, which had played nearly two years in New York, June 1-4; and Harry McCarthy, June 8-9.

The 1868-1869 season began on November 30 with the ventriloquist St. Maur for two nights, but there was no further entertainment until January 4, when the John Templeton Troupe offered an anonymous adaptation of Byron's *Mazeppa*, featuring Miss Kate Raymond and Her Champion Mare, Black Bess. This was repeated on the next night, and on January 6 Augustin Daly's *Under the Gas Light* was offered with "Engine and Cars and Railroad on the Stage," according to the advertisement. The touring *Under the Gas Light* Company returned on January 15 and on the next night offered *The Hidden Hand*. On March 8-9 Mme. Frederici's Grand German Opera offered *Martha* and *Fra Diavolo*, which drew large audiences.⁴⁵ The theater then remained open for eight nights, March 10-18, with Wyman the magician and the Hanlon Brothers Velocipede Troupe playing four nights each. Next came Mlle. Marie Louise Durand's Opera Company, which presented Signor P. Brignoli, "the Greatest Lyric Tenor Living," in *Don Pasquale* on April 9, the last night of the season. The reviewer for the *Daily Journal* stated that Brignoli's voice ". . . possesses a power of music impossible to describe; but we think the great tenor did not do himself justice on this occasion."⁴⁶ In the main, he thought the recent German Opera Company was better.

The 1869-1870 season, with fifty nights of entertainment, was the fullest since the most prosperous of the war seasons, 1863-1864. The theater was opened on November 15 under the management of John T. Ford, formerly owner of Ford's Theater in Washington, in which Lincoln had been assassinated. According to the advertisements, the company came from the Holliday Street Theatre in Baltimore, and it offered a week of stock, including T. W. Robertson's popular English comedy *Caste* on November

⁴⁵ *Daily Journal*, March 9-10, 1869.

⁴⁶ April 10, 1869.

20. Contemporaneously, the Tremaine Brothers and J. G. Pierson offered musical entertainment at Masonic Hall, November 16-20. At the theater Ford next offered the Chapman Sisters and C. B. Bishop in musical extravaganzas, December 29-January 1, and for the next two months there were short engagements of panoramas, trapeze artists, minstrels, and Wyman the magician. Beginning on March 7, however, the very capable Shakespearean actor Neil Warner, supported by the Ford Company, offered *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, *Richelieu*, and *Richard III*. The writer for the *Daily Journal* stated that he had seen Macready, Forrest, and Junius Brutus Booth in the role of Hamlet but that Warner's interpretation was the best. His style was described as being "scholarly, graceful, and subdued."⁴⁷ Warner's portrayal of Romeo was reviewed in the *Post* as being "easy, unstrained, studious, and pains-taking . . . the acting was as smooth as the running rivulet."⁴⁸

During the remainder of the season, Ford engaged Mrs. James A. Oates' Burlesque and Operatic Troupe, March 14-19; the McCulloch and Brignoli Italian Opera Company on March 28-29 with *Il Trovatore* and *Lucia di Lammermoor*; Signor Rubini, European magician, March 31-April 2; and McEvoy's Hibernicon, a panorama of Ireland, April 7-9, the close of the season.

The increase in the quantity and quality of the entertainment offered during 1869-1870 was very probably an indication of the economic recovery being made in Wilmington by 1870. In fact, despite the depression years 1866-1868, the turpentine and lumber trade in the town continued to prosper, and by the end of the decade there were frequently as many as one hundred sailing vessels in port at one time, for the river was too shallow for the larger steam freighters.⁴⁹ In 1866 the Wilmington Chamber of Commerce had been incorporated to stimulate trade and shipping,⁵⁰ and in 1872 it made a detailed commercial survey, an extract of which reads as follows: "The trade of this port is steadily and constantly increasing, and as our harbor improves will continue to do so in more rapid proportion."⁵¹ The total

⁴⁷ March 8, 1870.

⁴⁸ March 10, 1870.

⁴⁹ Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River*, 501.

⁵⁰ Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction," 105.

⁵¹ Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River*, 512.

population of the town in 1870 was 13,446, including 5,526 white persons; the total increase since 1860 was 3,894.

This survey has revealed that once Wilmington acquired a modern and sizable theater, the people of the town supported this cultural institution as ably as the varying conditions of the turbulent times permitted. Immediately after its opening on October 12, 1858, the theater had fairly full seasons for two years. Then, as the political situation in the South grew increasingly serious during the latter part of 1860 and the early part of 1861, interest in the theater naturally declined. After the general unrest caused by the beginning of the war, an additional setback occurred in the form of the yellow fever epidemic during the fall of 1862. Beginning in the spring of 1863, however, theatrical activity gradually revived as Wilmington began to feel the effects of greatly increased trade brought about by blockade running, and the season 1863-1864 proved to be the fullest in the years covered by the survey. After the war the performances gradually declined, as a result of the difficulties of reconstruction, until the season of 1866-1867, the poorest of all, during which only eleven performances occurred. Economic recovery, however, was under way by the last two years of the decade, and the season 1869-1870 witnessed a restoration to the normal activity of ante-bellum years but not to the flourishing times of the blockade-running period.

PAPERS FROM THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL SESSION
OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER, 1950

INTRODUCTION

BY CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

The fiftieth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh, Friday, December 1, 1950. Meeting concurrently with the Association were the North Carolina Folklore Society, the North Carolina State Art Society, the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and the North Carolina Society of County Historians. At the morning meeting of the Association, with Vice President George M. Stephens of Asheville presiding, the following papers were read: "The North Carolina Sojourn of the First American Novelist," by Richard Walser of Raleigh; "The State Literary and Historical Association: 1900-1950," by William Burlie Brown of Chapel Hill; and "North Carolina Books for 1950," by Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert of Guilford College. A business session followed.

At the evening meeting, with Vice President Gilbert presiding, Vice President Stephens delivered an address and Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Byerly of Winston-Salem, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the state of North Carolina, announced that the annual Mayflower Cup award had been made to Mr. Max Steele of Chapel Hill for his book, *Debbys*. The meeting was brought to a close by an address, "Old Plantation Days," by Dr. Archibald Rutledge of McClellansville, S. C.

Most of these papers and addresses are included in the pages that follow, and it is believed that they will be read with interest both by those who did not have opportunity to hear them in the first instance and also by those who, though they were present when the papers were delivered, will nevertheless enjoy the opportunity to refresh their memories as to what was said. In most cases the authors have made certain revisions and the usual editing has been done, but in no instance has the original meaning been materially altered.

THE NORTH CAROLINA SOJOURN OF THE FIRST AMERICAN NOVELIST

BY RICHARD WALSER

In 1792, probably in the late summer or autumn, a young man left Boston and, taking the various modes of transportation then necessary, traveled to North Carolina. No drum and fife corps greeted him; no flowers were strewn in his path. In North Carolina he visited relatives, studied law, and wrote poems. After being in the state about a year, he caught a fever, from which he died in September, 1793. The location of his grave has never been established.

Now, there is little in this preceding paragraph to cause excitement, and the matter would deserve no notice at all one hundred and fifty years afterwards, if it were not for the fact that the young man happened to have the name of William Hill Brown, that three years before his southern trip he had published in Boston a novel called *The Power of Sympathy*,¹ that the work is now acknowledged the first American novel and its author the first American novelist.²

The fact that Brown died in North Carolina allows this state the distinction of providing the final scenes in the lives of two of the most important American literary "firsts." Thomas Godfrey, whose authorship of *The Prince of Parthia* makes him the first professional American dramatist, came down from Philadelphia and, like Brown, caught a fever. He died in Wilmington in 1763. Unlike the forgotten grave of luckless Brown, Godfrey's resting place has been clearly marked for the literary peregrinator to see.

¹ *The Power of Sympathy or, The Triumph of Nature. Founded in Truth.* 2 vols. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Company, 1789. Reissued in facsimile, with a bibliographical note by Milton Ellis, by the Columbia University Press (1937).

² Biographical data from Arthur W. Brayley, "The Real Author of 'The Power of Sympathy,'" *The Bostonian*, I (December, 1894), 224-233; Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The Famous Mather Byles* (Boston: W. A. Butterfield, 1914); Emily Pendleton and Milton Ellis, *Philenia, The Life and Works of Sarah Wentworth Morton*, University of Maine Studies, 2nd Series, no. 20, December, 1931; Milton Ellis, "The Author of the First American Novel," *American Literature*, IV (January, 1933), 356-368; Charles Knowles Bolton, "Some Notes on Gawen Brown's Family," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, LXIV (October, 1933), 317-322; Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, *American Authors, 1600-1900* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1938), 107-108; Milton Ellis, "Brown, William Hill," *Dictionary of American Biography* (1944), supplement one, XXI, 125-126; and notes compiled by the late Professor Milton Ellis in his preparation of a biography of Brown, and now deposited in the office of the Department of English, University of Maine, Orono.

Let us glance over the life of our novelist before he set forth to dwell in a new part of the young nation. William Hill Brown was born in Boston in 1765. On December 1 of that year he was baptized at the Hollis Street Church. His father Gawen Brown, the celebrated clockmaker, was married three times. His second wife was Elizabeth Byles, a daughter of the famous Reverend Mather Byles and a great-granddaughter of the even more famous Increase Mather. The third was a widow, Mrs. Elizabeth (Hill) Adams. William Hill Brown was the first child of this union, a daughter Elizabeth (Eliza) the second. In all, Gawen Brown had fourteen children, several of whom died in infancy.

As a youth William Hill Brown, after attending school, evinced an interest in literature. He was a familiar in the smart Bohemian circle in Boston which included Robert Treat Paine, Jr. He wrote poems, stories, essays, plays, and at least two novels.³ His literary confidante and adviser was Catharine Byles, who always called herself Brown's aunt, though she was only a half-sister of his father's second wife and therefore of no blood relationship.

In 1789, when Brown was twenty-three, Isaiah Thomas of Boston brought out anonymously the young writer's first novel, *The Power of Sympathy*. In thin disguise the book, advertised even then as the first American novel,⁴ related the story of an actual seduction which was the scandal of Boston at the time. The real persons involved, the Perez Mortons and their connections, are said to have been highly indignant at this treatment by

³ Besides *The Power of Sympathy*, Brown wrote "Harriot: or, The Domestic Reconciliation," a romantic tale, in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, January, 1789; a series of twenty-four verse fables in *The Boston Magazine* (November 30, 1805, to April 26, 1806) and *The Emerald* (June 7, 1806, to January 24, 1807); "The Yankee," a series of twenty-two literary and political essays, in the *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), (September 1, 1790, to December 11, 1790); *Ira and Isabella: or the Natural Children. A Novel, Founded in Fiction. A Posthumous Work* (Boston: Belcher and Armstrong, 1807); "West-Point Preserved," a tragedy apparently lost, the epilogue of which has been preserved in *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), June 5, 1797; a lost "comedy, entitled Penelope, in the style of the West-Indian," the latter a play written by Richard Cumberland and produced in 1771 (see "Pollio: a Monody to the Memory of Mr. W. H. Brown" in *The Works, in Verse and Prose, of the Late Robert Treat Paine*, Boston: J. Belcher, 1812; the poem "Pollio" appeared previously in the *Columbian Centinel*, October 2, 1793, and in *The North-Carolina Journal*, December 11, 1793); and miscellaneous poems from 1789 to 1793 in the *Massachusetts Magazine* and the *New England Palladium*, sometimes under the pen name "Pollio."

Two unique productions, in addition to the foregoing, are probably the work of Brown: *Occurrences of the Times. Or, The Transactions of Four Days. Viz.—From Friday the 16th, to Monday the 19th January 1789. A Farce. In Two Acts* ([Boston]: [Benjamin Russell], [1789]), a satire on Boston residents who considered themselves slandered by *The Power of Sympathy*; and *The Better Sort: or, The Girl of Spirit. An Operatical, Comical Farce* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas, 1789), a good-natured, self-condemning piece, poking fun at those who write of scandal. There are copies of *Occurrences of the Times* at Harvard, Brown, and the American Antiquarian Society; of *The Better Sort*, at Harvard, Brown, Yale, the New York Public Library, and the Massachusetts Historical Society. The Yale copy of *The Better Sort* has this inscription on the title page: "Catharine Byles, presented by Mr. Wm. H. Brown."

No complete bibliography of the writings of William Hill Brown has been compiled.

⁴ Milton Ellis, "Bibliographical Note," *The Power of Sympathy* (The Facsimile Text Society, Publication No. 38; New York: Columbia University Press, 1937; 2 vols.).

one who was their neighbor and supposed to be their friend. Tradition tells us that the Mortons bought all copies of the book available and attempted to suppress the volume.

It is doubtful that young Brown was great affected. He continued to write and publish for the next several years; but the fact that he was author of the scandalous book, even if generally known, was not publicly admitted.

Things do not seem, however, to have been going very well for the writer. He clearly wished to pursue a life devoted to belles-lettres and, consequently, he had not provided himself with a lucrative profession or business. Such a course would hardly please the more sober members of his family. His half brother, Mather Brown,⁵ had developed almost a dislike for him. On July 25, 1791, from London, where he had established himself as a fashionable painter, Mather Brown wrote his aunts, the Misses Catharine and Mary Byles: ". . . please to remember me to my Father and Friends, from whom I wish to hear, (but I do *not* wish to be troubled with any more of Will. Brown's ill manners and impertinence). . . ." ⁶ The deviltries which young Brown had been engaging in were thus significant enough to be the subject of trans-Atlantic correspondence.

Whatever the nature of these difficulties—and it seems that the roguish, irresponsible, and unconventional air of the Bohemian was somewhat accountable—to say nothing of the literary hangover of *The Power of Sympathy* as well as Brown's occupational indolence—the writer decided to depart Boston and see how things were elsewhere.

In the latter part of 1792 he traveled to the South, and the next we hear of him he is already in Murfreesborough, North Carolina. There his closest sister Elizabeth (Eliza) lived. Baptized July 5, 1767, she was only a year and a half younger than her brother. On September 28, 1791, she married John Hinchborne,⁷ a merchant of Boston, and soon afterwards moved with him to the Hinchborne family⁸ plantation at Murfreesborough.

⁵ [Frederick W. Coburn], "Brown, Mather," *Dictionary of American Biography* (1929), III, 144-145.

⁶ Byles Papers, transcripts in Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

⁷ Spelled also Hitchborne, Hichborn, Hitchburn, Hichbonn, Hichburn, Hitchburne, and Hitchborn.

⁸ In the Census of 1790, Hertford County, North Carolina, the "John Hichborn" family is listed with four "Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families," and two slaves. No females are listed. It would appear that Eliza in 1792 had a widowed father-in-law and two adult brothers-in-law. It is, of course, possible that she married the elder "John Hichborn."

Brown had other connections with the South. Two of his half brothers had removed there. Gawen, Jr., eleven years older, settled at Petersburg, Virginia, and became a prosperous merchant and planter. John Franklin Brown, nine years older, had been engaged in trade throughout the South, part of the time in Virginia. Besides the family relationships of these two, it seems probable, though genealogical records do not prove the case conclusively, that the young novelist had other kinfolk living in North Carolina at the time of his arrival here. William Hill, of Boston, quite likely the brother of Brown's mother and evidently the one for whom the writer was named, visited the Cape Fear some time after his graduation from Harvard in 1756.⁹ In North Carolina he married the niece of the fabulous "King" Roger Moore, aligning himself with one of the most affluent families of the colony. He left four sons, all of whom were prominent in the region.

We do not know that Brown visited these connections. At any rate, he was present in Murfreesborough in January, 1793, when his sister Eliza died at her home there.¹⁰

Though Brown is now remembered primarily for his famous novel, during his life he was more proficient as a poet. His first composition after his arrival in North Carolina appeared in *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax) in the issue of March 13, 1793. The "ELEGY on Mrs. ELIZA H"¹¹ is dated from Murfreesborough, January 12, 1793, but there is no signature. The seven eight-line stanzas are undistinguished; and were it not for Brown's most certain connection with the poem, it would pass unnoticed. According to the poem, the young wife's death was sudden:

'Twas night, and no one fear'd the close
Of life's uncertain play;
'Twas night, yet ere the morning rose
A palid corse she lay.

⁹ S. A. Ashe, "William H. Hill," *Biographical History of North Carolina* (1907), IV, 176-180.

¹⁰ The *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), February 6, 1793, has the following listing under "DEATHS": "—At Murphysborough, (N. C.) Mrs. Eliza Hitchburn, AEt. 24, wife of Mr. John Hitchburn, and daughter of Mr. Gowen Brown, of this place." The same journal, on February 27, 1793, has this similar notice: "At Murphpsboro', Mrs. Elizabeth Hichborn, wife of Mr. John Hichborn, mer. and daughter to Mr. Gowen Brown, of this town. AEt. 25." Her correct age was twenty-five.

¹¹ The nine dots following the "H" clearly spell out Hinchborne or Hitchburne.

The clue which resolves any doubt about the identity of the verses is in the sixth stanza. We know that at that time Brown's sister was shortly expecting her first child. The sixth stanza reads:

Chang'd in an hour—the sudden blow
 Her fancied view destroys:
 Pass but two moons she thought to know,
 A mother's anxious joys.
 On these no more her hopes descant,
 For low Eliza lies:
 And fallen with the parent plant,
 Th' expected blossom dies.

In a letter¹² to Mrs. Sarah Holmes, No. 156 Strand, London, dated November, 1793, Catharine Byles wrote of the death during January in Carolina of Brown's sister "who with agreeable prospects was settled in life, & expecting soon to experience the anxious pleasure of being a parent."

Brown's authorship of the poem is assumed not only because he was a facile poet and would most likely be the one to record his grief in an elegy, but because of the tardiness of its printing. There was no newspaper in Murfreesborough, where Brown was as the time of his sister's death. He went to Halifax soon afterwards and was certainly there before April 1. From January to March, then, Brown evidently kept the poem among his papers and then submitted it to Abraham Hodge,¹³ the Halifax editor, after his arrival in the village to study law.

Sometime during the early months of 1793 Brown took up the course of legal instruction in the office of General William R. Davie,¹⁴ at Halifax, where the Revolutionary hero had located ten years before and where he then had a large, successful practice. The poet seems not to have remained in Halifax on a permanent basis, but to have traversed the thirty miles or more between the two river towns, Murfreesborough on the Chowan and Halifax on the Roanoke, with rather constant regularity. He had become a fast friend of the editor, Abraham Hodge, whom apparently Brown saw as the only publishing outlet for his poems

¹² Byles Papers, transcripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

¹³ Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina, The Old North State and the New* (1941), 1, 491-492.

¹⁴ S. A. Ashe, "William Richardson Davie," *Biographical History of North Carolina* (1907), VI, 193.

in the hinterlands of North Carolina. Somewhat later he was even turning a penny or so as a result of his journalistic association, for he was listed as one of the two persons in Murfreesborough to whom "PAYMENTS may be made" for *The North-Carolina Journal*.¹⁵

In the *Journal* of April 3 appeared a second poem, "DEATH OF LOUIS XVI." It is dated "Halifax, April 1" and signed "COLUMBUS," the pen name Brown used again later. Prefacing the poem is a letter:

Mr. HODGE,

The writer of the following lines is no friend to Kings: He is the friend of human life. He however considers his country under obligations to the *last King of the French*, and in common with the free, the dispassionate and the grateful of his countrymen, pours forth the tribute of respectful pity to the *manes* of the desolated Monarch. In common also with the philosopher, the philanthropist and the politician, he declares his indignation and his sorrow are equally awakened, that the progress of Liberty should be disgraced with the blood of a King, whose errors have arisen more from situation than principle.

The poem which follows, in eight four-line stanzas, has various references to Pity, Imagination, Democracy, Rage, Murder, Sorrow, and other typical eighteenth-century personifications, as well as a comment about COLUMBIA, who "shall raise the trophied urn" and "wander oft, her *Royal Friend* to mourn." It is just the sort of grandiose piece which papers like *The North-Carolina Journal* used in their poetry corners, and we cannot doubt that Abraham Hodge was pleased to have a local contributor fill the space so admirably. Regardless of its rather dubious political sentiment, the verses are impressive with "Notes and Imitations" from *Della Crusca*, *Dryden*, and *Ossian*.

The chef d'oeuvre of Brown's poetizing came, however, in the issue of July 3, signed again from Halifax by "COLUMBUS" and titled "The Lion and the Tarapen." The excellence of this quite admirable selection, containing few of the clichés so numerous in his first two North Carolina efforts, is due in considerable measure to the fact that the poem was not one of untried medium to the writer. Brown had written some two dozen verse fables

¹⁵ *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), July 10, 1793.

previously, though this was one of the first to be published.¹⁶ The principal difference in this (the last poem he wrote, so far as we know) and the earlier ones was that the fables written before he left Boston where composed primarily in iambic tetrameter couplets, while "The Lion and the Tarapen" is in pentameters. In length the other fables ran from fifty-four to one hundred fifty lines; "The Lion and the Tarapen" has exactly one hundred. Most of the fables are animal stories pointing up a moral, with the villain eventually coming to grief. Political satire is evident in many, one of them, "The Revolution,"¹⁷ relating the defeat of a tyrant Lion, symbol of vanquished Britain, as is the case in the more mature poem "The Lion and the Tarapen." Throughout them all, whether dealing in politics, manners, or morals, Brown wrote expertly in a genre formerly explored but not pre-empted by Jean de la Fontaine in France and John Gay in England with their *Fables*, and John Trumbull in America with his satiric verse.¹⁸

After its initial publication, "The Lion and the Tarapen" was reprinted at least three times in the next sixty years. Abraham Hodge used it in his *North-Carolina Almanack* for 1795,¹⁹ where continuous portions of it ran along the tops of the calendars for the various months. On January 26, 1809, *The Star* (Raleigh) printed it with this heading:

The following was admired 14 years ago, as an amusing, well told story, possessing much of the true spirit of Poetry. Many who read it when first published will be pleased to have it again brought to their recollections, and may perhaps be desirous to preserve it as a curious relic on [*sic*] their files of interesting and useful matter. It is possible also the frequent mention which our *witty* politicians have lately made of "Tarrapins" and "Lions" may now give it an interest among the *wits* which it never had before.²⁰

Brown was not given as the author.

¹⁶ "The Spider and the Bee," *Herald of Freedom*, September 4, 1788, may be Brown's. Certainly he wrote "The Sailor and the Bramin," *Columbian Centinel*, December 1, 1790; it was reprinted in *The Emerald*, June 7, 1806, as Fable 15 in the series then running.

¹⁷ *The Boston Magazine*, I (January 25, 1806), 4.

¹⁸ The Fables of William Hill Brown, unpublished paper written at the University of Maine in 1931 by Doris L. Gross, Stonington, Maine.

¹⁹ By William Thomas and published at Halifax. There is a copy in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

²⁰ James S. Purcell, Jr., in *Literary Culture in North Carolina before 1820* (Duke University: unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1950), 299, n. 122, suggests as explanation for the 1809 interest in the poem that in the years before the War of 1812 the Federalists slightly referred to the proponents of the embargoes as Terrapins. Naturally the Lion is England.

In 1854 Mrs. Mary Bayard Clarke included it in *Wood-Notes*, a two-volume work which was the first anthology of North Carolina poetry.²¹

The selection is sufficiently significant to deserve another hearing, all these years later. Its importance for us is not only that it is a verse fable written by a Bostonian, the first American novelist, with an almost distinctive North Carolina tone; it is likewise a creditable and commendable poem. Its humor and accelerated story-telling are quite beyond the talents of the literary amateur.

THE LION AND THE TARAPEN²²

Bella! Horrida Bella! — Vir.²³

The race is not to the swift nor the battle to
the strong. — Sol.²⁴

A fam'd Hibernian, in this curious age,
Confin'd the King of Beasts within a cage;
Keeping his Majesty in *durance vile*—
From place to place he journeyed many a mile;
Travell'd thro' Chowan, Halifax and Nash,²⁵
And pocketed a devilish deal of Cash;
Commenc'd a gentleman, and taught to play,
He grew in grace with Fortune every day:
As Tully eloquent, as Stentor²⁶ loud,
Thus he harangu'd the ever-wond'ring crowd:
"Come, gentlemen—behold the sweetest *crature*²⁷
That e'er was modell'd by the hand of Nature.

²¹ *Wood-Notes* (Raleigh: Warren L. Pomeroy), I, 64-68. Here for the first time Brown is credited with the authorship of the poem. In a note Mrs. Clarke states erroneously that Brown died in 1795. After *Wood-Notes*, an unimportant but curious later reprinting was in the pamphlet "*The Early Times and Men of Albemarle, An Oration Delivered at Elizabeth City, N. C., on 7th of August, 1877, at Request of the 'Albemarle Historical Society'*" [Elizabeth City? 1877] by John H. Wheeler (1806-1882), well-known writer on North Carolina history. Wheeler, who does not cite Brown as the author, introduces the poem with these words: ". . . I will mention, that in my researches I have found a veritable production, by a North Carolinian on a truly North Carolina subject which I trust may interest you, or at least relieve you from the dry details of facts and dates, which my subject has imposed upon you. There are fewer finer specimens of the mock heroic style, extant." Wheeler takes considerable liberties with the poem. He renames it "Africa and Carolina," substitutes "Pasquotank" for "Halifax" in line 5, and later "Tar Heel" for "Planter," "boid Pat" for "Master," "Carolina" for "Tarapen," and so on. Wheeler's attempt to modernize and localize the poem is rather unfortunate. In 1793 Brown would have felt uncomfortable in the presence of such unknown words as "Tar Heel" and "boid Pat."

²² Spelled "Tarapen" in 1793 and 1795 printings, "Terrapen" in 1809; "Terrapin" in 1854. Occasional spellings, some punctuation, and all obvious typographical errors have been corrected to insure less difficult reading, but no attempt has been made to alter the eighteenth-century savor of the poem. The text printed here is, on the whole, a composite of the four existing versions.

²³ Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book VI, line 86.

²⁴ Ecclesiastes 9:11.

²⁵ Three North Carolina counties.

²⁶ Tully is, of course, Cicero the "eloquent." Stentor, in Homer's *Iliad*, is a herald with a very loud voice.

²⁷ The 1793 printing has "creature," but the 1854 form is used here because of its Hibernian flavor.

A spectacle to feast a curious eye on—
 Come, gentlemen, *walk up and see the Lion!*
 All beasts confess'd his tyranny complete,
 And, trembling, crouch'd for mercy at his feet:
 No animal his peerless power withstood,
 He reign'd the Monarch of the Libyan wood.
 Sole sov'reign of the plain—no odds he begs
 Of any beast, that walks upon *four legs.*"

"Ah!" said a *Planter*, "in our modern age,
 To see the mightiest Monarch in a cage
 Is no new thing!—but, by the immortal gods,
 If you declare this Lion asks *no odds*,
 An animal I'll bring, shall make him roar,
 And bathe that visage with his royal gore:—
 Make you the wager*—and behold what follows."

* See *Virgil, Ecl. 7.*²⁸

"Done," said the Master, "for a hundred dollars."
 Off went the Planter for his beast, so keen,
 All wond'ring what the devil he could mean.
 At length he brought—the Lion to oppose,
 What seem'd "a fiddle that had feet and toes."*

* See "A Tour in the United States," by one *Smyth*.—He thus describes the *Tarapen*: "I saw an animal crawl behind a rock, which I could compare to nothing but a fiddle with feet to it,"—a book beneath criticism, and containing nothing to excite admiration but a long list of noble subscribers.²⁹

"Here, boastful wretch, behold the *Loggerhead*,³⁰
 Who never from his adversary fled:
 Sole monarch of the Swamp—he fights his foe
 With certain skill, and conquers at a blow.

²⁸ This footnote of Brown's is found only in the 1793 printing. Eclogue VII describes a song-duel between the shepherds Corydon and Thyrsis. The reference, while allowing for a classic comparison with the lion-terrapin contest which follows, is little more than a sop to eighteenth-century display and erudition. Line 16 of Eclogue VII reads:

et certamen erat, Corydon cum Thyrside, magnum.

It is translated ". . . and the match—Corydon against Thyrsis—was a mighty one" by H. Rushton Fairclough in *Virgil* (London: Heinemann, 1938), II, 49.

²⁹ Smyth, whose book was published in both London and Dublin in 1784, was a British soldier who, during the Revolution, traveled widely throughout the South. His *Tour* relates various hidings (one of them in the Dismal Swamp), captures, and escapes. John Randolph observed that the volume was filled with "calumny and falsehood." *Library of Southern Literature* (1910), XV, 409. Brown must have agreed with Randolph. His footnote, however, is not accurately transcribed. Smyth writes:

"Another time, whilst I was reading in a very solitary retired place among the rocks and trees, on hearing some little noise near me, I looked around, and just had the glimpse of a very strange and singular animal, such as I had never seen even any resemblance of before. It appeared to me more like a fiddle with feet, than any thing else that I know; the sight I had of it was just as it was running behind a rock. I sought there, and every where for it immediately, to no purpose, for I could not discover even a trace thereof remaining.

"When I returned, I mentioned what I had seen; but no one, from my description, could inform me what animal it was."—John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, *Tour in the United States of America* . . . (Dublin: G. Perrin, 1784), I, 31-32.

Later on, Smyth writes: "There was another animal that particularly engaged my attention, it being one of the same species that formerly I just had a glimpse of among the falls of James River, when it struck me with the strange idea of its resembling a fiddle with feet.

"These animals are called here *Tarapens*, and are both of the land and water kinds. They are all however of the species of the turtle." Smyth, *Tour*, I, 223.

³⁰ A species of large marine turtle.

Shew him the Royal Lion, and you'll see
He'll reverence kings like Prince Egalité."³¹

Now for the fight the combatants prepare—
Now in the cage, behold the advent'rous pair!—
The scales of vict'ry hanging in the skies,
Were then discovered by poetic eyes,
Wavering in doubt, unknowing to subside,
For *Carolina's boast* or *Africk's pride*.

Wise Tarapen, beneath his coat of mail,
Took in, secure, his head and legs and tail;
So when the wind blows hard, and thunders roll,
And tempests shake the world from pole to pole,
The cautious sailor sees the verging woe,
Furls up his sails, and drops the yard below,
Rides on the billow's top, sublime and vast,
And scorns, serene, the elemental blast.

Advancing firm, the Monarch of the Plain
Lash'd his long tail and rear'd his mighty mane,
Held out his princely paw—and, at one thwack,
Extended Tarapen upon his back:
But, free from pain, and without loss of gore,
The *Carolinian* found his legs once more,
Laugh'd at the Lion's strength, and mock'd his frown,
And rose the stronger for the knocking down.
'Twas thus of old—poetic history shows,
Alcides fought, and thus Antaeus³² rose.

Hark! from the skies a rattling peal of thunder!*

* See *Homer's Batrochamuomachia*.³³

The Gods and Goddesses look down with wonder:
'Tis a Land-Turtle with the Lion strives!
They never saw such fighting in their lives.

³¹ Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, assumed such a name in 1792. He voted for the execution of Louis XVI. Brown's simile, in comparing the terrapin to Philippe, is a particularly happy one.

³² In Greek mythology, the wrestler Antaeus was invincible as long as he touched the earth. When lifted from it, he renewed his strength (like the terrapin) by touching it again. Alcides (Hercules) conquered him by squeezing him to death in mid-air.

³³ In *Batrachomyomachia* (*The Battle of the Frogs and Mice*), a mock-heroic poem sometimes attributed to Homer, Jove decrees victory for the frogs which are being defeated, first by sending down thunder, then by releasing an army of crabs which chase the mice away. Jove and all his gods and goddesses, in true mock-heroic fashion, view the battle from the clouds and are as actively interested in the outcome as if it had been the finale of the Trojan war.

Ὦς ἄρ' ἔφη. Κρονίδης δ' ἔβαλε ψολόεντα κεραυνόν.
πρῶτα μὲν ἐβρόντησε, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον,
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα κεραυνόν, δειμαλέον Διὸς ὄπλον,
ἦκ' ἐπιδινησας. ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐπτατο χεῖρὸς ἄνακτος.

See *Hesiod. The Homeric Hymns and Homeric* (London: William Heinemann, 1914), 562. Samuel Wesley in 1726, translating the poem as *The Iliad in a Nutshell: or Homer's Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, renders the foregoing lines:

She ended speech, and cloud-compelling Jove
His three-fork'd thunder takes to part the fight,
With goat-skin shield descending from above,
Swift, silent, black, and terrible as Night.
In sudden darkness either host he shrouds,
Harsh thunders roll, and bluish lightnings blaze.

LXVII 1.—6.

See Friedrich Wild, *Die Batrachomyomachia in England* (Wien und Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918), 64.

"Now, *let the Carolinian win*"—JOVE said,
 And shook the reverend honours of his head.
 Whom JUPITER befriends must then prevail,
 So smiling VICTORY turns the dubious scale.

Leo, unknowing whom he had in fight,
 Stoop'd down his head to take a nearer sight—
 While Tarapen, firm, watchful, never scar'd,
 Directly seiz'd his highness by the beard:
 That is, so bit the Lion by the jowl,
 He could not disengage him for his soul.
 Close as a lover to his mistress dear,
 Close as the pillory to a rascal's ear,
 Close as a miser to a bag of joes,³⁴
 So close hung *Tarapen* to *Leo's* nose.

Soon as the *Master* saw what came to pass,
 Not *Sancho*³⁵ griev'd so loudly for his Ass;
 Not with more sorrow did the Trojan dames
 Bewail their *Hector*³⁶ dear, and Troy in flames;
 Nor trembling *Frenchmen* with more rage and fear,
 At the last feat of General *Dumourier*.³⁷
 At length, to generous pity all inclin'd,
 With godlike sympathy within his mind,
 The great Hibernian ey'd the fray as cruel,
 In tears exclaiming, "O, my *baste!*³⁸ my jewel!"
 Then, to the Planter turn'd—"Ah! dearest honey,
 Release my Lion and receive your money."
 The subtle hero, liking well the truce,
 Receiv'd his bet and let the Lion loose:
 Then to the mighty conqueror said, "Yes! go,
 Enjoy your freedom in the vale below;
 O! may your bed of laurel leaves be made,
 And sweet magnolias blossom round your head;
 Amphibious Victor! *Tarapen* divine!
 Yours be the glory, but the wager mine."

COLUMBUS.

Halifax, July, 1793.

Though "The Lion and the Tarapen" was Brown's final poetic effort, it was not his last appearance in print. Considerable agitation in the public press concerning education in general and the establishment of the University of North Carolina in particular did not leave the Bostonian unmoved. His association with Wil-

³⁴ A "jo" is a double johannes, American colonial coin.

³⁵ In Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.

³⁶ In Homer's *Iliad*.

³⁷ Charles Francois Dumouriez, French general. The June 19 and June 26 issues of *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax) had leading articles on "French Affairs" with much attention on the activities of General Dumouriez. As a constant reader of that newspaper, Brown was fresh from a perusal of these accounts when he was composing "The Lion and the Tarapen."

³⁸ In the 1793 printing "beast." See above, p. 145, n. 27.

liam R. Davie, later known as "the Father of the University," disposed Brown in favor of the immediate founding of the proposed institution; and on July 10, 1793,³⁹ the following letter appeared in the *Journal* over his pen name, "COLUMBUS":

MR. HODGE

That the proposed University of North-Carolina would operate [to] the happiness of the State, has been doubted, and the idea of its utility to the people at large has been combatted in your paper. It may appear extraordinary that the progress of learning should be opposed in a young Republican Country, since the *experience* of mankind, from the infancy of government to the present day, exhibits a clean illustration of this truth, THAT KNOWLEDGE MUST BE THE GUARDIAN OF LIBERTY. Whatever strengthens this sentiment, is important at this juncture, when subscriptions are circulating in various counties for the establishment of a fund for the promised seminary of learning. I, therefore, send you the enclosed manuscript containing observations on Education, &c. written a year or two since—and though originally thrown together for a different purpose—for shewing the *means of Preventing Crimes*—they are nevertheless applicable to the present period and subject, because drawn from from [sic] the history of governments and of man. You are at liberty to publish, from the first Chapter, as many extracts as your judgment or convenience may direct,—and, also, to continue them in a series of papers, until you shall have selected the most interesting matters.

Then followed a rather lengthy essay titled EDUCATION and geared to the purpose stated by Brown, showing education to be "the *means of Preventing Crimes*." The essay is embellished with classical allusions and sententious examples, but lacks the directness and simplicity evinced in "The Lion and the Tarapen." We do not know whether other similar essays were published in accordance with Brown's permission, for there are no extant copies of the *Journal* for the next three weeks. By the issue of August 7 the essays had been either discontinued or concluded.

Brown's stay in North Carolina was clearly a happy one at this time, and he was planning to establish himself permanently in the state. He had not become so serious in his life and study there, however, that he had abandoned his irresponsible and capricious nature. The best indication of his carefree tempera-

³⁹ In Chapel Hill on October 12, 1793—three months after this letter—Davie laid the cornerstone of Old East, the first building at the University.

ment during these days is contained in a letter written him by Catharine Byles from Boston on August 5,⁴⁰ and addressed to him at Halifax. The annoyance of his "aunt" over the showing of her previous letter cannot be considered too seriously.

My dear William,

With peculiar pleasure I received your favor of April 17th. But judge of my emotions on perusing the first paragraph! Flattered by my friend! Criticised by Strangers!—consciously humble in Myself! I must acknowledge I really found my situation was truly mortifying. If the few hasty lines I last wrote you had any merit, as you politely insinuate, I recollect none except the sincerity of its expressions which spontaneously flowed warm from the heart of the Writer. To say I am not solicitous to please whenever I am forming a letter would be doing injustice to myself: but it is the partial friend only to whom I am writing in whose eyes I wish to appear pleasing; & as soon as my letter has answered this happy end of its existance I had much rather in the quiet possession of its lawful proprietor, it should slide into oblivion, in humble imitation of the retired situation of its author, then after making the grand tour of North-Carolina & at length carelessly drawn from the pocket of one of the literary critical genius's of the age it should be employed, by way of substitute to the fragments of an out-of-date news-paper, in reviving the dying fumes of a tobacco-pipe. Perhaps you may think this candid declaration of mine originates from pride—be this as it may I am resolutely determined not to retract a syllable of what I have uttered, & I must further add that in the present case, while my poor fugitive letter has been banded about, & sampson-like making sport for the Philistines, it affords me some consolation that its mistress unconscious of its misfortunes at the Moment, & personally unknown to the partys concerned, may still enjoy herself in her obscurity or in the dear society of the friends she loves.

I am exceedingly gratified by your accounts of the affectionate attention you meet with from the inhabitants of Carolina, but can by no means reconcile myself to the idea of your settling at such a distance from Boston. To one of your profession, learned in the law, the case must appear plain that it is directly contrary to the inclination of your friends to have you seperated from them, that in equity of reason, that is [*sic*] in parity of judgment, the matter ought to be duely, deliberately, fully & maturely considered: & to be plain with you, for as my Lord Bacon very wisely observes (or might have observed if he *was* a lawyer) lib. 4 pag. 389 "honesty is the best policy"⁴¹—I say, I am of opinion that to consider an affair which in its self is not inconsiderable sometimes shews considerable consideration: & therefore, may it

⁴⁰ Byles Papers, transcripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

⁴¹ The proverb stems from Aesop. I have not been able to locate a repetition in Bacon.

please your honors & you gentlemen of the jury, such atrocious conduct in my clients antagonist apparently appearing in opposition to his friends aforesaid consequently an infringement on Magna Charta et treasonabus against commonwealthum; I can only regret, that destitute of the assistance of John-a-Rokes & John-a-Stiles⁴² I, as a single disputant am not endowed with suitable talents to plead in the cause & decide it to my mind: But—if you are resolute—I refer you to Blackstones Commentaries, Cook upon Lyttletons,⁴³ or any other learned volume on the subject.—Should you observe me at Court when you open your budget I beg you will not be disconcerted, for all attention & silent as midnight, I shall only exclaim—O Yes!—success attend you!—

Seriously my dear William I am greatly disappointed in not seeing you this summer, buoyed up as we have long been with the agreeable idea that you meant us a visit at least, if not to reside amongst us. You know not how much I have missed your friendly calls & chearful society; particularly so as I have not enjoyed my health for five months past, though I am now beginning to recruit a little & walk abroad: you promise however to write to me, frequently recollect that promise & realize how much I am interested in every concern of yours. Your Aunt Mary⁴⁴ desires her love, says she often thinks of, & highly esteems you. May heaven direct bless & prosper you! is the retiring prayer, of

Your sincerely affectionate Aunt
C. Byles.

But Brown was never to see his beloved “aunt” again. Perhaps he never read the jocose and pleasant letter which she had written him. During the last of August an epidemic, probably malaria, struck the area. In Halifax on Wednesday, September 4, 1793, *The North-Carolina Journal* reported: “This town and neighborhood, has been, and still continues, exceedingly sickly—scarcely a family have escaped the general calamity.” The same issue listed among the dead Col. Herbert Haynes on Tuesday the 26th.⁴⁵ Likewise, “On Friday last, after a short illness, CHARLES GILMOUR, Esq. Postmaster in this town. He has left a sorrowful widow and two young children to bewail his loss”; and in another column of the paper Gilmour’s tavern already was advertised for rent. Finally beneath the Gilmour obituary

⁴² Imaginary figures in a law case. “John Doe” would be the modern equivalent. See Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (1595).

⁴³ Sir William Blackstone’s *Commentaries* (1765-1769) and Sir Edward Coke’s four *Institutes*, the first of which is known as *Coke upon Littleton* (1628), are basic volumes in the study of English law. The typescript has an obvious error, “look upon Lyttletons,” which has been corrected in the text.

⁴⁴ Catharine Byle’s maiden sister.

⁴⁵ Actually the last Tuesday in August, 1793, came on the 27th of the month.

is this additional notice: "Also the same evening, Master JUNIUS SITGREAVES, eldest son of the Hon. Judge Sitgreaves." The number of fatalities was indeed heavy in a village the size of Halifax.

Even supposing that Brown had contracted the fever in Halifax, he was, at any rate, in Murfreesborough with his in-laws at the time of his death.⁴⁶ In fact, he died at least two days before the news reached his friend Abraham Hodge in Halifax. The shock of his death, the gentleness of his conduct during his illness, and most of all, the great esteem in which he was held—all are illustrated in the flowery but genuinely sincere obituary which appeared in the *Journal* on September 11, evidently written by Hodge, who of course would most appreciate his friend's literary accomplishments. The length of the piece—a fullness not accorded to Postmaster and Tavern Keeper Charles Gilmour—as well as the elevated character of the sentiments, is highly complimentary and indicative of the regard Brown's friends had for him, particularly considering his comparatively brief residence in the town. Under "Halifax News" appeared the following:

DIED, after a short illness, at Murfreesborough, on the 2d instant, in the 27th year of his age, Mr. WILLIAM HILL BROWN, formerly of Boston, but lately of this town, where he was pursuing the study of the law.

In this gentleman were united every virtue and qualification, which an uncommon genius and insatigable application to study had rendered into general usefulness: But that accomplishment, which of all others shone conspicuously in him, and was his most proper and peculiar characteristic, was that richness of fancy and copiousness of expression, which upon all occasions made him serviceable, not only in a social but civil capacity. In his writings, he was concise but comprehensive—sublime and elegant—a little satirical at times, yet always pleasing and entertaining—In conversation, he was affable and polite—witty and winning:—It will be useless to illustrate his piety—the conduct of his life in general and his sickness in particular, has given sufficient testimony thereof—his loss is great both to his friends and country.

⁴⁶ Arthur W. Brayley, in "The Real Author of 'The Power of Sympathy,'" 232, says Brown "went to Virginia to study law, but did not long survive a severe cold contracted while riding on horse back."

“Of manners gentle, of affections mild;⁴⁷
 In wit, a man—simplicity, a child:
 With Attic salt, he season’d many a page,
 Form’d to delight at once and lash the age:
 A good companion and a faithful friend,
 Unblam’d thro’ life, lamented in his *End*.
 Thus say the good and worthy, with a tear,
 Striking their pensive bosoms—BROWN *lies here*.”⁴⁸

So died William Hill Brown in Murfreesborough, North Carolina. And where, one asks, is the grave of the first American novelist? Was he interred in a family cemetery in Murfreesborough, perhaps beside the body of his sister Eliza Hinchborne? Was he taken to Halifax? Surely, in 1793, he was not sent to Boston for burial. But no one knows. We can hope only that some antiquarian will someday discover the spot and raise a stone over it.

In fanciful mood Brown’s friend, the poet Robert Treat Paine, wrote from his northern Boston home a lengthy eulogy. The last four stanzas are doubtlessly more accurate than he realized when he wrote them.

Felt ye the gale?—It was the Sirock⁴⁹ blast,
 That spreads o’er burning climes Death’s gelid sleep!
 Hear ye that groan? ’tis dying Pollio’s last;
 And Friendship, Genius, Virtue, speechless, weep.

“Oh, Pollio, Pollio!”—all Parnassus cries!—
 Their breasts the grief-delirious muses beat;
 Torn from their brows, the withering garland dies;
 And drooping groves this funeral dirge repeat:

“Lamented Pollio, o’er thy sacred tomb.
 “The laurel-sprig we plant, the turf to shade:
 “Bathed by our tears, its spreading boughs shall bloom.
 “Till Fame’s most verdant amaranths shall fade!

⁴⁷ These eight lines have as their basis “On Mr. Gay” by Alexander Pope. There are considerable variations and deletions from the original, with one entirely new line.

⁴⁸ This obituary, giving the *Journal* as its source, was reprinted in the *Columbian Centinel* October 2. In the *Independent Chronicle* (Boston) on September 13, the following notice appeared: “Died: In Virginia, Mr. William Hill Brown, son of Mr. Gawen Brown, of this place. A young man over whose Bier Genius and Philanthropy will long mourn.” In November, Catharine Byles wrote to Mrs. Sarah Holmes in London of her hope for “the arrival of my friend Mr. W^m. Brown from N. Carolina; but the death of that truly amiable young man on the 2^d Sep^r. last has blasted the hope I had formed & given a recent wound to his distressed family who, aided by the lenient hand of time, were but just gradually recovering from one they received in Jan^{ry}. occasioned by the death of his sister at the same place, Carolina. . . .” See above, p. 142, n. 12.

⁴⁹ The sirocco is a hot wind. Paine’s allusion is to the oppressive southern air which carried the death-dealing fever to Brown.

“No towering marble marks thy humble dust,
 “Yet there shall oft our pensive choir repair;
 “Thy modest grave can boast no sculptured bust,
 “Yet Nature stands a weeping statue there!”⁵⁰

Even as this elegiac poem and the obituary notices were being printed and copied in various papers, Brown's "Aunt" Catherine Byles was making an effort to gather together his literary productions. On October 29 she wrote a letter⁵¹ from Boston to Davie at Halifax, commending him for his treatment of her "nephew" and requesting the return of one of Brown's dramas.

Sir,

You are doubtless wondering at the novelty of a letter from a person utterly unknown to you: But will you permit a stranger who feels herself under obligation to offer you a few lines? Your attention to my nephew Mr. Brown, whose amiable character warmly attached him to his friends & to whose memory the tear must ever be sacred, demands the grateful acknowledgements of his connexions: In a letter I received from him a few weeks before he bid adieu to mortality he particularly mentions Col. Davie, & I feel a melancholly pleasure in thus conveying you my own thanks, and those of his family, for the notice with which you were pleased to favor him. Among the various productions of Mr. Brown's genius, one particular peice The Tragedy of Major Andre,⁵² I greatly regret has escaped from me; May I sir request the indulgence of again recovering it if it is in your hands? or if it is not, & you are acquainted who is the present possessor, may I presume further by soliciting you would kindly procure it for me? Should you succeed, by placing it in the hands of Mr Hitchborn, who will forward it to me, I should esteem it a very singular favor.

I beg pardon sir for thus intruding on your goodness and subscribe myself, your obliged

& obedient servant
 Catherine Byles.

⁵⁰ "A Monody, to the Memory of Mr. W. H. Brown," *The Works, in Verse and Prose, of the Late Robert Treat Paine, Jun, Esq.* (Boston: Belcher, 1812), 120-121. See above, p. 139, n. 3.

⁵¹ Byles Papers, transcripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

⁵² Under the title "West-Point Preserved or the Treason of Arnold," this play was given twenty-seven performances at the Haymarket Theatre, Boston, beginning in April, 1797. Kunitz and Haycraft, *American Authors, 1600-1900*, 108. *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax) of June 5, 1797, printed the "EPILOGUE to 'WEST-POINT PRESERVED.' Written by William Brown, dec. formerly a Student of Law in this town." Here are the last four lines:

If any faults appear, those faults excuse
 In the first offspring of a native muse—
 West Point preserved from ruin, saved your nation;
 Then save, O save! in me—the poet's reputation.

Brown's patriotic drama, in condemning André's actions, is in contrast with the sympathetic feeling for André exhibited by the royalist grandnephew of Brown's "Aunt" Catharine Byles, Dr. William Almon, of Halifax, Nova Scotia. Almon "possessed the walking stick of Major André, whom Washington hanged as a spy." See "The Life and Work of the late Senator Almon," transcripts in *Dr. Raymond's Scrapbook* (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia), 3. The family relationships are discussed in Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1891), 246.

The play was returned, and with it Brown's ties with North Carolina came to an end. His sojourn in the state had not been an unproductive one from a literary point of view. It has been conjectured that he wrote *Ira and Isabella* during his stay in the state:⁵³ and since "West-Point Preserved" was recovered from Davie, to whom it evidently had been given for reading and criticism, perhaps that drama too was composed or at least completed in North Carolina. Even without these two possible works, three poems—one of them among the best of his inventions—were written during this period and thereafter were published in the local press.

It is, of course, idle to speculate what he might have produced if he had lived longer and had remained in North Carolina. Certainly he had appreciative readers and admiring friends and even a patronizing printer to publish his longer compositions.⁵⁴ In the years following 1793 he might have assumed the literary leadership of the section; for there was little cultural activity in the region and no presiding genius around whom might rally those who were interested in such activity. It remains only to say that the first American novelist, "a successful poet, dramatist, and essayist of the time,"⁵⁵ came to live in North Carolina, that he was happy in the prospects of his new home, and that an early death cut short the life of one who might have become an influential literary figure in the region where he had expressed a desire to settle permanently.

⁵³ Jessie Mae Brooks, *North Carolina Fiction, 1795-1861. A Checklist* (Duke University: unpublished master's thesis, 1942), 7. No authority for the conjecture is cited.

⁵⁴ There is no evidence that Brown's North Carolina conferees knew him to be the first American novelist. His connection with *The Power of Sympathy* was not established for over a hundred years after his death. Milton Ellis, "The Author of the First American Novel," *American Literature*, IV (January, 1933), 356-368.

⁵⁵ Alexander Cowie, *The Rise of the American Novel* (American Book Company, 1948), 10. There is a discussion of *The Power of Sympathy* in this volume, 9-12.

THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1900-1950

BY WILLIAM BURLIE BROWN

The year 1900 is a significant one in the history of North Carolina. It marks the beginning of an intellectual development in the state that one of its historians has called the "Dawn of Culture" after the "Twilight" of Reconstruction and its immediate aftermath.¹ In that year Charles B. Aycock was elected governor and a tremendous revival of education was inaugurated. In the same year this "renaissance" produced a society that has come to be recognized as the parent of cultural organizations within North Carolina—The State Literary and Historical Association.

Prior to 1900 a number of societies devoted to the study of state history were in existence but they were local in character, usually devoted to the perpetuation of the traditions of a particular historic spot. The Guilford Battleground Association and the Moore's Creek Association were of this type. Others, like the Wachovia Historical Society, were limited by their interest in a particular group or institution. Colleges within the state sponsored their own societies—The Historical Society of North Carolina for the University at Chapel Hill and The Historical Society of Trinity College. There was no one organization devoted to the literature and history of North Carolina drawing its members from all interested citizens of the state. Thus the chief motivation behind the founding of the State Literary and Historical Association was the belief that these local organizations would never be able "to organize the literary talent of the State" or get together to coordinate their activities. Therefore they would never be able to present a united front in spurring on literary and historical activity by native North Carolinians to combat both the embarrassment of continued ignorance and the exploitation of the state by "alien" writers.²

On the evening of September 18, 1900, a group of citizens "met by invitation in the auditorium of the agricultural building to

¹ Archibald Henderson, *The Old North State and the New*, II, 750.

² This is clearly expressed in a newspaper article by W. J. Peele, *News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 23, 1900.

consider the question of forming an organization to stimulate literary and historical activity in North Carolina." The following are known to have been present: Walter Clark, Miss Rebecca Cameron, Theophilus H. Hill, D. H. Hill, Rev. T. N. Ivey, Thomas S. Kenan, S. L. Patterson, Fred L. Merritt, W. J. Peele, H. J. Stockard, George T. Winston, and Mrs. John Van Landingham. They agreed to form a society under the name of The State Literary and Historical Association and appointed a committee to issue a call for a general meeting.³ This committee drafted a notice setting forth the purposes of the Association and inviting all interested parties to attend an organization meeting. This notice appeared in several of the state newspapers on September 23, 1900.⁴

On October 23, 1900, the organization meeting was held in the Music Hall of the Olivia Raney Library in Raleigh. The body approved a constitution that had been previously drafted by a committee under the chairmanship of W. J. Peele.⁵ Walter Clark was elected president and Alex. J. Feild corresponding secretary. The meeting immediately settled down to business, heard several addresses on ways and means of accomplishing their purposes, and passed several resolutions designed to stimulate public interest in North Carolina history.⁶ Press reaction was immediately favorable and the Association was launched amid a hail of enthusiastic press notices.⁷

This year the Association celebrates its fiftieth year of uninterrupted existence. What might be called the "external features" of the Association—its annual sessions, its officers, its membership—have not been altered in any fundamental way in its fifty-year history. By and large, these features are the façade of the Association, forming the aspect of the organization that is constantly in the eye of the public. They are, of course, a vital part of the organization, but no amount of detailed scrutiny of these would yield a complete picture of the Associa-

³ Edward P. Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," in W. J. Peele (ed.), *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905*, 1-2.

⁴ *News and Observer* (Raleigh), Sept. 23, 1900; copied in *Fayetteville Observer*, Sep. 24, 1900; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, September 26, 1900.

⁵ MS. Minutes 1900-1910, 5. (The Association's unpublished records are in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.) Full text of 1900 constitution is in Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 3-6.

⁶ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 3-11.

⁷ *News and Observer* (Raleigh), Oct. 24, 1900; *New Bern Daily Journal*, Oct. 24, 1900; *Fayetteville Observer*, Oct. 24, 1900; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, Oct. 24, 1900.

tion's history. To weigh the organization's accomplishments, it will be necessary to go behind the distinguished names that grace its roster of members and its succession of officers, and the brilliance of its annual programs to the long and often difficult struggles of its officers and committees who worked for the realization of the society's objectives many days of the year and with an anonymity that has often become irritating to their historian.

The most conspicuous of these features that we have called "external" is the annual session. It has grown from a modest assembly of local citizens to discuss ways and means of advancing the cause of literature and history in their state to a virtual congress of specialized societies representing almost all of the cultural activities within North Carolina and climaxed by a series of distinguished addresses delivered by some of the most prominent men in the country. The early annual sessions were generally held during Fair Week. Not until 1909 was this practice abandoned.⁸ From 1909 to 1919 the date of the annual session varied considerably, in order to accommodate the principal speaker chosen for each year. Since 1920 the present practice of meeting during the first week of December has been adhered to with few exceptions.⁹ The Association failed to hold an annual session only once. This was occasioned by an epidemic of influenza in 1918.¹⁰

Raleigh has been the scene of its annual meetings every year since the Association's founding. On numerous occasions during the early years of its history, the Association was invited to meet at other cities in the state, but they were seriously tempted only once. In 1911 the Executive Committee worked a bit of strategy on Raleigh. They refused to decide definitely on a meeting place. Their purpose comes out in several letters from the Association's correspondence. In general it seems to have been a feeling that the eagerness of other cities to have the Association's annual sessions pointed up the indifference of a Raleigh that had come

⁸ The third annual session was delayed until January 23, 1903, and the fourth until November 2, 1903.

⁹ The twenty-eighth annual session was held on November 22-23, 1928; the twenty-ninth on October 31-November 1, 1929, and the forty-fifth on December 14, 1945.

¹⁰ No session was held in 1902 nor in 1910, but these represent late sessions rather than a failure to hold a session. Thus the third annual session was held on January 23, 1903, and the eleventh on January 12, 1911. The latter was delayed purposely to coincide with the presentation to the state of a bust of Matt. W. Ransom. See *Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, August 2, 1910, MS. Minutes 1900-1910, 7.*

to take this event for granted. It seemed an excellent opportunity, to reawaken enthusiasm in Raleigh by threatening to change the meeting place. Clarence Poe conducted a behind-the-scenes campaign to gauge Raleigh's reaction and it turned out very successfully.¹¹

The principal feature of the annual sessions has been the addresses. Until 1907 these consisted entirely of papers given by the members of the Association. In 1907 the practice was begun of inviting a prominent personage from outside of North Carolina to give the principal address. Since this beginning at the eighth annual session with Hannis Taylor, writer and one-time Minister to Spain, as the guest speaker, the Association has presented some of the ablest and most prominent men in this country and from abroad. Literary men such as Thomas Nelson Page, Edwin Markham, John Erskine, and Henry Seidel Canby; historians including William A. Dunning, John Spencer Bassett, William E. Dodd, and Ulrich B. Phillips; political figures such as Henry Cabot Lodge and William Howard Taft; and foreign ambassadors Lord James Bryce, Count René Doynel de Saint-Quentin, J. J. Jusserand, and Romulo S. Naon.

In 1911 the Association inaugurated a feature that for a time came to hold its place as a highlight of the annual meeting, second in interest only to the principal speaker. This was the presentation of an address by a North Carolinian who had left the state and had achieved outstanding recognition in his profession. C. Alphonso Smith delivered the first of these addresses at the twelfth annual session.¹²

These special events did not crowd the presentation of papers by members out of the picture, however, for the sessions were lengthened to accommodate additional features.¹³ Among these contributions by members, the annual presidential address has occupied an important place on the program. The subjects embraced in the addresses by members have varied greatly over

¹¹ Clarence Poe to R. D. W. Connor, March 17, 1911; Poe to Executive Committee, May 3, 1911; [Connor?] to Poe, May 6, 1911. All are in the unpublished correspondence of the State Literary and Historical Association, hereinafter referred to as Correspondence.

¹² Although Hannis Taylor, mentioned above, was an ex-North Carolinian this seems to have been a chance occurrence. Indeed, the first mention of this feature as a definite policy occurs in the proceedings of the thirteenth annual session. *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, published as Bulletin 12, Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission (hereinafter cited as *Proceedings*, thirteenth session).

¹³ In 1907 they were increased to three—morning, afternoon and evening. In 1911 the practice of meeting on two days instead of one was begun.

the years. In the early years the majority of the papers bore specifically on projects the Association was currently sponsoring—improvement of library facilities, promotion of county history, memorials, and many others. There has always been a large number of papers of a historical and biographical nature relative to North Carolina. The proportion of papers on literary subjects has not been as high.

Reports of committees and resolutions by the body have come to occupy less importance in the annual sessions. Since 1911 they have been relegated to a special session of the meeting, usually occupying part of the morning session. The reading of a report on the year's harvest of books by North Carolinians began in 1902. Until 1935 it took the form of an annotated bibliography. Since then it has been given in the form of a review of selected works published during the preceeding year.

Since 1904, with the exception of the period 1923-1930, the Association has made the annual presentation of an award for outstanding literary achievement by a North Carolinian one of the principal attractions of its meetings.

A group of organizations have grown up around the Association, some sponsored directly by it and some arising independently, but for the most part allying themselves with the Association in its annual session. The practice generally followed has been for the organization to be invited to hold its annual meeting in Raleigh during the week of the Association's annual session. In this fashion the North Carolina Folklore Society began meeting with the Association in 1913, the North Carolina State Art Society in 1926, the Archaeological Society of North Carolina and the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities in 1939, and the North Carolina Society of County Historians in 1947. From time to time their number has been augmented by other organizations which kept up the practice for a short time only.

This practice of meeting along with other organizations derives largely from the policy suggested by R. D. W. Connor in a paper on the year's historical activities delivered before the

Association in 1908.¹⁴ Connor's plan provided that the Literary and Historical Association take over the job of coordinating the various efforts of the cultural and patriotic societies within the state by persuading them to meet at the same time and place but separately, remaining distinct organizations. One final grand session together under the aegis of the Association was to provide the link. The Association has clung to this policy even in the case of organizations that it has directly sponsored. Rather than foster subgroups within its own organization, it has encouraged its members who had a special interest to form an independent society and draw its members both from within and without the Association. In this way the North Carolina State Art Society was formed in 1924¹⁵ and the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities in 1938.¹⁶

The office of president of the Association has been ably filled by a long procession of distinguished citizens. The Association has drawn its presidents from men active in many fields—prominent members of the Bar, college presidents and faculty members, newspaper editors, and businessmen. In the early years the lawyers predominated; since about 1910 the academic profession has been most often in the chair. Four of the Association's seven secretaries have been honored with the presidency.¹⁷ In 1929 the Association conferred its first honorary presidency on Samuel A'Court Ashe as "dean of North Carolina Historians."¹⁸ Although the Association's constitution was silent on the matter of the eligibility of the president to succeed himself, a one-term precedent has been established and adhered to with but one exception. President James Sprunt was prevailed upon to continue in office for a second year in 1918 when the influenza epidemic prevented an annual session.

As is the case with most organizations of this type, the office of secretary is the one position that demands a great deal of the

¹⁴ R. D. W. Connor, "Historical Activities in North Carolina during the Past Year," *Minutes* of ninth session, 17. (From 1905 to 1909 the proceedings were published as unnumbered pamphlets of the North Carolina Historical Commission under the title of *Minutes of the State Literary and Historical Association*.)

¹⁵ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, II (1925), 112 for formation; V (1928), 135 for chartering.

¹⁶ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 101 for formation; XVII (1940), 82-83 for chartering.

¹⁷ R. D. W. Connor, 1911-1912; Clarence Poe, 1914-1915; A. R. Newsome, 1938-1939; and R. B. House, 1945-1946.

¹⁸ A. R. Newsome to S. A. Ashe, November 14, 1929, Correspondence.

incumbent's time. He is, as is recognized, the nerve center of the organization, is responsible for the practical details of promoting the Association's projects and policies, and has been also an originator of many of its projects. The constitution originally provided for a division of labor between a secretary-treasurer and a corresponding secretary. At one of the earliest Executive Committee meetings on November 1, 1900, D. H. Hill resigned as secretary-treasurer and a "treasurer" was appointed. All the other duties were lumped together and given to Alex. J. Feild as "secretary."¹⁹ No attempt was made to revise the constitution accordingly until 1922.²⁰ The office of secretary has been held by only seven men since 1900. The first was Alex. J. Feild, who continued in office until 1902. George S. Frap served only one term, 1902-1903. In 1903 Clarence Poe began a term that ended in 1911. R. D. W. Connor served from 1912 to 1919; R. B. House from 1920 to 1925; A. R. Newsome from 1926 to 1935. Since 1935 the present incumbent, Christopher Crittenden, has established a record run of sixteen years.²¹ Since the assumption of the duties of secretary by R. D. W. Connor in 1912, it has so happened that the secretary of the Historical Commission (now the director of the Department of Archives and History) has always served as secretary of the Association.

The membership growth of the organization has not been a steady one. At the end of its first year it could boast of 150 members; two years later this had declined to 73. The next year it was back up to 127. Although the rise and fall in membership has not been quite as drastic in subsequent years, it has continued to exhibit a marked fluctuation.²² In 1950 the membership stands at 443. The very low cost of membership in the Association permits almost anyone who wishes to become a member. The only qualification that it has placed on membership is that the applicant be interested in the work of the Association²³ and (in the revised constitution of 1948) that the prospective mem-

¹⁹ Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, November 1, 1900, MS. Minutes, 1900-1910.

²⁰ Text of constitution as revised in *Proceedings*, twenty-second session, 11-12.

²¹ Mrs. Ernest A. Branch served as acting secretary in 1946-1947 during the temporary absence of Crittenden. Minutes of the forty-sixth session, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.

²² During the period 1905-1922 a chart showing the membership totals for each year since 1900 appeared in the published *Minutes* and *Proceedings*. Since the discontinuance of the full publication of the Association's proceedings, this information appears in published form only in the list of members appended to the yearly programs.

²³ The 1900 constitution added the further restriction of "white resident." Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 6. The 1922 constitution removed this restriction. *Proceedings*, twenty-second session, 11-12.

ber's application be approved by the Executive Committee. The Association elected its first honorary member in 1907—James Bryce.²⁴ It allowed this practice to languish in the ensuing years. In 1920 it revived the plans for conferring honorary memberships and laid plans for life memberships.²⁵

In 1900 the Association wrote into its constitution the following purposes for its existence:

The purposes of this Association shall be the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina, and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation.²⁶

When a revision of the constitution was made in 1922, these purposes were left unchanged.²⁷ Not until 1948, when the constitution was again revised, did these objectives undergo any alteration.

Having set up these objectives as a goal toward which its activities should be directed and having persisted in their pursuit for forty-eight years, the Association has made it evident that it is an organization dedicated to an active program and that its real history does not lie solely in the long procession of its annual sessions but in its record of success and failure in the achievement of these purposes. Accordingly one of the chief purposes of this paper is to set up a "balance sheet" and to attempt to assess what in relation to its stated objectives has accrued to the credit of the Association during the fifty years of its existence.

At the outset, however, we are confronted with a very fortunate difficulty. There are many entries to be made on the credit side but there is no way of assessing the liabilities. It is obviously futile to speculate about what the Association might have accomplished and didn't. It is only somewhat less satisfactory to attempt to compare the Association's accomplishments with those of similar societies. Besides the fact that there is no large amount

²⁴ Minutes of Executive Committee, February 8, 1907, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 36.

²⁵ *Proceedings*, twentieth session, 10.

²⁶ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 3-4.

²⁷ *Proceedings*, twenty-second session, 11-12.

of data available on this subject, the most obvious reason for the impracticality of this scheme lies in the word "similar." The Literary and Historical Association is in many ways unique. There are many older historical societies that have had a much longer time to carry on many excellent projects, and quite a few younger ones that have had less opportunity. There are an endless number of factors besides age, such as endowment, membership, and state support to mention but a few, that render any comparison highly dangerous. Indeed, the purposes for which these societies are organized and the general character of their organization and direction afford almost no satisfactory basis of comparison, each to each. Finally, there remains the alternative of listing the specific instances in which the Association's projects have ended in failure. There are two objections to this alternative. In the first place, the Association has been very reasonable in its demands on the legislature, the public, and its members. It has not envisioned grandiose schemes and sponsored projects that were beyond the realm of probable achievement. Therefore the list of failures is almost negligible. Secondly, in the few instances in which ambition has soared, the Association has tenaciously refused to relinquish the project. Thus projects that have met temporary frustration are revived again and again, and at present writing some are still hanging in the fire. All that can be done is to credit the Association with what it has done on these projects and to note their state of incompleteness.

In attempting to record the accomplishments of the Association under the purposes set forth in the original constitution, the activities and projects sponsored by the organization have been grouped under the individual objectives there listed rather than chronologically. This scheme of organization seems to make the process of measuring the Association's achievement in terms of its stated purposes more graphic. There will be many instances in which the listing of a project under one purpose rather than another may be quarreled with, so inseparable are some of the stated objectives.

THE COLLECTION, PRESERVATION, PRODUCTION, AND
DISSEMINATION OF STATE LITERATURE AND HISTORY

Although the collection of historical material was the first-mentioned objective of the Association, it has never made any direct attempt to carry out this purpose. The realization came early that the collection and preservation of historical material on any appreciable scale is a costly undertaking impossible for an organization solely supported by very modest membership dues. The only instance that has come to light in which the Association itself has attempted actually to collect material occurred in 1905 when the Association learned of the existence of a "valuable paper bearing on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" and resolved to secure it "if possible."²⁸ Perhaps the temptation was too great to resist. The wise decision to confine their efforts in this direction to the encouragement of collection and preservation through repeated exhortations to the public to preserve historical material, through emphasizing its importance in addresses and discussions in its annual sessions, and through the sponsorship of independent organizations for this purpose has led by indirection to achievements under this objective that far surpass much that the Association has achieved directly.

If the Association had accomplished nothing else, its sponsorship of legislation that created the North Carolina Historical Commission would have justified its claim to have served North Carolina well. The resolution to petition the legislature for the creation of the Commission was passed at the third annual session in January, 1903,²⁹ and the bill drafted by a committee of the Association was enacted as law the same year.³⁰ Since its creation the work of the Commission (now the State Department of Archives and History) in the collection and preservation of historical materials has been outstanding and is too well known to need elaboration here.

An excellent illustration of the tenacity of the Association when it undertakes an ambitious project is the county history project. The efforts of the Association to arouse interest in the preservation of county history have met with varying degrees of

²⁸ *Minutes*, sixth session, 32.

²⁹ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 21.

³⁰ *Public Laws of 1903*, ch. 767.

success from 1904 to the present. There have been periods when the project has lain dormant but it has never died. Under the leadership of President C. Alphonso Smith and Secretary Clarence Poe, the Association inaugurated the first phase of the movement in 1904.³¹ Their object was to publish a plan for the organization of clubs in the various counties of the state for the study of the history of each county. They intended to collect the papers read at these club meetings and to publish the best ones. Apparently very little came of this first effort, although there is evidence that at least one such club was formed in 1906.³² Interest in these local societies was revived in 1907 when the organization of local literary and historical societies was placed in the hands of Edward Mims,³³ and again in 1909 when J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton was appointed to head a committee on organizing local societies.³⁴ One indication of at least partial success was the adoption of a plan in 1911 allowing the local societies to affiliate with the State Literary and Historical Association.³⁵ In 1912 the Association kept the movement alive by devoting a large part of its annual session to papers emphasizing the historical value of county records.³⁶ There was a revival of plans for the publication of a series of county histories in 1913. Unlike the 1904 plan, this one called for a central control to be vested in a committee of editors.³⁷ At the annual session in 1914 the Association decided to enlist the aid of the college history departments in its publication scheme. This first phase of the county history movement reached its climax that year when a conference on county history occupied a large share of the annual meeting. A series of papers on methods and technique in writing county history and plans for pushing this writing stimulated a general

³¹ Minutes of fifth annual session, MS. Minutes, 1900-1910, 27. The Association was not a pioneer in the movement to preserve county history. A. R. Newsome in an address before a conference on county history held in connection with the twenty-seventh annual session outlined the early history of the efforts to secure county histories. He stated that the Historical Commission possessed the original manuscript accounts of thirteen counties and one town, all dated between 1810 and 1812, which were written by informed local citizens in response to a circular letter from the publisher of the *Star* requesting the preparation of a sketch of each county for publication in the *Star*. He also recounted the efforts of D. L. Swain in 1857 to persuade each county to have a historical sketch of the county prepared. There were four competent county histories published in the period 1881-1898. (From unpublished address in the possession of A. R. Newsome, Department of History, University of North Carolina.)

³² *Minutes*, seventh session, 5-7.

³³ Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, November 23, 1907, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 57.

³⁴ Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, November 27, 1909, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 65.

³⁵ *Proceedings*, eleventh session, 13.

³⁶ *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, *passim*.

³⁷ Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, December 20, 1913, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 93.

discussion. A general enthusiasm was aroused and the members resolved to memorialize the General Assembly for an appropriation to enable the Historical Commission to advise with county officials on the care and preservation of county records.³⁸ Then rather mysteriously this ardor seems to have evaporated without a trace. The record reveals but a single effort after 1914. In May, 1915, Archibald Henderson wrote enthusiastically to Secretary Connor about getting together a committee "to outline steps for the preparation of a bulletin on county archives and county history."³⁹ Connor's reply indicating the failure of his own efforts even to assemble the committee marks the end of this first phase of the movement.⁴⁰ During this first phase at least ten book-length county histories and four shorter works on local history were produced.⁴¹ It is, of course, impossible to credit these works directly to the Association's project but they are indicative of an aroused interest in county history which was, in the last analysis, the end toward which the project was directed.

A second phase of the county history movement opened in 1927. It differed from the early phase in that it was an attempt to charge the responsibility for promoting county history to a particular individual in each county rather than to approach the problem through local historical societies. This project originated with the Historical Commission early in 1927 under the secretaryship of A. R. Newsome, who was then secretary of the Association. The active support of President Josephus Daniels and the Association was enlisted and a portion of the annual session was devoted to a conference on county history. Thirty-five counties were represented at the conference by their county historians.⁴² At this conference Mr. Newsome presented a paper outlining the project which during the past six months had resulted in the appointment of a county historian by each of the

³⁸ *Proceedings*, fifteenth session, 7.

³⁹ Henderson to Connor, May 4, 1915, Correspondence.

⁴⁰ Connor to Henderson, May 19, 1915, Correspondence.

⁴¹ Full length books: B. B. Winborne, *Colonial and State Political History of Hertford County* (1906); W. C. Allen, *Centennial History of Haywood County* (1908); A. M. Waddell, *History of New Hanover County, 1723-1800* (1909); H. T. King, *Sketches of Pitt County* (1911); J. P. Arthur, *History of Watauga County* (1915); W. S. Boyce, *Economic and Social History of Chowan County, 1880-1915* (1917); W. C. Allen, *Halifax County* (1918); J. K. Turner and J. L. Bridgers, *History of Edgecombe County* (1920); Mrs. H. S. Chamberlain, *History of Wake County* (1922); and J. C. Leonard, *Centennial History of Davidson County* (1927). The shorter pieces have been published as pamphlets and articles: J. P. Arthur, *Western North Carolina* (1914); James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River, 1660-1916* (1916); Mrs. L. W. Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton* (1924); and W. K. Boyd, *Story of Durham* (1925). Newsome, address to conference on county history, 1927.

⁴² "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V (1928), 132.

boards of education in sixty-six counties, sketching the history of the local history movement in the state and discussing the specific opportunities and problems of the county historians and suggesting ways and means to accomplish the purposes for which they were designated.⁴³ Under this new stimulus the county history movement revived for a time. County historians began to promote county historical societies.⁴⁴ The writing of county history revived. During this second phase thirteen book-length county histories were published.⁴⁵

The third and latest phase of the movement came about independently of the Association. It is included because, while it does not represent a direct achievement of the Association, it does represent the latest development of a movement that represents forty-six years of intermittent labor on the part of the society. On December 26, 1941, sixteen local historians from ten counties met in Chapel Hill and formed the North Carolina Society of County Historians.⁴⁶ Five years later they were invited to meet with the Association⁴⁷ and since 1947 they have usually formed one of the allied societies participating in the annual Association meetings.

It would be a mistake to regard the county history movement as a completed project; very probably it will never be really completed. None of the schemes for directing the movement have ever been fully realized. But the results have been far from discouraging.

While the Association was fostering the collection of state and county historical materials, urging upon individuals and local administrations the grave danger of exposing the history of two centuries to the ever present hazard of fires in homes and county courthouses, it found itself in the position of having no

⁴³ Newsome, address to conference on county history, *passim*.

⁴⁴ Among the earliest mentioned are the Warren County Historical Association, September 21, 1928; Wake County, October 8, 1928; and Franklin County, October 26, 1928. "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (1929), 119-121.

⁴⁵ Of these, four were by the original county historians appointed in 1927. J. C. Leonard, *Centennial History of Davidson County* (1927); F. A. Sondley, *A History of Buncombe County* (1930); C. W. Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford County* (1937); and Mrs. M. S. Puett, *History of Gaston County* (1939). The others are: J. W. Harden, *Economic and Social History of Alamance County* (1928); E. G. Winslow, *History of Perquimans County* (1931); W. C. Allen, *Annals of Haywood County* (1935); J. G. Hollingsworth, *History of Surry County* (1935); J. H. Separk, *Gastonia and Gaston County* (1936); W. L. Sherrill, *Annals of Lincoln County* (1937); W. L. DeRossett, *Pictorial and Historical New Hanover County and Wilmington* (1938); R. C. Lawrence, *The State of Robeson* (1939); and L. H. Bonner, *Colonial Bath and the Pamlico Section* (1939).

⁴⁶ Phillips Russell to C. C. Crittenden, December 29, 1941, Correspondence.

⁴⁷ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIV (1946), 128.

safer place to advise for storage. Accordingly, there was begun a vigorous campaign to induce the legislature to erect a fireproof building to house the material collected by the Commission along with the State Library. At the outset in 1904 they urged this building project as a "Hall of Records and History."⁴⁸ In the ensuing years of the campaign, it came to be known as simply "a fire-proof state library." Hardly a year passed between 1904 and 1910 when the Association failed to petition the legislature for this building and to censure it for failing to provide for it the previous year. Finally in 1911 the General Assembly appropriated \$250,000 to erect the building.⁴⁹

It was quite a while longer before the Association took official cognizance of the fact that another kind of historical material was in imminent danger of destruction from neglect. Not until 1938 did the Association become interested in the preservation of the state's historic architecture. At the annual session a committee was appointed to form a society for the preservation of North Carolina antiquities.⁵⁰ The organization was chartered October 4, 1939, under the name of "The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities."⁵¹ The organization then, as is usual with the societies that are progeny of the Association, began to function independently, enlisting the aid and interest of public-spirited citizens in the purchase and restoration of historic buildings in the state. It meets annually in joint session with the Association and allied societies.

This late beginning in caring for the historic architecture of the state seems strange in the light of the Association's obvious intention to preserve historical materials other than written records. They specifically stated as an objective "the establishment of an historical museum." Fortunately, the Association had in Colonel Fred A. Olds an avid collector and the nucleus of a collection already well begun by him. Although the Association has often claimed credit for the establishment of the Hall of History,⁵² this collection had been, since the 1880's, and continued

⁴⁸ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 24.

⁴⁹ *Proceedings*, twelfth session, 115-116.

⁵⁰ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 101.

⁵¹ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVII (1940), 82-83.

⁵² See "An Appeal," MS. Minutes, 1900-1917; also *Minutes*, tenth session, 52. The Hall of History is also listed as one of the Association's achievements in brief resumés of its history entitled "A Record of Achievement." These appeared in the printed programs for the annual sessions in 1912, 1914-1916.

to be, until his death, largely the work of Colonel Olds. From the beginning, however, the Association had worked with him through one of its committees—with Colonel Olds serving as chairman.⁵³ In 1902 the State Museum's small number of historical items and Colonel Olds's collection were combined as the "Hall of History" and occupied one gallery of the State Museum.⁵⁴ The Hall of History was run, as Colonel Olds's report in 1907 puts it, "strictly on a volunteer basis," and no funds were provided for it by the state or any other organization.⁵⁵ When the State Library was erected, specially designed quarters were provided in it for the collection. When it moved into its new quarters in 1914, it was taken over by the Historical Commission and has continued as the state historical museum.⁵⁶ From Colonel Olds' first yearly report in 1901, announcing the acquisition of 300 articles,⁵⁷ the collection has grown tremendously until in 1942 it held 20,000 items.⁵⁸

Direct efforts of the Association to promote the production of historical writing have already been referred to in connection with the county history movement. This is about as direct an effort to promote the production of historical writing as an organization with very limited funds can achieve. The two instances in which the Association attempted a more direct promotion are rather more "curious" than important. The first of these took the form of a petition in 1901 to the legislature to purchase Creecy's *Grandfather's Tales*, and, oddly enough, the legislature complied.⁵⁹ The second was even more direct. At an Executive Committee meeting in 1912, the Committee went on record "to urge General Jarvis to write his recollections and deposit them with the Historical Commission."⁶⁰

J. Bryan Grimes, reporting on the accomplishments of the Association after its first decade, gives an impressive list of historical scholars who produced during the period 1900-1909:

⁵³ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 8.
⁵⁴ "Hall of History," in North Carolina Historical Commission, *Bulletin* 43 (1942), 28-32.
⁵⁵ F. A. Olds, "The Historical Museum," in *Literary and Historical Activities*, 29-32.
⁵⁶ "Hall of History," in North Carolina Historical Commission, *Bulletin* 43 (1942), 28-32.
⁵⁷ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 8.
⁵⁸ "Hall of History," in North Carolina Historical Commission, *Bulletin* 43 (1942), 32.
⁵⁹ The tales were children's stories drawn from the history of North Carolina by R. B. Creecy. The legislature appropriated \$280 to be expended by the board of trustees of the Public Library in the purchase of copies of this book and they were to distribute them "as they shall deem wise." Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 11.
⁶⁰ Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, September 27, 1912, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 83.

Battle, Ashe, Graham, Clark, Hill, Peele, Weeks, Connor, Hamilton, Nash, Clewell, Pittman, Boyd, Sims, Allen, Hoyt, Waddell, Sikes, Noble, Schenck, Haywood, Bassett, Grady, Dodd, and others.⁶¹ Unfortunately, in his enthusiasm Colonel Grimes leaves the implication that somehow this historical output can be added to the laurels that he piles on the brow of the Association. This is highly dubious. Most of these men were either academicians whose business it was to produce historical writing or amateur historians already devoted to the Muse before the advent of the Association.

If the paucity of its funds hindered the direct sponsorship of historical writing and made publication impossible, it did not entirely prevent the Association from attempting to fulfill its purpose of disseminating knowledge of state history. It has relied rather heavily upon its offspring, the Historical Commission, to deal with the large problem of publication. While this agency, almost from its inception, has confined itself to the publication of primary source materials culled from the best of its collection, it did for many years (up to 1923) issue a separate publication each year devoted to the annual meeting of the Association.⁶² In this manner the Association has been able to bring to the public not only its proceedings but also the papers at its sessions. These very largely concerned the history of the state and doubtless contributed to the fulfillment of the purpose of disseminating knowledge about North Carolina history, besides encouraging some historical writing on the part of its members. Since 1924 the *North Carolina Historical Review* has continued to publish those Association addresses that meet its standards of historical scholarship.⁶³

The Association itself has been far more active in bringing state history to the attention of the public through projects that do not involve publication. At its first annual session in 1900, it set on foot a movement to stir an interest in state history in the public schools. This project known as "North Carolina Day" called for the designation of one day each year to "be set apart

⁶¹ *Minutes*, tenth session, 53.

⁶² As previously cited: *Literary and Historical Activities, 1900-1905; Minutes, 1905-1909; Proceedings, 1910-1922*. Only the *Proceedings* are numbered publications.

⁶³ In addition, a summary of the proceedings of the annual meetings is published in the "Historical News" section of *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

in the schools of our State for the consideration of some important fact of State history, with appropriate public exercises. . . ."⁶⁴ It gained the immediate support of the press and was enacted as law in 1901.⁶⁵ For a number of years a special committee of the Association devoted a good deal of time to planning, in cooperation with the Superintendent of Public Instruction, a rather elaborate program of exercises for the yearly celebrations. These programs, sometimes running to fifty pages, were printed by the state and distributed in large quantities. Besides historical sketches, the programs included readings, declamations, poetic recitations, songs, and general discussions.⁶⁶ Widespread observance of North Carolina Day continued until about 1927.⁶⁷ There was some attempt by the Association to revive the celebrations in 1947, but it apparently came to nothing.⁶⁸

By 1905 the Association must have felt that one day a year devoted to North Carolina history was too niggardly an allotment, for in that year the Association successfully "lobbied" for the "History Text-book Act."⁶⁹ This bill provided funds "to promote the production and publication of school books relating to the history, literature, or government of North Carolina, for use in the public schools."⁷⁰

In an effort to reach the adult population, the Association made one venture into the field of extension work. An Extension Committee under the chairmanship of Edwin Mims was hard at work on plans for this service early in 1911. Mims reported at the eleventh annual session that the colleges were unable to take up this work individually but that by working together through the Association a successful program might be evolved.⁷¹ Accordingly, the colleges were sounded out and promised to cooperate. There was to be a series of lectures in each of the larger cities in the state given by two professors from each college. Although Chairman Mims was able to report the successful launching of the program in Winston-Salem in 1911 and plans for similar

⁶⁴ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 6.

⁶⁵ *Public Laws of 1901*, ch. 164. *News and Observer*, October 24, 1900; *Fayetteville Observer*, October 24, 1900.

⁶⁶ *North Carolina Day*, published by Superintendent of Public Instruction as a pamphlet (unnumbered) up to 1925.

⁶⁷ The last published program that I have been able to find occurs in *State School Facts*, September 15, 1927. Publication of Superintendent of Public Instruction.

⁶⁸ Minutes of Business Meeting, December 5, 1947, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.

⁶⁹ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 25.

⁷⁰ *Public Laws of 1905*, ch. 707.

⁷¹ *Proceedings*, eleventh session, 9-10.

programs in several other cities, the movement did not survive much beyond the first flush of enthusiasm.⁷²

Thus in the work of collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of state history the Association has accomplished much by indirection through agencies it has sponsored and encouraged. In the case of projects directly administered by the Association, only the venture into extension work can be called a failure.

THE INCULCATION OF A LITERARY SPIRIT AMONG OUR PEOPLE

Throughout most of the Association's history, one or another of its members, and usually one of its most active and devoted members, found it necessary to remind the Association of, as one styled it, its "duplex title"—Literary and Historical.⁷³ Their complaints were not unfounded. Certainly it is difficult to find any achievement in the record of the Association for the cause of literature comparable to the sponsorship of the Historical Commission or the work on county history. Yet it is difficult to imagine any sort of a comparable project for literature. The secretaries of the Association have been acutely aware of this situation and have shown a willingness to cooperate with any member who would make a concrete suggestion for improvement. Unfortunately, when the ball has been tossed back to the critic there has usually been a great dearth of concrete suggestions.⁷⁴ Perhaps there is some validity in the idea that the best things one can do for a literary artist are: one, leave him alone, and two, buy his books. Fortunately the Association has not taken this attitude but, wisely recognizing those areas in which it is powerless to aid the literary artist, has abstained from getting in his way and has concentrated upon the areas in which its activity can be a genuine contribution.

Foremost among these has been the continued effort to offer the literary artist a commodity that he has always needed and not very often found in our American civilization—prestige. This

⁷² *Proceedings*, twelfth session, 35.

⁷³ *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, 10.

⁷⁴ A particularly good illustration of this criticism, the Association's feeling in the matter, and the inability on the part of the critics to make constructive suggestions occurs in an exchange of correspondence between secretary A. R. Newsome and Addison Hibbard. See Hibbard to Newsome, October 29, 1929; Newsome to Hibbard, November 13, 1929; and Hibbard to Newsome, November 18, 1929. Correspondence.

the Association has accomplished through an annual award for literary merit, highlighted at the annual sessions, presented by a distinguished citizen before an audience of distinguished citizens.

For all but thirteen years of its history, the Association has been able to present a trophy in annual recognition of outstanding literary achievement. The Patterson Cup was the first of these awards. In 1904 Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson offered to present to the Association a gold, jeweled loving cup to be awarded annually, for a period of ten years, to the author of the best published work each year.⁷⁵ Mrs. Patterson designated the award as the William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup and set as conditions to the award that the author be a resident of North Carolina, that both prose and poetry be considered in the competition, and that a board of judges made up of college professors of English and history should determine the selection. Each year the winner's name was to be inscribed on the cup and he was to retain possession of it for that year. Mrs. Patterson stipulated that if anyone should win it three times, the cup would become his permanent possession. If at the end of ten years no one had won it three times, it was to continue to be awarded annually.⁷⁶ John Charles McNeill was the first winner in 1905 for his volume of poems, *Songs, Merry and Sad*.⁷⁷ By 1923, after seventeen years of service, all available space for inscribing the names had been filled and only Clarence Poe had won twice. The cup was then retired, taking its place in the Hall of History.⁷⁸

After a lapse of six years, the Association took up the problem of replacement. A committee for this purpose was considered at the annual session in 1929⁷⁹ and appointed in 1930.⁸⁰ On August 1, 1930, Burnham S. Colburn, president of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, offered on behalf of the Society to institute a new award. This was the birth of the Mayflower Cup. The Society specified that the purpose of the award was to establish "a memorial to the passengers on the Mayflower" and "to stimulate interest in our own literature among the people

⁷⁵ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 24.

⁷⁶ *Minutes*, sixth session, 40.

⁷⁷ *Minutes*, sixth session, 40.

⁷⁸ Miss A. Fries to Mrs. J. L. Patterson, March 16, 1923, Correspondence.

⁷⁹ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (1930), 168-9.

⁸⁰ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII (1931), 140.

of the State."⁸¹ The award, a silver trophy, was an original creation of William Waldo Dodge, Jr., of Biltmore Forest.⁸² The stipulations governing the award were similar to those for the Patterson Cup, with the additional attraction of providing for a presentation of a replica of the cup to remain the permanent possession of the winner each year. The Cup itself was to remain in the permanent possession of the Association.⁸³ The first award of the Mayflower Cup was made at the annual meeting in 1931. It went to M. C. S. Noble of Chapel Hill for his *A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*.⁸⁴ By 1938 a feeling had grown up that something should be done to take the award out of "the academic cloisters where it has reposed for six out of the seven years in which it has been awarded." Accordingly, in that year the rules were changed to exclude scientific and technical works from the competition and two of the college faculty judges were replaced by two non-collegiate literary critics.⁸⁵ The cup was awarded to a Negro writer for the first time in 1943, when J. Saunders Redding of State Teachers College, Elizabeth City, won it for his *No Day of Triumph*.⁸⁶ Some indication of the proportions that the annual competition has reached can be gained from the fact that in 1949 forty-seven books were eligible for the award.⁸⁷

This recognition for outstanding achievement has been supplemented by the Association's taking official cognizance of all literary endeavor by North Carolinians every year in the form of a report. This attempt to afford both a recognition to the writers and an inventory of the state's literary accomplishments took the form of an annual bibliographical report of North Carolina writing from 1902 to 1934. When in 1935 the volume of annual literary production reached the point where its recital exceeded the limits of the patience of the members who were obliged to sit through it, the Association resorted to an annual book review of selected titles from the pens of North Carolinians.

This "inculcation of a literary spirit" was intended to apply not only to prospective writers of books but to readers as well.

⁸¹ Burnham S. Colburn to president and Executive Committee of the State Literary and Historical Association, August 1, 1930, Correspondence.

⁸² "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (1932), 111-112.

⁸³ Colburn to president and Executive Committee, August 1, 1930, Correspondence.

⁸⁴ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (1932), 111.

⁸⁵ Nell Battle Lewis, "Incidentally," in *News and Observer*, September 11, 1938.

⁸⁶ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (1944), 92.

⁸⁷ Secretary's Report, October 15, 1949, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.

The Association has endeavored to promote interest in North Carolina literature by cooperation with other groups that share this interest. As early as 1909 the Executive Committee laid plans for cooperating with the State Women's Clubs in outlining courses of study and promoting interest in state literature.⁸⁸ In 1912 the Association resolved to appoint a delegate to meet with both the North Carolina Teacher's Assembly and the North Carolina Library Commission for the purpose of stimulating interest in North Carolina writing.⁸⁹ The Association even went on record in 1912 approving a resolution to establish literary clubs and to organize those already established through a general headquarters in Raleigh.⁹⁰ Apparently this project never progressed beyond the planning stage.

The Association's success in "inculcating a literary spirit" is difficult to measure. Certainly it would seem that its projects for arousing reader interest were ineffectual. On the other hand it is very probable that the annual awards have had a positive effect upon writers in North Carolina.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF PUBLIC AND SCHOOL LIBRARIES

From the very beginning the Association has given its attention to this part of its program. The first Executive Committee meeting of the Association in 1901 laid plans for a movement to expand the state's library facilities. They urged the General Assembly to amend the existing state library law so as to permit the establishment of libraries in the public schools of rural districts.⁹¹ The General Assembly complied with this request the same year, providing the necessary appropriation.⁹² The Association has kept close watch over the administration of this Rural Library Act, as it came to be called. In 1903 it conducted a successful campaign for an enlargement of the provisions of the act.⁹³ When the legislature in 1931 proposed to cut out the annual appropriation for the rural libraries, the Association came to its defense.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, November 27, 1909, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917.

⁸⁹ *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, 11.

⁹⁰ *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, 10.

⁹¹ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 8.

⁹² *Public Laws of 1901*, ch. 662.

⁹³ Minutes, third session, MS. Minutes, 1900-1910.

⁹⁴ Executive Committee to Joint Appropriations Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, February 11, 1931, Correspondence.

While the Rural Library Act was its most direct contribution, the Association has lent its active support to the State Library Commission in a number of its projects, taking a special interest in the Commission's efforts to extend rural library facilities through "traveling" and "package" libraries.⁹⁵ The Association has also been an active champion of the movement for a thorough equipping of the State Library as a general and reference library for the state and a special reference bureau for the legislature.⁹⁶

THE CORRECTION OF PRINTED MISREPRESENTATIONS ABOUT THE STATE

When the founders of the Association wrote this objective into the constitution in 1900, they were smoldering over repeated blows to their patriotic pride. They felt that North Carolina had been badly treated by historians. It is not the concern of this paper to discuss the justice or reasonableness of their feelings, other than to point out that they were in deadly earnest when they included this in their desired objectives. It was not added as an afterthought and no little attention was devoted to this matter in the first five years of the Association's existence. From the vantage point of the North Carolina of 1950, fully cognizant of its position as one of the most advanced states in the South, an objective view comes much easier and the Association can be awarded a much deserved plaudit for not allowing this business of righting historical wrongs to deflect its energies from the more constructive parts of its program. Indeed after 1905 there is hardly a mention of this objective. The one recorded instance when the Association went all out to fulfill its mission to correct misrepresentations about North Carolina occurred at the fifth annual meeting in 1904. At the meeting the year before, J. Bryan Grimes had called to the gathering's attention a speech given several weeks previously by one Judge George L. Christian before the Grand Camp of the Virginia Confederate Veterans. In this speech, declared Colonel Grimes, the judge had "surprised the country by questioning the claims made by North Carolina as to her record in the War for Southern Independence." Colonel

⁹⁵ *Proceedings*, eleventh session, 12; *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, 9-10; minutes of thirty-eighth and fortieth sessions, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.

⁹⁶ *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, 9-10; *Proceedings*, eighteenth session, 11.

Grimes then called for the appointment of a committee to determine whether North Carolina was in truth "First at Bethel, Farthest at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, Last at Appomattox."⁹⁷ The committee searched the records and reported at the 1904 meeting that, as a matter of fact, North Carolina *was* "First at Bethel, Farthest at Gettysburg and Chickamauga and Last at Appomattox." For the enlightenment of any future skeptics, the committee visited these battlefields and marked the position of the North Carolina troops with appropriate stone markers.⁹⁸

TO ENGENDER AN INTELLIGENT, HEALTHY STATE PRIDE

In the early years of the Association, the constant injunction of addresses and the constant basis of appeals for support was that "a people who do not record their history shall soon cease to be capable of making history worth recording." This last enumerated purpose appears to have assumed the shape, in those early proceedings and addresses, of a statement of the end toward which the other purposes were working. A healthy state pride was to be nurtured upon an accurate knowledge of and realization of continuity with the past, supplied by a group who made it their business to collect and preserve the records of this past and to render them accessible to all. It was to be added to by the encouragement of literary values through libraries, literary groups, and the recognition of literary talent.

While these projects were working slowly but steadily among the people of North Carolina to produce a genuine appreciation of their inheritance upon which to build the future, the Association was also engaged in projects that aimed directly at stimulating a healthy state pride. Throughout most of its history, the Association has acted upon the belief that the erection of public monuments and the public celebration of important historical events is an effective stimulant for producing historical consciousness.

At the second annual meeting in 1901, General Julian S. Carr proposed that the Association sponsor the erection of a memorial

⁹⁷ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 22. Full reports by each member of the Committee are in *Literary and Historical Activities*, 416-499.

⁹⁸ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 23.

to Sir Walter Raleigh.⁹⁹ From this time until General Carr's death in 1924, the project had a series of enthusiastic promotions and periods of dormancy. From 1901 to 1907 it prospered, then, except for a momentary effort in 1914 to obtain Federal funds,¹⁰⁰ it lay dormant until 1922. That year upon the urging of General Carr the Association revived it and it persisted until 1924.¹⁰¹ The life of the project seemed to run out with General Carr's own life; indeed, it had been largely through his efforts that the project had managed to survive at all.

Projects for the erection of other memorials have been more successful. In 1905 the Association began a campaign to have one of the two niches allotted to North Carolina in statuary Hall, Washington, D. C., filled with a statue of Zebulon Baird Vance.¹⁰² Two years later the General Assembly, acting on a petition from the Association, made provision for the execution and placing of this statue.¹⁰³

After a successful subscription campaign led by Archibald Henderson, the Association presented to the state in 1914 a bronze plaque as a memorial to William Sidney Porter, who under the pseudonym of O. Henry added to the literary laurels of North Carolina.¹⁰⁴

In addition to sponsoring the erection of these memorials, the Association has lent its active assistance to the efforts of other North Carolina organizations engaged in similar undertakings. Among these may be noted: the Andrew Johnson Memorial in Raleigh, begun in 1915;¹⁰⁵ the project of the Virginia Dare Association to place a painting of the first baptism in America in the National Capitol in 1923;¹⁰⁶ and the project of the state's patriotic societies to fill the North Carolina Bay in the Cloister of the Colonies at Valley Forge, 1923-25.¹⁰⁷

The public celebration of important historical events was begun just as early in the organization's history. The first of these

⁹⁹ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 15.

¹⁰⁰ *Proceedings*, fifteenth session, 11.

¹⁰¹ *Proceedings*, twenty-second session, 10-11. See also "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, I (1924), 72; II (1925), 112.

¹⁰² *Minutes*, sixth session, 2.

¹⁰³ *Minutes*, eighth session, 21.

¹⁰⁴ *Proceedings*, fifteenth session, 13-14. See also *Proceedings*, fourteenth session, 13-14.

¹⁰⁵ *Proceedings*, sixteenth session, 10.

¹⁰⁶ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, I (1924), 73.

¹⁰⁷ "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, I (1924), 73. See also "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (1926), 159-160.

was undertaken in cooperation with Graham Daves and the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association in July, 1902. It was a very elaborate series of public exercises lasting over a period of several days in commemoration "of the landing of the first Anglo-Saxon colony in America" on Roanoke Island.¹⁰⁸ An even more elaborate celebration was planned for the tercentenary of the death of Sir Walter Raleigh. This celebration was scheduled for October 29, 1918, and was to be held contemporaneously with a similar celebration in England. There were even plans for the exchange of representatives of the two groups to participate in each other's exercises. Unfortunately an epidemic of influenza was then sweeping the country and reached its height in North Carolina just about the time the exercises were to be held. The most that was salvaged from the wreckage of its plans was an exchange of telegraphic greetings with the English celebrants and the publication of the addresses that had been prepared.¹⁰⁹

Although the Association began a project for the marking of historic sites in 1910 and appointed a committee for that purpose,¹¹⁰ its activities in this sphere until 1934 were limited to cooperation and encouragement of the work of the state patriotic societies and other organizations. In 1935 the climax of the Association's endeavors in this field came with the securing of an act by the General Assembly to provide state funds for the erection of markers at points of historic interest along the public highways. The act made the erection of markers the joint responsibility of the Department of Conservation and Development, the State Historical Commission, and the State Highway Commission. A group of historians from the several colleges of the state agreed to serve without compensation as a committee to designate points of historic interest to be marked and to pass upon inscriptions for the markers.¹¹¹ Since 1935 the state has undertaken a very intensive campaign to mark points of historic interest and as a result over 600 markers have been erected thus far.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 15, 17-20.

¹⁰⁹ *Proceedings* (no session, "Raleigh Tercentenary"), North Carolina Historical Commission, *Bulletin* 25, 1-146.

¹¹⁰ Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, November 27, 1909, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 65. For comment see *News and Observer*, March 19, 1910.

¹¹¹ *Public Laws of 1935*, ch. 197.

¹¹² A complete listing of these markers can be found in *Guide to North Carolina Historical Highway Markers*, Raleigh, 1949 (a joint publication of The State Department of Archives and History and The Department of Conservation and Development).

The foregoing consideration of the achievements of the Association under the original objectives that it set for itself in 1900 and pursued until 1948 represents, of course, only those results of its labors that are measurable through the technique of historical research. What the organization has accomplished in the way of an inspirational character, in stimulating interest, in encouraging literary and historical endeavor and in arousing a state pride must remain largely conjecture. In contemplating its record, one might say that the "facts speak for themselves" but this has only limited validity. In many cases the facts do not speak loudly enough, and perhaps in a few instances they speak a bit more boisterously than they should.

To complete the record down to the present and incidentally to furnish a possible index of what the Association itself believes it has accomplished, some mention must be made of the changes in the objectives of the organization brought about by the new constitution in 1948. The new constitution was written by a committee under the chairmanship of Roger P. Marshall appointed at an Executive Committee meeting on April 12, 1948,¹¹³ and adopted by the Association at the forty-eighth annual session. The new purposes are as follows:

To foster the interest of our people in the literature and history of North Carolina.

To encourage productive literary activity within the State, and to assist in bringing to public attention meritorious works by North Carolina writers.

To promote broad and varied activity in the field of state and local history.

To serve as a medium for the constructive exchange of ideas among persons concerned for the permanent well-being of North Carolina.

To cooperate, so far as may be practicable, with other organizations in North Carolina whose purposes are similar to the purposes of this Association.¹¹⁴

The most significant thing about these new purposes is their more general character. The framers of the 1900 constitution had a number of very definite things in mind when they wrote

¹¹³ Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, April 12, 1948, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948. The record of the adoption is in minutes of forty-eighth session, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.

¹¹⁴ The full text of the constitution may be found in the report of the committee appointed to draft it given at an Executive Committee Meeting, December 3, 1948, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.

down their objectives. The framers of the 1948 constitution, surveying the cultural landscape of North Carolina, have not seen fit to define their field of endeavor with any degree of particularity. Rather than indicating complacency, this points up the fact that remarkable changes have come about in the last fifty years—changes that have brought not only a progress that has wiped out some of the ills that the men of 1900 sought to remedy but that has also brought a complexity that makes it virtually impossible to single out particular areas of attack. Thus the new objectives were purposely made very broad and general to give the Association a scope sufficient to enable it to act in a wide range of specific undertakings.¹¹⁵

If these changes in its objectives can be interpreted beyond this practical purpose, they would seem to indicate four distinct reactions to its history on the part of the Association: (1) That the organization has accomplished a number of its original purposes. Public and school libraries have been created and constantly improved. Historical collections have been well established and provisions made to preserve them permanently and to make them available to the public. A historical museum has been established and has grown greatly. True, there is no end to these projects, which do and should continue to demand attention. But special organizations have been created by the state, some at the Association's urging, to direct their progress. The Association can now best serve these projects by simply cooperating with the directing agencies. Hence the new purpose of "cooperation with other organizations" replaces several of the old specific objectives. (2) That the passage of time has wrought a change in the outlook of the Association. Misrepresentations about the state no longer occupy the importance in 1948 that they did in 1900. "State pride" has remained an objective but the phrase has given way to "concern for the permanent well-being of North Carolina." This too is representative of the change in the trend of thought.

(3) That some of the original objectives of the Association continue to be worthy goals to work toward. To foster an interest in the literature and history of North Carolina is, of course, a

¹¹⁵ There was of course the added realization that specific objectives do not ordinarily belong in a constitution.

general enough objective to cover all past and future activities of the Association. But where other purposes have been specified the 1948 constitution has stated them in conformity with the major trends that the Association's projects have evolved in its forty-eight years of experience. The provisions for bringing to public attention meritorious works by North Carolina writers and the promotion of local history are cases in point, deriving their inspiration from the long established practice of the annual literary award and the county history movement respectively.

It has been only two years since the Association has functioned under its new set of objectives—too early perhaps to gauge the outcome of new projects or to begin to set up a new balance sheet. Yet there is already an indication of the new life that the Association had in mind when it expanded its scope. A vigorous campaign has been launched for the erection by the state of an archives-museum center in Raleigh to house several of the cultural organizations in the state and provide a place for the preservation and exhibition of their collections. The Association thrives in the midst of a vastly different North Carolina, embarking on the pursuit of its new objectives under tremendously improved facilities, under a sunnier cultural climate and with fifty years of experience behind it. The founders of the Association complained bitterly of an enemy that still defies extermination—indifference. If it has done nothing else, this “balance sheet” proves that progress can be made against this enemy. It remains for the Association to practice what it has preached for half a century and look into its own history for inspiration to build a better future.

APPENDIX

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State School Facts, Sept. 15, 1927 (a periodical issued semi-monthly by the Superintendent of Public Instruction), Raleigh.

Public Laws of North Carolina, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1935.

II. PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF THE ASSOCIATION

	<i>Presidents</i>	<i>Secretaries</i>
1900-1901	Walter Clark	Alex J. Feild D. H. Hill*
1901-1903	Henry G. Connor	Alex J. Feild George S. Fraps
1903	William L. Poteat	Clarence Poe
1903-1904	C. Alphonso Smith	Clarence Poe
1904-1905	Robert W. Winston	Clarence Poe
1905-1906	Charles B. Aycock	Clarence Poe
1906-1907	W. D. Pruden**	Clarence Poe
1907	A. M. Scales	
1907-1908	Robert Bingham	Clarence Poe
1908-1909	Junius Davis	Clarence Poe
1909-1911	Platt D. Walker	Clarence Poe
1911	Edward K. Graham	Clarence Poe
1911-1912	R. D. W. Connor	Clarence Poe
1912-1913	William P. Few	R. D. W. Connor
1913-1914	Archibald Henderson	R. D. W. Connor
1914-1915	Clarence Poe	R. D. W. Connor
1915-1916	Howard E. Rondthaler	R. D. W. Connor
1916-1917	H. A. London	R. D. W. Connor
1917-1919	James Sprunt	R. D. W. Connor
1919-1920	J. G. deR. Hamilton	R. D. W. Connor
1920-1921	D. H. Hill	R. B. House
1921-1922	William K. Boyd	R. B. House
1922-1923	Adelaide L. Fries	R. B. House
1923-1924	W. C. Jackson	R. B. House
1924-1925	Frederick H. Koch	R. B. House
1925-1926	Thomas M. Pittman	R. B. House
1926-1927	Josephus Daniels	A. R. Newsome
1927-1928	James Boyd	A. R. Newsome
1928-1929	H. M. Wagstaff	A. R. Newsome
1929-1930	Horace Kephart	A. R. Newsome
1930-1931	Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire	A. R. Newsome
1931-1932	George W. Paschal	A. R. Newsome
1932-1933	J. Fred Rippy	A. R. Newsome
1933-1934	Frank P. Graham	A. R. Newsome
1934-1935	Phillips Russell	A. R. Newsome
1935-1936	William T. Polk	Christopher Crittenden
1936-1937	William T. Laprade	Christopher Crittenden
1937-1938	Jonathan Daniels	Christopher Crittenden
1938-1939	A. R. Newsome	Christopher Crittenden
1939-1940	Struthers Burt	Christopher Crittenden
1940-1941	W. T. Couch	Christopher Crittenden

* Hill was Secretary-Treasurer (resigned 1901) and Feild was Corresponding Secretary.

** Died in office.

1941-1942	Hubert A. Royster	Christopher Crittenden
1942-1943	Paul Green	Christopher Crittenden
1943-1944	Hubert M. Poteat	Christopher Crittenden
1944-1945	Aubrey L. Brooks	Christopher Crittenden
1945-1946	Robert B. House	Christopher Crittenden
1946-1947	Carlyle Campbell	Christopher Crittenden
1947-1948	Alice M. Baldwin	Christopher Crittenden
1948-1949	W. T. Bost	Christopher Crittenden
1949-1950	Charles S. Sydnor	Christopher Crittenden

III. THE CONSTITUTION OF 1900

NAME

This Association shall be called The State Literary and Historical Association.

PURPOSES

The purposes of this Association shall be the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina, and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation.

OFFICERS

The officers of this Association shall be a President and three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Corresponding Secretary, whose terms of office shall be for one year and until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall be elected by the Association at its annual meetings, except that vacancies in any office may be filled by the Executive Committee until the meeting of the Association occurring next thereafter.

The duties of the President shall be to preside over all the meetings of the Association, to appoint all members of committees, except where it is otherwise provided, and to look after the general interest of the Association. In case of the death or resignation of the President, his successor shall be chosen from among the Vice-Presidents by the Executive Committee to fill the unexpired term. In the absence of the President, at any meeting, the Vice-President who may be selected by the Association shall preside.

The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep the books and the funds of the Association, and shall pay out money only upon the order of the Executive Committee and the warrant of its chairman and the President.

The Corresponding Secretary shall attend to the correspondence of the Association, and act under the general direction of the

Executive Committee, and, for cause, he may be removed by the Executive Committee, in its discretion.

COMMITTEES

The permanent standing committees of the Association shall be:

I. An Executive Committee, consisting of five members and the officers of the Association, who shall be *ex officio* members, except the Corresponding Secretary, any three of whom and an *ex officio* member shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The duties of this committee shall be to make programmes and arrangements for all meetings of the Association, to manage its business matters, to receive and acknowledge such donations in money, or its equivalent, as may be offered, and to endeavor specially to create a permanent fund of endowment by recommendation of its objects to our philanthropic citizens of means, to receive all reports of officers made when the Association is not in session, to make a report of its own actions and the affairs of the Association at the meetings thereof, and to perform the other duties herein prescribed for it.

This committee shall have power to determine the compensation of any paid officer or servant of the Association it may be necessary to employ, subject to the general supervision of the Association.

II. A committee on Literature and History, consisting of twelve members, to be appointed by the President, and such other members of the Association as they shall associate with themselves.

It shall be their duty to collect valuable material connected with the history of North Carolina and such of its literature as, in their judgement, is worthy to be preserved. They shall endeavor to secure the cooperation of local committees in the cities and towns of the State, and may appoint sub-committees wherever the same may be necessary for the prosecution of their work in any locality.

They shall examine and recommend for publication such of the manuscripts submitted to them as may be thought worthy, and they may require as a condition precedent to their taking any manuscript into consideration that its author first secure the endorsement of some local committee, and they shall have charge of any printing or publication ordered or authorized by the Association.

III. A committee on Libraries, consisting of twelve members, to be appointed by the President.

It shall be their duty to ascertain and report to the Association, as far as may be practicable, the number and condition of the public and school libraries in the State, and to devise and suggest plans for their establishment and promotion.

It shall be their special duty to suggest, promote, and encourage free libraries in connection with schools and factories.

This committee shall have power to associate with itself other members of the Association, and to appoint such sub-committees as it may deem requisite for its work in any locality.

IV. A committee on Membership and Local Organizations, consisting of twelve members.

It shall be their duty to find out by correspondence and otherwise persons in all parts of the State who are in sympathy with the objects of the Association and to bring the same to their attention as far as may be practicable. They shall promote and encourage local literary and historical organizations and endeavor to secure their cooperation with this Association by representation at its meetings and otherwise.

All applications for membership shall be made through this committee, and no person shall be elected, after the first meeting, except upon their recommendation.

V. A committee on an Historical Museum, consisting of seven members, to be appointed by the President, with power to associate with itself such other members of the Association as are interested in its special work.

It shall be the duty of this committee, by correspondence or otherwise, to collect and accept for the Association, and place in a museum or place of safe-keeping and exhibition, all valuable historical relics and original documents which may be donated or collected, and to endeavor to discover and collect them wherever they may be found: *Provided*, that the Historical Department of the State Museum, with the concurrence of its proper officers, be selected as the permanent place of deposit and safe-keeping for the Association.

MEMBERSHIP

Any white resident of the State, or North Carolinian residing out of the State, who subscribes to the purposes of the Association, is eligible to membership and may be elected by the Association, or by the Executive Committee when it is not in session, upon the recommendation of the Committee on Membership.

FEEES

The initiation fee and the annual dues of each member of the Association shall be one dollar, to be paid to the Secretary and Treasurer.

MEETINGS

There shall be one regular general meeting in each year, the time and place thereof to be determined by the Executive Committee.*

* This constitution was adopted at the first annual session of the Association, Raleigh, October 23, 1900.

IV. THE REVISED CONSTITUTION OF 1922

NAME

This Association shall be called the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina.

PURPOSES

The purposes of this association shall be the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and the engendering of a healthy State pride among the rising generation.

OFFICERS

The officers of the association shall be a president, first, second, and third vice-presidents, and a secretary, whose terms of office shall be for one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. They shall be elected by the association at its annual meetings, except that vacancies in any office may be filled by the executive committee until the meeting of the association next thereafter.

The president shall preside over all the meetings of the association, and appoint all members of committees, except where it is otherwise provided, and look after the general interest of the association. In case of the death or resignation of the president, his successor shall be selected by the executive committee from the vice-presidents.

The secretary shall be the administrative officer of the association. He shall keep the books and funds, receive money for the association, and disburse it for purposes authorized by the executive committee. He shall strive by all practical means to increase the membership and influence of the association.

COMMITTEES

There shall be an executive committee, composed of the president, the secretary, and six others, two of whom shall be appointed each year by the incoming president, to serve three years: *Provided*, that at the annual session, 1922, four members shall be elected by the association, as follows: two members to serve one year, and two to serve two years. The president, secretary, and any other three members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The executive committee shall make programs and arrangements for all meetings of the association, supervise all business matters, receive all reports of officers, endeavor especially to secure from philanthropic citizens donations toward a permanent fund of endowment, and in general promote the purpose

of the association. The executive committee shall be subject to the general supervision of the association.

There shall be such other committees appointed by the president to serve during his term of office for such time and such purposes as he shall see fit.

MEMBERSHIP

All persons interested in its purposes and desiring to have a part in promoting them are eligible to membership in the association. They will duly be enrolled upon the receipt of the annual membership fee.

FEEES

The annual membership fee shall be one dollar, to be paid to the secretary.

MEETINGS

There shall be one regular annual meeting, the time and place of which shall be determined by the executive committee. Other meetings may be arranged by the executive committee.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES

Auxiliary societies may be organized, with the advice of, and under the supervision of, the executive committee.¹

V. THE CONSTITUTION OF 1948

ARTICLE I.—NAME AND PURPOSES

Section 1. This Association shall be called *The State Literary and Historical Association*.

Section 2. The purposes of this Association shall be as follows:

(1) To foster the interest of our people in the literature and history of North Carolina.

(2) To encourage productive literary activity within the State, and to assist in bringing to public attention meritorious works by North Carolina writers.

(3) To promote broad and varied activity in the field of state and local history.

(4) To serve as a medium for the constructive exchange of ideas among persons concerned for the permanent well-being of North Carolina.

(5) To cooperate, so far as may be practicable, with other organizations in North Carolina whose purposes are similar to the purposes of this Association.

ARTICLE II.—OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer. Of the President and the three Vice-Presidents, no two shall be residents of the same county.

¹ This constitution was adopted by the Association at the twenty-second annual session, Raleigh, December 8, 1922.

Section 2. Officers shall be elected by the Association at its annual meetings for a term of one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Section 3. Any vacancy in office may be filled by the Executive Committee until the meeting of the Association next thereafter. In the event of the death or resignation of the President, his successor to serve during the unexpired term shall be chosen by the Executive Committee from among the Vice-Presidents. In the absence of the President at any meeting, the Vice-President who may be designated by the Association shall preside.

Section 4. The duties of the President shall be:

- (1) To preside over all meetings of the Association.
- (2) To appoint all committees, except where it is otherwise provided.
- (3) To maintain the general interest of the Association, and to enlist the counsel and support of the membership in doing so.
- (4) To lead in keeping constantly before the membership the stated purposes of the Association, and in formulating or furthering a program through which those purposes may be translated into effective activity both during and after his term of office.

Section 5. The Vice-Presidents shall be expected to attend meetings of the Executive Committee, and to serve when called upon in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 above.

Section 6. Acting under the general direction of the Executive Committee, the Secretary-Treasurer shall attend to the correspondence, and have charge of the funds and records of the Association. He shall be that officer chiefly responsible for promoting the free interchange of communication between membership and Executive Committee, and for submitting to the members, by mail or at meetings, timely reports upon matters of common interest.

ARTICLE III—COMMITTEES

Section 1. A permanent standing committee shall be the Executive Committee. This committee shall consist of six elected members, as prescribed in Section 2, below, and the officers of the Association.

Section 2. Two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by the Association each year, for a term of three years. As of December 2, 1948, two members are serving the term to expire December 31, 1948; two members are serving the term to expire December 31, 1949; and two members are serving the term to expire December 31, 1950.

Section 3. Any six members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 4. (1) The Executive Committee shall supervise the business matters of the Association, and shall have power to de-

termine the compensation of any person employed by the Association. (2) This committee shall receive and acknowledge such gifts in money or its equivalent as may be offered; and shall especially endeavor to create and augment a permanent endowment for the more effectual promotion of the purposes of the Association. (3) The Executive Committee shall make plans and arrangements for all meetings of the Association; shall receive reports of officers when the Association is not in session; and shall make reports of its own at meetings of the Association. (4) Applications for membership shall be made to this committee, and persons shall be elected to membership only by its vote.

Section 5. A nominating committee of five members shall be elected at each annual business meeting. This committee shall nominate candidates for office and for membership on the Executive Committee, to be voted upon at the annual business meeting in the following year.

Section 6. An auditing committee of three members shall be appointed each year to audit the accounts of the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 7. The Executive Committee is empowered to authorize other committees as needs for them may arise.

ARTICLE IV—MEMBERSHIP, DUES, MEETINGS

Section 1. Any person who subscribes to the purposes of the Association is eligible to membership, and may be admitted to membership by vote of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. Annual dues of each member of the Association shall be two dollars, payable to the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 3. (1) There shall be one regular general meeting in each year. (2) Other meetings may be called by the Executive Committee in its discretion.

Section 4. A quorum for the transaction of business shall be those present and voting who have paid their dues for the current fiscal year.

ARTICLE V—CONSTITUTION: ADOPTION AND AMENDMENTS

Section 1. This constitution, having been approved by the Executive Committee, shall become effective upon approval by three-fourths of the members voting.

Section 2. For adoption of an amendment, approval of three-fourths of the members voting shall be required.

Section 3. Beginning with 1952, the constitution shall be published and sent to the members every fourth year, along with the annual published list of the Association membership.*

* This constitution was adopted by the Association at the forty-eighth annual session, Raleigh, December 3, 1948.

VI. THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

The Conditions of Award Officially Set Forth by Mrs. Patterson.

As a memorial to my father, and with a view to stimulating effort among the writers of North Carolina, and to awaken among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, I desire to present to your Society a loving cup, upon the following stipulations, which I trust will meet with your approval and will be found to be just and practicable:

1. The cup will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup."

2. It will be awarded at each annual meeting of your Association for ten successive years, beginning with October, 1905.

3. It will be given to that resident of the State who during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. The work must be published during the said twelve months, and no manuscript nor any unpublished writings will be considered.

4. The name of the successful competitor will be engraved upon the cup, with the date of the award, and it will remain in his possession until October 1st of the following year, when it shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Association, to be by him held in trust until the new award of your annual meeting that month. It will become the permanent possession of the one winning it oftenest during the ten years, provided he shall have won it three times. Should no one, at the expiration of that period, have won it so often, the competition shall continue until that result is reached. The names of only those competitors who shall be living at the time of the final award shall be considered in the permanent disposition of the cup.

5. The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, who will act as chairman, and of the occupants of the chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Raleigh, and of the chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and Trinity College.

6. If any of these gentlemen should decline or be unable to serve, their successors shall be appointed by the remaining members of the board, and these appointees may act for the whole unexpired term or for a shorter time, as the board may determine. Notice of the inability of any member to act must be given at the beginning of the year during which he declines to serve, so that there may be a full committee during the entire term of each year.

7. The publication of a member of the board will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION

According to a resolution adopted at the 1908 session, the Association further provided that no author desiring to have his work considered in connection with the award of the cup shall communicate with any member of the committee, either personally or through a representative. Books or other publications to be considered, together with any communication regarding them, must be sent to the Secretary of the Association and by him presented to the chairman of the committee for consideration.

VII. AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

- 1905 John Charles McNeill, for poems later reprinted in book form as *Songs, Merry and Sad*.
 1906 Edwin Mims, for *Life of Sidney Lanier*.
 1907 Kemp Plummer Battle, for *History of the University of North Carolina*.
 1908 Samuel A'Court Ashe, for *History of North Carolina*.
 1909 Clarence Poe, for *A Southerner in Europe*.
 1910 R. D. W. Connor, for *Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History*.
 1911 Archibald Henderson, for *George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works*.
 1912 Clarence Poe, for *Where Half the World is Waking Up*.
 1913 Horace Kephart, for *Our Southern Highlanders*.
 1914 J. G. deR. Hamilton, for *Reconstruction in North Carolina*.
 1915 William Louis Poteat, for *The New Peace*.
 1916 No award.
 1917 Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan, for *The Cycle's Rim*.
 1918 No award.
 1919 No award.
 1920 Miss Winifred Kirkland, for *The New Death*.
 1921 No award.
 1922 Josephus Daniels, for *Our Navy at War*.

VIII. THE MAYFLOWER SOCIETY CUP

The Conditions of Award Officially Set Forth by the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina.

As a memorial to the passengers on the Mayflower who landed at Plymouth Rock in the State of Massachusetts in the year 1620, and for the purpose of stimulating among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina desires to present to your Association a cup, together with a small replica, and to present each succeeding year another replica to be used by you as suggested in the following stipulations:

1. The cup will be known as the MAYFLOWER SOCIETY CUP. It will remain in the permanent possession of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and be kept in a suitable place in the Hall of History at Raleigh.

2. The replica will be given, one each calendar year, to the resident of the State of North Carolina who, during the preceding twelve months ending November 1st, shall have published an original work of outstanding excellence, which in the opinion of the Board of Award, hereinafter specified, shall appear to have been the most deserving of recognition. The work may be either prose or poetry and will be judged without regard for length. In any year when the best work appears, in the judgment of the Board of Award, not to be worthy of recognition, no award will be made.

3. At the time of the award, the name of the author and the name of the work, together with the year of date, shall be engraved upon the cup for permanent record and upon the replica which shall then be presented to the author.

4. The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association as Chairman, and the heads of the Departments of English and History at the University of North Carolina and Duke University.

5. The publication of a member of the Board of Award will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.¹

Revision of the Conditions of Award.

The beginning of the award year was changed in 1933 from November 1 to September 1.²

In 1934 section 4 was revised to read: "The Board of Award each year shall consist of the President of the State Literary and Historical Association as chairman and the heads of the departments of English and History at two of the following institutions: University of North Carolina, Duke University, State College of A. and E., Wake Forest College, Davidson College, and the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. The Secretary of the Association shall arrange a schedule of rotation so that the two members from each institution shall serve for overlapping terms of two years."³

Section 4 was again changed in 1938 to read as follows: "The Board of Award shall consist of five persons to include the President of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, as chairman, the heads of the departments of English and History at one of the colleges enumerated below, and two literary critics from any one city in North Carolina. The Board of Award to be chosen each year by the Secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina and the Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina:

Davidson College
Duke University
State College

University of North Carolina
Wake Forest College
Woman's College of the University of North Carolina"

¹ Burnham S. Colburn to the president and Executive Committee of the Association, August 1, 1930.

² A. R. Newsome to Board of Award, September 12, 1933.

³ A. R. Newsome to Burnham S. Colburn, October 6, 1934.

At the same time the following stipulation was inserted before the last sentence in section 2: "Technical and scientific works are ineligible."⁴

In 1939 section 5 was made to read: "In case the publication of a member of the Board of Award shall be eligible for the competition, that member shall not serve, and the Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina and the Secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association shall select a substitute."

A new regulation was inserted as section 3 in 1941, while sections 3, 4, and 5 were changed to 4, 5, and 6 respectively. The new regulation follows: "To be eligible for the award, a person shall have maintained either legal residence or actual physical residence, or a combination of both, in the State of North Carolina for the three years immediately preceding the close of the contest period."

With these amendments in force, the Conditions of Award now read as follows:

As a memorial to the passengers on the Mayflower who landed at Plymouth Rock in the State of Massachusetts in the year 1620, and for the purpose of stimulating among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, the Society of the Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina has presented the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina a cup, together with a small replica, and presents each succeeding year another replica, to be used under the following stipulations.

1. The cup will be known as "The Mayflower Society Cup." It will remain in the permanent possession of the State Literary and Historical Association and be kept in a suitable place in the Hall of History at Raleigh.

2. The replica will be given, one each year, to the resident of State of North Carolina who, during the preceding twelve months ending August 31, shall have published an original work of outstanding excellence which, in the opinion of the Board of Award, hereinafter specified, shall appear to be the most deserving of recognition. The work may be either prose or poetry, and will be judged without regard to length. Technical and scientific works are ineligible. In any year when the best work appears, in the judgment of the Board of Award, not to be worthy of recognition, no award will be made.

3. To be eligible for the award, a person shall have maintained either legal residence or actual physical residence, or a combination of both, in the State of North Carolina for the three years immediately preceding the close of the contest period.

4. At the time of the award, the name of the author and the name of the work, together with the year of date, shall be en-

⁴ Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina to the president and Executive Committee of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, May 20, 1938.

graved upon the cup for the permanent record, and upon the replica which shall then be presented to the author.

5. The Board of Award shall consist of five persons to include the President of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, the heads of the departments of English and History at one of the following Colleges enumerated below, and two literary critics chosen from one city in North Carolina. The Board of Award is to be chosen each year by the Secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, and the Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina.

6. In the event the publication of a member of the Board of Award shall be eligible for the competition, that member shall not serve, and the Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina and the Secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association shall select a substitute.

IX. AWARDS OF THE MAYFLOWER SOCIETY CUP

- 1931 M. C. S. Noble, for *History of the Public Schools in North Carolina*.
- 1932 Archibald Henderson, for *Bernard Shaw: Playboy and Prophet*.
- 1933 Rupert P. Vance, for *Human Geography of the South*.
- 1934 Erich W. Zimmerman, for *World Resources and Industries*.
- 1935 James Boyd, for *Roll River*.
- 1936 Mitchell B. Garrett, for *The Estates General of 1789*.
- 1937 Richard H. Shryock, for *The Development of Modern Medicine*.
- 1938 Jonathan Daniels, for *A Southerner Discovers the South*.
- 1939 Bernice Kelly Harris, for *Purslane*.
- 1940 David L. Cohn, for *The Good Old Days*.
- 1941 Wilbur J. Cash, for *The Mind of the South*.
- 1942 Elbert Russell, for *The History of Quakerism*.
- 1943 J. Saunders Redding, for *No Day of Triumph*.
- 1944 Adelaide L. Fries, for *The Road to Salem*.
- 1945 Josephus Daniels, for *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace, 1910-1917*.
- 1946 Josephina Niggli, for *Mexican Village*.
- 1947 Robert E. Coker, for *The Great Wide Sea*.
- 1948 Charles S. Sydnor, for *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848*.
- 1949 Phillips Russell, for *The Woman Who Rang the Bell*.
- 1950 Max Steele, for *Debby*.

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKS FOR 1950

BY DOROTHY LLOYD GILBERT

I bring you no profound treatment of the literary life and the level of culture in North Carolina at mid-century, no close analysis of the principles which guide North Carolina writers, no infallible index to thought, but rather a brief survey of what North Carolina writers have done during the year. My point of view is that of the general reader—rather more general than usual—and not that of the professional critic.

While I read these books with increasing interest, for I was seeking all the while for the one which would outshine myriads though bright and so receive the award, I experienced the pleasures of serendipity; that is, I sought for something and found something else. There appeared ten books or so which I felt I could describe without great exaggeration as being excellent. I will comment briefly on them. On my first round through these books, I endeavored to describe them all; but the further I went, the more it seemed to me that my talk bore more than a passing resemblance to the progress of a bookmobile careening down a narrow road at the rate of one book a minute. Therefore, I have amended my plan, lined up these books according to library classification and will proceed down the Carolina shelf for 1950, commenting on some and doing little more than calling the roll on others.

First these few observations:

Scientific and technical works are excluded from the contest, so that the total output of North Carolina is not represented; yet one trend does appear—that toward biographical writing. Of course within the past ten or twenty years there has been a great resurgence of interest in biography on the part of author and reader; yet the fact that at least eleven out of forty-two books of the year are biographical reflects more than the usual biographical interest. Last year North Carolina writers discovered the tobacco industry, this year the great men.

It is interesting to observe that North Carolina publishers and printers have collaborated on twenty-two of these books; five were published at Chapel Hill and the other seventeen here and

there over the state, rarely more than two from the same press. This interest within the state is balanced by the support given North Carolina scholarly works by national foundations. Frances Acomb held a fellowship from the American Association of University Women. Edward Guerrant, John Hallowell, Harriet Herring, and Chalmers G. Davidson had grants made jointly by the Carnegie Corporation and their own institutions. Chalmers Davidson also had assistance from the Medical Association of South Carolina; and Stuart Noblin was aided by *The Progressive Farmer*, whose founder he made the subject of his biography. The most magnificently supported work was *Debby*. Its author, Max Steele, held a fellowship awarded by the Eugene F. Saxton Memorial Trust while he was writing it and won the Harpers \$10,000 prize with it.

Now for the bookshelf—beginning with religion, the 200's. Two of these books are by members of the faculty of the Divinity School at Duke, *A Firm Faith for Today* by Harold Bosley and *Preaching in the Great Tradition* by Ray C. Petry. *Parables of Crisis* is by Edwin McNeill Poteat, well-known in Raleigh, and *Rise Up and Walk* by Percy E. Lindley, Dean of High Point College for many years. Many sections of these books had their origins in lectures, addresses, sermons, or inspirational talks, and the reader feels the presence of the speaker: Dr. Poteat tosses questions at his audience rather frequently; even Dr. Petry, dealing with the preaching of the Middle Ages, gives way to a little modern story—the four-year-old who wouldn't go down to the missionary tea because as she told Grandmother, "The preacher is there and you know I just can't take a chance of going down there and getting baptized." Of course the professor balances this incident immediately with a quotation from the venerable Bede to the effect that the teacher ought sometimes to preach and sometimes attend to his own concerns. Dr. Lindley uses illustration upon illustration and story upon story to prove his points, the principal one being that life offers great opportunity to each young person, who needs only to rise up and walk the right paths to make his life happy and successful.

To give the briefest suggestion of the content of the others: Dr. Bosley examines each article in the creed, affirming modern

man's faith in God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Bible, the Church, man, forgiveness of sin, reconciliation, the Kingdom of God, salvation, and immortality. The book is written in a clear, transparent style; each word says what it is intended to say; and through the sentences, which seem effortless, speaks the deeply sincere, the deeply thoughtful man who is here setting down the principles of his faith. I commend to you the last chapter, "We Believe in Immortality."

Dr. Petry in his book, *Preaching in the Great Tradition*, brings in the great preachers of the Middle Ages and lets them preach (never at any great length), tell off the doubters or their fellow churchmen, and discuss their problems. Dr. Petry wears his learning lightly; he knows his preachers so well that he doesn't have to treat them solemnly—after all they are but older members of the same conference or synod. It is pleasant to see Saint Francis, Wulfstan, De Vitry, Bernard of Clairvaux face to face rather than through a stained glass window darkly. Dr. Petry has a nice turn of phrase: "So Meister Eckhart dropped people's jaws and dried up their tongues so they forgot to misunderstand what he meant."

Dr. Poteat in his *Parables of Crisis* discusses sixteen of the last parables of Jesus, stressing the tensions of the time in which they were spoken and the comparable tensions of today. The emphasis is often skeptical; for example, the Prodigal Son gets a prodigal brother who "suffers the dead weight of morose self-pity" and a prodigal father "who suffers the spiritual disabilities of moral shallowness. He indulged in an emotional spree when his boy came home. No wonder, who wouldn't. But it could easily have had a deleterious effect on both the sons. The elder son's sense of estrangement from the family was apparently exacerbated by it."

Dr. Poteat makes many such observations: shrewd, interesting, sound psychologically, worded with a nice adjustment of sound and sense, enlivened by the word or the imagination that sparkles; but the ancient simplicity has departed.

The 300's are represented by an excellent text, a series of lectures, and an extended case history—all on important subjects.

The text, *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought*, was

written by Dr. John H. Hallowell of Duke and was done not only for students who have difficulty in escaping textbook English but also for their elders, who can and do. It is clear, comprehensive, and interesting. If the word *challenging* were not so well worn, I'd use it. There is a theory behind it that makes it differ from most volumes on political theory. Dr. Hallowell believes "that there is both an intimate and logically necessary connection between one's metaphysical and theological presuppositions and his political theory," and he shows that connection.

The lectures are entitled *Area and Administration* and deal with the problems of government in relation to their geographical setting. Dr. Fesler opens a great field for study in these lectures and suggests that area and function will be reciprocally adjusted not by a single solution but by many and that the adjustment is a continuous process.

Harriet Herring has made a thorough investigation of the sale of mill villages, interviewing hundreds of people in the process. The method gives validity to her book, *The Passing of the Mill Village*. An appendix explains the method; another lists forty-one corporations which have already sold their mill villages and from whom Miss Herring obtained information. I am no sociologist, but even so untechnical a reader as I am can see the importance of this work in relation to southern life and industry.

We'll take down three of the books of poetry and try their quality: Helen Bevington's book *Nineteen Million Elephants* has a wider range than any of the others: fine ironies, clever and unexpected literary allusions to delight the pedant's heart wrapped in the teacher's hide, expert poetry of nature, of childhood, of travel by air—all done in the modern idiom. As Helen Bevington says in the poem, "Words are Anybody's," "Anything I say belongs to me." How right she is! I want to read two poems, "Return from Summer," which illustrates the Bevington manner as usually seen, and "Refugee 1944," which shows a totally different technique use, that of implying profound meaning with a few closely guarded, well-trimmed words.

RETURN FROM SUMMER

Like Thoreau, I hate the sound
 Of my own footsteps.
 He would travel
 The grass, the woods, the leafy ground,
 Unsettled by the grit of gravel,
 Deserting pebbled roads for fear
 Of any scuffle he might hear.

Infinites of goldenrod
 And huckleberry
 Kept him free
 Of needless racket where he trod,
 And, in the soft upholstery
 Of moss, of pine straw, as he went
 The quiet was magnificent.

And since the summer fields are wide
 And carpeted
 Where I have been,
 Well-padded is the countryside
 To make an expedition in,
 I hate to walk this city street,
 Accompanied always by my feet.

REFUGEE, 1944

So lately has he come, there lies
 About his guarded tale surprise
 That words are speakable, that he
 May try them. Even openly.

And of the world where he has been,
 His thought is cautious still, and thin,
 Lest to his listeners it give
 Precision to the narrative.

Yet is his meaning never blurred
 By loss, the canceling of a word,
 When to his listeners the place
 Is too apparent in his face.

Two other books of verse are good: Andrew Hewitt's *Traveler to April* and Merle Price's *The Heart Has Its Daybreak*. Andrew Hewitt's themes are the small melancholy pleasures in nature, the thin boundaries that divide this world and the world of spectres, the shortness of time. There is a twilight atmosphere in his poems, and winter is always coming on, for April is still far,

far ahead. Nearly all are done with the light and delicate touch shown in this one entitled "Evening Bell."

EVENING BELL

It is a heavy-tongued bell
With neither faint nor swell
Nor tremble, but that is well.

The bell that strikes one tone
Has a story of its own
It tells to me, alive and alone:

*In the sad and grey churchyard
By the yew, under the sward
Every man is sleeping hard.*

Merle Price writes of love. It is easy to compare her best poems with Emily Dickinson's in subject and with Sara Teasdale's in form; yet perhaps the most valid comparison is simply that her accents, like theirs, are valid, and nearly all that she writes is poetry. Both Andrew Hewitt and Merle Price write in a more conventional manner than Helen Bevington does.

MY TRUE LOVE

My halo is slightly tilted.
Quite rakish, I'll admit,
For I've just kissed my own true love
And that's the cause of it.

Considering present fashions,
I'm dressed with quite a flair;
There's dew-drops for my ear-rings,
Star bangles for my hair.

Beyond a casual incidence
My face is shining, truly,
For I've just been with my true love.
My heart is most unruly.

If my radiance should blind you,
Admit you'd like to be
In the wild and tender atmosphere
Of my true love and me.

Russell Dicks in *My Faith Looks Up* sometimes catches the beautiful rhythms of the King James Version in his poems. Barbara (Mrs. Archibald) Henderson includes an excellent son-

net "Calling All Stations" in her collection, *Wars and Rumors of War*. The volumes, *A Nightingale Singing*, *Zither of Many Strings*, and *Street Lights*, are not what you would call selected poetry. There are lines as good as "We'll pluck no more the bitter-sweet nor asters in the fall" and as bad as

Your presence is electric, uncanny,
 Psychic, charming, obtrusive, masculine

I know when I'm mad I'm a dreadful sight,
 But I've got to stand up for what I think is right.

This line would have delighted Pope, for it has twelve, not ten, low "words that creep in one dull line." As you may judge, these are casual writings, but on the whole they are not without their appeal, especially to those acquainted with the author. The same is true of Mr. Cline's poetry, *The Heights of Home*, most of which has appeared in his Sunday church bulletins in Carthage.

From the 800's we move to the 900's—the histories. Seven titles are listed; some are books, some booklets—some written by practicing historians, some not. Those by historians are *Anglophobia in France, 1763-1789*, by Frances Acomb, assistant professor of history at Duke; *Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy* by Edward O. Guerrant, associate professor of international relations at Davidson; and *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943* by David Leroy Corbitt, of the State Department of Archives and History. All are important books, the first because it confirms a long suspected fact that French thought in the age of revolution was strongly influenced by English liberalism. Incidentally, to her exact and exhaustive research Miss Acomb has added the grace of a fine prose style so clear and disciplined that the eighteenth century would be happy to claim it. The second book performs a fine service for students of Latin American policy, as Dr. Guerrant gathers and clarifies the vast amount of material bearing on Roosevelt's good neighbor policy. The third, Mr. Corbitt's book, straightens out the tangled history of the formation of North Carolina counties, once and for all. He sets the 116 counties which have existed in alphabetical order and deals with each by a formula which nearly always begins thus: "Wake was formed in 1770 from Johnston, Cumber-

land and Orange. The act was to become effective March 12, 1771. It was named in honor of Margaret Wake, wife of William Tryon." The appendix reprints documents bearing on organization and a good series of maps illustrates the boundaries. It must be a pleasure to Mr. Corbitt to reflect that he has given students of North Carolina history an instrument as precise and useful as the slide rule.

The other entries deal with informal or local aspects of history. Mary Moore Allen's *North Carolina Sketches* is part handbook, part guidebook, containing as it does a list of places of historical interest, among its other details. Mason Crum's book, *The Story of Lake Junaluska*, contains official papers as well as information on the history, traditions and usefulness of that center. Mildred and Edward Edmundson have issued two booklets under the title "Dramatizing Democracy." They contain short plays suitable for use in grade school history classes. John Parris in *The Cherokee Story* presents a rapidly moving, well illustrated account of the Cherokees and the region in which they live. The book does credit to the Stephens Press, which issued it.

Four of the seven historical works belong in the Carolina collection, but every one of the eleven biographical writings deals with a Carolinian, albeit three of them lived in South Carolina: Wade Hampton, John Christopher, and Peter Fayssoux.

Manly Wade Wellman has written a fine and moving biography of Wade Hampton, calling it *Giant in Gray*. I believe that my admiration for the book is quite objective; a Quaker born in Indiana does not have an inbred veneration for a military man from South Carolina. The book is the result of many years of study and research. It has the careful documentation that a good historical study requires, and it comes alive as successfully as the best historical novels do. The greatness of Wade Hampton increased with the years, and the characterization of the steadfast, toiling governor and the senator struggling to bring his state and the South through the disasters following the war is of greater significance than that of the general, important as he was. The book is highly detailed, and this plethora of detail is so well controlled that the reader is never overwhelmed by it. Mr. Wellman gives him the past, and he feels that he has seen another world as it really was. Historically minded reviewers object that

the Giant in Gray did not tower so high above his fellows as Mr. Wellman thinks, and these critics say that the author should have respected the stature of other generals; the reader with his eyes on the indomitable figure of Wade Hampton does not miss the others.

Chalmers G. Davidson and Dorothy Fremont Grant have presented the careers of two important citizens of Charleston: Peter Fayssoux, about whom Dr. Davidson writes, is considered to be the father of South Carolina medicine; John England, Mrs. Grant's subject, was the first Catholic bishop to be sent to Charleston. Each of these books gives an adequate account of a career; each of them uses the subject's writing effectively. Dr. Fayssoux's letters to Dr. Benjamin Rush are especially interesting.

The North Carolina biographies bring together an unusual quartet: Thomas Wolfe, William Henry Belk, Leonidas Lafayette Polk, and Allen Jay Maxwell. Only 1950's strange literary harvest unites them in a common bond. Yet all do share one trait, the love of North Carolina, and all have contributed to the life and progress of the state.

I am especially impressed by Agatha Boyd Adams's brief, objective biography, *Thomas Wolfe: Carolina Student*. One of my students by way of suggestion and flattery once said to me, "Anybody can make out a hard examination on Shakespeare, but only a really good teacher can make a good, easy, sensible examination." By paraphrase, any biographer finds it easier to deal with Wolfe at length than to reduce his massive personality and equally massive production to a ninety-page essay—clear, comprehensive, unhurried, and appreciative. The emphasis is placed upon the university days, and the new material on Wolfe is in that part of the essay. It is extremely interesting to see the forms in which Wolfe's genius first expressed itself and the influences which acted upon Tom of the Mountains, the awkward, gangling youngster fifteen years old when he came down to the university. When he was editor of the *Daily Tar Heel*, an irate father stormed in to see him threatening to sue him because he had printed a picture of his daughter in a student's embrace. "Sir, you can't do that," said Wolfe calmly. "Why not?" shouted the

father. "Because, sir, I am a minor," Wolfe answered, unfolding his full height of six feet, three inches.

Mrs. Adams did not close her book with the university days, in spite of its title. It gives family background, teaching experience and all, carrying his career to its conclusion. This is her final paragraph:

"The mountains were his masters. 'They rimmed in life,' he had written. And now they rimmed his death with stately beauty and that magic sense of distance which had always kindled his spirit. The mountains held him fast in death, but beyond their outermost horizons roamed free the far-ranging creative spirit that could not die."

LeGette Blythe's book on William Henry Belk and Stuart Noblin's on L. L. Polk are competent and interesting biographies. They are, at the same time, fine illustrations of the growth and development of North Carolina since the Civil War, for both of them show the career of the man in terms of progress in the South.

William Henry Belk's story begins with the departure of his young father as the Yankees came nearer, with capture, and with death. Eighty-three years later the merchant of the South returned to the spot where his mother, her three little boys about her, had watched her husband out of sight. William Henry came back in a fine automobile to see the land owned and lost by his family but now his again; and times had surely changed! Mr. Blythe follows his career faithfully and well. He never loses sight of young Mrs. Belk's heroism, the great hardships of the early years, the steady toil that continued year by year without haste, without rest, the faith the Belks had in the men and women who worked for and with them, the emergence of a business as it typified the emergence of the new South. These give meaning to the story. The book is lavishly illustrated, and seventeen pictures of Belk stores really seem like a luxury, not a necessity!

Dr. Noblin's book opens in the middle of things with L. L. Polk making one of his great orations in behalf of the Farmers' Alliance to Kansas farmers in 1890, and the reader sees the subject of the biography at the height of his powers. The scene is dramatic, the audience attentive, the orator eloquent: "There

shall be no Mason and Dixon line on the Alliance maps of the future. It shall be one nation and one flag. (applause).” L. L. Polk could carry the audience with him; he did it many times in life, and Dr. Noblin wisely lets him talk again: short, pithy sentences from letters, the ringing climax of the oration, the telling satire from the editorials and articles of *The Progressive Farmer*—all are used to advantage. The chapter on the founding of State College is particularly interesting, but with time so short, I cannot pause to quote.

The Life and Works of Allen Jay Maxwell was written by Raymond C. Maxwell, son of Allen Jay. This book, in a concise and matter-of-fact way, traces the long career of A. J. Maxwell and reprints sixteen of his articles and addresses.

There are three autobiographies: that charming volume, *The Southern Part of Heaven* by William Meade Prince, *The Disadvantages of Being a Preacher's Son* by E. P. Holmes, and *Nightfall* by Lura Jimison Hampton. Mrs. Hampton writes simply and courageously of the vicissitudes of her life—she has been blind since she was seven years old. E. P. Holmes sets down scores of small incidents he has enjoyed, interspersing his own verses here and there and including his collection of epitaphs for good measure.

Perhaps what *The Southern Part of Heaven* does for nearly every reader is to carry him back into his own childhood. You know you can't go home again, but *mirabile dictu*, William Meade Prince does it and takes you along into his own lost world. Suddenly it becomes yours as well as his! Do you remember the grave responsibility of investing ten cents all at one time in candy, “marshmellers” among other things, the moral dilemma in deciding whether to return the extra piece surely included by mistake or of enjoying it in guilt; the incomprehensible adult—Mr. Prince's is the professor who always refused to buy one *Post* for the unfunny reason that he would buy six dozen or none; Ernest Thompson Seton and the wobbling wigwams *Two Little Savages* inspired; the animal circus enjoyed by complacent pets and boys alike; football heroes; early adorations; the good dog Duke drunk on snake bite medicine—the list could go on and on. Of course Mr. Prince had one advantage—he lived in Chapel Hill,

enchanted ground to be sure. But the setting doesn't really matter except that it does give opportunity for some very candid pictures of professors caught without their halos, as Horace Williams is. Much of the reader's delight in the book is due to the candor shown everywhere, and the author's ability to use that candor without seeming to stand back and say, "Now, isn't that cunning!"

The one volume of collected biography is Lou Rogers's *Tarheel Women*, which contains brief sketches of thirty-nine women. Eleanor Dare is the first; Jane Simpson McKimmon, who is still living, is the last. The selections show good judgment, and the book is interesting and useful, valuable not only for the essays but for the bibliographies which are appended to each. The Woman's Club style of writing, easily identified by loose generalizations, pleasant exaggerations, and a touch of the sentimental or the coy, crops up now and then, but Miss Rogers is to be congratulated on having undertaken such a fine project as this and having produced a useful book well grounded in sound and careful study and investigation.

There are three books all by a single author, J. Ray Shute of Monroe, which have an autobiographical tone—perhaps they belong in this group. *His Honor the Heretic* consists of papers dealing with the mayor's defeat caused, he says, by objections to Unitarian beliefs. *The Golden Dawn* contains speeches made during the year following his "conversion" to Unitarianism. *Twilight in the Temple* is composed of four addresses made to fellow Masons. They are described on a book jacket as "great little books from a swift-moving pen," and their fluency is to be admired.

There are five books of fiction, including one for children. *Pawnee*, written by Thelma Bell, illustrated by Coryden Bell, is a lively story of an eight-inch Indian doll, who in the manner of storybook dolls the world over assumes life, speech, and motion, gets into mischief, runs away from home, and goes to live with the Indians. *Pawnee* makes an attractive book: text, illustrations, format, and all; I believe the younger circle will enjoy it.

Dog on the Sun, Paul Green's collection of short stories, takes its place among the best of his works. The language as always is

beautifully accurate, no matter whether it is that of the character shown in the story or that of the poet who is writing the stories. This is the conclusion of "*Sun Go Down*":

Now the father looked down at his son and his eyes were bright and stern. "You done seen what it is to be a poor nigger. Hear me." And turning, he strode out of the stable, forgetting to close the door. So fast he went that the cobweb hanging down from a crack in the loft swayed in the wind. The boy stood watching him go.

And loud like thunder he had heard him.

The stories show a wide range, but whether they deal with matters of legend, with life which is brutal or drab and horrible, or with the university town, they bring the eternal note of sadness in. They are compassionate, ironic, angry that men must suffer as these do—and have their suffering disregarded. What Paul Green thinks of the professor who deals abstractly with the Negro problem or who collects a new folk song at the funeral of a promising young Negro ought to cause discomfort in academic circles.

Max Steele has written a surprising first novel; there was never before such a heroine as Debby. Wordsworth always believed that the simple person had an innate goodness and wisdom proceeding from his closeness to nature, and he yearned to prove that a person without much intellect could still have significance and could by nature speak the language of poetry. But even Coleridge wasn't impressed by the poem about the idiot boy. Debby has more understanding than Wordsworth's boy had but not much. Her instinctive goodness, her devotion, her reaction to troubled children, and her one and only perception that love and tranquility make the only basis for satisfactory human relationships go a long way toward proving Wordsworth's theory—waiting these one hundred and fifty years for just one good example—but even now Debby doesn't speak the pure poetry Wordsworth hoped for.

Max Steele doesn't moralize over Debby; he tells the story straight. That fact and his fine simplicity are the bases of his artistry. The simplicity is in style and in plot as well; the story can't be highly complicated—Debby wouldn't be equal to com-

plexities. Her joys and sorrows must be small even as her world is limited to one house and its occupants. Tragedy could come to her very quickly. Even in a small world, she is constantly in danger of losing her sense of reality and must touch herself again and again to make sure that she exists. Her anchor is Mrs. Merrill—she wants to dress like her, to help her forever—she can't live after Mrs. Merrill dies. The humor which helps to carry the books lies frequently in Debby's solemn, naive words and in the incongruity of situations she can create. Absorbed in her task, Debby followed the bride down the aisle and fixed the folds of the veil at the moment when the bride spoke her vows.

James Street this year added another book to the Dabney series. This one leaves the Mississippi setting and moves to Havana. The time is 1895-96. Mingo Dabney meets a wide variety of undesirables; he becomes involved in revolution and intrigue, plot and counterplot. Added to these complications there is another; he is in love with a gorgeous Cuban patriot. Joan of Arc and Mary of Scotland are pale beside her. Now that is Mingo Dabney's situation!

The setting of Peter Taylor's first novel is St. Louis in the 1920's. He chooses to tell the story through a narrator who is the twelve-year-old stepson of the *Woman of Means*. This boy, Quintus Dudley, is quite a good character and he becomes the center; however, his lack of understanding keeps the story from being fully realized by a casual reader. The book is very nicely written and its subtlety gives it the charm by thought supplied.

Here then are our forty-two books for the year, viewed, I hope, somewhat in the spirit in which they were written.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HISTORICAL DRAMA
"UNTO THESE HILLS"

BY GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS

As a special courtesy to the vice president from over the Blue Ridge, your good secretary has allowed me to tell you something about the beginnings of the historical drama at Cherokee, "Unto These Hills." I begin by stating that this outdoor theatre at the foot of the Smokies had the best fortune it will ever have on weather—fifty-four evening performances without one cancellation on account of rain, albeit some of you who attended may remember some heavy dew. If I tell a few things which many of you know already, you must forgive it. Many Americans don't know as much as you do. I am thinking of the experience of George Owl of Cherokee, a member of a remarkable family of preachers and educators. George had just returned from the University of Oklahoma where his wife is professor of French. He was strolling about the village and chatting (doubtless in Cherokee) with some of his boyhood friends. A tourist with candid camera warily circled the group of chatting Cherokees to get an angle for a picture. Then he cautiously advanced with right hand upraised in signal of peace and said "how," much to the amusement of the group.

One thing most North Carolinians now know is that "Unto These Hills" marked a new view ahead on the long trail for the Eastern Cherokees. These mountaineers of the South once held the highlands from Kentucky to mid-Georgia. Known as one of the Five Civilized Tribes, they lived in houses and were developing a town life. Thus they were ready to adopt the tools and looms of the white pioneer, and even his ideas of representative government. Numbers of explorers settled and married among the Cherokees giving their good Scottish names to sons who became chiefs. When the white settlements pushed westward the Cherokee withdrew behind two mountain ranges around the Great Smokies.

As Kermit Hunter's drama of their contact with the white man shows, Cherokee leaders counseled moderation instead of mas-

sacre after their first few years of desperate resistance. In the impressive council in the second scene of the play, Sequoyah calls for patience, returning good for evil, and fitting the red man's life into the future pattern of America.

And for this steadfastness of character, history has bestowed upon them one of its peculiar rewards. Of the great body of Cherokees who moved west by voluntary and later forced migration, many found themselves two generations later holding oil lands in the new state of Oklahoma. And the handful of refugees who clung tightly as lichens to the cliffs of the Great Smokies found themselves three generations later astride the eastern gateway to America's most visited national park. Col. William Holland Thomas had found this land for his Cherokee friends along the beautiful valley of the Oconaluftee, after the grim days of the Trail of Tears.

Here on Soco Creek and in Big Cove the thousand refugees from General Winfield Scott's removal round-up had lived quietly for a hundred years. From the steep mountain fields they got their varicolored Indian corn for bread, together with beans and squash. From the streams roaring out of the Smokies they caught trout, and in the forest they killed groundhog and turkey.

By the time of the opening of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in 1940 the Eastern Cherokees had increased to more than 3,000. Their land was intact, for the title was held by the tribal council. By a wise law, this land could not be sold to a white man. And the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians was a corporation under the friendly protection of the state of North Carolina. Meanwhile the United States government through the Indian Service had built up at Cherokee a health center and high school with strong vocational training in homemaking, farming, and handicrafts, and the Indians had continued on friendly terms with their white neighbors. Thus it was natural in 1946, when the eleven westernmost counties organized Western North Carolina Associated Communities, that a plan to develop the resources of the Cherokees should be among the first recommended by the project committee.

The first step was, of course, to get the best advice available. Our thoughts turned toward the people who had created "The

Lost Colony." Paul Green was generous in discussing the idea. This was followed by a visit to Cherokee by Samuel Selden. Many think this visit marked the turning point in a series of connections with good fortune and good people. Meeting with the tribal representatives and with the project committee of the Associated Communities, Mr. Selden gave some idea of the cost involved and of the physical requirements for an outdoor theatre. Then the party strolled out to the well-known Indian Fairground on Highway 107 entering the Park. In his quiet way, Mr. Selden suggested that a search up the nearby ravine might be worthwhile. After a few hundred yards up a winding path, the ravine abruptly opened into the form of a natural amphitheatre. "This is the place," said Mr. Selden, and so it was. The preliminary tests on acoustics were confirmed later when the 2,800-seat theatre proved to be almost perfect acoustically. Spectators on the back row can hear every word from the stage. No amplifiers have been used except for the narrator and organ.

The requirements outlined by Mr. Selden seemed staggering to a group of mountain communities. However, the ablest business leaders in each county went to work, and soon more than \$20,000 had been subscribed. Mr. Selden found the playwright and the director in the happy choices of Kermit Hunter and Harry Davis of Chapel Hill, and Albert Bell of Manteo for theatre designer. Foster Fitzsimmons of Chapel Hill began plans for the dancing.

The Cherokee Historical Association was chartered as a non-profit corporation under the laws of North Carolina, with a board of twenty-one trustees including the governor, Mr. Selden, representatives from the Cherokee Tribal Council, and citizens from several western counties.

Here again the Cherokee Association was favored with good fortune in the people who were willing to work for it. The chairman was Mr. Harry Buchanan of Hendersonville, born and reared in Jackson County a few miles from the Cherokee Indians and with a career of practical theatre experience. The vice-chairman was Mr. Percy Ferebee of Andrews, president of the Associated Communities organization, and well known in banking circles and public life. Mrs. Molly Arneach, a Cherokee Indian, served as secretary, and the treasurer was Mr. Joseph E. Jen-

nings, superintendent of the Indian Agency at Cherokee. In the Cherokee community itself the theatre construction had Ross Caldwell, a landscape architect and engineer, with not only the ideal technical knowledge but such a love for nature that the original forest trees grow on the stage itself and a brook tinkles behind the backdrop. For the grading and approach road construction the Indian Service made a gifted engineer available in Col. Milletts. Mr. Buchanan's theatre operating company granted his plea for loan of its pioneer drive-in theatre manager, Mr. Carol White, for general manager. The all-important money raising was directed by the Associated Communities project committee chairman, Mr. Francis J. Heazel of Asheville. Public relations and other functions were divided on a voluntary basis until general manager White could take charge and promotion director Edward Carl Sink could begin work.

The genius of the Cherokee Indians themselves contributed in a large way. A composer of Cherokee descent was found—Jack Frederick Kilpatrick of the music faculty at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. The Indian School at Cherokee had in its homemaking department the teachers and the students to help with making costumes, while the manual arts department was able to make many of the stage properties, including the wonderful shiny armor worn by De Soto's soldiers. With this help Suzanne (Mrs. Harry) Davis of Chapel Hill was able to do a superb work of costume designing and making with a modest budget.

When, in the fall of 1948, it appeared that the Western North Carolina money was assured, Chairman Buchanan was authorized to ask the General Assembly to support this act of faith with an appropriation to cover theatre equipment and production. He came away with the only unanimously voted appropriation item during the session—\$35,000. Generous extensions of credit, goods, and services somehow kept theatre construction and stage production work going, so that the miracle really happened—the play opened on the first day of July, 1950.

With a fanfare for distinguished official visitors and a sprinkle of rain, the first performance went through beautifully. As the theatre went dark and the walls of mountains showed against the sky, Kilpatrick's organ and choral prelude filled the quiet crowd with the mood of the Indian past. It gave much the same

feeling of the "Woodland Sketches" of America's composer, Edward McDowell, at whose colony Kilpatrick had studied. Then the words of the narrator set the background of the drama and the action began. People of a Cherokee village burst into ecstatic dance, to be interrupted by the marching song of De Soto's armored men.

After the calm of the opening is broken by the Spaniards, a council of chiefs nearly 300 years later makes the fateful decision for the Cherokees which sets the theme of the play. Wise old Sequoyah tells his people to look at a future in which they must work with the white man and on occasion even to return good for evil. Though the war chiefs attempt to follow the lead of Tecumseh from the North, Sequoyah's advice prevails.

Through the agony of the next generation the chiefs see selfish white men abuse and dispossess their people, and, after their old friend Andrew Jackson fails them, they are driven westward by the soldiers. The incident of Tsali's escape and dramatic return for execution before a firing squad is already widely known. It forms the high point of emotion in the play.

Then follow scenes which show the gradual reward of the Cherokees for their belief in moderation and peace. The play closes with a triumphant choral passage and the lights come on. As one rises to leave, the sights about him form an impressive epilogue to this drama of the Cherokees.

The play's dramatic but well-balanced picturing of Cherokee history has made a schoolbook subject come alive for the American people. Among the Cherokees it has reawakened an interest in their language and their culture. There is talk of reviving publication of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, a newspaper printed in the remarkable syllabary of eighty-five characters devised by Sequoyah.

A museum of Indian life has opened with a Cherokee collection not equaled outside the Smithsonian. Librarians in the western counties sponsor Cherokee reading clubs for young people. Several books and pamphlets have been published or are in preparation, including the play itself. Among the actors in the play are three Cherokees with leading parts, while more are in group scenes. Altogether, 114 Indians were on the production's payroll

and drew more than \$20,000 in salaries the first season. Building of the theatre was done almost wholly by Cherokee masons, carpenters, and laborers who earned \$25,000 in this work. The Tribal Council, which invested \$5,000 by securing rights to the site for the theatre, brought back to Cherokees in the community payroll about ten dollars for every dollar invested.

Overnight a larger demand has come for Indian handicrafts and for visitor accommodations. In this growth the surrounding communities share. A night's audience finds good tourist accommodations within an hour and a half's drive of the theatre—Andrews on the west, Franklin on the south, and Waynesville and Asheville on the east. Sylva and Bryson City are only a few minutes' drive from Cherokee. Across the Smokies, Gatlinburg also helps to care for the theatre crowds.

Nearly every state and several foreign countries were represented in the 107,140 persons who paid to see the play. The revenue enabled the Association to clear its debts. A rain shelter behind the rear seats was built, so that few spectators asked for refund when they had this protection during the brief showers. All seats are to be reserved and have chair backs next season. Improvements are planned in walkways, stages, costumes, and size of cast. Through help of the Indian Service and the State Highway Commission, the approach roads are already paved and there is a large parking area near the box office. Reserves are waiting to cover production costs when the play rehearsals begin, with the opening date scheduled for June 23. Shows are to be Tuesdays through Sundays until Labor Day. Virtually the same staff is to carry on for 1951, except for the new public relations director. He is John Parris, author and foreign correspondent, who returns to his native hills after war duty with the Associated Press.

These facts themselves are a part of the Cherokee story, the reward for the character and tolerance of a people who preserved the white man of Western North Carolina as their friend.

Perhaps it was musing on this long contact with white people which stirred the humor of a Cherokee mother. As she sat through the play with her 'teen-age youngsters, her conversation made it clear that the father of the family, who was not at the

play, was a white man. Her final remark to the children was, "I just didn't know till now how mean these white people can be. When I get home I am going to beat the tar out of my old man."

LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA
TO ANDREW JOHNSON

Edited by
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[*Continued*]

From Kenneth Rayner

Raleigh – N^o. C.^a
April 6th–1866–

Confidential
My dear Sir

Through the kind interposition of a friend— Mr. Warall O. Roberts of New York— the Mess: Appleton agreed to undertake the publication of the *work*, which I casually mentioned to you last Fall— and about which Judge Patterson and myself have been corresponding. I requested the Mess: Appleton, to forward the advance proof sheets to Judge Patterson, every two or three days; that he might read them, and make such corrections, as in his judgment, he may think proper.⁶⁰ If it is worth publishing at all, why then, it is necessary, it shall be all *right*. Owing to the circumstances of the case, the book will probably be very extensively read.⁶¹ There is at this time, a morbid anxiety, to know all about your character, your antecedents &c— If I known myself, my object was to do good— to prove, that the interests of the North and the South were identified — and that, through the force of circumstances, you occupied the position of mediator, to bring about harmony and concord between the sections.

I felt it was to be regretted, that owing to the pressure on your time, you could not possibly look over the manuscript, before it went to press— I was particularly anxious to say nothing, that might be imprudent for, of course any thing said in your vindication or advocacy, will be closely criticised, in certain quarters.

In regard to that position, referring to the events of your personal life— and also that, referring to your Congressional life— I hope you will see but little to disapprove of. It is mostly narrative, followed by such comments as the occasion called for. A large part of the work is a *disquisition*, on your scheme of policy for the restoration of the union. I have discussed it from the stand-point of your own argument — and have been very cautious to try and avoid all inadvertence or imprudence, which might

⁶⁰ David Trotter Patterson (1818-1891) was educated in the common schools of Tennessee and Greeneville College; was admitted to the bar; practiced law in Greeneville; engaged in manufacturing; was judge of the first circuit court of Tennessee, 1854-1863; was Senator from Tennessee from July 24, 1866, to March 3, 1869; and engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1855 he married Martha Johnson, daughter of Andrew Johnson. *Biographical Director of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 1389.

⁶¹ Kenneth Rayner's *Life and Times of Andrew Johnson* . . . was published by Appleton and Company. The first edition sold rapidly and a second edition was printed.

possibly compromise your position before the country. I have urged upon Judge Patterson, to modify, amend, or leave out, any portion, that he may think good policy would require, should be done. This I hope he will not fail to do; and when his own Judgment is at fault, I hope he will request your opinion.

I have endeavored to avoid harshness, bitterness, and severity. 'Tis true, I have been severe on the original plotters and conspirators of Disunion and secession – also on Prest. Buchanan's shortcomings in 1860-'61 – and on the London Quarterly review, for its Jesuitical article in regard to the war, and its ungenerous assault on yourself. – In the main I have consulted a feeling of conciliation, between the North & the south – and between your friends and the republicans, who are disposed to find fault with you. –

The style of the composition in regard to yourself personally – is that of high paregyric, of course. No one is expected to write a memoir of any distinguished man, unless he has something good to say of him – In this regard, I must beg your pardon – one thing is certain, I have said nothing more, than what I believed and felt, under the circumstances, to be just and true.

I am almost afraid I have made the work too large. It will make 500 pages of large duodecimo size. I sent on to the publishers, two days since, some 60 pages of additional manuscript – but owing to my fears, that the book might be too large, I had to leave it to the discretion of the publishers, as to whether they would include it in the book. This last is a calm and unprejudiced view, of the influences acting on the minds of the Southern people, through which they blundered into that most woful and tragical of all mistakes (to call it by no more names) that a sane people ever committed. I shall regret it, if this last cannot appear in the body of the work; for I am rather pleased with the exposition I have presented – and I believe, it will find an approving response from the great conservative body of the Southern people, themselves.

Of course, I feel a deep interest in the fate of my book. I expect nothing else, than to be roundly abused by the extreme and radical men, both North and South. The work is written from a high national stand-point. If it meets with the approval of moderate, conservative, and rational men, in both sections – I shall have an assurance, that its tone, temper, and style are what they ought to be.

I can only repeat, what I stated to you, last Fall – that if ever there was a people, who looked up to any man, as their friend and father – as their only hope in their day of despondency and gloom, such is the Southern people, at the present time, and you are the man. It is not, that they regard you as *Southern* in your proclivities and feelings – but as a *National* man, and as a *National President*, and yet, the Southern people feel, that it would not be prudent, to give expression to any thing like jubilation and triumph. With calm and quiet hope and resignation, they await the developments of the future. I really wish the ultra radical element

of the North, could see the Southern people, Just as they are, ruined, crushed, and broken-spirited. As I told many Northern men, in the late trip to the North -- if they could see the real and true condition of the South, as it is -- their resentments would be disavowed -- there would be nothing to feed resentment on -- sympathy would take the place of every thing like unkindness. I wish the day could arrive, when the Southern people could give expression, through the ballot-box, to those feelings of unalloyed confidence and hope, which they entertain for yourself.

I beg pardon, Mr. President, for annoying you with this long letter. I have duly appreciated the constant engagements on your time. I am aware, that your onerous duties monopolise all your time. I have abstained from troubling you-- anxious as I was, to secure an interest by you, in this forthcoming work. If I shall have done any thing, towards promoting harmony between the two sections-- if I shall have done any thing, towards awakening the public mind, to a proper appreciation of your sacrifices, your trials, difficulties and labors, in your embarrassing position -- I shall be more than gratified at the reflection, that I have effected some little of good, for my country.--

With most profound respect.
Your obedient serv.^t

His Excellency Andrew Johnson
President &C

April 10--

Your second veto has been received and read by our people -- followed by depressing news, that the bill had passed the Senate, by a majority of more than two thirds, on the question of reconsideration. The state of feeling among our people is difficult to describe. It is not excitement -- not at all. The days of *excitement* are at an end in the South. The predominant feeling is one of deep and despondent anxiety. There is nothing seen or heard, of any thing like a definite hope or prospect of our future. You and you alone are on every lip, and in every heart. We feel that our destiny, is, under providential dispensation, in your hands; and that all we can do, in our present, poor, unfortunate, and powerless condition, is to wait calmly and resignedly; and to pray that you may be sustained, by a Higher Power, in your efforts to preserve the constitution, and save the institutions of our fathers, from overthrow and ruin. This point, I have constantly in view throughout the work I have written -- viz: that your efforts to restore and preserve the union, were in perfect consistency and harmony with the views you had enunciated, from the beginning of the struggle -- that you had been governed *by system*, perfectly in accord with the recorded sentiments of your past life. The portion of the work, I indulge the hope, will meet with your approbation. And herein is the great moral strength of our position.

Your enemies can not charge you with inconsistency –or with having misled any one, in regard to your course.

There is one feeling, that seems to prevail, with almost entire unanimity, among the Southern people. And that is a strong and abiding *faith*, in your ultimate triumph and success. This is all that sustains them against almost absolute despair. They have no defined plans, purposes, or calculations, as to the future “President Johnson is our only hope” – is the only comment indulged in, in reference to the startling events, developed from day to day.

Unless there is some *special* cause for the influences operating on public opinion, in Connecticut – the result of the election in that state is most cheering. If we are allowed to hope, that a similar condition of affairs prevails in the other Northern states, there is great chance for the success of constitutional principles, when the people shall have reflected, and spoke through the ballot-box. If there be any men of *national* views and feelings, I know I belong to that class. And yet when I reflect on the sad, and suffering, and disconsolate condition of the South, wrong and misguided as it has been I can only exclaim – “May God in his mercy save my poor native land from ruin!” – very respectfully–
K.R.

From Jonathan Worth

State of North Carolina,
Executive Department,
Raleigh, April 17th 1866.

To His Excellency,
Andrew Johnson,
President of the U.S.–
Sir:–

I herewith enclose a copy of a communication addressed to me by the Hon. Daniel G. Fowle, one of the Judges of the Superior Court of Law of this State.⁶² I enclose it to you for the purpose of soliciting your views in relation to the matters therein contained.

You will perceive that an early answer is very desirable.

I avail myself of the occasion to assure you of the universal desire of the authorities and people of this State to sustain you in carrying out your plans of restoration, from a firm conviction that they tend to the best interests of the *whole* nation.

I have the honor to be, Very Respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,
Gov^r of N C

⁶² Civil court action was subject to review by the military authorities. Being opposed to the enforcement of military orders that were contrary to the state laws, Judge Fowle resigned. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 238.

From David F. Caldwell

Greensboro N C May 12 [18]66

His Exelency

Andrew Johnston President of The United States of America

Will you pardon your old *Bank Correspondent* to say one word to your exelency I have ever been an ultra union man, and for opposing secession *was maled* before the war and twice since Have been shot at wounded & beten with clubs & I blush to say it pelted by a crowd of boys and *ladies* with rotten eggs for my union principals &C- Yet I am no black Republican & never shall be I will add I was held up in the papers as the "*Andy Johnston of N C*" I want nor ask for no office- and when I say I sup[p]ort your administration policy I assure you I do so because I think it best for our country- And for this reason I desire to see you sustained & will do all I can to secure it success- I have been 18 years a member of our stat[e] Legislature twice Presidential elector & am now a member of our state convention and have some little influence- I have had three especal correspondents of the fanatical press to call upon me, who have indeavored to persuad[e] me to take sides against your policy I have been assured if I would do so I would be genaly the gainer in a politicians point of view- And as an old line Whig I should not hesitate for a moment, when Holden a secession Democrat was doing all he could for them &C &C These gentel hints I treated in the way I thought they deserved.

Now in 1848 Van Buren & Adams run on a platform in which was the resolution of 98-99 so Fremont⁶³ & Daton⁶⁴ run on a Platform in which was the same Resolution of 98, 99 All the anti-slavery resolutions of the free states has been based on States Rights doctrine-First acted up by the Hartford Convention &C &C So New England is the author of Secession The Author of slave importation & exportation Author of Abolition & insurrection & extremity 2112 & colonisation sosity in the South- & consequently all our rigorous laws on the subject of slavery- Also authors of *Anti Masonry* But the point I wish to bring to your notice & press upon you is this- Sumner, Wilson, Banks, Stephens &C- are all , not only op[p]osed to the Union now, but have always been ready to *let it slide*.⁶⁵ They were united on the No Nothing Anti Catholic platform But now go for Negroes

⁶³ John Charles Fremont (1813-1890), explorer, soldier, and politician, married Jessie Benton, daughter of Senator Thomas Hart Benton who was born in Orange County, North Carolina. Fremont played a leading role in the conquest of California. In 1856 Fremont was defeated for President of the United States by James Buchanan by an electoral vote of 174 to 114 and by a popular vote of 1,838,169 to 1,341,264, which was in part due to the fear of southern secession and to insufficient campaign funds. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 19-23.

⁶⁴ William Lewis Dayton, United States Senator and attorney general of New Jersey, was a candidate for Vice President in 1856 with Fremont and was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1860. The next year he was appointed as Minister from the United States to France. Through his influence France did not permit the Confederate government to use French ports. Likewise he succeeded in preventing the construction of six southern war vessels in France. *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 166-167.

⁶⁵ Undoubtedly reference is to Thaddeus Stevens rather than to Alexander H. Stephens.

suffrage & equality *in statutes* whether the states will permit or not— Now it seems to me of all your friends would but post themselves thoroughly as to the past Anti Masons No Nothing Record of thes[e] Ultras — And simultaneously in Congress & through the press open upon them & keep up the fires upon them, we could do much to sustain your administration & policy and perpetuate our form of Government & free institutions — These men are for pushing up the negroes at once & forever above the poor union white men of the South— who are now degraded and oppressed by their poverty— In short I assure you that the ultra course taken by Sumner— Wilson Stevens & others is fast rendering the *Union men odious* instead of *Traitors Odious* — For the reason that these Northerners are taking precisely the course the disunionist predicted they would if they conquered or we submitted— while the union men declared we would welcome back and the fated calf would be killed— Had we all gone back at once Republicans & the party would have been enthroned in power & the hearts of the people— But Alas this was not done And if mat[t]ers progress in the way proposed I know that masses will become confused in their prejudices Pardon all I may have said amiss & believe me to [be] your sincere friend & well wisher

Truly

A Johnston
President U States

From James H. Fry

Headquarters War Department
The following Telegram received 11 A. M. May 24th 1866
From Raleigh N.C. May 24, 1866
His Excellency
Andrew Johnson
Prest U.S.

Sir, I am here as a delegate to the state convention Am I permitted to take my seat: Please answer immediately⁶⁶

From David L. Swain

University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, June 9th. 1866.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you, that at the annual Commence-

⁶⁶ On May 22, 1866, Governor Worth telegraphed President Johnson that Governor Holden had on October 20, 1865, recommended the pardon of James H. Fry of Onslow County, and soon thereafter stated that his pardon had been granted. As Fry had never received his pardon, it was necessary to get a duplicate. Hamilton, *Correspondence of Johnathan Worth*, I, 595-596.

ment of this Institution on the 7th inst., the Academic Senate, in consideration of the eminent services rendered to our native State and our common country in the performance of the most important and arduous duties, in great emergencies and under the most trying circumstances, have conferred upon you the highest literary distinction which it is in their power to bestow—the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

It affords me pleasure to add, that the vote on the part of the Faculty as well as the Trustee, was entirely and heartily unanimous.

I am very sincerely & truly,
Your friend & Servt.,

To Andrews Johnston
President of the United States.

From William W. Holden

Headquarters War Dept

The following Telegram received 7 P.M., June 21st 1866

From Raleigh N.C. June 21st 1866.

The President
of the U.S.

Sir:

Many thanks for your kindness in making nomination I hope to be in Washington soon

Very Respectfully

From Kenneth Rayner

New York, July 2^d 1866.

His Excellency Andrew Johnson,
President D.—

Dear Sir,

I forward to you, by to-day's mail two copies of "The Life and times of Andrew Johnson." One of them you will please accept, as an humble testimonial of my high appreciation of your public character as a Statesman and Patriot, and of your private virtues as a man. The other you will present to Mrs. Johnson, in my name. I hope she will pardon the liberty I thus take. I have not the honor of personally knowing her, but, having made a most respectful mention of her name in the book, I wish to offer this humble tribute to the virtues of her character, as wife, mother, and friend.—

It is the impression here, that the work will be in demand and have a wide circulation, as soon as the political canvasses of the

Fall are opened. In the mean time, it is to be hoped, your friends will use the necessary appliances, in having the book brought favorably, to the notice of the reading public.—

I leave here in a day or two, for my home in Raleigh, there to make arrangements for finally leaving the state, and taking up my abode in the South—West—probably in Mississippi.

May our all-wise and merciful Providence protect and bless you, in your efforts to save the constitutional rights and liberties of your country, is the prayer of

Your friend, and obed^{nt}. Servant

P.S. My friend, Mr. Thos. McEbrath has at my suggestion, forwarded to you divers testimonials in his behalf, in reference to the appointment of "Naval officer", of this Port.—

K.R.

From L. S. Ruggles

Statesville, N.C. July 9th 1866.

Andrew Johnston
President of the U. States,

Pardon the presumption of one who though personally a stranger, addresses you to day upon a subject near to her own heart. Thrice have I taken my pen, and as many times laid it aside, despairingly, as the suggestive thought intruded. How can he, who now sits in the chair of Washington, surrounded by almost or equally as many dangers and difficulties as threatened the infant Republic whose wisdom and patience are hourly tried while he boldly, calmly and fearlessly guides the helm of State over yawning gulfs and dangerous breakers, unmoved by entreaties undaunted by angry, howling storms—how can he interest himself in you or what concerns yours: But, Sir, my heart whispers write I will, write I must; and may God bless the effort.

I have a brother, noble, generous, brave, He was an officer in the U.S. Army— he *has been* an officer in the rebellion. I have faith to believe, that when the war began he loved the North, he loved the South. His home his family, his friends, his interests South, bitterly opposed in principle to the agitations of what was then styled the abolition party, and yet obliged to fight, he like many others, chose the South, perilled all, and lost.

These however are but the ideas of a woman, of a sister who loves him, but who has never heard him speak upon the subject, nor has she even seen him or received a letter from him for many months.

Without means, and a large family to provide for, as a paroled soldier, he has not the unrestrained and unembarrassed freedom, which interest and pleasure may sometimes demand.

He is one of the class, you will perceive that falls without the

prescribed limits of the "Amnesty Proclamation;" through you only therefore, can I hope for him a speedy pardon. Can you not—will you not grant it?

Let his deeds of daring, and the victories he helped win in the war with Mexico, rise in bold relief over thoughts which may be suggested by later and darker days, and let these latter days, I pray you, be covered with the vestment of pardon and of peace, even though some, perchance, would fain tear it aside, to stab afresh the unresisting nerveless ghost.

As a woman, I meddle not with war or politics. As a woman, I would fain relieve the suffering of friend or foe. As a woman, I would cheer and solace the sorrowing. As a woman, I can but receive at your hands, a free and generous pardon for my brother, it will be to me, a moment of great happiness and joy.

Ten years of my life have been spent in your native State, Tennessee. I was a teacher in the Female College at Rogersville seven years, where I became acquainted with your son-in-law, David Patterson whose sister was a pupil of my class. I once met your daughter, his wife, at an evening party given by Mrs. Simpson in Rogersville. I was in Knoxville, Tenn. when the war broke out, and left there for the North in 1864. I have been here in Statesville but a short time.

I beg you will do me the favor to *answer this letter in your own handwriting* if possible, — I desire to have your autograph and if it declare my brother's pardon, it will be doubly prized and cherished. To your son-in-law I would tender my respects.

Forgive whatever my seem obstructive and believe me

Very respectfully & sincerely
your friend

Address Miss L.S. Ruggles
Concord Female College
Statesville

N.C.

Care of Rev. J.M.M. Caldwell

From William W. Holden

Ebbitt House,
Washington, July 11, 1866.

To the President of the United States.

Sir: You were kind enough to intimate, in the conversation I had the honor to have with you this morning, that if I would reduce the substance of what I had said to writing, you would put your reply in the same shape.

I beg leave to repeat, that under your order I reorganized the government of North Carolina on a thoroughly loyal basis, with men in office who had been opposed to the rebellion, who were

devoted to the Union, and who were co-operating cheerfully and heartily with you in the work of restoration. At that time loyalty to the national Union was respectable, and treason and disloyalty were odious. I was relieved of office on the 28th December, 1865, and since that period, under the administration of my successor, a marked change has taken place. Loyal men have been turned out of office, and disloyal men put in, for no other reason than that the latter are the special friends and partizans of the present Governor. The original Union men like yourself, and those who were for peace on the basis of the restoration of the Union before the close of the rebellion, are almost entirely excluded from office by my successor, and are thereby deprived of the opportunity and the pleasure of aiding you, as they desire to do, in the work of restoration; while unpardoned rebels are honored, and places of trust and confidence are filled by leading war men and rebels, who have not, in the opinion of our Union people, sincerely or duly repented of their great crime of seeking deliberately and from choice to destroy the national government.

This has been done, Sir, under the lead and direction of the present Governor of the State. The Union men have appealed to him in vain for consideration and protection. They have even offered to forget and forgive his defection from the Union cause last October, and support him for re-election, provided he would cast off the influences by which he was elected, would appoint only true Union men to office, and would co-operate with you in good faith in carrying out the work of restoration. But he has rejected this offer, and is now engaged, as he has been from the first, in undoing the work of restoration in our State, in proscribing Union men, and thus obstructing the return of the State to the Union.

Our Union people look to you for sympathy and succor. They are supporting you in good faith, and they are attached to your administration. They cannot forget your sufferings and sacrifices for the Union, at a time when it required extraordinary moral and physical courage to be a Union man, as you were in Tennessee; and this, joined to the fact that you are a native of our State, disposes our people to look to you with peculiar confidence and affection.

Our Union people believe that loyalty will not be exterminated as it should, now your plan for restoring the States be placed on the high ground it deserves to occupy, until the means and instrumentalities which you put in operation in 1865 shall have been restored. They feel that in no other way can the State be made to appear in a truly loyal garb, and thus enforce its claims on Congress and the country for admission into the Union, without further changes in the Constitution until all the States are again represented.

Those public men who have control of affairs in our State, insist that you are opposed to the present Congressional test oath; and that you are in favor of the immediate admission of *all*

the members of Congress from the recently insurgent States. When we deny this, and insist that the oath, or some similar oath is necessary, and that the oath is a matter specially with the Congress, they declare it to be unconstitutional; that they do not respect it; and that, if it is to be maintained, it will amount, as recently declared by my successor in his message to the Convention, to the perpetual practical disfranchisement of the State. They thus defiantly set themselves up against one of the laws of the land, and take refuge under your shadow to protect and justify themselves.

The Unionists of our State, so far from desiring to proscribe their fellow-citizens, are ready to receive into their ranks all who sincerely repent that they deliberately sought to destroy the government, and who give unmistakable proof of their thorough submission to the national authority; but they still think, as they did in 1865, that justice and sound policy require that such persons should take no active or conspicuous part in the work of restoration, but leave it where it was placed by you in the outset, to wit, in the hands of the loyal Union men.

In conclusion, allow me to say that the cause of restoration is obstructed in our State by those in power; the truly loyal people are depressed and mortified; malcontents and rebels are extant and defiant; ill feeling is engendered; injustice is perpetrated through the Courts by means of disloyal prosecuting officers, and Juries, and some magistrates, though our Judges are loyal, yet not always able to withstand the pressure of public opinion; treason and disloyalty are promoted and honored, while loyalty is evinced at the hazard of political, social, and pecuniary proscription.

All we ask is, that the truly loyal of our people shall govern until the State is restored to the Union. This is the best, if not the only assurance we can have of Justice to both races, white and black, And in no other way can good feeling, and harmony, and security to life, liberty, and prosperity be secured, and the State be put upon the clear, open road to the completion of the great work of restoration, so auspiciously commenced by you, Sir, in May, 1865.

I have the honor to be, with very high respect,

Your obt Servant,
Late Prov. Gov. N.C.

From William W. Holden

Ebbit House [Washington, D.C.], July 11, 1866.

My dear Mr. President.

I have written hurriedly what you will find enclosed. Please read it carefully, and answer accordingly. I will not presume to

say what your reply should be, but I trust you will make it a direct and pointed as you can. You can form no idea of the depression among your real friends in our state, or of the exultant, overbearing manner of our enemies and masters.

If you can enable us to carry the State we can help you, and help the Union cause, now in so much peril. Our friends in the Convention postponed the elections until October so as to secure a chance of success. This was all they could do. If you will help us, we will make a united, determination, at successful fight.

I should like much to leave for home to-morrow evening. I would be glad if you could have your reply ready by to-morrow twelve M. I would like to take the correspondence home, and have it appear first in the Standard, if you have no objection.

Very truly yours.

I have heard with concern of the conditions of Things in North-Carolina.⁶⁷

Your administration as Provisional Governor has my entire approval. I so telegraphed you last November. I regret that you were defeated. It was, and is my wish that the same means and instrumentalities that commenced, should complete the work of restoration. The machinery of restoration has been changed and improved, but it will not work acceptably unless it is managed by the same sort of men whom I at first employed.

I am laboring to restore the Union on the basis of the Constitution. I am doing this, not for section merely, or for a season, but for the whole country and for all time. Those who profess to sustain me should do so practically. They cannot do this by prescribing my friends, or by any policy which tends to make disloyalty respectable, and loyalty odious. Those who stood by the Union ought to be proud of it, and should be respected for it. The flag of the country should command the respect and homage of all.

While I would not persecute any citizens of the country, but will take by the hand and greet cordially all who submit in good faith to the authority of the government, and who show by their acts that they are loyal and well disposed, yet my sympathies are warmly with such Union men as sustained you at the polls; and I deem it highly important that such, and only such should take an active and leading part in the work of restoration. If there be but five thousand loyal men in a State, to them should be entrusted the control of affairs, at least until the State is restored. There are more than five thousand persons in your State.

It is for Congress to say who shall be admitted to seats. The States, in my judgment, are entitled to be represented. But Congress has prescribed a rule, and it is the duty of those seeking admission to comply with it. Unpardoned persons, and persons who cannot take the prescribed oath, cannot expect to be admitted. This may seem hard to some, but it cannot be objection-

⁶⁷ This was enclosed in Holden's letter to President Johnson, July 11, 1866.

able to those whose paramount wish is to see the Union restored.

I would not advise the States to make any more concession. They are entitled to representation; but in order to secure it, and to retain my plan of restoration, they should send men who can successfully stand any existing Constitutional or legal test.

I ardently trust that the people of my beloved native State will so act as to secure their return to the Union at the earliest possible period; and that the time is not distant when we shall have again a united, contented, prosperous, and happy country.

From Benjamin S. Hedrick

Washington, D.C.

July , 25, 1866.

To the President:

The inclosed is a copy of a petition from citizens of Stokes and Forsyth Cos. N.C. sent to me with a request that it be laid before you. Some of the signers I know, and many I do not know. But I have every reason to believe that the signers are honest and true men, and if any fault attaches to them it is more to be charged to the violence of the times than anything else.

Respectfully

Your obt Ser^t

From Citizens of Stokes and Forsyth Counties

“Memorial,

To the President , and Congress, of the U.S. We the undersigned, loyal citizens, of Stokes, and Forsyth Counties, of N.C., and Patrick County Va; do sincerely pray, that some protection, or leniency be shown us, from the U.S. Government, We who have been, inhumanly persecuted, for three or four years, of the most infamous, and cruel rebellion, We say cruel, because the most Tyrannical, acts of atrocity, were perpetrated, on every advocate of loyalty: consequently, we or part of us, were compelled, to seek refuge, in holes, and dens in the woods, leaving our wives, and little *ones* , to the mercy of the most fiendish, traitors. Our homes have been visited, every few days, and locks broken, and plundered, of the contents. In many instances, our houses have been burnt, our provision taken, our horses, cattle, hogs, and in a word, every thing, on which to subsist, have been wrested from our hands, as punishment, of our disobedience to the Rebel Government. Our wives have, been insulted, and maltreated, robbed of even their wearing apparel; their finger-rings, torn from their fingers, and bestowed upon the wives, and daugh-

ters, of rebel traitors. Some of our wives, have been torn from their suckling -babes, and thrown into camp, guarded by rebel ruffians, from two, to three weeks duration, and subjected to the most, insulting, and cruel tortueres: to wit, their hands have been put under , fence-rails, and hung up,by their thumbs, in order , to extort from them the hiding places, of their husbands, and sons. When ourselves, and sons were taken by them, we were tied with ropes, our shoes taken off, robbed of our money and clothing,compelled to walk, from 25 to 60 miles, barefooted through the snow, and cold thence carried, to Castle-Thunder, and punished beyond the power of a[ccoun]t to describe. They tried to perish us out, by taking our provision: some of us living in caves, and some over the lines, members of the U.S. army. A few of us obliged to keep from starving, were compelled to treat them likewise, to keep soul and body together. In this critical condition, did Gen Stoneman's Raiders, find us, and some of them remained behind, and proffered to us that protection, collected up, some of these cruelly treated men, from their hiding places, went around, and made a few of the rebel traitors, give up a portion of their property, they had taken. It was then, that they appeared seemingly, penitent, and asked for letters of protection, which were granted. During the rebellion, they were the most influential, part of the community now they are still in the ascendancy. Our civil tribunals, seem to be governed, and ruled by them, and our destinies, as it were, are in the palms of their hands. In every instance where any property was taken, we have been indicted, and our property taken to pay the cost, while our cases are thrown out of court, with the plea, that they were authorized by the Rebel Government while we have no authority under which to act. We who have fled our homes, crossed the lines,joined the U.S. army, and lend every assistance in the preservation, and extinuation, of our glorious old Union, are now oppressed, by these hated traitors. We assert that the great mass of the Secesh rebels, in this country are not loyal. It is an every day occurrence, that they speak hard things, of the U.S. Government, and say, that they would rather be under the protection of England, and France, than the U.S. And are we still to be persecuted. No; we appeal to the President, and Congress for redress of our grievances. With the faith of God, we look to thee, with a certainty of success.

W. B. Stipe
E. L. Amos
S W Amos
G W Shafer
Geo Wilkins
W J Wilkins
Tho Wilkins
Floyd Wilkins
John Okley
R. D. Griffith

W A Shafer
E H Amus
J A Amos
J. Smith
F Roberns
R Robbens
Jef Smith
John Halder
Jas. T. Halder
H Fry

M Smith
Levi Mathews
E Mathews
E Benbo M. D
S. M. Hansen
Henry Scott
J North
F. W. Hall
Martin Armfield
J. W. Williams

Isaac Huchens	Braxton Langford	J P Reavis
H Huchens	B F Simmons	J Vestal
J.H. Norman	E P Simmons	Leonard Shegart
G. Z. Powders	N S Simmons	Isaac M Calvord
Mark Taylor	Joel A Tucker	M F Farington
N H Potts	J F Simmons	Ben Shore
E A Brown	C P Simmons	D Zalkel
E. B Prone	G J Simmons	B N Willard
John Casper	Flint Lawson	R M Willard
R.G. Amos	W W Lawson	David Reavis
J S Amos	Wiat Lawson	James Reavis
W Caswell	Woody Langford	F H Willard
E L Beasley	Joseph Langford	L D Willard
B J Martin	F A Smith	El Willard
W H Spencer	Christian Mearing	Samuel Adams
Jas. M Spencer	J A Martin	A. G. Adams
R F Amos	Peter Owens	H Cordal
T D Watkins	J L Hall	James Sizemore
Sam ^l Carson	J H Starlin	Harder Morgan
James Fane	D.S.Hobson U.S.Sold	Joseph Reavis
James Parkerston	Zebe Hall	David Hutcheson
Jesse A Corne	N W Glenn	F H Hobson
J B Hodgey	John Spear	A G Bruce
S J Coon	J. V. Mathews	S H Harding
J M Brown	J. S. Kittle	Eugene Carter
J J Brown	F F Adams U S Sold	Geo. Cordel
Winston Eades	W J Colhard	James Brown
J J Cunningham	A Z Joyner	M F Cooper
J A Coon	Joseph Patterson	John Patterson
Joseph Coon	John Norme	Samuel Scott
N V Shelton	J H Speed	John Law
Landeau Nelson	T J Herming	W F Kirk
James E Smith	J A Poindexter	J W Cornnelias
Wm Nelson	J. T. S Mathews	W H Spilman
Leroy Nelson	Jesse Headir	Wm Doalan
Marston Mabe	D. T. Allgood	J R Hutchens
T Nelson	J W Heiston	J. V. Bender
Wm Mabe	D J Adams	A A Starlin
Lewis Mabe, Sr	John Shore	T. F. Mathews
Geo W Manning	Giles Hutchens	A. Spease
N R Shelton	W A Bolin	E Cox
Leo Smith	Alx. Hutchens	Pla. Cordel
John Smith	B C Myers	Thos Davis
John Hix	Ben McKey	Ben. ^t Creed
Noah Smitt	J M Reece	Joel Lakey
R W Flinch	W R Vertel	Chas. Price
Jonathan Flinch	J F Reave	Ellis Norman
Wm Fagg	Asia Reaves	A. T. Davis
W L Albery	John Cooley	Wm D. Spencer
Lewis Mabe		F Evins

W.A. Poindexter	S M. Shelton	A. Poindexter
John Worning	W A. Shephard	Wm. Phillips
Geo. Pitts	James Sheperd	Eli Wooten U S Sold
A. A. Wining	Sanford Barns	W. A. Neding
C H Adams U S Col	Charles R Griffine	J. M. Shelton
W. R. Allgood	Nelson Shelton	A J Holt
A. H. Vestel	John Arnol	W. R. Aron
J W Allgood	G H Shelton	W M New
Wm W Reives	W. Y. Shelton	J. T. Martin
Dan Reaves	Jam. Hall	J. W. New
Wm Steelman	C. L. Shepherd	B. A Overby
A H Reavis	Ben Pike	J. Holt
John H Reaves	James Hickes	Geo. W. Gunter
Henry P Allgood	Buryille Hickes	Wm A Martin
Isaac Hutchens	John Woods	T. F. Overby
Geo. Reavis	Floyd Woods	Oliver Priatt
John Gaugh	Wm. Woods	Wm. Joyce
James Shars	Wm. H. Hall	Joseph Atkinson
A Crakam	B. J. New	J W Collins
B Sismore	John Aron	Peter Slate
J. C. Wisbon	Levi Smith	T. M. Slate
J A Wisbon	Henry Hall	A J Slate
Geo Adams	Joseph Hall	T E Slate
A. J. Bovender	James Sands	T H Slate
Jesse Dobins	James Flinch	John Vamten
Jo. B. Steelman U. S.	James Rieron	J. T. Flint
Sol	T. R. Lawson	J. K Carter
T M Vestal	J Rieron	J Smithers
A J Wisbon	James Shelton	Henry Warner
J D Sugurts	Ed Mabe	Jesse Wooten U.S.
W D Vestal	Alx. Mabe	Sold
Eli Stimson	Joshua Freman	J L Rask
G W Tucker	Gidian George	H. C. Felts
B Tucker	Wm Freman	Elbert Wells
G B Simmons	J W Eaton	S N Godfrey
W L Simmons	W C Johnston	J W Parden
M E Simmons	J P Bennett	A C. Johnston
M J Simmons	G Bennett	Enoch Coffin
Sam Simmons	J F Lakery	Dan[i]el Gerlt
D J Simmons	M C Bruce	B R Berber
J Fagg	R M Logan	A. D. Gentry
J H Fagg	John W Carson	C S Nicks
C W Mauring	F W Lakey	James M York
W A Smith	E C Bruce	W. W. Patterson
Peter Smith	Z J Adams	J Stevens
W S Hill	Edward Sink	Anderson Davis
H. H. Fagg	W. Rowland	Henry Steelman
Wiat Lankford	Wm. B. Shields	J Shores
I.a. Smith	R. A. Stewart	A Shores
J I. Johnson	A. C. Patterson	D Shores
John R Jewel J. P.	Isaac Prinn	W Lynch

W. A. Andrews	R. B. Overby	J W Browning
A Lang	J W Forrest	S. V. O. Perry
W P Lang	H H Brow	El Perry
J A Lang	John Gann	E Elles
A Johnson	Samuel Gann	J Thornbury
R Johnson	Wm Shaffer	S Cruse
E Lenge	W Gann	S. C. Bennett
Wm. Smith	John Wilkerson	W. Y. Bennett
W Weaveal	James Wilkerson	Ross Johnson
W T Surgut	James Humes	J. J. Robberns
T O Stoppard	J W Humes	G W Mills
W H Slate	F G Gray	W H Redwell
Giles F Shelton	S N Stafford	S C Welch
L.R. Ringman	S T Hines	T.E. North
Wm T Jessup	Geo Hines	W Cruse
John Jessup	J Matsinger	T M Varst
John Slate	H. Bodenhamer	T O Wilson
G. W. Slate	J Bodenhamer	John Rodgers
Caleb Jessup	W Bodenhamer	E. L. T. Brown
Jas. A Jessup	A. Phillips	H Gray
Wm. C. Martin	J.F.L. Tusk	
Samuel D. Martin	S Livengood	

This letter was enclosed by Governor Worth in his letter of April 17, 1866.

(Copy)

Raleigh, April 14th 1866.

To His Excellency
Jonathan Worth,
Governor of North Carolina:—
Governor:

On the tenth of April 1866, John H. Gee, a citizen of the State of Florida, filed a petition before me, as one of the Judges of the Superior Court of North Carolina, alleging that he was imprisoned and held in close confinement in the city of Raleigh by Brevet Major General Thomas H. Ruger, U.S.A., commanding the Department of North Carolina, and that by his order a Military Commission had been convened and organized in said city for the trial of said petitioner, under certain charges and specifications, which were full set forth and annexed, consisting in part of offences against the laws of nations in the cruel treatment of prisoners of war, taken and held as such from the armies of the United States of America by the late rebel government or military authorities thereof at Salisbury, North Carolina, and in part of surrender in violation of the laws of war; all of which offences are alleged to have been committed during the existence of the late rebellion, to wit, in the months of October, November

and December, 1864; and setting forth the Proclamation of his Excellency, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, issued on the 2d day of April, 1866, and claiming that, by virtue of said Proclamation, he was entitled to be discharged from the military authorities of the United States government, and praying that the writ of *Habeas Corpus* be issued, &c., So that the cause of his capture and detention might be inquired into, &c.

Believing that the President, by his Proclamation, intended to restore to the people of North Carolina the privileges of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and that there was no warrant in the constitution of the United States for the existence of military tribunals in time of peace for the "land or naval service," I issued the writ prayed for on the 11th instant, making it returnable on the 14th instant, at which time, Brevet Major General Ruger made return that the said John H. Gee was detained by him "as a prisoner under authority of the President of the United States."

The body of the petitioner not being produced, his counsel moved for an attachment to issue against Brevet Major General Ruger, on account of his non-compliance with the mandate of the writ.

After consideration, and for the purpose, if possible, of avoiding a conflict with the military authorities of the United States Government, the Court announced its determination as follows:

"According to the construction which the Court is disposed to give to the recent Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated April 2d, 1866, the Court has inferred that it was the purpose of the President to restore to the people of North Carolina *all* the benefits of civil law in times of peace— one consequence of which is "that no person could be subject to trial by martial law, unless he was in the land or naval service of the United States." '

It is taken for granted that the petitioner has never been in either service.

The court has always been inclined to believe that in times of peace the Civil law of North Carolina, consistent with the civil law of the United States and not in conflict therewith, was supreme, and martial or military law was subordinate thereto.

It may be however that the Court has misconstrued the intent of the President's Proclamation, that it was not his purpose to suppress the exercise of Martial law as to military commissions in actual session for trial of offenders, at the time the Proclamation was promulgated.

The Court being desirous of avoiding all conflict between the Civil authorities of the State and the Military authorities of the United States Government, deems it advisable to take further time for consideration, until it may have an opportunity of ascertaining the precise meaning of the Proclamation in this respect.

The motion will, therefore, be continued until 10 O'clock A. M. of the 28th of April."

As it is my desire, Governor, — before making a final decision— to have all possible information in regard to the true intent of the President's Proclamation, I have transmitted to you a statement of the case, for the purpose of requesting that you will furnish me with all the information which you may have received in relation thereto.

Yours Very Respectfully,
Dan.¹ G. Fowle, Jr. S.C.

[To Be Continued]

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- HEAGNEY, ANNE. The magic pen. Milwaukee, Bruce [1949] v, 168 p. \$2.50.
- POLSKY, THOMAS. The cudgel. New York, Dutton, 1950. 223 p. \$2.50.
- RUARK, ROBERT CHESTER. One for the road, illustrated by R. Taylor. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1949. 253 p. il. \$2.50.
- SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. Divine mistress. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1949. 340 p. \$3.00.
- SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. The stubborn heart. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1950. 307 p. \$3.00.
- STEELE, MAX. Debby.³ New York, Harper, [1950] 304 p. \$3.00.
- STREET, JAMES HOWELL. Mingo Dabney. New York, Dial Press, 1950. 383 p. \$3.00.
- TAYLOR, PETER. A woman of means. New York, Harcourt, Brace [1950] 160 p. il. \$2.75.
- WELLMAN, MANLY WADE. The raiders of Beaver Lake. New York, Nelson [1950] 160 p. \$2.00. Juvenile.

² With a North Carolina setting or by a North Carolinian.

³ Winner of Mayflower award, 1950.

WOLFE, THOMAS. . . . the years of wandering in many lands and cities. New York, C. S. Boesen [1949] [10] p. 6 mounted facsimis. Edition limited to 600 copies. \$10.00.

Literature Other Than Poetry, Drama, or Fiction

ADAMS, GEORGE C. S. Words and descriptive terms for 'woman' and 'girl' in French and Provencal and border dialects. Chapel Hill, Department of Romance Languages, University of North Carolina, 1949. 99 p. (Studies in Romance languages and literatures, no. 11) \$1.50 pa.

BOWIE, THEODORE ROBERT. The painter in French fiction, a critical essay. [Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1950] 60 p. (Studies in Romance languages and literatures, no. 15) \$1.50 pa.

HOLMES, URBAN TIGNER, editor. Romance studies presented to William Morton Dey on the occasion of his seventieth birthday by his colleagues and former students; edited by Urban T. Holmes, Jr., Alfred G. Engstrom and Sturgis E. Leavitt. Chapel Hill [University of North Carolina] 1950. 196 p. port. (Studies in the Romance Languages and literatures, no. 12.) \$1.50 pa.

MEEKINS, VICTOR. The old sea captain and the drummer; salty dialogue from the land of wind and water as written years ago for *The coastline times*. Manteo [The Times Printing Company, c. 1950] 120 p. il. Apply.

[PASCHAL, MRS. FRANCIS] A literary map of North Carolina. Designed by Primrose [pseud] Prepared by the Literature Committee, North Carolina English Teachers Association, Mary Wyche Mintz, chairman. Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Company, c. 1950. col. map 52 x 84 cm. with illus. and list of authors. \$1.50.

POTEAT, HUBERT M., translator of Cicero. Brutus; On the nature of the Gods; On divination; On duties; with an introduction by Richard McKeon. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950. v, 660 p. \$6.00.

REICHERT, HERBERT WILLIAM. Basic concepts in the philosophy of Gottfried Keller. Chapel Hill, 1949. 164 p. (North Carolina. University. Studies in the Germanic languages and literatures, no. 1) \$3.20 pa.

SHINE, HILL, editor. Booker memorial studies; eight essays on Victorian literature in memory of John Manning Booker, 1881-1948. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1950] xiv, 183 p. port. \$4.00.

SHINE, HILL. The Quarterly review under Gifford; identification of contributors, 1809-1824, by Hill Shine and Helen Chadwick Shine. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949. xx, 108 p. \$3.00.

History and Travel

- ACOMB, FRANCES. *Anglophobia in France, 1763-1789; an essay in the history of constitutionalism and nationalism.* Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1950. xii, 167 p.
- COLLINS' tourist handbook of North Carolina. Winston-Salem, N. C., The Collins Company, 1950. 90 p. \$.25 pa.
- CORBITT, DAVID LEROY. *The formation of the North Carolina counties, 1663-1943.* Raleigh, State Department of Archives and History, 1950. xix, 323 p. maps. Apply. Mailing fee of \$.50.
- COULTER, ELLIS MERTON. *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865.* [Baton Rouge] Louisiana State University Press, 1950. x, 644 p. il. (A History of the South, v. 7) \$7.00.
- COULTER, ELLIS MERTON, editor. *A list of the early settlers of Georgia* edited by E. Merton Coulter and Albert B. Saye. Athens, The University of Georgia Press, [c. 1949] xiv, 103 p. \$4.00.
- CRUM, MASON. *The story of Lake Junaluska.* Greensboro, N. C., The Piedmont Press, 1950. 117 p. il. Order from Lake Junaluska Assembly. \$2.00.
- EATON, CLEMENT. *A history of the Old South.* New York, Macmillan, 1949. ix, 636 p. il. \$4.50.
- JOHNSON, GERALD WHITE. *Incredible tale; the odyssey of the average American in the last half century.* New York, Harper [1950] viii, 301 p. \$3.50.
- NORTH CAROLINA almanac and state industrial guide, 1950-1951, [edited by] Mrs. J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Mrs. Carl Goerch. Raleigh, Almanac Publishing Company, c. 1950. 652 p. il. \$1.50 pa.
- NORTH CAROLINA UNIVERSITY. *Essays in southern history presented to Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph.D., LL.D., by his former students at the University of North Carolina, edited by Fletcher Green.* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949. vii, 156 p. (The James Sprunt studies in history and political science, v. 31) \$2.50, \$1.50 pa.
- PARRIS, JOHN. *The Cherokee story.* Asheville, N. C., Stephens Press, 1950. 122 p. il. \$1.00 pa.

Autobiography and Biography

- ADAMS, AGATHA (BOYD) Thomas Wolfe, Carolina student; a brief biography. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Library, 1950. 91 [1] p. (Library extension publication, v. 15, no. 2) \$1.25, \$.50 pa.
- BARRINGER, PAUL BRANDON. *The natural bent; the memoirs of Dr. Paul B. Barringer.* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1949] viii, 280 p. \$3.50.
- BLYTHE, LEGETTE. *William Henry Belk, merchant of the South.* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1950] xiv, 225 p. il. \$2.75.

- BRODIN, PIERRE. Thomas Wolfe; translation by Imogene Riddick; preface by Richard Walser. Asheville, N. C., Stephens Press, [c. 1949] 41 p. port. \$1.50.
- BRYAN, FERREBEE CATHERINE. At the gates; life story of Matthew Tyson and Eliza Moring Yates of China. Nashville, Tennessee, Broadman Press, 1950. xii, 374 p. il. \$3.75.
- BUMGARDNER, EDWARD. Life of Edmund Ross, the man whose vote saved a president. Kansas City, Mo., Fielding-Turner Press, 1950. \$2.50. The president was Andrew Johnson.
- CLARK, WALTER. The papers of Walter Clark, edited by Aubrey Lee Brooks and Hugh Talmage Lefler. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1950. v. 2. 1902-1924. \$6.00.
- DAVIDSON, CHALMERS GASTON. Friend of the people; the life of Dr. Peter Fayssoux of Charleston, South Carolina. Columbia, Medical Association of South Carolina, 1950. vii, 151 p. \$2.62. Order from R. M. Fechter, 1420 Lady St., Columbia, S. C.
- HARDRE, JACQUES, editor. Letters of Louvois, edited with introduction and notes by Jacques Hardré. Chapel Hill, [University of North Carolina] 1949. 518, [1] p. (Studies in Romance languages and literatures, no. 10) \$6.00, pa.
- HOLMES, EDISON PARKER. The disadvantages of being a preacher's son. Illustrations and book cover by Carl Spencer. Winston-Salem, N. C., Printed by Clay Printing Company, 1950. 167 p. il. \$2.75.
- LONG, EUGENE HUDSON. O. Henry, the man and his work. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. xi, 158 p. port. \$2.75.
- LONG, MARY ALVES. High time to tell it. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1950. xi, 314 p. il. \$3.50.
- MAXWELL, RAYMOND C. Life and works of Allen Jay Maxwell, 1873-1946. [Raleigh, N. C., privately printed] 1949. 213 p. ports.
- NOBLIN, STUART. Leonidas La Fayette Polk, agrarian crusader. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949. ix, 325 p. il. \$5.00.
- PERKINS, MAXWELL E. Editor to author, the letters of Maxwell E. Perkins, selected and edited with commentary and an introduction by John Hall Wheelock. New York, Charles Scribners Sons, 1950. xiii, 315 p. port. \$3.75. For Thomas Wolfe material.
- PRINCE, WILLIAM MEADE. The southern part of heaven, with illustrations by the author. New York, Rinehart [1950] 314 p. il. \$3.50.
- ROGERS, LOU. Tar Heel women. Raleigh, N. C., Warren Publishing Company, [1949] xiv, 284 p. ports. \$3.50.
- SHUTE, JOHN RAYMOND, His Honor, the heretic. Monroe, N. C., Nocalore Press, 1950. 76 p. \$1.50.
- WELLMAN, MANLY WADE. Giant in Gray; a biography of

Wade Hampton of South Carolina. New York, C. Scribners Sons, 1949. xv, 387 p. ports. \$5.00.

New Editions and Reprints

- ALLEN, MARY MOORE. North Carolina sketches and places. Goldsboro, N. C., Author, 1949. \$.50 pa.
- BOYD, WILLIAM KENNETH. The story of Durham, city of the new South. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1949. 345 p. il. \$3.00.
- BRIGGS, THOMAS HENRY. Secondary education. New York, MacMillan, 1950. 477 p. il. \$4.00.
- COKER, ROBERT ERVIN. This great and wide sea. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, [1949] xvii, 325 p. il. \$5.00.
- DAVIS, EUGENE C., editor. 8 popular plays for amateurs in prompt book style; a practical production anthology. New York, Greenberg, [1948] x, 258 p. il. Includes Paul Green's *The last of the Lowries*.
- DOUGLAS, MARY TERESA (PEACOCK) The teacher-librarian's handbook. 2d ed. Chicago, American Library Association, 1949. 166 p. il. \$2.75.
- HEDDEN, WORTH TUTTLE. The other room. New York, Bantam Books, 1950. \$.25 pa.
- HELPER, HINTON ROWAN. Dreadful California. . . . Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill [1948] 162 p. il. Published in 1855 under title: *The land of gold*. \$2.50.
- HENRY, O., pseud. of WILLIAM SYDNEY PORTER. The gift of the Magi and An unfinished Christmas story. Garden City, N. Y., Country Life Press Corporation, 1949, 21 p.
- KENAN, WILLIAM RAND. History of Randleigh Farm, Sixth edition. Lockport, N. Y., Author, c. 1950. 377 p. il. Apply.
- KENAN, WILLIAM RAND. Incidents by the way; more recollections. Second edition. [Lockport, N. Y., Author, 1949.] 105 p. il. Apply.
- McREE, GRIFFITH JOHN. Life and correspondence of James Iredell, one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States New York, Peter Smith, 1949. Micro-Offset. 2v. in one. Limited edition, 200 copies. \$10.00.
- NORTH CAROLINA (COLONY) GENERAL ASSEMBLY. HOUSE OF BURGESSES. The journal of the House of Burgesses of the Province of North-Carolina, 1749. Reproduced in facsimile in celebration of the 200th anniversary of the establishment of the printing press in North Carolina; with an introduction by William S. Powell. Raleigh, State Department of Archives and History, 1949. xvii p. facsim.: 14 p. Apply State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.
- SE PARK, JOSEPH HENRY. Gastonia and Gaston County, North Carolina, 1846-1949. Gastonia, [1950?] 237 p.

SMITH, BETTY. Tomorrow will be better. Garden City, N. Y., Sun Dial Press, c. 1948. \$1.00.

WOLFE, THOMAS. Look homeward, angel: II. The adventures of young Gant, with an introduction by Edward C. Aswell. [New York] New American Library [1948] 192 p. \$.25 pa. This edition contains most of Part II of Look homeward, angel.

BOOK REVIEWS

Trinity College, 1839-1892: The Beginnings of Duke University. By Nora Campbell Chaffin. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 584. \$5.00.)

This volume relates the history of what was later to become Duke University, from its ante-bellum origin in Randolph County to its removal to Durham near the end of the nineteenth century. The arrangement is chronological, following the progress of the institution through Brown's Schoolhouse, an elementary subscription school (. . . ?-1839) ; Union Institute, a private academy (1839-1851) ; Normal College, a state-affiliated training school for teachers (1851-1856) ; and Trinity College, a liberal arts college controlled by the North Carolina conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1856-1892). Originally projected as a centennial history of Trinity College by Professor William K. Boyd, the manuscript was only partly written at the time of his death and was subsequently placed in the hands of Miss Chaffin. She has leaned heavily, and with due acknowledgment, upon Professor Boyd's work and has included one of his chapters, briefly summarizing the educational history of North Carolina prior to 1860, as an introduction.

From its remote beginnings, Trinity College was designed to provide better educational advantages for the plain people of North Carolina. Prominent among the expressed aims of its leaders were those of "reaching the common walks of life with a more thorough education than had been previously afforded them" and of promoting "the interest of the great middle class of people." Generally Methodists, these leaders were drawn from the people whom the school sought to serve and were committed to the ideal of "a democratic Christian college." This was in sharp contrast to the early history of the University of North Carolina, whose governing board represented the ruling class and great landowners, where the first building was denounced as "a palace-like erection" maintained as a resort for the sons of the rich at the expense of the poor, where professors were criticized as aliens who threatened to introduce monarchical principles and students were said to be addicts of vice and immorality.

But piety and democracy did not always receive adequate financial support. Meager as were its needs, the college's debts

were often pressing, and efforts to raise funds frequently met with insufficient response. On January 14, 1886, the treasurer paid one member of the faculty the last dollar of his salary for 1885, this being the first time a professor had been paid his salary in full since the Civil War. At times there was conflict with Randolph-Macon College regarding the extent to which that institution was entitled to support by North Carolina Methodists. Nevertheless, Trinity survived these and other obstacles and succeeded in making a substantial contribution to the educational life of the state. In 1887 all but four of its graduates were living in North Carolina, among these being sixteen teachers, nine lawyers, seven clergymen, and four physicians.

An especially important factor contributing to the success of Trinity was the work of a number of earnest and energetic leaders associated with it, in particular Brantley York, Braxton Craven, and John F. Crowell. Convenient summaries of the careers of these men are included by Miss Chaffin, along with careful appraisals of their accomplishments. Other topics accorded more or less extended treatment are the curriculum at various stages in the school's history, student and faculty life and activities, and the various efforts of the trustees to keep the college in operation, especially during the dark days of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The successive relations between the college and the Methodist Church are well described, as are the factors and deliberations resulting in the removal of the institution to Durham.

Superior to most college histories, Miss Chaffin's work is based upon extensive research not confined to annual catalogues and faculty and trustee minutes. Elaborate footnotes and a lengthy bibliography testify to the immense amount of source material, both manuscript and printed, that was read and digested in the preparation of the volume.

James W. Patton.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Impressions of Men and Movements at the University of North Carolina.
By Henry McGilbert Wagstaff. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 110. \$2.00.)

To men and women connected with colleges elsewhere and especially to the thousands of present and former students and teachers of the University of North Carolina, this volume by Henry McGilbert Wagstaff could well be a source of information, a reminder of the past, and cause for pride in an institution which has come a long way since 1789.

This brief volume was never intended to be a history of the University. The sketches resulted from President Frank P. Graham's request in 1941 that Dr. Wagstaff from his store of information, thoughts, ideas, and memories set down in permanent form his impressions of men and movements from the beginning to 1930. At the time of his unexpected death in 1945, Dr. Wagstaff had prepared a first draft treating the historical background, establishment, and progress of the University through the period of Reconstruction and the reopening until the end of the service of Francis Preston Venable as president.

The author discusses the almost desperate problem of finance, the bitter opposition to state-supported higher education from denominational forces, and the part played by political parties in the fortunes (or misfortunes) of the institution.

Dr. Wagstaff (at the time affectionately nicknamed "Dr. Wigglestick" by the students) was this reviewer's first teacher at Carolina. The sound scholarship and dry wit which characterized him in the classroom are also evident throughout the book. He was well qualified for the task assigned. Himself an alumnus, he was for thirty-eight years a member of the faculty, and, judging by his kindly, yet penetrating, characterizations, a keen analyst of human nature. It is a great pity that he was not destined to complete a work so well begun.

After the death of the author, Dr. Louis R. Wilson edited the notes and arranged the chapters in chronological order according to administrations of the chief officials. In a prefatory note, the editor explains how the project was initiated and what disposition was made of the manuscript.

Gardner-Webb College,
Boiling Springs, N. C.

Nell Hines Harris.

William Henry Belk: Merchant of the South. By LeGette Blythe. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 225. \$2.75.)

Throughout dozens of southern communities from northern Virginia to Florida and westward to Arkansas the name "Belk Store" is a household term. Even "the foreigner" traveling through the South is wont to wonder at what is apparently the remarkable extent of the Belk clan, for in almost every good-sized town is seen prominent evidence of the mercantile union of Belk-Jones or Belk-Brown or the like.

LeGette Blythe, experienced biographer and former literary editor of the *Charlotte Observer*, has produced a most interesting biography of William Henry Belk who opened his first store in 1888 in Monroe, North Carolina, and proceeded to link his name with those of scores of southern merchants and to build a huge group of nearly 300 retail establishments doing an annual business in excess of \$100,000,000.

Biographer Blythe relates how W. H. Belk and his brother Dr. John Belk (1865-1928) recognized early the value of such innovations as an all-cash business, clearly marked retail prices with no haggling at the counter, and a "satisfaction or your money back" policy. Building upon the success of their Monroe beginnings, the Belks extended their interests by training young, promising men to be merchants, setting them up in a store in a southern town, allowing the new managers complete freedom but extending to the new stores the benefits of mass purchasing. The result has been the erection of not a chain system (in fact the Belks deplore the term "system") but rather a family of stores in which each store retains its individuality while the group as a whole works for its common benefit.

This biography, which offers "indisputable proof" of the value of American free enterprise, is the result of a close study of Belk the man and the merchant and of the Belk mercantile group. The volume is well-illustrated and indexed and contains, in addition, a chronological list of all the Belk stores. The author has obtained his information not from archival sources and secondary works but from extensive interviews with his subject and with Belk associates throughout the South.

Mr. Blythe reveals that he is not only an ardent admirer of his subject but also a good judge of human character and a skillful selector of the pertinent and interesting raw material which goes into the making of an attractive biography.

Robert M. Langdon.

United States Naval Academy,
Annapolis, Md.

The Church in the Wilderness: North Carolina Quakerism as Seen by Visitors. By Henry J. Cadbury. The Historical Lecture delivered at the Two Hundred and Fifty-First Session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Eighth Month, the Fourth, 1948. Second Publication of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. (No date. Pp. 14.)

Parallel Lines in Piedmont North Carolina Quaker and Moravian History. By Adelaide L. Fries. The Historical Lecture delivered at the Two Hundred and Fifty-Second Session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Eighth Month, the Third, 1949. (No date. Pp. 16.)

These pamphlets were made possible by the remarkable care with which Friends and Moravians have preserved the records of their activities. The facts presented are not merely authentic in the usual sense of historical jargon. They convey to the reader a distinct impression of having been derived from a great body of valid historical materials outside the usual range of historians. Members of the craft generally will profit by the generosity of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society in publishing these lectures.

The lecture of 1948 presents a series of impressions of visitors to North Carolina Friends and Friends Meetings. These visitors, the author explains, were the nearest approach the Friends ever made to a central bureaucracy with responsibility for maintaining administrative connection or doctrinal conformity among the autonomous Yearly Meetings. Visitors, hosts, and groups of believers are presented in successive stages of the transition from the frontier faith of seventeenth century Albemarle to late nineteenth century Quakerism centering in the neighborhood of High Point and Greensboro. Antislavery and antiwar sentiments are emphasized as the chief factors of continuity in Quaker history.

In the lecture of 1949, the late Adelaide L. Fries discounts rather heavily some of the assumptions of earlier historians concerning Moravians and Quakers. She intimates that the two

groups were most alike in being different from the accepted standards in worship and attitude to the civil authorities. The practice of joining them in special acts of the General Assembly and their geographic proximity seem to have been the main factors in associating them in the minds of contemporaries and historians alike. This essay is a closely reasoned argument that this association is unwarranted from every standpoint except that of doctrinal agreement on military service and the taking of oaths.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, N. C.

Catawba Frontier, 1775-1781: Memories of Pensioners. By Mary Elinor Lazenby. (Washington, D. C.; published by the compiler, 2333 Nebraska Ave. \$2.00.)

A few statements of the Revolutionary pensioners were published in the *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Saunders and Clark fifty years ago, but the majority of these uneven recollections have been known only to professional historians and DAR genealogists. Many are worthless for serious research but a number contain invaluable hints and side lights for the local military and social historian. The best of these have been culled by Miss Lazenby and given for the first time to the general public.

The majority of the pension papers quoted in *Catawba Frontier* come from the 1830's at which time most of the writers had passed their allotted three score and ten years. Discrepancies with respect to dates and chronology are not difficult to find and have in many instances been pointed out by the compiler. But there is a wealth of local information not easily available elsewhere. Particularly interesting are the revelations of informality during the Revolution. Volunteers appeared for a battle when one seemed imminent in their section and disappeared without leave-taking of their officers when the fighting was over. It was possible to hire substitutes if drafted and several of the pensioners were in the employ of others who for one reason or another did not choose to fight.

It would appear that, with few exceptions, veterans of ample means in the 1820's and 30's did not apply for pensions. As a result there are no statements from such prominent Catawba River soldiers as General Joseph Graham, Major John Davidson, Captain James Connor, Captain John Reid, and the Polks, who are known to have survived well into the period when pensions were easy and free. The services of many of these and of others of prominence who were already dead, however, are frequently referred to by privates and subalterns who served under them.

The booklet is well printed, paper-bound, and carefully though not exhaustively indexed. The reviewer regrets that there was not an introductory chapter on pension laws, giving dates and conditions under which soldiers of the Revolution might draw relief from their government. Miss Lazenby has performed a valuable service to Piedmont historians, to the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, and to all lovers of Catawba River lore.

Chalmers G. Davidson.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

Aerial Gunner from Virginia: the Letters of Don Moody to his Family during 1944. Edited by William Edwin Hemphill. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1950. Pp. xxx, 366.)

This collection of letters was chosen by the director of the World War II History Division of the Virginia State Library because it contains an account in many ways representative of the experiences undergone by the approximately 300,000 Virginians in uniform.

Don Moody's army career, from his induction at the age of eighteen until his death in a crash in the South Pacific, lasted but ten months, and his actual overseas experience only three weeks. Yet throughout the entire period he wrote nearly every day to members of his family, and thus the nearly 200 letters in the collection provide a detailed record of daily army routine, matter-of fact, limited in perspective, and devoid of harrowing exploits or dramatic events. Don was most concerned with matters of family interest and with his own personal failures and

triumphs. The possibility of a furlough and the dread of a dental appointment loomed far larger than the general course of world events.

Despite the repetitiousness and the stock expressions with which Don conveyed his feelings and attitudes, one gains a clear impression not only of his reactions to army life but also of his close and affectionate relationship with his family. The letters would probably have retained more of their authentic flavor if the original spelling and grammar had not been corrected by the editor. It is also difficult to see the necessity for deleting the very mild sprinkling of profanity, which Don obviously thought inoffensive to his mother and sister. The editor has done a commendable job, however, in the insertion of material necessary for a full understanding of various references in the letters.

Howard Braverman.

1620 St. John's Place,
Brooklyn, New York.

The Papers of Randolph of Roanoke. A Preliminary Checklist of his Surviving Texts in Manuscript and in Print. By William E. Stokes, Jr., and Francis L. Berkeley, Jr. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, 1950. Pp. 170.)

Because of his long public service, his eccentric character and his numerous controversies, John Randolph of Roanoke invariably offers continued interest to students of history, nor is this interest confined solely to the subject of history since even majors in the subject of speech have written doctoral dissertations on the effectiveness of the oratory of the caustic Virginian. Consequently a guide to his writings and speeches, published and unpublished, even though admitted by the compilers to be incomplete, is most welcome.

This volume, attractively bound with the Randolph coat of arms on the cover and a Gilbert Stuart portrait in the front, is the ninth in the *Virginia Bibliographical Studies* published by the University of Virginia Library. Arranged chronologically a total of 2,762 items is listed including writings and speeches to be found in more than twenty published sources and in various manuscript collections throughout the country. These range

from letters written by Randolph in 1781 at the age of eight to his stepfather, St. George Tucker, through his lengthy public career and end on a lugubrious note in 1833 with Randolph's measurements supplied by Robert R. Bringhurst, undertaker. For the year 1807 there are listed 136 items and for the next year 145. The writings of this period have a special interest for North Carolina because of Randolph's relations, friendly or otherwise, with her Congressmen such as Nathaniel Macon, Richard Stanford, Willis Alston, and Lemuel Sawyer.

In their foreword the compilers state that the list is "preliminary and incomplete" and an explanation is given for the failure to include items from the House of Representative Papers in the National Archives. A mimeographed addendum accompanying the volume notes three manuscripts subsequently called to their attention by the Research Office of Colonial Williamsburg. The inadvertent omission of certain items contained in the Henry Adams biography of Randolph is also noted. In spite of these acknowledged omissions, however, the checklist cannot fail to be of value to those who are interested in various phases of Randolph's career. It is hoped by the compilers that the publication of the checklist "in its present state" will "draw the fire of numerous critics" so that with "corrections and additions" a more complete knowledge of this important figure from the Old Dominion will be available.

D. H. Gilpatrick.

Furman University,
Greenville, S. C.

State Papers and Public Addresses: Clarence W. Meadows, Twenty-second Governor of West Virginia, 1945-1949. (Charleston, West Virginia. 1950. Pp. xiii, 432.)

In 1933 the state of West Virginia belatedly began to publish the official papers of its governors, and the present volume is the fourth in the series. The general nature of its contents does not, of course, differ from that of similar collections put out by other states; it consists chiefly of legislative messages, routine addresses to various groups and organizations, political speeches, and some official correspondence.

During the immediate postwar period West Virginia made considerable progress in the direction of educational reform, and documents dealing with this movement are among the more interesting in the compilation. Meadows was active in initiating legislation which provided for a survey of the state school system by Dr. George D. Strayer of Columbia University and in urging the adoption of the major recommendations of the Strayer report.

The papers are introduced by an anonymous biographical sketch, written in the eulogistic style of a campaign biography; the information provided about Meadows' career and personality is superficial and uncritical. The papers show few signs of editing: although called for on numerous occasions, almost no explanatory notes appear, and the lack of an index considerably lessens the value of the volume.

Howard Braverman.

1620 St. John's Place,
Brooklyn, New York.

And the War Came. By Kenneth M. Stamp. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 331. Illustrations, bibliography and index, \$4.50.)

This is a study of the development of public opinion in the North from the election of Lincoln until the surrender of Fort Sumter. During the campaign this opinion quite generally was that the threats of secession were mere gasconade against which it was unnecessary to take any provision. But after the election of Lincoln as secession changed from a threat to a reality it became necessary for the northern people to determine their attitude toward disunion. From the beginning they had no thought of acquiescence; they thought only of preventing it by conciliation or coercion. But of the conciliators only Crittenden offered to the South such concessions as would enable it to remain in the Union without continued subservience to a dominant and antagonistic North. For the most part the compromises proposed were merely for the purpose of dividing the upper and lower South and of keeping the Southern people bemused until a Unionist reaction should set in among them. As neither of these things came to pass northern opinion solidified behind a policy of coercion thinly dis-

guised as law enforcement, any southern resistance to which was to be considered as aggression justifying a war of defense. This policy Lincoln adopted, announced in his inaugural address, and brought to fruition by engineering the Fort Sumter episode. Possessed then of their anticipated pretext the North united in a holy crusade to save the Union and thereby to destroy slavery, insure the dominance of northern business interests, civilize the southern people, and make the South worthy of its northern associates.

The greatest contribution of this book is in its exposure of the hypocrisy of the northern conciliators; otherwise its findings have been anticipated by Randall, Craven, and many other writers. The author has drawn his material chiefly from contemporary newspapers and private correspondence and has thus been able to make his study both accurate and full. The tone is caustic and the criticisms are often scathing. Throughout his book he refers to the northern people by the opprobrious term "Yankees." It cannot be said, however, that he shows partisanship and one has the feeling that if he were writing of southern opinion instead of northern he would be equally vitriolic.

R. S. Cotterill.

Florida State University,
Tallahassee, Fla.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Volume XVII. The Territory of Illinois, 1814-1818 . . . (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1950. Pp. v, 750. \$4.00.)

Records in federal archives relating to the administration of Illinois Territory are printed in volumes XVI (1809-1813) and XVII (1814-1818), of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. An attempt was made to include every hitherto unpublished relevant document in the State and Post Office departments archives, also the legislative memorials and petitions from Illinois. Selected documents only on lands and Indian affairs are included.

That rare first Illinois imprint, the Supreme Court Law of 1814, is reproduced in facsimile and the Executive Register for

Illinois Territory in the Illinois State Archives has been re-edited and reprinted here. (The latter was first printed in *Illinois State Historical Library Publications*, volume III.) Since this Supreme Court Law volume is of interest to bibliographers as well as to historians, one regrets, but does not quibble over, the omission of those pages containing the Memorial to Congress which Dr. Carter chose to print instead from the original manuscript in the Congressional files. It is unfortunate that the reproduction was not made from the better copy in the Illinois State Historical Library.

The high standards of selection and editing which have characterized all this series of Territorial Papers of the United States have been continued in this volume.

Those who will be using this compilation for source material will regret that time, space, and money precluded the inclusion of a bibliography of additional cognate documents to be found in the federal and Illinois State archives and also of documents printed elsewhere. While Dr. Carter expresses the opinion that nothing significant has been omitted in specified fields, any selection is necessarily selective. Such a list of documents omitted here would prevent duplication of effort in checking sources.

The unpublished calendars of federal archives relating to the Mississippi Valley made some years ago by Dr. Newton Mereness, though incomplete, can be used as a checklist of sorts. The cards on Illinois are in the Illinois Historical Survey of the University of Illinois.

The Illinois Archives contain the executive file of documents from which the Executive Register was compiled, records of the territorial treasurer and of the Territorial General Assembly but no further governor's correspondence.

Margaret C. Norton.

Illinois State Library,
Springfield, Ill.

Fifteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, for the Year Ending June 30, 1949. National Archives Publication No. 50-5. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1950. Pp. vi, 57.)

Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the United States Senate. Compiled by Harold E. Hufford and Watson G. Caudill. National Archives Publication No. 50-8; Preliminary Inventory No. 23. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1950. Pp. x, 284.)

When the United States established the National Archives in 1935 to serve as the official depository for such records of its agencies as are worthy of preservation, a North Carolinian, R. D. W. Connor, became the first Archivist of the United States. Hence it is natural that readers of this journal feel a special and continuing interest in the progress of the National Archives, even though that institution has been administered for a decade by others.

Evidences of progress fill the pages of the Archivist's latest annual report. There has been improvement in the ways the government's records are currently created and filed, in the methods by which the less significant, duplicating, and meaningless records are screened for destruction, and in the preservation and accessibility for research of the 894,857 cubic feet of non-current records which were in the Archivist's custody at the end of the year. Proof of the value of the whole effort is to be found in the twin facts that nearly 193,000 reference services were performed within the year for other agencies of the federal government and that about 172,000 such services were rendered to the public. Such statistics may seem dull, but the opposite is true of the ingenious uses to which this amazing collection of manuscripts, maps, photographs, motion pictures, and sound recordings was put by inquirers into widely varied facets of American life. Weather Bureau records were utilized to determine the date of the burial of Edgar Allan Poe, to mention as an example just one of the least surprising and least important "finds" of the year.

This fifteenth annual report of the Archivist is the last which will be published separately. On July 1, 1949, in a reorganization of the federal government's agencies, the National Archives became subordinate to the General Services Administration. The Administrator of General Services will report to Congress, and

it is not certain that what he reports will be published. Thus endeth a series of fifteen instructive booklets which have much greater value than run-of-the-mill governmental reports.

The records of the United States Senate have survived rather completely two transfers (from New York City to Philadelphia to Washington), the British sacking of the Capitol in 1814, and various other perils. They amount to 6,558 cubic feet. They concern executive and judicial functions as well as legislative matters. An indication of the scope of their contents can be found in the fact that the published inventory of these records covering the years 1789-1946 includes an index of more than fifty pages. The materials in the National Archives are not placed there for dead storage; they should be more accessible than the gold at Fort Knox. Such guides to these records as the helpful inventory of Senate records should be issued in redoubled volume during the National Archives' second fifteen years.

W. Edwin Hemphill.

Virginia State Library,
Richmond, Va.

Virginia Gazette Index, 1736-1780. By Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff. (Williamsburg: The Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1950. Volume I, pp. ix, 1-646; volume II, pp. 647-1314. \$60.00.)

It would be superfluous to expound the historical value of the *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg, one of the oldest newspapers in the southern colonies. This index is intended to be "a historical work of reference rather than an alphabetical list of names and places"; subjects, therefore, are given precedence over geographical places and names. Cross references, however, render the index useful (to a limited extent) to persons with a geographical approach, or to that larger group interested primarily in names. A typical subject reference is Alexandria, Virginia. Some of the subordinate references are "army supplies bought at," "committees of inspection," "defense of," and "settlement encouraged by General Assembly."

This index will be of value to students of North Carolina history. The North Carolina Department of Archives and History already has 265 typed pages of North Carolina items from the *Virginia Gazette*, January 10, 1771, to December 20, 1776. One

may expect, therefore, that a great many such items appeared during a period of 44 years.

Lester J. Cappon, editor of publications, and Stella F. Duff, senior indexer, are to be congratulated upon the completion of a project which required some eight years and the screening of 1,703 newspaper issues. It is to be hoped that other states will find it possible to undertake similar projects.

It is interesting to note that a microfilm file of the newspapers here indexed has been prepared from original issues and from photocopies. Unfortunately, the reviewer has not seen the microfilm file, but he, along with many others, will look forward to its appearance. It may be expected, therefore, that when the file is distributed, this index, a monumental work, will be widely used.

W. Frank Burton.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

A copy of an article, "The Scotch-Irish and the Coming of the Revolution in North Carolina," by E. R. R. Green, reprinted from *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. VII, no. 261 (September 1950), has been received. This article resulted from a seminar conducted by professor R. L. Meriwether at the University of South Carolina, 1947-1948.

Mr. W. Frank Burton, head of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the State Department of Archives and History, has been appointed a member of the committee on buildings and equipment of the Society of American Archivists for the current year.

The State Department of Archives and History announces that the following publications are ready for distribution: *Addresses, Letters and Papers of John Christoph Blucher Ehringhaus Governor of North Carolina, 1933-1937*, edited by David Leroy Corbitt (1950), pp. 509, illustrated, free upon application to the Division of Publications of the Department; and *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum*, edited by Henry Thomas Shanks, volume I, 1807-1832 (1950), pp. 613, maps and illustrations. Requests for copies of the latter publication should be sent to the Division of Publications of the Department together with a wrapping and mailing fee of 50 cents.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden has spoken on the State Department of Archives and History and its program to groups on the following dates and in the following towns: December 20, Kinston and New Bern; December 21, Jacksonville; December 22, Lumberton; January 3, Durham; January 19, Chapel Hill; and January 23, Raleigh.

On February 7 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, head of the Division of Museums of the State Department of Archives and History, and Dr. Crittenden met with a group at Pembroke State Teachers College to discuss plans for establishing a historical museum at the college.

In Rocky Mount on February 27 Dr. Crittenden addressed a joint meeting of the Daughters of the American Colonists, the Daughters of Colonial Wars, and the United States Daughters of 1812. He spoke on the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, for the meeting occurred on the 175th anniversary of that battle.

Dr. A. R. Newsome has resigned as head of the history department at the University of North Carolina, but will continue to teach. Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell has been appointed to fill the vacancy.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications of the State Department of Archives and History, delivered an address before the Johnston-Pettigrew Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy on March 21 on "The Formation of the North Carolina Counties."

On February 13 six juniors and seniors of Meredith College began the internship course offered by the Department of Archives and History in cooperation with the college.

The following will teach during the first summer term in the graduate school of Appalachian State Teachers College: Dr. Philip J. Green, professor of history at Queens College, Charlotte; Dr. James W. Moffitt, professor of history at Furman University, Greenville, S. C.; and Dr. Harry E. Dickinson, head, department of social studies, Howard College, Birmingham, Alabama. Dr. Homer R. Greenholt, professor of history at Lenoir Rhyne College, Hickory, will teach during the second summer term.

Professor John M. Justice, member of the social studies department of Appalachian State Teachers College, will do research at the University of North Carolina during the summer of 1951.

Professor E. C. Duggins, member of the social studies department of Appalachian State Teachers College, has been granted a leave of absence to return to the Navy.

Mr. Kenneth E. Crouch, journalist and historian of Bedford, Virginia, has made a collection of the state songs of all the states in the United States and has presented them to the Library of the University of Virginia. Not only has Mr. Crouch collected copies of the original songs, but he has collected more than 1,300 letters and 100 pictures of composers, sheet music, and clippings dealing with such songs.

On January 12 the Directors of the Roanoke Island Historical Association met in the Hall of History of the State Department of Archives and History and made plans for the eleventh annual presentation of Paul Green's "The Lost Colony." At this meeting Mrs. Inglis Fletcher of Edenton, on behalf of the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, offered a sum up to \$2,500 for renovating and remodeling some of the stage settings in order to make them historically more authentic. Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord proposed that the Garden Clubs of North Carolina be invited to sponsor a Shakespearian garden at Fort Raleigh. Mr. Guy Lemmon suggested that some land near the theatre, now held by the North Carolina Seashore Commission, might be turned over to the Association. Mr. Bill Sharpe of Raleigh was elected chairman succeeding Mrs. Charles A. Cannon. Later in January the governor and council of state allotted from the Contingency and Emergency Fund \$7,228.40 to make up the operating deficit for the 1950 season.

Mr. Henry Chafetz, 84th Avenue, New York 3, New York, is preparing a book and would like to have information concerning gambling incidents that have taken place in North Carolina in which large sums of money, the lives of persons or animals, and other unusual stakes have depended on the turning of a card, the rolling of dice, the running of horses, or other gambling procedures.

A copy of *The Charlestown Directory for 1782 and The Charleston Directory for 1785* with a foreword by Mary A. Sparkman has been received. It is published by the Historical Commission of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.

The United States Naval Academy announces fellowships for research in naval history. Eligible are candidates with or without advanced degrees who have shown interest in naval and military history and have demonstrated ability in research. Appointments are made for one year on a renewable basis. Stipends will be adjusted to the needs of the individual fellows and are expected to vary between \$3,000 and \$8,000 per annum. Fellows are selected by a committee consisting of naval officers and civilian historians. Applications must be received not later than May 15, 1951. Choice of fellows will be made not later than July 1, 1951. Forms of application will be mailed on request addressed to the Superintendent, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland.

Books received include B. A. Botkin, *A Treasury of Southern Folklore* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1949); Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, *Impressions of Men and Movements at the University of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950); William Edwin Hemphill, *Aerial Gunner from Virginia: The Letters of Don Moody to his Family During 1944* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1950); *State Papers and Addresses, Clarence W. Meadows Twenty-Second Governor of West Virginia, 1945-1949* (Charleston: West Virginia, 1950); Charles Edward Cauthen, *South Carolina Goes to War, 1860-1865*, The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950); Kenneth M. Stampp, *And The War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950); William E. Stokes, Jr., and Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., *The Papers of Randolph of Roanoke, A Preliminary Checklist of his Surviving Texts in Manuscript and in Print* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, with assistance from the Research Council of the Richmond Area University Center, 1950); Garland A. Hendricks, *Biography of a Country Church* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1950); W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950); Aubrey Lee Brooks, *A Southern Lawyer: Fifty Years at the Bar* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950); Alexander

Crosby Brown, *The Sheet Iron Steamboat Codorus; John Elgar and the First Metal Hull Vessel Built in the United States* (Newport News, Virginia: The Mariners' Museum, 1950); William B. Hesseltine, *Confederate Leaders in the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950); Francis S. Philbrick, *The Laws of Illinois Territory, 1809-1818* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1950); Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1950); Archibald Henderson, *Forty-Sixth Annual Phi Beta Kappa Address, Alpha Chapter of North Carolina. The Undying Flame, the Story of its Lighting* (1950); J. H. Easterby, *Guide to the Study and Reading of South Carolina History. South Carolina Bibliographies no. 2* (Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1950); John A. Oates, *The Story of Fayetteville and the Upper Cape Fear* (Fayetteville, N. C.: John A. Oates, 1950); Walter Whitaker, in collaboration with Staley A. Cook and A. Howard White, *Centennial History of Alamance County, 1849-1949* (Burlington, N. C.: Burlington Chamber of Commerce, 1950); C. A. McMahan, *The People of Atlanta, A Demographic Study of Georgia's Capital City* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1950); Lucille Griffith, *Yours Til Death, Civil War Letters of John W. Cotton* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1951); Albert D. Kirwan, *Revolt of the Rednecks, Mississippi Politics: 1876-1925* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951); Harden F. Taylor, *Survey of the Marine Fisheries of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951).

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