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DAVID CALDWELL AND HIS LOG COLLEGE¹

BY AUBREY LEE BROOKS

I am not sure whether I was invited to prepare a paper on David Caldwell or on his log college which he conducted for forty years, but since things which are equal to each other are equal to the same thing, Dr. Caldwell and his log college form an inseparable and composite picture of one of the South's early educational institutions.

Judge Archibald Murphey in an address before the literary societies of the University of North Carolina in 1827 said: "The most prominent and useful of the early schools was kept by Dr. David Caldwell of Guilford County. . . . The usefulness of Dr. Caldwell to the literature of North Carolina will never be sufficiently appreciated."² Dr. Charles Lee Smith, in a sketch of Dr. Caldwell, said: "His history is more identified with the moral and educational history of North Carolina than is that of any other one man of the 18th century."³ Notwithstanding these encomiums—which all of our contemporary authors confirm—the fact still remains that our memory of Dr. Caldwell seems to have gone into an eclipse.

In order to appreciate what the man did and the circumstances under which it was accomplished, it is important to know something of the history of his life. The early years of David Caldwell constitute a striking prelude to his accomplishments in later life. He was born on a Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, farm in 1725, the eldest of four sons. When he was seventeen years old his father apprenticed him to a house mechanic with whom he worked until he became twenty-one years of age. He then worked four

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Nov. 4, 1949.

² William Henry Hoyt, editor, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1914), II, 355-356.

³ Charles Lee Smith, *The History of Education in North Carolina* (Bureau of Education, Contributions to American History, No. 3. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), 30.

more years on his own account as a house carpenter. Upon reaching the age of twenty-five he had but little education and was apparently unambitious. About this time he attended a religious revival and was converted. With his spiritual awakening came a consuming desire to obtain an education and to devote his life to the service of mankind both intellectually and spiritually. With a religious fervor and a supreme determination, he started from scratch, first in a grammar school through all the grades, and thence to the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) where he entered the freshman class. At the time he became a student at Princeton the requirements for admission to the freshman class were as follows: "Candidates for admission into the lowest or freshman class must be capable of composing grammatical Latin, translating Virgil, Cicero's Orations and the Four Evangelists in Greek—and by a later order must understand the principal rules of vulgar arithmetic." With these entrance requirements, imagine the requirements of the sophomore, junior, and senior classes. It is recorded that he frequently studied all night—sitting up with his clothes on—nothing daunted him, for he had a great vision and an insatiable desire for learning.

When Caldwell finally graduated from Princeton he taught school a year, then returned to Princeton to study for the ministry, and instructed classes in Greek while completing his course in theology. He thus devoted fourteen years of his life to becoming a finished scholar in the classics and in theology. Before actively entering the ministry he was submitted to the most gruelling tests by the Synods of Pennsylvania and New York (which he passed with honors) and finally in 1765 was ordained a minister. He was among the first of the Presbyterian ministers who came to North Carolina to join that ever increasing host of Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who had taken up residence in the state and who have contributed so much to the intellectual and religious culture of the state.

While studying for the ministry at Princeton he had promised some of his neighbors who were removing from Pennsylvania to the North Carolina colony that when he had finished his education he would join them. This he did. Two churches—the Alamance and the Buffalo—had been organized in what was later to be Guilford County, and he was installed as pastor of both—

a position which he retained for sixty years—but more of this later on.

In 1766, four years before the county of Guilford was established, David Caldwell married Rachel Craighead, the daughter of Dr. Alexander Craighead, of Charlotte, and they established their home a few miles west of what is now Greensboro. His salary as minister of the two churches was only \$200 a year, to be paid in grain. Since this meagre income would not support him and his family, he purchased a farm, built a two-story log cabin with a chimney in the middle, and opened there a school. With two short intermissions occasioned by the Revolutionary War, he continued to conduct this school for forty years—and what a school: Caruthers says that it attained the greatest reputation of any school south of the Potomac River. Students came there from many parts of North Carolina and from every state in the South. There were usually from fifty to sixty students in attendance and the majority of them found living accommodations in the homes throughout the scattered neighborhood.⁴

This log cabin schoolhouse served North Carolina and the South as an academy, a college, and a theological seminary and many of his pupils became eminent as statesmen, lawyers, judges, physicians, and ministers; some were congressmen and five became governors of states; seven were licensed by the Orange Presbytery in one day and there were not more than three or four members of that presbytery who had not been his pupils, while nearly all of the young men who came into the Presbyterian ministry in North Carolina and in the states to the south and west of it for many years had been trained in his school. It was said of him that Caldwell was instrumental in bringing more men into the learned profession than was any other man of his day in the southern states. There were among his students Judge Archibald D. Murphey, Judge Spruce McCoy, Governor John M. Morehead, Lewis Williams, and many others. His students were qualified for entrance into the junior class at Princeton University and to the University of North Carolina which was established later. Governor Morehead, who attended his school when Dr. Caldwell was eighty years old, matriculated at the University

⁴ E. W. Caruthers, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. David Caldwell, D. D.* (Greensboro: Swaim and Sherwood, 1842), 30.

of North Carolina for the half-advanced junior class and was ever ready to pay homage to Dr. Caldwell's instruction and inspiration. But the fame of his school rests not only upon the excellence of his instruction but also upon the fact of its continuity and longevity and the further fact that the school was begun ten years before the Declaration of Independence was signed; all of the other academies in North Carolina came later and existed for a much shorter time.

As there were no doctors within a twenty-mile radius of his home, Caldwell took up the study of medicine and equipped himself, along with his other duties and accomplishments, for the practice of medicine, which he continued throughout his life.

The wisdom and judgment of Caldwell were not only demonstrated in his school and long pastorates of two churches but were conspicuously exemplified in the battle of Alamance, which was a historic event in the struggle for freedom by the North Carolina colonists. It was fought only a few miles from Alamance Church and nearly all of the male members of the congregations of both his churches were active Regulators and engaged in this battle. Governor Tryon came to the battle scene with a force of 1,100 well-trained and well-equipped men, supplied with a plenty of ammunition. The Regulators comprised an unorganized crowd of 2,000 poorly equipped men, with little ammunition and minus any outstanding leader, when they met in battle array. Caldwell was deeply interested in the outcome of the battle because he was sympathetic with the purposes of the Regulators, but he doubted seriously the wisdom of an open conflict at that time. He was present at this battle (but took no part in it) and as an envoy sought in every way possible to avoid bloodshed. He visited Governor Tryon's headquarters and undertook to bring about a settlement, but in spite of his every effort the conflict was inevitable and proved to be the bloodiest contest between the British government and the colonists prior to the Declaration of Independence.

Here again Caldwell displayed his sane leadership by advising the Regulators to surrender and await further developments. Some of the hotheads among the Regulators at first questioned his loyalty, but later he began a series of sermons to

his congregations on liberty and justice and as a result all of his congregation, when the climax came, joined with the other colonists in approving the Declaration of Independence. From then on he threw his influence and energies in support of the Revolution, and his name and fame was known throughout this section. When Cornwallis marched his army in, preparatory to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, he encamped his soldiers on Caldwell's farm and offered a reward of 200 pounds for Caldwell's arrest. From all accounts the depredation of his soldiers was complete. They took possession of his home, drove his wife and children away, destroyed the furniture, and, worst of all, they destroyed his splendid library. To make a complete job of it, they secured a big pot and carried his books by the armfuls out into the yard and burned them in it. Caldwell had to flee for his safety and for weeks lived in a swamp where he had improvised a hut. While he was in hiding an interesting incident occurred. A company of American soldiers came to Mrs. Caldwell with the story that they were revolutionists and wanted to establish a connection with her husband. After some parleys, she, being ignorant of the fact that they were Tories, told them where he was in hiding. They sought him out the next morning, but he had fled. He recounted afterwards that what had actually occurred was that while asleep that night he had a dream that Tory soldiers had captured him. He awoke in the night, startled from the dream, but went to sleep again; later he had the same dream—that he was being sought after. He got up and left his hiding place and thus avoided capture.⁵

Caruthers tells of another interesting episode which illustrated the character and courage of Mrs. Caldwell and occurred while Cornwallis's troops were stationed in her home. The troops were pillaging the house and came upon a valuable tablecloth which her mother had given her as a bridal present. She grabbed the tablecloth and a scuffle for its possession ensued. Realizing that she was about to lose it, but still holding on, she faced the crowd and with a womanly eloquence asked if they were not born of women; if they had no wives or daughters whom they respected and for whose sake they might treat others with more courtesy? A soldier standing a few feet away stepped up and said, "Yes, I

⁵ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 216-217.

have a good wife and you shall not be treated so rudely any more."⁶ This turned out to be a doctor and after the battle of Guilford Courthouse Dr. Caldwell met him, they became friends, and he gave Dr. Caldwell a walking cane as a memento of friendship for assisting him in attending the sick and in cutting off legs and arms of the injured soldiers by the wagon load.

During these strenuous days his school, of course, was suspended, but when independence was achieved he resumed his teaching and took a prominent part in establishing a new government. He was a member of the Provincial Congress which met in Halifax late in 1776, and was likewise a member of the state constitutional convention that met in Hillsboro in 1788.

Caldwell and five other ministers organized the Orange Presbytery, which was the first presbytery in the South, and he was for many years its recording secretary. He was elected a trustee of Liberty Hall Academy in Charlotte in 1777, and when the University of North Carolina was being organized, he was offered the presidency of that institution. My authority for this statement was, first, Caruthers, then the historians Foot, Weeks, Dr. Charles Lee Smith, and a memorial address by Dr. Alphonso Smith at a celebration at Alamance Church.⁷ On account of his advancing years and of his having already established a school which was drawing boys from all of the states south of the Potomac River, he declined the honor. The University later conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Dr. Archibald Henderson says that "During the early years of the University's history, a period when Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* exercised a blighting influence upon the people of the young republic, the Faculty was not immune to or unaffected by its demoralizing philosophy which flowed directly from the French Revolution. Indeed the first 'presiding professor,' David Ker, was a pronounced infidel, Professor Charles W. Harris was strongly influenced in the same direction, Professor Samuel Allen Holmes, according to President Caldwell, 'embraced and taught the wildest principles of licentiousness.' Nicholas Delveaux, Head-

⁶ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 243.

⁷ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 265; William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), 242; Stephen B. Weeks, "David Caldwell," *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, Charles L. Van Noppen, 1905), I, 212; Smith, *History of Education in North Carolina*, 32; C. Alphonso Smith, "Presbyterians in Educational Work in North Carolina since 1813: Address at the Centennial Celebration of the Synod of North Carolina in Alamance Church, Guilford County, October 7, 1913," *The Union Seminary Review* (Richmond), December, 1913-January, 1914, 3 (reprint).

master of the Preparatory School, was a recusant Roman Catholic monk, and even Davie, the founder of the University, was not a church member, had imbibed something of the prevalent scepticism, and entertained a strong antipathy to priests and pulpit influence."⁸

It is possible that the true reason for the saintly Dr. Caldwell's not accepting the presidency was that he decided that the company of these gentlemen would not be agreeable.

Dr. Caldwell's personal habits were most exemplary. He did not use tobacco in any form nor spirituous liquors. He regularly retired at 10:00 o'clock and arose at 4:00. His physical exercise was equally well ordered—consisted of going each day out on the meadows of his farm and digging ditches to drain his lands.

This sketch would not be complete without mentioning his wonderful helpmate. Mrs. Caldwell was a great Christian character, a faithful wife, and a devoted mother. It was said jocularly by some of their students that "Dr. Caldwell educated them but that Mrs. Caldwell made preachers of them." She had nine children—eight boys and one girl—and considering their joint labors and love, she is entitled to rank with him in his high accomplishments. She was blessed with fine health, as was evidenced by the fact that in four years she had five babies. One of the chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Guilford County is named the "Rachel Caldwell Chapter" in honor of her and they have erected a marker near the spot where the Caldwell home was located.

An interesting story is told of an occurrence which took place at the old Guilford Courthouse (now Guilford Battleground Park) before its removal to Greensboro. Judge McCoy was holding court and wished to appoint a permanent clerk of court. There were several candidates, but he finally sent for Dr. Caldwell, who had been his former teacher, and asked if one of his sons would not make a suitable clerk for the office. The doctor thought not, as none of them had had any special training for such a job. The judge insisted that he think it over and report to him the next day. Dr. Caldwell returned the next morning with his son, Thomas, saluted the judge, and said: "Well, Judge, here he is—I

⁸Archibald Henderson, *The Campus of the First State University*, 64.

have done the best I could." The judge appointed Thomas Caldwell, and he held the office for forty years.

Caldwell served the two churches—Alamance and Buffalo—for sixty years and was succeeded by Dr. Ely Caruthers, his biographer, who remained the pastor of these two churches for thirty-six years—making a total of ninety-six years by these two men. I doubt if there is any similar example to be found in the South. Caruthers quotes the Rev. E. B. Currie, one of Dr. Caldwell's oldest pupils, as saying that "Dr. Caldwell, as a teacher, was probably more useful to the church than any one man in the United States. I could name about forty ministers who received their education in whole or in part from him; and how many more I cannot tell; but his log cabin served for many years to North Carolina as an Academy, a College and a Theological Seminary. His manner of governing his school, family and churches was very much the same, that is, on the mild and paternal plan, generally attended with some wit and pleasant humor."⁹ Caruthers records another interesting fact: that during the long period of forty years that Caldwell taught he never expelled a single student. They admired him, they loved him, and they revered him, and Caruthers cites another incident about a boy whom he had to chastize severely while in his school returning afterwards, an old man, riding 300 miles from Georgia to the scene of his childhood. Upon learning that Dr. Caldwell was still living he visited him to see him once more before he died.¹⁰

Dr. Caldwell lived to the ripe age of ninety-nine, and his wife followed him in death within a year, a fact which often is true of devoted couples.

While the scholarship, the learning, the devotion, and the service of this great man seem to have been forgotten, I cannot conclude this appreciation without recording the fact that David Caldwell, though dead, still lives. His influence as educator, theologian, and preacher has been profound in the subsequent life of Guilford County. It has taken up the torch of education which he held aloof so long, and has stressed education as one of the chief concerns of man; it established the first public school for both races supported by taxation in this state; it gave to the

⁹ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 37.

¹⁰ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 35.

state its first Superintendent of Common Schools; it has today more institutions of learning for both white and black than any other county in the state. In the religious world, the two churches which he served so long have continued to function with an ever growing influence. His spiritual zeal and example have survived throughout the years, until today there are more churches in Guilford County, including High Point, than in any county in the state, and it has the largest population of any county in the state.¹¹ His teachings laid the foundation for the county's sense of morals, justice and liberty—aided by the presence of a large Quaker element which likewise has stood for God and education.

¹¹ The 1950 census showed that Mecklenburg County ranked first in population in the state, with Guilford second. The Editors.

THE POEMS OF PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE TO
FRANCES CHRISTINE FISHER

BY FRANCIS B. DEDMOND

Late in 1870 Frances Christine Fisher's first novel, *Valerie Aylmer*, appeared under the pseudonym of Christian Reid.¹ So popular was the novel that "eighteen thousand, seven hundred copies were sold in a few months."² One of those who wrote to Miss Fisher, congratulating her on her success as a novelist, was the southern literary critic and poet, Paul Hamilton Hayne. Miss Fisher, obviously flattered, replied to Hayne's letter:

I have you to thank for the greatest gratification, as a writer, which the publication of "Valerie Aylmer" has given me. "This is something to be proud of," was my thought, as I finished reading your most kind and flattering letter. . . . But your words of cheer, cheer me indeed. I thank you most heartily for them: for the generous warmth with which you extend your hand to welcome into the ranks where you have so long held honored place a young recruit, whose highest aspiration is to render some service, however little it may be, in the field you point out—the literature of our land.³

Hayne replied to Miss Fisher's letter, and between them developed a very warm literary friendship and lively correspondence which lasted until 1878. Hayne sent many of his poems to Miss Fisher for her criticism; and she, in turn, discussed with him the many problems which beset her as a southern novelist of the post-Civil War period. As a consequence of this friendship and because Miss Fisher seemed to have such a heartfelt appreciation for his poetry, Hayne wrote at least three poems to her,⁴

¹ Under the pseudonym Christian Reid, Miss Fisher (later Mrs. Frances Christine Fisher Tiernan) published between 1870 and her death in 1920 no less than forty-one novels and four "novelettes." In addition to her fiction, she wrote a number of poems, many of which were published in *Appleton's Journal* but which have never been collected.

² Kate Harbes Becker, *Biography of Christian Reid* (n.p., n.d.), 20.

³ Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Salisbury, N. C., January 25, 1871, in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University. All letters quoted in this article are in this collection. Permission to quote from this letter and other letters and material in the Hayne Collection was graciously given by the Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

⁴ A fourth poem, "Valerie's Confession," may have been written to Miss Fisher although this is pure conjecture since Miss Fisher nowhere mentions the poem in her correspondence with Hayne. The poem is inscribed "To A Friend." Whether this friend is Miss Fisher is impossible to determine. However, the heroine of the poem is not only identical in name, but in character with the heroine of *Valerie Aylmer*. The poem is a whimsical character study of the coquette Valerie, set, to a large extent, against the background of the plot and situations of Miss Fisher's *Valerie Aylmer*. Hayne included "Valerie's Confession" among the humorous poems in *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne* (Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company, 1882).

none of which, however, are included in the collected edition of the *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne*, which appeared in 1882, a few years before his death; and they have remained uncollected.

In his second letter to Miss Fisher, Hayne enclosed the following sonnet, which was published a few months later in *Appleton's Journal*:

SONNET

TO THE AUTHORESS OF "VALERIE AYLMEER."

Flushed in the blended dawn of youth and art
 Thou stand'st, sweet Priestess! their fresh splendors
 spread,
 Half halo-wise, around thy radiant head,
 And all their soft enchantments in thy heart;
 Heaven grant thee grace to bear thy glorious part
 In the brave toils to which thy soul is wed;
 May all thy winged fancies, nobly sped,
 Like birds of happy omen, range the mart,
 And wild alike, to find their favored rest,
 (Laden with olive-leaves, and sprays of love),
 In many a troubled home and anguished breast;
 And ever may thy mind's aspiring aim
 Glance sunward, fixed on shining goals, above
 The transient glowworm lights of mortal fame!⁵

Again delighted and perhaps overawed, Miss Fisher wrote to Hayne:

Dear Sir, how can I sufficiently express my sense of the honor you have done me! Praise from you in any shape is something that it is right hard to keep the head steady under, but praise in one of your matchless sonnets—I cannot help wondering a little if I am awake! The verse is most beautiful—what is not beautiful that comes from your hand, and comes in this shape?—and I thank you from my heart for putting in such graceful form the kind praise and warm wishes that have already cheered me inexpressibly, that would make me very vain, if I did not know so well that I am indebted to your partial kindness more than to my own merit for them. To say that I am proud of such an offering—such a poet's gift—as this, would be to say very little indeed. I was more gratified, more deeply touched than I can express. If words were only at my command—but, ah! words never are—I should like to tell you to what degree I felt your "token of good will."⁶

⁵ *Appleton's Journal*, V (May 6, 1871), 524.

⁶ Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Salisbury, N. C., February 9, 1871.

Later, after the publication of the sonnet in *Appleton's Journal*, Miss Fisher wrote to Hayne from Baltimore, where she was visiting:

Necessity—the necessity of various pressing engagements—compels me to close this letter just here; yet I must first tell you that two or three of my most intimate friends came in last night, all flushed and smiling, and delightfully cordial, to congratulate me on—what do you suppose? Your beautiful sonnet which has at last made it's [*sic*] appearance in "Appleton."⁷

After exchanging a few very cordial letters which gave promise of an enduring friendship, Miss Fisher felt that some of the formality of the earlier letters could be dropped.

Dear Mr. Hayne:—

May I venture to call you so? 'Dear Sir' is exceedingly formal, and seems to me as if it should be used for ceremonious occasions and business purposes only. Your letters—which lie before me—are so very kind and cordial that I cannot believe you will think I have taken a liberty in addressing you as I address my old and dear friends.⁸

In his reply, Hayne enclosed "The Question," his poetic answer to Miss Fisher's question. A manuscript copy of the poem was sent to Miss Fisher; and, at the same time, Hayne sent a copy of it to the *Banner of the South and Planter's Journal*, an Augusta, Georgia, weekly newspaper, where it was published on March 11, 1871, just one week after Miss Fisher's original question. The poem as reprinted here is from Hayne's own clipping of the poem, on the margin of which he corrected in pencil the obvious typographical errors which the newspaper had made.

THE QUESTION

BY PAUL H. HAYNE

To.....

Wilt be my friend?—your fresh young mind,
As healthful* as this vernal wind,
Breathes o'er my life, and sweeps apart
Some morbid mists that clogged my heart;
In youth like yours, *my* youth I see

⁷ Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Baltimore, Md., April 26, 1871.

⁸ Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Salisbury, N. C., March 4, 1871.

* For *healthful* the newspaper had erroneously printed *beautiful*, and Hayne corrected this in the margin.

Revived in golden verity:
 In faith like yours, my faith returns,—
 While strong, aspiring fancy burns
 Toward those cordial heights of Art,
 (Whose glory made my pulses start,
 And first uplit the generous fire
 Of young ambition's fair desire) —,
 Whereto, I see your steadfast eyes
 Upraise their quiet energies,—
 Born of a soul that God hath passed
 Thro' torturing sorrow's furnace blast,—
 Till nerved to will and sealed with power,
 It grasps Occasion's pregnant† hour,
 And o'er a Hebe's forehead lifts
 That helmet, with the snow-white drifts
 Of wisdom's plume, whose stainless grace
 Makes soft the cold Minerva's face!

Wilt be my friend? I ask you this,
 Because tho' wealth of married bliss
 Hath dowered‡ me with a peace divine—,
 No sister's hand e'er thrilled on mine;
 And oft a vague want dimly guessed
 Hath stolen like twilight thro' my breast,
 And made my soul a place of sighs;
 Pardon me then: not all unwise
 Those mystic instincts, which to some,
 (Me often), with weird whispering come,
 To warn of present friend, or foe;
 Toward You at once my heart did flow,
 Ruled by such spirits as decree
 The banns of serious sympathy,—
 Or yet, the priestly Fate unites,
 'Mid music, and rich altar-lights,
 Those by his gracious will consigned
 To sexless union of the mind.

I wear your colors in the list
 Of Art and Fancy! On my wrist
 The sword guard hangs, the blade half bare
 To do you service—when the air
 With golden clarion peals shall ring;
 But 'mid hot strife, and trumpeting,
 Ever I know the end shall seem
 Clear, keen, and joyous as a dream
 In our youth's prime; the end wherein,
 Upreared above the applauding din
 Of thousands, on your forehead glows

† Hayne also corrected the erroneous *fragrant* to *pregnant*.

‡ The word *dowered* had been erroneously printed *drowned* and was corrected by Hayne in the margin.

All woven of lily, and red rose,
 Art's crown of sweet and sovereign grace;
 Enough! the high Patrician race
 Of genius, with its royal blood
 In *you*,—shall make my prescience good;
 So, maiden of the wonderous eyes,
 Like Hebe's soft, Minerva's wise—,
 Farewell! my knightly faith is yours!⁹

Shortly after receiving his letter and the poem, Miss Fisher wrote to Hayne:

I wish I was [*sic*], for this occasion, at least, a poet! I wish I was [*sic*] able to thank you in words as musical and graceful as your own for the charming verses you have done me the honor of addressing to me, and for the sentiments contained therein, which (making all due allowances for poetical license,) are sufficiently flattering to merit a most cordial acknowledgment, and warm return. The friendship which you offer me in such beautiful form, I am only too glad to be able to assure you that your repeated kindnesses scarcely make me feel it more, scarcely make me more grateful, or more truly your friend, than did your first generous cordial letters. . . . I am so glad that I said "Dear Mr. Hayne," and I feel inclined to say it over again, on the strength of the sweet and graceful things which you have said to me! . . . I should not be human, and above all, I should not be a woman if I was [*sic*] not flattered by your compliments, and by the pledge of friendship which is the highest compliment of all.¹⁰

The friendship continued to grow; and in June, 1873, Hayne, accompanied by his son William Hamilton Hayne, spent several days at the Fisher home in Salisbury, N. C., which he described to his wife as "the most unique family circle you can possibly imagine."¹¹ In January of the next year, Hayne enclosed in a letter to Miss Fisher a sonnet in which he reminisced about his visit of the summer before.

TO "CHRISTIAN REID"

A summer's morn of calm and deep repose
 An ancient house, whose rafters, dark and vast,
 Speak in mute language of the perished Past—
 While at open window, whence the rose

⁹ *Banner of the South and Planter's Journal* (Augusta, Georgia), March 11, 1871. Hayne's own clipping of the poem with his corrections is in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University. The date here assigned for the publication of the poem is not absolutely certain. Hayne's clipping is not dated, and no other copy of the poem is known to exist. The date here given is the earliest date on which the poem could have been published.

¹⁰ Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Salisbury, N. C., March 15, 1871.

¹¹ Paul Hamilton Hayne to Mrs. Mary M. Hayne, Richmond, Va., June 18, 1873.

Throws its soft shadow from the garden "close."
 Sits one, the very rose of maidenhood!
 Her face is pensive, for a thoughtful mood
 Doth touch its beauty, as on stainless snows
 Rests the mild shade of a half-clouded sun;
 Ah, me! what earthly vision lovelier seems
 Than this wherewith mine earnest gaze hath met?
 The uplifted brow! eyes bright with tear-lit dreams
 Of love, and fame, and passion yet unwon;
 A virgin Flower, with Fancy's dew-drops wet!¹²

Modestly, Miss Fisher wrote to Hayne:

I am afraid—indeed I know—that your memory paints ourselves and our home in much too flattering colours, my dear friend, but I thank you very much for the cordial feeling which induces this, and you may be sure that it will be long before I shall forget those pleasant days in June, in which we became acquainted. In this connection, let me also thank you for the beautiful sonnet which you enclose. . . . A poet's fancy never, I am sure, did more to idealize than you have done in this, for the house and garden and face in question might all fail utterly to recognize themselves in the graceful and daintily touched picture, if it were not possible to look through the golden glamour of the poet's fancy to the kindly friendship of the poet's heart.¹³

This sonnet, it seems, Hayne never published; and the manuscript was probably destroyed with Miss Fisher's papers following her death in 1920.¹⁴ Fortunately, however, Miss Fisher allowed the poem to be printed in the *Carolina Watchman*, Salisbury's weekly newspaper, soon after she received it; and there it was preserved.

The friendship between the novelist and poet continued for at least four more years; but no more poetry to Miss Fisher came from Hayne's pen, as far as we are able to ascertain from the letters which Hayne preserved of his correspondence with her.

¹² *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury, N. C.), February 5, 1874.

¹³ Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Salisbury, N. C., January 19, 1874.

¹⁴ Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, a cousin of Miss Fisher's, has, however, in his possession a copy of the poem in Miss Fisher's handwriting. Dr. Henderson also has a few of her letters, but the bulk of her letters and papers were thoughtlessly burned after her death. This tragic error has deprived us of Hayne's letters to Miss Fisher—half of the interesting correspondence.

I am indebted to Mrs. Lyman Cotten of Chapel Hill, also a cousin of Miss Fisher, for her invaluable aid in the preparation of this article.

CATAWBA SPRINGS—CAROLINA'S SPA

BY CHALMERS G. DAVIDSON

The most fashionable society in North Carolina congregated at old Catawba Springs in Lincoln County in the days before the War Between the States. Few piedmont family papers in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill fail to give some reference to this "spa," as the mineral springs resorts were called, between the 1790's and the 1850's.

How early the seven mineral springs of Lincoln County were patronized as a resort has not been established. André Michaux, the French botanist, recorded in his journal that he "Slept at Catawba Spring [*sic*], eighteen miles from Lincoln," on the night of September 12, 1794,¹ but failed to enlighten us with respect to either accommodations or companions. The letters of the Brevard family give evidence of the popularity of the Springs as a health resort during the same decade. Joseph Brevard of Camden, South Carolina, wrote to his brother, Captain Alexander Brevard of Lincoln County, on October 16, 1796: "Next summer will probably be so hot and uncomfortable here as to make me languish for the covert of your shady hills and the refreshment of your cooling Springs." Two years later Joseph wrote a letter of introduction for his brother-in-law, Ely Kershaw, who, he says, "intends to visit the Catawba Springs." The bearer of these letters, at a time when there was no postal service, was Captain John Reid.²

Captain John Reid is the earliest known proprietor and probably the originator of Catawba Springs as a resort. He was an outstanding man in Lincoln, a veteran of the Revolution, a state legislator, and an elder in Unity Presbyterian Church. His position in the community is attested by the fact that he and his family occupied one of the two hooded pews, facing the congregation, in Unity Church. The other was owned by Captain Alexander Brevard.³ This was before the day of the pretense of social democracy in Presbyterianism. Across the Catawba River, in

¹ "Extract from the Journal of André Michaux," in Shepherd M. Dugger, *The Balsam Groves of the Grandfather Mountain* (Banner Elk, N. C., 1907), 257.

² MS. Brevard Papers 1787-1869, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

³ F. Brevard McDowell, *The Broad Axe and the Forge or a Narrative of Unity Church Neighborhood* (Charlotte, 1897), 3.

Mecklenburg County, Hopewell Church had raised tiers for its elect.⁴ The slaves in both churches, of course, sat in the galleries. Captain John Reid died on January 28, 1821, at the age of sixty-five and his monumental stone in Unity churchyard is inscribed with his many virtues, among them that he was "an officer of the Revolution and an honest man."

Immediately after his death, Catawba Springs was put up for sale. One advertisement mentions that the property includes "The Mineral Springs and Bathing House" which would indicate that the patrons not only drank the healing waters but also bathed in them.⁵ The most detailed advertisement is found in the *South Carolina Gazette and Columbian Advertiser* (Columbia, S. C.) for February 20, 1821:

Valuable Property for Sale

The Catawba Springs, so well known to a large number of the citizens of South Carolina, as the resort of invalids and fashionable persons, who wish to avoid sickness and spend the summer agreeably, are now offered for sale. Attached to the Springs, is a tract of land containing about 600 acres, consisting of a large proportion of good meadow and other low grounds, already in cultivation. On the premises are built two two-story framed houses, well fitted up for the accomodation of single gentlemen, and a sufficient number of cabins for the accomodation of families, together with all the outhouses, stabling, &c necessary for carrying on the public business of the place. Should a sale not be previously made, the business of the next summer will be conducted by Mr. Rufus Reid, who is preparing, with great care to render the situation of those who may call on him comfortable. Adjoining this place, there are for sale, two other small tracts of land, containing, one of them 150, the other one hundred acres. These places afford high healthy situations, sufficiently near to enable the purchaser to enjoy the benefit of the mineral springs. . . . For terms, apply to John Reid, Esq. in Columbia, or Mr. Alexander M'Corkle, near the Springs.

Mr. Charles Jugnot took over the Springs as proprietor in 1825.⁶ He was popularly known as "Monsieur Juggernaut," which suggests a penchant for running over his customers, but probably derived only from the Scotch-Irishmen's intolerance and infelicity with "foreign" names. His brief reign witnessed a period of considerable popularity. Thomas G. Polk of Charlotte

⁴ S.C.P., "Hopewell Church," newspaper article, January, 1863, in scrapbook of E. L. Baxter Davidson, Davidson College Library, Davidson, N. C.

⁵ *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), August 28, 1821.

⁶ *The Southern Chronicle* (Camden, S. C.), May 14, 1825.

wrote his father on July 17, 1825, "I shall take up my quarters occasionally at the Catawba Springs where there is at this time a very large assemblage of visitors."⁷ The noted Dr. Elisha Mitchell "drank of the water of those celebrated Springs" in July, 1827,⁸ and in the same year Mrs. Henry W. Conner, a Charleston belle who had married into the piedmont, found the house on the summit of a steep hill and the distant view of the little mountains delightful—colored no doubt by the rosy hue of her honeymoon.⁹

The wealthy James Chestnuts of Mulberry Plantation near Camden sojourned for three weeks in the summer of '25 and according to Frederick A. Porcher it became traditional for low-country families around Pineville to repair to the Catawba Springs to escape the hot weather.¹⁰

Essential for the cost to the Calvinistic conscience, the therapeutic value of the Springs was constantly played up in the journals, although there is little evidence that the healing of more than *ennui* was accomplished. Professor Denison Olmsted, the State Geologist, was quoted in the advertisements as having made, in 1824, "a strict analysis of the water and pronounces its foreign ingredients to be Sulphuretted Hydrogen, Sulphate of Lime, Sulphate of Magnesia, [and] Muriate of Lime."¹¹ It was later asserted that Professor Olmsted, who had since joined the faculty of Yale, recommended the waters for the use of all complaints of liver and debility.¹²

In 1831 Charles Jugnot sold the Springs to William S. Simonton. In the following year a new post office was established in Lincoln County to be called "Catawba Springs" and Simonton became postmaster as well as proprietor.¹³ It was under his direction that the most ambitious social event in the history of the Springs was staged. According to the *Miners and Farmers Journal*, the dinner and ball at Catawba Springs on July 4, 1831, would be an affair of style and elegance never surpassed, if ever equalled, in this section. "Among Mr. Simonton's decorations," announced the *Journal*, "there are several paintings designed by

⁷ MS. Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

⁸ Kemp P. Battle, ed., *Diary of a Geological Tour by Dr. Elisha Mitchell in 1827 and 1828*. The James Sprunt Historical Monographs, No. 6 (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1905), 66.

⁹ Mrs. Henry W. Conner, *Diary* (typescript), 1827, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

¹⁰ Lawrence Fay Brewster, *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters* (Durham, 1947), 89.

¹¹ *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), June 15, 1838 (advertisement).

¹² William L. Sherrill, *Annals of Lincoln County North Carolina* (Charlotte, 1937), 103.

¹³ Sherrill, *Annals of Lincoln County*, 103-104.

Mrs. Justis and executed by Mr. Welfart of Salem which does credit to his genius and taste. The Eagle is a neat, elegant painting, they are all really beautiful and cannot fail to please. The decorations and embellishments of the room and table will be novel, tasteful and appropriate. The dinner will be on the table at three o'clock and will consist of every delicacy that the country and market affords. Mr. Baron, a first rate cook, is engaged to prepare the dinner and the epicure may promise himself a rich repast prepared to his own taste. Good music is engaged for the Ball, and the Ladies 'man's last, best gift' will find their pleasure and amusement not forgot."¹⁴

After five years as proprietor, William S. Simonton advertised the Springs for sale: "700 acre plantation, houses want no repair, are sufficient for entertaining 60 or 70 boarders with fine Stabery, Carriage-house and Threshing Machine. Application may be made to the following agents: Maj. H. W. Conner of Salisbury; James A. Johnston, Esq., Charlotte; C. C. Henderson, Esq., Lincolnton; A. M. Burton, Esq. of Beattie's Ford."¹⁵

In 1838 Joseph W. Hampton became proprietor and notified prospective patrons that he was repairing and fitting up the Springs "at considerable expense and in a superior style" and would be ready for company by May 20. He reminded the readers of the newspapers that the resort was "situated on the great Eastern and Western line of Stages, from Salisbury, via Lincolnton to Asheville, etc. . . ."¹⁶

For the period of the Hampton proprietorship, the guest registers are preserved in the library of Davidson College. These date from 1838 to 1854 and are a gold mine for the social historian, especially one who writes with a capital "S." Names occurring frequently from the North Carolina piedmont are the Grahams, Brevards, Guions, Ramsours, and Shipps from Lincoln; the Chamberses and Lockes from Rowan; and the Alexanders, Caldwells, Davidsons, and Polks from Mecklenburg.

Apparently, students at Davidson College caught the coach to the Springs as they now thumb rides to the beaches and mountains. The registers are full of guests giving Davidson College as

¹⁴ *The Miners and Farmers Journal* (Charlotte, N. C.), June 29, 1831.

¹⁵ *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), November 14, 1835 (advertisement dated Sept. 26, 1835).

¹⁶ *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), June 16, 1838 (advertisement dated March 16, 1838).

"Home." Signing the register provided an irresistible temptation to college humor. "Maj. G¹. Tommy A. Wilson, Esq." of the sophomore class was a guest in the fall of 1847. His martial ambitions tragically bore fruit in the Confederate Army, where he died as a lieutenant in 1862.¹⁷

Since proprietor Hampton was of the same family as the famous Wade Hamptons of South Carolina, he knew how to attract the elite from the Palmetto State. From the up-country came the Hemphills, Gastons, Springses, and Lattas; from the sandhills Boykins and Canteys; and from the low country the Pawleys, Sinklers, Hugers, Warings, and Deases. There were frequent guests also from the deep southern states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana.

Among the more notable autographs is that of the mysterious exotic of the Carolina piedmont, P. S. Ney, who enjoyed his legend in his own day and delighted in it. On September 20, 1841, in the column allotted to home identifications he inscribed, "An atom floating on the atmosphere of chance." During the early '40's Ney conducted a school for boys at the resort. The academy was known as "Stewart's Seminary" and left an indelible impression on the many students later called upon for reminiscences by the Reverend James A. Weston. In 1895 Weston published his volume, *Historic Doubts as to the Execution of Marshal Ney*, in order to substantiate his belief that P. S. Ney of Carolina and Marshal Ney of France were one and the same. Time worked to the advantage of the subject. In 1892 Alexander F. Brevard wrote Weston that "There could be no better teacher, and everybody had the sincerest esteem for him whether he was drunk or sober."¹⁸ But in 1842 he had written his father (in a letter preserved in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History at Raleigh): "I do not like him much as a teacher because he does not teach like any other person." And his brother had added a note: "Mr. Ney does not parse a bit he is old and crabit he makes the boys stand about & when he whips he whips them over the head and beats them with his fist."¹⁹

Other local notables in the realm of the arts were Philo Henderson, the poet, and Mittag,²⁰ the portrait painter, who no doubt

¹⁷ T. W. Lingle, ed., *Alumni Catalog of Davidson College 1837-1924* (Charlotte, 1924), 58.

¹⁸ James A. Weston, *Historic Doubts as to the Execution of Marshal Ney* (New York, 1895), 200.

¹⁹ Alexander F. Brevard to R. A. Brevard, March 19, 1842, MS. Brevard Papers, 1787-1869.

²⁰ MS. Catawba Springs Registers 1838-1854, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. Henderson, August 4, 1845; Mittag, Sept. 4, 1838.

found ready sitters amongst the boarders, as there does not seem to have been a great deal else to do. Fox hunts were indulged in by the younger spirits while the more sedate took their pleasure in attending meeting at Unity Presbyterian Church a few miles distant.

Among the most valuable records preserved by the Catawba Springs registers are the names of the plantations from which many of the patrons came. It appears that Alexander F. Gaston called his home site "Ravenna" (formerly "Ingleside" of the Forneys). The Forneys lived at "Mount Welcome" and the Grahams at "Vesuvius Furnace." The Stirewalts' small gem of a house, "Mill Hill," is still in good preservation in Cabarrus County, as is the Reid mansion, "Mount Mourne," in Iredell. Many of these names were later taken over to denote the villages which grew up around the plantations.

Tragedy at the Springs rarely found its way into the records, but there is more than a hint of it on the most elaborate gravestone in Unity Churchyard. The young wife of William J. Dennis of St. Johns Berkeley, Charleston District, "departed this life when on a visit at the Catawba Springs the 29th September 1833, aged 23 years. . . ." A wedding journey might end as well as begin at Catawba Springs.

There was also at least one murder.

Early in the history of this hotel, one of the proprietors retired about 11 o'clock, after snuffing out the candle. Next morning, he was found in bed with his throat cut from ear to ear, a lifeless corpse, his blood saturating the bed and much under the bed on the floor. It is claimed that those blood stains remained on the floor until recent years when this part of it was chiseled out and replaced with clean boards. An old saying is "The blood of the murdered cannot be washed up." This death remained a mystery until many years after, when the self-confessed killer on his death bed, told his story. Aggrieved by a serious social sin committed by the dead man, he had been seen among a number of people in Salisbury during the evening and night until about ten o'clock when he went to his room to retire. Immediately thereafter, in disguise, he mounted his horse and ran from one relay station to another, going and returning, arriving back in Salisbury and returning to his bed without a person ever knowing he had left his room after entering it.

The rider was an aristocrat, knew the horse at every stage relay station and could pick the best without disturbing the horses or their keepers. Determined to carry out his mission of

revenge against a man whom he did not consider worthy of even the consideration he might give a mad dog, armed with a blade of truest and sharpest steel and urged on by an unforgivable offense, he raced forth and back on his mission of death, unknown, undiscovered and unsuspected until his own lips in death revealed the tragedy and its cause. It is claimed that even today ghosts walk about this old house, strange noises are heard, and haunts lead dogs from their trails both during the day and night.²¹

The extensive accommodations which tradition ascribes to Catawba Springs must have been additions during the Hampton regime. When William S. Simonton advertised the resort for sale in 1835 he claimed only that the houses were sufficient for entertaining sixty or seventy boarders. As the later hotel is now remembered, and it was not demolished until the present century, it consisted of one hundred rooms (very small) and "was built on a large hill adjacent to the springs, bath houses were erected across on the opposite bluff and slave houses were scattered over the place at convenient points. The building was two stories high, in the formation of a 'T.' Wide porches stretched all around the house and as many as from 200 to 500 guests would at times assemble there . . . during the Christmas holidays and New Year festivities hard liquor was passed around among the guests."²²

The War between the States put an end to the prospects of Catawba Springs and to the planter class which had patronized it. The leisurely life of the ante-bellum Carolinian who was lord of a hundred (or even a dozen) slaves was destined never to reappear. When wealth came again to the South it came to a people who had never known or who had largely forgotten the plantation tradition. Towns had grown up and business men and their families felt no urge to flee from the isolation which had been the lot of the planters. The "city rich" preferred a house in the country to a hotel at the Springs. Also, railroads and good highways opened mountain resorts which had not been accessible during the stagecoach era. It is safe to predict that "a summer at the Springs" is as much a part of the closed past as are the elaborate manners which characterized its clientele.

²¹ Hazel Mizelle, "Legends of Catawba Springs and the Old South," *The Charlotte Observer* (Charlotte, N. C.), October 13, 1929.

²² Mizelle, "Legends of Catawba Springs."

THE CAROLINA BRIGADE SENT AGAINST THE CREEK INDIANS IN 1814

BY JOHN K. MAHON

During the second war with England, North Carolina—like the other states with Atlantic coastlines, though to a lesser degree—placed several thousand men in federal service.¹ Some of the men were used to guard the great port of Norfolk, Virginia, but most of them were placed along the coast of their own home state. Only a few ever saw the enemy.

In 1814 the state was also called upon to provide a regiment to fight against the Creek Indians in the portion of the Mississippi Territory which is now Alabama. The composition of the regiment, as we shall see, was unusual; and so was the brigade of which it was to form one half. The quality that made the brigade unusual was the fact that the two regiments in it came from different states: one from North Carolina, the other from South Carolina. Although not unknown, it was uncommon, in the War of 1812, to brigade regiments from different states.

The Secretary of War, John Armstrong, sent the order creating the brigade to Major General Thomas Pinckney, who was federal commander of the military district which included the two Carolinas.² Nearly two years of war had taught Armstrong to explain in detail the organization of the troops that he requested from the states. Otherwise he could not be sure of the number of men, and particularly of the number of officers who would turn out. As recently as 1809, for example, North Carolina had had regiments which varied in size from 290 to 1921 men.³

The regiments of the Carolina brigade were each directed to consist of eight companies of infantry, one of cavalry, and one of artillery. These regiments were unusual, for the reason that it was rare to combine infantry, cavalry, and artillery in one regiment. The secretary directed that a brigadier to command the

¹ North Carolina militiamen formally enrolled in federal service: 1812—595; 1813—5524; 1814—4021; 1815—2042, *A Statement of the Number of Militia from Each State . . . during the War of 1812*, Senate Executive Document, Feb. 15, 1821, 16th Congress, 2d session.

² Thomas Pinckney to Gov. Hawkins, Jan. 28, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers, MS., North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

³ Adjutant General's office: Letters, Orders, Returns, etc. 1807-1812, 106-107, MS., North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

expedition was to be chosen from North Carolina by the governor of the state.⁴ South Carolina made no complaint.

The adjutant general of North Carolina promptly took the steps necessary to organize a regiment. He called on eight of the western counties to provide a company each. The method by which the men were selected within each county is not known, but the adjutant spoke of "drafts." The men were either raised by calling for certain classes or by drawing lots, but not by volunteering.

Since there were no artillery companies in western North Carolina, the adjutant directed that a company be drawn from the infantry.⁵ It was up to the lieutenant colonel, who was to command the North Carolina regiment, to figure out the details of the infantry-to-artillery metamorphosis. The cavalry troop, like all militia cavalry, would have to be raised by volunteering. The adjutant general, however, did direct that the colonel of cavalry, who commanded the cavalry regiment of the standing militia in the western region, was to command the company as a captain in United States' service; but his temporary loss of rank was not to jeopardize his permanent grade in the state organization. Following the lines drawn by the adjutant, the North Carolina regiment was formed.

The governor, William Hawkins, had a little trouble securing a brigadier to command the Carolina brigade. The first man to whom he offered the job, a major general of the standing militia, declined it because of ill health.⁶ His second choice, Joseph Graham, a brigadier in the militia organization, accepted. Graham's first concern was to clothe himself in the proper uniform.⁷ As a conspicuous representative of the state of North Carolina before troops from South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi Territory, and the United States Army, he had to look like a general. This did not prove to be easy, for other officers had bought all the available officer-supplies. Graham was finally forced to buy a secondhand dress uniform from Governor Hawkins, but, as the governor had only worn it to five county reviews

⁴ Adjutant General to Col. Pearson, Jan. 13, 1814, Adjutant General's office, Militia Returns, letters to officers, 1813-1817, 94, MS., North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁵ See Note 4, above.

⁶ Gen. Davidson to Joseph Graham, Feb. 18, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

⁷ Will Polk [or Folk] to Joseph Graham, Feb. 22 and Mar. 8, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

during the previous summer, it was in good condition, and no doubt as resplendent as any general could desire.

Late in March the North Carolina regiment was in central Georgia, at Fort Hawkins,⁸ and at last was ready to start for the Creek country. It had been delayed waiting for federal supplies.⁹ There were, however, federal arms on hand at the fort, which had been used by Georgia troops lately returned home. General Graham directed that the men fire one round by platoons to prove their muskets, and that faulty muskets then be replaced by good ones.¹⁰ Next, the militiamen were mustered into federal service by an officer of the United States Army. Although the regiment was delayed in starting on account of supplies, when it finally began to march it appears to have been unusually well equipped.

Late in April or early in May, the two Carolina regiments made their junction in the very heart of the Creek country.¹¹ One of General Graham's first acts was to weed out the physically unfit and permit them to go back to the settlements. Most of the handicapped men seem to have come with the South Carolina regiment. They suffered from a wide variety of complaints, many of which now have a quaint sound: general debility, consumption, dropsy, deafness, inflammation of the liver, weakness of the system, inflammatory rheumatism, general emaciation of the system, asthma, blindness from an accidental bayonet wound, reduced habit, sore legs, and nervous weakness.¹² The afflicted were supplied with rations and transport back to Fort Hawkins. The bumpy wagon transport, with which they were probably furnished, must have tortured those with general emaciation of the system and reduced habit.

The Carolina brigade reached the Creek country too late to take part in the final destruction of the Indians at Horseshoe Bend,¹³ but General Pinckney directed them to clear the enemy from the region of the Alabama River.¹⁴ To accomplish this the

⁸ Fort Hawkins was on the ground where the city of Macon, Georgia, is today.

⁹ See [J. G. deR. Hamilton], "Joseph Graham," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII (1943), 479.

¹⁰ General orders, Mar. 27, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

¹¹ They met at Camp Jackson in the "V" formed by the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa rivers. This was the area where the principal towns of the Creeks had been.

¹² List taken from Orderly Book begun May 14, 1814, at Camp Jackson. Kept by H. W. Connor, aide-de-camp. Joseph Graham Papers.

¹³ Andrew Jackson's army from Tennessee had destroyed most of the Creek warriors at the battle of Horseshoe Bend, Mar. 27, 1814.

¹⁴ Orders, April 28, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

men were split up and sent to build and then garrison seven small forts. North Carolina troops garrisoned four, South Carolina, three.

Citizen soldiers nearly always grew restless and unruly in static situations. They were at their worst in garrison and camp. Unfortunately, the good work done by the Carolina militiamen in patrolling and fort building does not appear in the documents; but, as is usual in militia records, misconduct is embalmed in the minutes of courts-martial. From the court-martial records, one unavoidably gleans the impression that there was much disorder. Men were charged with drunkenness, disobedience of orders, taking the name of the Lord in vain, firing guns in camp, selling powder to the Indians, swindling, and, of course, absence without leave.

Convicted of the first three charges listed above, a militiaman was sentenced to have the left side of his face dry-shaved, to be chained to a mall, and to beat the dirt with the mall for three days.¹⁵ A soldier convicted of swindling had to forfeit half of his pay for two months, lose his liquor ration for the rest of the campaign, and—with his bayonet reversed and the right side of his face shaved close to the skin—be drummed up and down the lines to the Rogue's March three times.¹⁶

Many men were put at hard labor for a few days. One man, having served four days of labor, was required at the company parade, with his hat in his hand, to ask pardon of the officer whom he had disobeyed, and to finish off his request with a respectful bow. For an upcountry man, this must have been hard.

Even the lieutenant colonel in command of the South Carolina regiment was tried by court-martial. He was charged with stealing from an Indian, peremptorily ordering the release of a man who was confined, attempting by force to get the key to the store-room, charging drayage to the United States for hauling a sutler's goods,¹⁷ and taking a soldier out of the ranks to drive his own team employed in the public service.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the judgment of the court has not been preserved.

¹⁵ Taken from the Orderly Book. See Note 12.

¹⁶ Taken from the Orderly Book.

¹⁷ Sutlers were private merchants who followed an army and sold delicacies and luxuries at high prices to the soldiers. They operated the nearest equivalent to the modern field P.X.

¹⁸ Papers on the Court-Martial of Lt. Col. Nash, June 18, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

The Carolina brigade, in its patrolling duty, was thrown into close association with the Thirty-ninth United States Infantry. The finest harmony prevailed between the regulars and the Carolina irregulars, and the example of the Thirty-ninth was salutary.¹⁹ General Graham said he hoped it would “. . . rescue the character of the Militia when properly managed from that of being disorderly and mutinous.”

Early in June Graham notified Pinckney that provision ought to be made to relieve his men the minute their time was up. They would probably behave until then, he said, but would not stay one day beyond the legal tour.²⁰ He then directed the federal quartermaster and the contractor to begin to accumulate the provisions and transport necessary to return his men to their rendezvous in the Carolinas.

By July 16 the brigade was back at Fort Hawkins, and soon the South Carolina regiment was on its way home. The campaign of the Carolina brigade was over. It had been bloodless and unimportant, but noticeable, nevertheless, for one reason: citizen soldiers from the two Carolinas had been associated together in a brigade and had worked together without excessive friction. This cooperation would be important should the British attempt to land in force somewhere along the southern coast.

¹⁹ Gen. Graham to Gen. Pinckney, May 21, 1814, Letter Book of General Graham, May 10 to July 29, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

²⁰ Graham to Pinckney, June 7 and June 22, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

THE GENESIS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1701-1823

BY SARAH McCULLOH LEMMON

The charters of 1663 and of 1665 granted by Charles II to the lords proprietors of Carolina contained the fundamental principles of the establishment of the Church of England. They provided that the proprietors were to have the patronage of all the churches, that is, the right to grant the livings, and that all the churches and church buildings in the colony were to be dedicated according to the English ecclesiastical law. These principles were stated by the proprietors in the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina in 1669, with other provisions for liberty of conscience. No one was to be punished for his form of worship unless he disturbed the peace. Any seven people could organize a church, as long as they acknowledged God and worshipped him publicly. As this was a very liberal attitude and presumably would include almost every person, the Fundamental Constitutions further provided that any person seventeen years of age or older who did not belong to any church was to be denied the protection of the laws. The only statement made as to financial support of the church was that 100 acres of glebe land should be granted to each parish. These provisions were more liberal than those of England at the same time, but it is to be noted that they did not guarantee political equality for all faiths along with freedom of conscience.¹

The part of the colony which was to become North Carolina, especially the Albemarle region, was being slowly settled before 1700, particularly by persons from Virginia. They had probably been reared within the English church, but there was no minister nor any church among them.² In fact it was necessary in 1669 for the proprietors to pass an act permitting civil marriages for lack of clergy to perform the ceremony.³ Henderson Walker, deputy-governor in 1703, wrote to the Bishop of London: "We

¹ Elizabeth H. Davidson, *The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies* (Durham, 1936), 47-48.

² Stephen B. Weeks, *Religious Development of the Province of North Carolina* (Johns Hopkins, 1892), 21.

³ Weeks, *Religious Development*, 22.

have been settled near this fifty years in this place, and I may justly say most part of twenty-one years, on my own knowledge, without priest or altar, and before that time, according to all that appears to me, much worse."⁴ In 1701, however, the Assembly took action to establish and provide for the church in the province. By an act of that year, five parishes were created and vestries named for each. These vestries were to levy poll taxes of not more than five shillings each to pay the clergy, build churches, and buy glebes. The salary of each minister was fixed at £30 yearly.⁵ This act, however, was disallowed by the proprietors because the salary was considered inadequate.⁶ Some of the vestries seem to have been active nevertheless, because a church was erected near the present site of Edenton and another was begun in Perquimans.⁷ Henderson Walker, in his letter to the bishop, said that three churches were being built under the act and that Governor Nicholson of Virginia gave £10 to each of them.⁸

In 1703 an act was passed creating a commission of twenty laymen who were to dismiss any ministers guilty of misconduct.⁹ One can only conjecture that this provision resulted from a sad experience with the Rev. Mr. Daniel Brett,¹⁰ and from a recognition that ecclesiastical authority in the colonies was very remote and hence could not care for such matters. Apparently a commission was chosen because the Assembly would not wish the governor to hold so much power in his own hands. The same act also required all members of the Assembly to receive the Holy Eucharist according to the rites of the Anglican Church, or not be allowed to hold office. Three years later, however, the queen in council disallowed the act.¹¹

The next act passed was in 1711, after the settlement of the Cary-Glover affair. It announced that all laws in force in England for the establishment of the church and for granting indulgences to Protestant dissenters were also to be in force in North Caro-

⁴ *Colonial Records*, I, 571-572.

⁵ De Rosset, *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina* (Wilmington, 1892), 52.

⁶ *Colonial Records*, I, 601.

⁷ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 52.

⁸ *Colonial Records*, I, 572.

⁹ *State Records*, XXV, 151.

¹⁰ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 52.

¹¹ *State Records*, XXV, 151.

lina.¹² Dissenters were allowed by the English law¹³ to hold office if they would take the qualifying oath. This oath affirmed the belief in the Trinity and subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles, with reservations permitted on ecclesiastical government and infant baptism. Designed to exclude Unitarians and Roman Catholics, in North Carolina it was practically a universal grant of religious and political liberty, as there were here almost no members of those two religious groups.¹⁴

Four years later, in 1715, a new Vestry Act was passed creating nine parishes instead of the original five, raising the rector's salary from the former £30 to £50 per year, permitting the levy of a five shilling poll tax to purchase glebes, and requiring the vestry to take the oath as above described. The act opens with an interesting statement of the two reasons for its passage: first, "This Province of North Carolina being a Member of the Kingdom of Great Britain; & the Church of England being appointed by the Charter from the Crown to be the only Established church to have Publick encouragement in it"; and second, to express thanks to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for its aid to the province.¹⁵

No change was made in the provisions for the church until 1741. In that year the Assembly provided that the vestry, instead of being named by the Assembly, should be elected by the freeholders of each parish every two years. Each vestryman so chosen was to take the following oath: "I, A. B. do declare, that I will not oppose the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is by law established." Should he refuse the oath, he was to be fined £3, unless he were a known dissenter.¹⁶ The latter provision was changed in 1764 to include the fining of dissenters also.¹⁷ Other provisions of the act of 1741 were that the vestry could suspend immoral clergymen, and that they could levy distress on property in order to collect delinquent taxes.

In 1754 it was necessary for the Assembly to increase the number of parishes to twenty-four and to fine freeholders twenty shillings for failure to vote for the vestry. A collector

¹² *State Records*, XXV, 153.

¹³ I William and Mary St. 1 c. 18. See De Rosset, *Sketches*, 59.

¹⁴ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 59-60.

¹⁵ *State Records*, XXIII, 6-10.

¹⁶ *State Records*, XXIII, 187-191.

¹⁷ *State Records*, XXIII, 603.

of parish taxes was created, to be appointed by the vestry for that purpose instead of letting the wardens collect the levies. Again the vestry was instructed to purchase glebes and to erect churches. The rector was to receive another salary increase, this time up to £80. The power to select the rector was left to the vestry; but it was interesting to note that if the vestry did not choose one within twelve months, then the governor was to appoint one for them.¹⁸

Apparently much discussion followed on the salary question and the right of the vestry to choose its rector, for in 1762 another act was passed raising the salary to £133. 6s. 8-ld. plus marriage and burial fees. On the second question, the selection of a rector, the act expressly stated "That the sole Right of Presentation of a Minister to every Parish within this Province, shall be and remain in the several Vestries thereof. . . ." Each clergyman must possess a license from the bishop of London. This requirement probably reflected a disappointment in the characters of some of the churchmen who had been officiating in the colony. Finally, the governor was given the power to suspend offending ministers.¹⁹ Normally, only a bishop has this authority, but in the absence of a bishop or even of a commissary in North Carolina, the governor was granted this power. There is no indication as to what happened to the idea of a commission of twenty men to discharge this duty.

The bishops of London had steadily objected to the vestries' claim of the right to choose rectors, and had advised the Board of Trade to recommend disallowance of all such acts to the crown. Two North Carolina acts of 1760, entitled "An Act for establishing Vestries" and "An Act for making Provision for an Orthodox Clergy,"²⁰ had been disallowed for this reason.²¹ In 1765 a new Orthodox Clergy Act was passed which omitted any reference to the choice of clergymen, but with all other provisions substantially the same.²² Essentially this was a mere evasion by the colonists; nevertheless the law was approved by the bishop of London and eventually by the crown.²³

¹⁸ *State Records*, XXV, 298-304.

¹⁹ *State Records*, XXIII, 583-585.

²⁰ *State Records*, XXIII, 510.

²¹ *Colonial Records*, VI, 723.

²² *State Records*, XXIII, 660-662.

²³ *Colonial Records*, VII, 150-153.

Through the passage of these laws, then, the attempt was made to establish the legal support of the Church of England in North Carolina. Parishes had been created, the oath to support the Anglican liturgy had been required of the vestries, and taxes and glebe lands had been provided for financial aid and endowments; but the right to appoint the clergy was left indefinite in order to circumvent disallowance, although theoretically it remained the privilege of the crown.

Some of the provisions regarding dissenters have already been touched upon. The application of the English laws for dissenters took place in 1711, with all worshippers except Unitarians and Roman Catholics being able to qualify under their provisions. These provisions were reenacted in 1715 and 1749, with the additional qualification that Quakers might affirm instead of swearing an oath. But they could not testify in criminal court cases, serve on juries, or hold office.²⁴ While Quakers did not succeed in removing these disabilities before the Revolution, more recognition was gradually extended to the Presbyterian clergy. In 1760 regularly called Presbyterian ministers were excused from militia duty in addition to the Anglican clergy who did not have to serve.²⁵ This privilege was renewed in 1764 and 1766; and in 1774 the wording was extended to all "Protestant Dissenting Ministers regularly called."²⁶ In 1766 all marriages performed by Presbyterian clergy were retroactively legalized, and in the future they would be acceptable if the requirements concerning banns or license were obeyed. The fees for all such ceremonies, however, were reserved to the Anglican clergy in each parish.²⁷

It was extremely difficult, however, to enforce the establishment of the English church. While there was no open outbreak against the Church,²⁸ there was a great deal of evasion, indifference, and sabotage of the laws. An examination of the many

²⁴ *State Records*, XXIII, 11.

²⁵ *State Records*, XXIII, 519.

²⁶ *State Records*, XXIII, 597, 761, 941.

²⁷ *State Records*, XXIII, 672-674.

²⁸ Joseph Blount Cheshire says that the troubles of 1704 and following were not because the Quakers objected to the establishment of 1701 and 1703, but because they objected to the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne. See his essay in De Rosset, *Sketches*, 53-55. Weeks, on the other hand, attributes it entirely to religious causes; see his *Religious Development*, ch. V. There is also a good discussion in S. A. Ashe, *Chapter of North Carolina History Revised* (Raleigh, 1886), 2-3.

vestry acts passed between 1711 and 1774 illustrates these difficulties.

Many parishes refused to hold vestry elections. Thus in 1720 it was necessary for the Assembly to pass a law directing Northwest Chowan and Craven parishes to hold their elections immediately.²⁹ By 1751 the method of election had been found "inconvenient and detrimental," so that thereafter the sheriff was to call elections.³⁰ Three years later it was necessary to pass a law ordering a fine of twenty shillings for freeholders who did not vote.³¹ In 1758 an order was issued that all parishes without vestries were to elect them within twenty days after the passage of the act.³² The order to elect vestries where they had not been chosen was repeated in 1766.³³

Even where vestries had been chosen, the men so elected seem frequently to have refused to qualify. A fine of forty shillings was imposed in 1754 upon an elected vestryman who so refused.³⁴ This fine was raised to £3 in 1764, if the vestryman were a dissenter,³⁵ and applied to everyone in 1766.³⁶ Special elections had to be ordered in 1771 for Unity Parish (Guilford County) and St. Margaret's (Wake County) because they had elected vestries who refused to qualify.³⁷ Thus it is apparent that parishes which were strongly dissenting would either fail to hold elections or would deliberately choose vestrymen who refused to qualify, and in this way would avoid the laws of the establishment.

Even where vestries had duly qualified, there was difficulty in levying and collecting the poll taxes. In 1720 the provision of 1711 was repeated to the effect that the church wardens had the authority to collect taxes by distraint if necessary.³⁸ Eventually, in 1754, a collector of parish taxes was created, with the same power.³⁹ Four years later it was necessary to declare that the forced sale of property for non-payment of parish taxes must take place within three to six days after notice of sale.⁴⁰

²⁹ *State Records*, XXV, 166-168.

³⁰ *State Records*, XXIII, 369.

³¹ *State Records*, XXV, 299. Quakers were excused from this in 1764; *State Records*, XXIII, 601-617.

³² *State Records*, XXV, 364-365.

³³ *State Records*, XXIII, 759-760.

³⁴ *State Records*, XXV, 300.

³⁵ *State Records*, XXIII, 603.

³⁶ *State Records*, XXIII, 759-760.

³⁷ *State Records*, XXIII, 856.

³⁸ *State Records*, XXV, 166-168.

³⁹ *State Records*, XXV, 301.

⁴⁰ *State Records*, XXV, 364-365.

In 1764 the tax was raised from five shillings to ten, and its collection became a duty of the sheriff.⁴¹ Governor Tryon wrote in 1769 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that "The disturbances in the province have inspired no religious sentiments among us, and the difficulty of raising the taxes for want of a medium to pay them, makes many parishes very slack to encourage public worship."⁴² It would seem to have been less the lack of a circulating medium, however, than an unwillingness on the part of the numerous dissenters and even Anglican communicants to be taxed for an established church.

Nor were the instructions to purchase glebes, repeated in every vestry act, often carried out. It was not until 1763 that the first and probably only glebe house was erected, this being in St. Thomas's Parish, Bath.⁴³ It has not been possible to find out how much land was actually purchased by each parish for its church, but that there was some will be shown later.

The establishment of the church was also hindered by the controversy over the right of appointing the clergy. As stated earlier, this had occasioned the royal disallowance of several vestry acts. The Rev. Mr. Daniel Earl blamed this for the sad condition of the church at Edenton. In a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel written in 1765, he said:

The church in this town which was built at a considerable expence, is in a very ruinous condition, Chiefly occasioned by want of a vestry, our vestry Laws, for some years past being repealed in England as soon as they appear there, which is a great obstruction to the Building & repairing places of worship, and is a very great Prejudice to the Clergy.⁴⁴

The Rev. Mr. John Barnett ran into difficulties at Brunswick for the same reason. In 1768 he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel thus:

The people of this Parish do still so violently oppose the presentation of the Crown to the Living, that I believe it will be found necessary for me to remove to another part of the province as my settling here, contrary to the inclination of the people,

⁴¹ *State Records*, XXIII, 601-607.

⁴² *Colonial Records*, VIII, 14.

⁴³ Jarvis Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America, Particularly in North Carolina* (reprinted from *American Church Review*, July, 1876), 13.

⁴⁴ *Colonial Records*, VII, 7-8.

must render my situation very disagreeable, and also prevent my being any longer useful here.⁴⁵

Even the forceful Governor Tryon, who stated that "Some Vestries idly imagine the power of presentation is still vested by implication in them,"⁴⁶ was unable to budge these vestries. In the case of St. James', at Wilmington, the governor in 1770 wished to induct the Rev. Mr. John Wills, who was very well liked by the residents. The parish kept Wills but refused flatly to accept the presentation, and Tryon was forced to drop the whole matter.⁴⁷

Having established the Church of England, however inadequately, the next problem was to secure clergymen. The venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701, was almost the sole source of supply from that date until 1783. In colonial North Carolina there was a total of forty-six Anglican missionaries and rectors,⁴⁸ of whom the Society supplied thirty-three.⁴⁹ The Society also assisted a total of twenty-two central stations.⁵⁰ The salary ordinarily allowed a missionary was £50 a year, plus a library worth £10 and an allowance of £5 for books to be distributed free among the parishoners.⁵¹ The amount of aid granted to a clergyman by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel may be compared with Cheshire's estimate that from 1701 to 1711 the parish of St. Paul's, Chowan, paid its clergy a total of £55 in commodities. During this same period the Society's missionaries brought into the colony something between £300 and £400 sterling.⁵²

Many letters may be found in the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from vestries, wardens, and governors thanking them or asking for clergymen or financial aid. Thus the vestry of Queen Anne's Creek thanked the Society for "their great Care of our Souls' health in sending over Missionaries to preach the Word of God and administering the Holy Sacrament among us." Without the missionaries they would have

⁴⁵ *Colonial Records*, VII, 789-790.

⁴⁶ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 14.

⁴⁷ Taken from the vestry minutes, quoted in the *Church Messenger*, April 21, 1881.

⁴⁸ Edgar Legare Pennington, *The Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina* (Hartford, 1937), 35-37.

⁴⁹ C—F—Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (London, 1901), 86-87.

⁵⁰ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 86-87.

⁵¹ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 837.

⁵² De Rosset, *Sketches*, 58.

been "in danger of becomeing like the Indians themselves without a God in the World."⁵³ Governor Eden wrote the Society that "without your nursing care the very footsteps of religion will, in a short time, be worne out, and those who retain any remembrance of it will be wholly led away by the Quakers. . . ."⁵⁴ Eden also asked for schoolmasters and more missionaries; and the vestry at Bath asked for a missionary for their parish.⁵⁵ The fact that only thirteen of the colonial clergy were not Society missionaries indicates the poverty of the support given by the colonists to the church. Without the aid of the Society a man could hardly afford to labor in North Carolina. Illustrations of the clergy being forced to leave are numerous. The Rev. Mr. William Gordon returned to England after only a few months.⁵⁶ The Rev. Mr. Giles Rainsford moved on to Virginia,⁵⁷ having written: "I am ashamed to tell you of my fare, for the whole year is one continued Lent—fish being the constant attendant on the table." For a "large part of the time" he was forced to sleep in an old tobacco barn.⁵⁸ The Rev. Mr. John Urmstone wrote the Society that he and his family had "liv'd many a day only on a dry crust and a draught of salt water out of the Sound, such regard have the people for my labours—so worthy of the favour the Society have shewn them in providing Missionaries and sending books."⁵⁹ This statement is not to be taken at face value, however, because Urmstone was an exceedingly controversial figure and somewhat given to exaggeration, to say the least. The Rev. Mr. J. Garzia, however, was aided by the Society through an appointment to the Pamlico area, because he had been induced to come there from Virginia with his wife and three children and then was not paid his promised salary of £20 a year.⁶⁰

The Society continued to support missionaries in North Carolina until 1783, at which time the sole remaining one, the Rev. Mr. Daniel Earl, was removed from their rolls because it was

⁵³ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 23.

⁵⁴ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 23.

⁵⁵ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 24-25.

⁵⁶ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 21.

⁵⁷ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 23.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Marshall Delancey Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1910), 8.

⁵⁹ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22-23.

⁶⁰ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 23.

believed that he had "a very sufficient maintenance" from other sources.⁶¹

The character of the clergy, whether Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionaries or not, was somewhat varied. The first minister to the colony, the Rev. Mr. Daniel Brett, acquired a bad reputation and "brought great grief and shame to the friends of the Church."⁶² The reputation of the brilliant and cynical Urmstone was that of being "quarrelsome, selfish, and covetous."⁶³ John Blacknall fell into disrepute because he performed the marriage ceremony for a white man and a mulatto woman, but Sir Richard Everard commended him for his sobriety and ability.⁶⁴ The Bishop of London, on his list of licensed clergy, marked "Bad man" by the name of John Barnett;⁶⁵ and by that of Theodorus Swain Drage he wrote, "Never heard of him after."⁶⁶ The Rev. Mr. Taylor wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel concerning Daniel Earl that the public houses were "his places of Rendezvous" and that he had rejected Earl's offer of "familiarity" because of "his manner of life not concurring with mine."⁶⁷ Taylor further accused this gentleman of charging fees for administering the rites of Holy Communion and baptism to persons *in extremis* and went on to say:

This misbehavior in the Clergy has induced the people to be very cautious of having a Minister inducted to their parishes, as they see so much misconduct and no remedy easily to be obtained since every one of them dislikes being the first complainant.⁶⁸

Either these charges were not sustained or they were ignored by the Society, for it was Mr. Earl who remained on their rolls until 1783.

On the other hand, several very fine men served the Church in North Carolina. At least seven native North Carolinians made

⁶¹ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 25.

⁶² De Rosset, *Sketches*, 52.

⁶³ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 22.

⁶⁴ John Clement, "Anglican Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies, 1710-1744," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XVII (1948), 221.

⁶⁵ George Woodward Lamb, "Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies by the Bishop of London: 1745-1781," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XIII (1944), 132.

⁶⁶ Lamb, "Clergymen Licensed . . .," 134. He seems to have served in Rowan County for four years, however; see R. B. Owens, *Christ Church, Rowan County* (Charlotte, 1921), 5.

⁶⁷ *Colonial Records*, IX, 21-22.

⁶⁸ *Colonial Records*, IX, 22.

the arduous journey to London in order to be ordained.⁶⁹ Men like Thoman Newman died of their labors and exposure.⁷⁰ The Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Taylor was adrift in an open boat ten days on the Sound during the winter, dying as a result (although there was also a suspicion that he was robbed and murdered).⁷¹ Clement Hall, during seven or eight years of work, journeyed 14,000 miles, preached 675 sermons, and baptized 6,195 men, women, and children, both black and white.⁷² John Boyd's parish, that of Bertie in Albemarle County, was 100 miles long and fifty wide, with seven places in which to hold service; so that he rode on horseback as much as 260 miles each month. Yet in 1735 he was able to baptize 1,030 people.⁷³

Of the forty-six Anglican clergymen in colonial North Carolina, some are mere names in the records, having stayed a year or less. Of those for whom more information is available, five were casual visitors, two were of poor character, and one was so weak that he gave up and left. Six suffered from an early death or were so broken in health that they were compelled to retire from their labors.⁷⁴ It must not be forgotten that for native-born Englishmen, as nearly all of these men were, acclimatization to America, especially in the Southern colonies, was a definite problem. Malaria and other sub-tropical diseases seized upon them, and the death rate was very high. "In the moral collapse which some of these British-born clergy experienced in America, their physical debility may have been a factor and must be taken into account."⁷⁵ North Carolina must have been regarded as one of the worst possible assignments, for of something over 700 clergymen licensed by the Bishop of London for colonial service, forty-four only were for North Carolina, and not all of these came.⁷⁶ The Rev. Mr. Miles Gale, a resident Eng-

⁶⁹ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 83-84.

⁷⁰ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 26-27.

⁷¹ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 25.

⁷² Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 49.

⁷³ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 30-31.

⁷⁴ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 35-37.

⁷⁵ John Clement, "Clergymen Licensed Overseas by the Bishops of London, 1690-1710 and 1715-1716," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XVI (1947), 321.

⁷⁶ See the two Clement lists and the one by Lamb, cited above. Some early clergy were licensed to other states and passed through North Carolina, and others before 1711 were not licensed. Thus there are discrepancies in the figures.

lishman, wrote to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

I have made all the Enquiry in my power after some to go as missionaries, they like the terms but dread y voyage and the heat of the climate. I heartily wish & hope Religion may be taken care for in that Heathenish Country.⁷⁷

The state of religion prospered but slowly. About the year 1700 North Carolina's population was about 5,000 white persons plus Negroes and Indians, with no clergyman or regular form of public worship. "The children had grown up unbaptized and uneducated; the dead were buried without Christian ceremonies."⁷⁸ A few years later the Rev. Mr. John Blair found the inhabitants of four types: the Quakers, those of no religion, those something like Presbyterians, and Anglican churchmen, the fewest in number.⁷⁹ In 1712 the Rev. Mr. Gale wrote to the Bishop of London:

I am informed by letters from my eldest son, Mr. Gale, who has been an inhabitant of North Carolina these eight years, and borne several offices in that unsettled government, that the religion of that country is at a very low ebb, and that little stock carried over, in danger to be totally lost without speedy care of sending ministers to teach the word of truth.

That North Carolina has been inhabited by the English eighteen years, and in all that space they have had but one clergyman, and he left them for want of encouragement; and that for these last eight years they have had none; so that all the children under that age remain unbaptized, of which many have been cut off by a late massacre. . . . [He asks for] your assistance in so pious a work as the establishment of Christianity in a heathenish country.⁸⁰

A decade later, Hugh Jones wrote in *The Present State of Virginia*:

Religion cannot be expected among a Collection of such People as fly thither from other Places for Safety and Livelihood, left to their own Liberty without Restraint or Instruction. The common *nominal Christians* live there not much better than *Hea-*

⁷⁷ Gertrude S. Carraway, *Crown of Life* (New Bern, 1940), 23.

⁷⁸ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 14.

⁷⁹ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 18.

⁸⁰ *Colonial Records*, I, 867-868.

thens; the pious Endeavors of the Society having been frequently disappointed either by their not having full Knowledge of the Country and People (and so pursue not the most proper Methods) or else because they have had the Misfortune sometimes to pitch upon Persons, that have not answered the End of their Calling and Mission. . . . [North Carolina needs help, not only for Indians and Negroes, but] for the Christening and Recovery to the Practical Profession of the Gospel great numbers of *English*, that have but the *bare name* of God and Christ; and that too frequently in nothing but vain Swearing, Cursing, and Imprecations.⁸¹

In 1727 and 1728, although eleven parishes had been created by that time, there was not a single Anglican clergyman serving in the colony.⁸² In a still later period, both the difficulties of the church and the reliance upon the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are clearly shown in a letter, dated 1762, from the Rev. Mr. James Reed to the secretary of the Society:

The hardships we labor under in this Province are so great that were it not for the benevolence of the Society, we could not subsist with the least decency, Every Clergyman that has attempted to settle in this Province, for these 10 years past, upon the sole dependence of the legal stipend, have been obliged to leave it, and 'tis our misfortune at Present to have no legal Stipend at all; or rather there is no law at present by which any stipend can be recovered. At an Assembly held at New Bern in Nov^r last a bill for the encouragement of an Orthodox Clergy and a bill for the establishment of Vestries, were presented to his excellency the Governor for his assent, the latter of which was rejected on account of some exceptional Clauses, and as the 2 bills depended on each other in such a manner, that the one cannot operate without the other, we are therefore at present without any legal encouragement. Very probably something may be done in our favor at the next Assembly, especially if it should please God to prolong the life of our present worthy Gov^r. But we cannot expect his abode with us much longer, for he is far advanced in years and has lately had a slight stroke of the Palsy; so that I every day expect to hear the disagreeable news of his death, in whom the Clergy will lose a faithful friend, and the Christian Religion an able advocate.⁸³

As late as 1771, when the church was on a much firmer footing, the Rev. Mr. Earl wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

⁸¹ Quoted in Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 27.

⁸² Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 27.

⁸³ *Colonial Records*, VI, 745.

Our Church at Edenton is so much out of repair that neither minister nor congregation can stand the inclemency of the weather in it without greatly risking their health, but I am in great hopes it will be repaired before next Winter, . . .⁸⁴

Yet there was progress. Beginning with five original parishes in 1701, the number increased to seventeen in 1741⁸⁵ and to twenty-nine in 1760.⁸⁶ The first church was erected in 1705, although it is not now standing.⁸⁷ Churches had been erected by the time of the Revolution at Bath, Edenton, New Bern, Brunswick, Williamsboro, and Wilmington,⁸⁸ and there were many "chapels of ease" including New Hope Chapel at Chapel Hill.⁸⁹ Many French Protestants, as well as Swiss and German Calvinists, who came to the colony after 1710, gave their support to the Anglican Church.⁹⁰ The Moravians, having been accepted by Parliament in 1749 as included in the Established Church, were allowed by the North Carolina assembly to set up their own parish in Wachovia in 1755.⁹¹ The church achieved its greatest expansion while Governor Tryon was in office. During his term the number of clergymen rose to eighteen, serving that many parishes, although this still left eleven parishes without ministers.⁹² It was estimated that just before the Revolution the majority of the inhabitants were, nominally at least, members of the Church of England.⁹³ Tryon's attempts, however to exercise the legal right of presentation irritated the Anglicans, while his partial success in strengthening the establishment aroused the Dissenters. Thus his failures outweighed his achievements for the church.

While it might be said with justification that the whole province of North Carolina was a missionary field, nevertheless work with the Negroes and Indians was especially so regarded. At first the conversion of Negro slaves was much opposed locally

⁸⁴ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 542.

⁸⁵ Joseph Blount Cheshire, *The Church in the Province of North Carolina* (n.p., n.d.), 67-68.

⁸⁶ Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 13.

⁸⁷ Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 12.

⁸⁸ Cheshire, "How Our Church Came to North Carolina," reprinted from *Spirit of Missions*, XVIII (1918), 350-352.

⁸⁹ Archibald Henderson, "The Church of the Atonement and the Chapel of the Cross at Chapel Hill, N. C.," *Story and Pageant Quarterly*, no. 59 (1938), 14-15.

⁹⁰ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 22.

⁹¹ Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina*, 23.

⁹² Cheshire, *Church in the Province of North Carolina*, 80-81.

⁹³ Charles Comfort Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1895), 247.

because of the superstition that to baptize a slave was to free him.⁹⁴ Toward the end of the colonial period, however, this belief subsided and many slaves were received into the church. The Rev. Mr. James Reed stated in 1760: "I baptize all those [slaves] whose masters become sureties for them, but never baptize any Negro infants or Children upon any other terms."⁹⁵ Giles Rainsford baptized "upward of forty negroes in this and the neighboring government [Virginia]."⁹⁶ Alexander Stewart baptized thirty-five Negro slaves in a period of six months, Richard Marsden "many," and John McDowell five free mulattoes.⁹⁷ "As the prejudices of the masters were overcome, a Missionary would baptize sometimes fifteen to twenty-four negroes in a month; forty to fifty in six months; and sixty-three to seventy-seven in a year."⁹⁸ At services held by the Rev. Mr. Clement Hall at Edenton, Negroes generally attended and behaved "with great decorum."⁹⁹

Attempts to convert the Indians were less successful. Giles Rainsford had several conferences with the "king" of the Chowan Indians, who seemed "very inclinable to embrace Christianity,"¹⁰⁰ but there is no record that either the king or his subjects did so. Although the Rev. Mr. Newnam found the Indians "very quiet and peacable," he almost despaired of converting them. Later a few Catawbas who had settled among the planters were baptized.¹⁰¹ The most successful work seems to have been undertaken in Hyde County by Alexander Stewart, who held services attended by "many of the remains of the Attamuskeet, Roanoke and Hatteras Indians." On one occasion he baptized twenty-one of them, and later established a schoolmaster among them, paid for by Dr. Bray's Associates.¹⁰² These are the only comments that have been found relative to missionary endeavors among the Indians.

The duties of the clergy, and especially of the vestries, often extended beyond the ecclesiastical into the civil life of the parish.

⁹⁴ John Hope Franklin, "Negro Episcopalians in Ante-bellum North Carolina," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XIII (1944), 219.

⁹⁵ Franklin, "Negro Episcopalians in Ante-bellum North Carolina," 220.

⁹⁶ Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina*, 8.

⁹⁷ Franklin, "Negro Episcopalians . . .," 219.

⁹⁸ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22.

⁹⁹ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22.

¹⁰⁰ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22.

¹⁰¹ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22.

¹⁰² Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22.

The vestries were the keepers of standard weights and measures, and also overseers of the poor.¹⁰³ In 1774 they were given the authority to erect workhouses for the poor and to allow the keepers to whip those inmates who proved refractory.¹⁰⁴ One unusual function is found in the minutes of the Edenton vestry, July 10, 1742:

Mr. Jacob Butler produced a certificate to the Vestry for eight wolf scalps, three wild-cat scalps, and four hundred and seventy-seven squirrel scalps, ordered that he be paid for said scalps forty-six pounds, eighteen shillings and sixpence.¹⁰⁵

By far the largest number of civil or civil-ecclesiastical duties fell under the head of education. The earlier schools were not supported by parish taxes in any way, but probably by the tuition of pupils. Charles Griffin, a lay-reader in the church, conducted a school in Pasquotank precinct during the years 1706-1709 at least. There was a school in Chowan in 1712 run by a certain Masburn. The Rev. Mr. James Moir, one of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionaries, had a school at Brunswick in 1745, and Alexander Stewart established the Colonial Church School in Hyde County in 1763. These seem to have been merely elementary schools. The Rev. Mr. Daniel Earl, aided by his daughter Nancy, maintained a private school for higher education at his home on the Chowan River, a school which was held in very high regard at the time.¹⁰⁶ In addition to the classics, he taught the people better methods of cultivating flax as well as the proper way to prepare it for the loom and to weave towels and tablecloths.¹⁰⁷ He was a very versatile teacher, for he instructed the men in shad and herring fishing, gaining thereby the nickname of the "Herring-catching Parson."¹⁰⁸ The Assembly in 1766 passed an act establishing an academy at New Bern, providing that no one should be schoolmaster there except a member of the established church.¹⁰⁹ The act attempting to establish Queen's College in Charlotte contained a requirement that its

¹⁰³ Cheshire, "How Our Church Came to North Carolina," 347.

¹⁰⁴ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1015.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in the *Church Intelligencer*, Nov. 22, 1866.

¹⁰⁶ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 163-171.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Dillard, "St. Paul's Church, Edenton," *North Carolina Booklet*, V (1905-1906), 25.

¹⁰⁸ Dillard, "St. Paul's Church, Edenton," 27-28.

¹⁰⁹ *State Records*, XXIII, 679.

president must be of the established church, although the fellows and trustees need only take the test oath.¹¹⁰ This act, however, was disallowed.¹¹¹

The causes for the weakness of the establishment in North Carolina are not hard to find. One obvious reason is the lack of clergymen. Tryon reported, on first coming into office: "For lack of ministers justices of the peace marry people and bury them, and in 1765 Governor Dobbs was buried by a magistrate, there being no clergyman in 100 miles of Brunswick."¹¹² Concerning the condition of the churches, he wrote:

Brunswick, outside walls built and roofed; Wilmington, walls only finished; New Bern, in good repair; Bath and Edenton, considerable repairs needed. No British colony stands so much in need of regular moral clergymen. There are now 32 parishes and 28 more ministers are required. Chapels are established in every county, served by a reader where no clergyman can be procured.¹¹³

Two years later Tryon was forced to say:

There are in the Province of North Carolina 30,730 taxable persons . . . which at 4 persons to a family, deducting the heads or taxables, are 122,920 souls, and but one or two ministers of the Church of England are among them.¹¹⁴

But the parishioners too were weak. The Rev. Mr. Drage found them "disheartened, and dispersed like sheep."¹¹⁵ The disrepair in which Tryon found the churches also indicates their lack of energy and zeal. Neither the proprietors nor later the royal governors, except Dobbs and Tryon, appeared to take any interest in the promotion of religion. Brydon says the people "were in a leaderless and chaotic state" because of the lack of vestry laws with authority to collect taxes.¹¹⁶ This is not the case, however; the laws existed, but not the will to enforce them or obey them. It has already been shown how they were circumvented, evaded, and sabotaged by Dissenters and by others who objected

¹¹⁰ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 488.

¹¹¹ *Colonial Records*, IX, 284-285.

¹¹² F. A. Olds, "The Parishes in North Carolina," *North Carolina Booklet*, XXI, (1921-1922), 86.

¹¹³ Olds, "Parishes in North Carolina," 86.

¹¹⁴ Olds, "Parishes in North Carolina," 87.

¹¹⁵ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 24.

¹¹⁶ G. MacLaren Brydon, "The Origin of the Rights of the Laity in the American Episcopal Church," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XII (1943), 327.

to taxation. This lack of popular support is one of the main factors in the weakness of the establishment.

There was also active opposition from Dissenters. In the early years of the eighteenth century it seems to have been the Quakers who led the campaigns against the establishment.¹¹⁷ During the Cary troubles, the church was frequently a target of attack.¹¹⁸ Hostile denominations at the time of the Stamp Act used it as a ground upon which to challenge the establishment, both in the colonies and in England. A London committee of correspondence with a kindred American committee formed an anti-episcopal "League and Covenant."¹¹⁹ This would surely have had some repercussions in North Carolina.

Perhaps the greatest cause for the weakness of the church, throughout all the continental colonies, was the lack of a bishop. By custom, the Bishop of London had become the bishop of the American colonies. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionaries as well as all others were licensed by him. Commissaries were sent to represent the bishop in Maryland and Virginia, but not elsewhere, and even this custom fell into disuse before 1760.¹²⁰ The two greatest reasons for needing a bishop were for ordination of clergy and for removal of unfit ministers. The creation of a colonial episcopate would have quickly increased the supply of ministers and also would have relieved the people of those whose moral life had sagged in the New World. Yet because of the political situation in England, the crown consistently blocked the creation of a bishopric. The American church stood "helpless, blind, paralyzed," and had to await a new generation of churchmen to summon the energy for sound organization.¹²¹

In a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in connection with Barnet who was charged with "crimes, too base to be mentioned," the Rev. Mr. Taylor said:

It is a great pity but an American Episcopate were established, if it tends to no other purpose than to take cognizance of the

¹¹⁷ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 15.

¹¹⁸ Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 19.

¹¹⁹ Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 4.

¹²⁰ Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 2-3.

¹²¹ Cheshire, *The Church in the Province of North Carolina*, 87-88. The best discussion is A. L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York, 1902).

behavior of the Clergy, some of whom (I am sorry to say) are the greatest scandal to religion we have.¹²²

The lack of a bishop was more surely felt in North Carolina and Maryland than in Virginia, according to Brydon, because the churchmen were so scattered that they could not get the full backing of the assemblies, and, it might be added, of the inhabitants.¹²³

From these weaknesses of the established church, it can be seen that in North Carolina the church was in no position to withstand the shock of the Revolutionary War.

In North Carolina the class and sectional conflicts which were an integral part of the American Revolution began to take form with the Regulator movement. The effect of the war on the church was adverse for two reasons: first it decreased the financial support of the church, and second it caused many citizens to regard the church as too conservative.

The Reverend Mr. Charles Cupples wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel requesting that the Society pay a bill for him, "and the reason is, the disturbances of our country has made it impossible for the collectors to get either public, parish, or County Taxes, to discharge the several creditors." After describing unsympathetically the recent disturbances, he added:

Now it is, Reverend Sir, on the account of these Disturbances and the scarcity of money that makes me apply to the Society in a humble manner praying for relief, otherwise I can not long be able to support my family.¹²⁴

The deprivation of their salaries would naturally have tended to align most of the Anglican clergy on the side of the royal governors, in desiring peace and order as well as salaries. As the open break with England drew nearer, the general population regarded the clergy more and more as Tory rather than as Whig.

The activities of the Reverend Mr. George Micklejohn would strengthen such a view as to the attitude of the clergy. Micklejohn was rector of St. Matthew's Parish in Orange County from

¹²² *Colonial Records*, IX, 21.

¹²³ Brydon, "Origin of the Rights of the Laity," 328.

¹²⁴ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 551-552.

1766 to 1776.¹²⁵ The Regulators gave to him their Paper Number 6 to deliver to the colonial officials, which he did, returning with a message that they were to choose any number of "reasonable men" to meet the authorities in Hillsborough on May 11, 1768.¹²⁶ In spite of this apparent initial sympathy, Micklejohn was on the side of the government; for when the troops were assembled at Hillsborough in September to suppress the Regulators, he preached the sermon to them at Governor Tryon's request. The text of the sermon indicates his attitude:

Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God; the Powers that be, are ordained of God.

Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.

[Romans 13:1-2.]¹²⁷

Pleased with his effort, Micklejohn had 100 copies of his sermon printed, which he distributed to the assembly.¹²⁸

The clergy, as well as other colonists, found it difficult to choose sides as the year 1774 ushered in the gathering storm. Many, no doubt, tried to pursue a middle path, although it became increasingly difficult so to do. On the one hand, their salaries were substantially aided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the majority of the North Carolina clergy had been born overseas. The church was tied to the crown and hence to the royal governor as the crown's representative. The liturgy was filled with prayers for those in authority. Yet their parishioners were putting more and more pressure upon these ministers to avow themselves in the American cause. It was a trying situation.

The Reverend Mr. James Reed hesitated to recommend repeal of the 1774 act permitting the whipping of inmates of the workhouses because, as he said, "I need not inform you that all America is in a most violent flame and every good man would forbear as much as possible adding the least Fuel to the Fire."¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Cheshire, *Church in the Province of North Carolina*, 82.

¹²⁶ *Colonial Records*, VII, 764-765.

¹²⁷ R. D. W. Connor, ed., "A Sermon by Rev. George Micklejohn Preached before Governor Tryon's Army at Hillsborough, September 25, 1768," *North Carolina Booklet*, VIII (1908), 57.

¹²⁸ Henderson, *The Church of the Atonement*, 16-17.

¹²⁹ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1015.

Daniel Earl also walked circumspectly. In 1775 he wrote:

As for my own part I have as yet kept clear of any censure among my parishioners, and I never introduce any Topic into the Pulpit except exhortations and prayers for peace, good order and a speedy reconciliation with Great Britain.¹³⁰

Governor Martin sent a last-minute appeal to the Earl of Dartmouth to strengthen the church as a means of preventing armed rebellion. He believed that the Anglicans possessed more loyalty, moderation, and respect for the government than did the Presbyterians; and therefore urged placing the clergy on a more secure footing. He was convinced, he said, "that order and good government are nowhere so well maintained as where the duties of religion are carefully observed and inculcated. . . ." ¹³¹ His appeal, however, was too late.

The formation of local Committees of Safety forced the clergy to take sides. Daniel Earl wrote of the attitude of these Committees toward his profession thus:

The situation of the clergy in this part of the world is at present truly critical, on account of the difficulty of comporting themselves in such a manner as to give no umbrage to the Inhabitants. Some of them have been suspended, deprived of their Salaries, and, in the American manner proscribed by the Committees, and thereby rendered incapable of getting any settlement in any part of the united Colonies, and all this on account of charges against them of opposing the general cause of America, and how far they are to blame I am not able to determine, but verily believe that if the most learned and eloquent Divine in England was to endeavor to dissuade the Americans from their present Resolutions he could make no impression upon them, but contrarywise rather inflame them, so tenacious are they of the measures they have adopted.¹³²

A convenient method of dividing the sheep from the goats was the proclamation by the Continental Congress setting aside July 20, 1775, as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer. James Reed, by refusing to hold services on that day, was promptly aligned by the Committee of Safety with the goats. Their resolution of the very next day read:

¹³⁰ *Colonial Records*, X, 238.

¹³¹ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1086-1087.

¹³² *Colonial Records*, X, 238.

The Committee taking into consideration the unaccountable behavior and conduct of *Mr Reed*, in deserting his congregation yesterday, when almost all ranks and denominations of Christians among us were assembled at the church by order of the Continental Congress, to humiliate ourselves before *God*, by fasting and prayer, to avert from us his heavy judgments now hanging over us; have

Resolved that the Vestry of this Parish be earnestly requested to suspend the said *James Reed* from his ministerial function in the said parish and that they immediately direct their churchwardens to stop payment of the said *Mr Reed's* salary as minister of the said Parish.¹³³

In February of the following year, however, Reed was allowed to resume the holding of services,¹³⁴ and there is no other evidence that he took part one way or the other in succeeding events of the war.

The Reverend Mr. John Wills, at Wilmington, resigned in 1775 but remained quietly in the vicinity and performed marriages when desired to do so.¹³⁵ He presented a petition of some sort to the Provincial Congress in December, 1776,¹³⁶ perhaps asking to be allowed to take the oath. No action is recorded, and Wills vanishes from sight. Francis Johnston, on the other hand, preferred to leave the state. James Buchanan wrote concerning it to Governor Caswell, September 22, 1777:

Enclosed is three certificates from the Clerk of our County Court, certifying that the Revd. Mr. Francis Johnston, Mr. Robert Lenox, and myself, have given bond and security, to depart the State in sixty days from the date, having refused to take the oath prescribed by this State.¹³⁷

He requested passes for the West Indies.

Micklejohn at first remained Tory. While serving as chaplain for the Loyalists at Moores Creek Bridge, he was captured and paroled to Perquimans County.¹³⁸ He failed to go and was ordered to be removed by the commanding officer of the Second Regiment of Orange County.¹³⁹ In November, 1776, he petitioned the

¹³³ *Colonial Records*, X, 115-116.

¹³⁴ *Colonial Records*, X, 428.

¹³⁵ Samuel A. Ashe, "Sketch of Colonial Church in North Carolina," reprinted from the *Carolina Churchman*, XX (December, 1929), 9.

¹³⁶ *Colonial Records*, X, 976.

¹³⁷ *Colonial Records*, XI, 633.

¹³⁸ *Colonial Records*, X, 560.

¹³⁹ *Colonial Records*, X, 646.

Provincial Congress to be allowed to take the oath,¹⁴⁰ which they granted. Micklejohn was thereupon "discharged."¹⁴¹ By 1779 he was evidently completely accepted as a patriot, for in that year he was named by the Assembly to the board of trustees of the newly established Granville Hall or Academy.¹⁴²

Daniel Earl's sympathies are controversial. In 1774 he presided over the meeting at Edenton which, while pledging allegiance to the king, declared British taxes and the Boston Port Bill to be unjust, and urged non-importation.¹⁴³ Yet a year later he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that he had not taken sides, and he it was who continued to receive his salary from the Society until 1783. His daughter, however, married the patriot Charles Johnson and there is no record of any family quarrels.¹⁴⁴ It would appear that Earl was more successful than most in keeping on good terms with everyone.

Of the eleven members of the clergy who were residents of North Carolina in 1776, three were loyalists: James Reed, John Wills, and Francis Johnston. One, George Micklejohn, changed from loyalist to patriot. One, Daniel Earl, seems to have been almost neutral, but from lack of any action against him must have leaned a little to the patriot side. Of the remaining six men, there is conflicting evidence on one other, Charles Pettigrew.

Pettigrew, a native of Pennsylvania, was requested by the Senate of the state to preach before them in 1777, which he did.¹⁴⁵ When the Senate attempted to pass a bill remunerating him for his services, which was customary, the House twice refused to concur.¹⁴⁶ This would indicate some question in the mind of the House as to his political views. He, too, continued to receive his salary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for several years, and when drafted by the state for the army, he sent a substitute.¹⁴⁷ Certainly he was not burning with zeal for the Revolutionary cause.

Four of the five remaining clergymen are frequently mentioned in the *Colonial and State Records* as having aided the patriots

¹⁴⁰ *Colonial Records*, X, 917.

¹⁴¹ *Colonial Records*, X, 932.

¹⁴² *State Records*, XXIV, 297.

¹⁴³ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1037-1038.

¹⁴⁴ Dillard, "St. Paul's Church, Edenton," 26.

¹⁴⁵ *State Records*, XII, 149.

¹⁴⁶ *State Records*, XII, 155, 159, 321, 322.

¹⁴⁷ Bennett Harrison Wall, "Charles Pettigrew," (unpublished master's thesis, Chapel Hill, 1940), 12-13.

in one way or another. Charles Edward Taylor was at one time chairman of the Safety Committee of Northampton County, at one meeting of which Anthony Warwick was condemned for carrying powder clandestinely from Virginia to Hillsborough, and was voted "an object to be held in the utmost detestation by all lovers of American freedom."¹⁴⁸ Taylor also read evening services for the Provincial Congress for a period of time.¹⁴⁹

Charles Cupples was chosen chaplain to the Senate in 1779¹⁵⁰ and again in 1780.¹⁵¹ A resolution to pay him \$20,000 for his services in 1781 was defeated;¹⁵² but at this late date it was probably not because of a question of his patriotism but of economy. Nathaniel Blount, a native North Carolinian, held services in 1775 at the request of the Safety Committee of Pitt County,¹⁵³ and also for the Assembly at New Bern in 1778. He was asked by the Assembly to "deliver a discourse suitable to that important occasion," which occasion was a day of national humiliation, fasting, and prayer.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the dislike of the people of the state for the legal establishment of the church was revealed in 1775 when even the patriotic Blount was asked by the Safety Committee to resign his twenty-year contract with the parish. The Committee felt that the contract had "much Divided the United plans of this county."¹⁵⁵

Only one clergyman saw military service. Hezekiah Ford was chaplain to the Fifth Regiment of the North Carolina Continental Line, commissioned on April 20, 1776. He seems to have served about seventeen months.¹⁵⁶ Concerning the eleventh and last clergyman, Thomas Burgess, there is no record.

Among the Anglican laity who supported the Revolutionary cause there are a few outstanding names. General Robert Howe, of Brunswick, served throughout the war. John Harvey was state chairman of the Committee of Correspondence and also Speaker of the House. He issued the call for the first Provincial Congress held at New Bern. Samuel Johnston was the first

¹⁴⁸ *Colonial Records*, X, 140.

¹⁴⁹ *Colonial Records*, X, 169; V, 1214.

¹⁵⁰ *State Records*, XIII, 788, 789, 815.

¹⁵¹ *State Records*, XV, 196.

¹⁵² *State Records*, XVII, 705, 782.

¹⁵³ *Colonial Records*, X, 64.

¹⁵⁴ *State Records*, XII, 675.

¹⁵⁵ *Colonial Records*, X, 122.

¹⁵⁶ *State Records*, XVI, 1056.

chairman of the Provincial Council, a position equivalent at one time to that of governor. James Iredell was also a churchman. Colonel Richard Buncombe was killed in action at Germantown; Joseph Hewes signed the Declaration of Independence; Thomas Jones had a large part in drawing up the State Constitution of 1776.¹⁵⁷ There is very little information available on Anglican loyalists. From these facts one may conclude that membership in the Church of England was not a factor in deciding the political views of its laymen.

Independence brought a revolution to the church as an institution. The citizens, as one of their important considerations in drawing up a constitution in 1776, decided to separate church and state. The Orange County delegates to the Halifax convention were instructed to "insist upon a free and unrestrained exercise of religion to every individual agreeable to that mode which each man shall choose for himself," and to abolish all required financial support, permit marriages to be solemnized by all clergy, but to exclude Catholics from office-holding.¹⁵⁸ The Mecklenburg delegation was similarly instructed to permit all professing Christians to enjoy freedom of worship and conscience, but it was to exclude from office-holding all atheists, Catholics, and Unitarians. The delegation was also to work for the repeal of all the vestry and marriage laws as they then existed.¹⁵⁹

The constitution of 1776 contained three articles which related to separation of church and state. Article 31 provided that no active clergyman might be a member of the Assembly or the council. Article 32 limited office-holding to persons who did not deny "the Being of God, or the Truth of the Protestant Religion." Article 34 provided that no one church should ever be established, nor any person be compelled to attend church or pay for a glebe, church, or minister unless he voluntarily agreed to do so.¹⁶⁰

Several ordinances affecting the church were passed at the same time. Ministers of all denominations were granted the right to solemnize marriages.¹⁶¹ Protection in property rights was provided by granting that all glebes, churches, lands, etc.,

¹⁵⁷ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 140-155.

¹⁵⁸ *Colonial Records*, X, 870g.

¹⁵⁹ *Colonial Records*, X, 870d.

¹⁶⁰ *Colonial Records*, X, 1011.

¹⁶¹ *State Records*, XII, 726; XXIII, 997.

“heretofore purchased . . . shall be and remain forever to the Use and Occupancy of that religious Society, Church, Sect, Denomination. . . .”¹⁶² All arrears in salaries or other claims due the clergy up to December 18, 1776, were validated and were to be paid.¹⁶³

As the establishment of the church was already weak prior to 1776, it is doubtful if the new constitutional provisions and ordinances weakened it much further. The loss of support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was a more severe blow. The war itself, too, contributed much to the physical destruction of churches and property which the congregations were either unable or unwilling to repair. In spite of the provision guaranteeing continued possession of church property, the counties sometimes sold glebes and lands and kept the money. A petition sent by Tyrrell County to the Assembly for restoration of its property was not approved.¹⁶⁴ The Bible and prayer book belonging in the Edgecombe County church were sold by the county court and the money therefrom given to the Overseers of the Poor.¹⁶⁵ Trinity Church in Scotland Neck, after the death of Parson Burgess, fell into disuse and was taken over by a Baptist congregation.¹⁶⁶ St. James’s in Wilmington suffered from the British occupation.

The enclosure of the graveyard was removed and burnt, while the church itself was stripped of its pews and furniture, and converted into a hospital for the sick, then into a blockhouse for defence against the Americans, and finally into a riding-school for Tarleton’s dragoons.¹⁶⁷

It is not to be wondered at that the congregations drifted to other churches. Apparently many irreligious persons attempted to prevent the holding of services, for in 1785 the Assembly deemed it necessary to levy a fine of five pounds on any person trying to obstruct the roadways leading to a house of public worship.¹⁶⁸

The clergy, of course, did not receive salaries from the state after 1776, nor had they been doing so for at least three years

¹⁶² *State Records*, XXIII, 986.

¹⁶³ *State Records*, XXIV, 91.

¹⁶⁴ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 208-209.

¹⁶⁵ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 263.

¹⁶⁶ *The Church Messenger*, Aug. 25, 1881.

¹⁶⁷ *The Church Messenger*, April 28, 1881.

¹⁶⁸ Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 98.

prior to that in many cases. The interruption of trade with England prevented funds or goods from arriving from that source.¹⁶⁹ The clergy did not starve, but they were forced to turn to other occupations, such as farming and teaching, in order to earn a living, and their care for their parishes gradually diminished.¹⁷⁰ The vestries also vanished, that of St. Paul's at Edenton becoming known as the Court of Overseers of the Poor, and then finally ceasing to function altogether.¹⁷¹ Especially in the rural areas of the state, one found in 1783 only "roofless and forsaken churches, with broken altars and a scattered and diminished Clergy!"¹⁷²

By 1790 there were five Episcopal clergymen resident in the state: Charles Pettigrew, Nathaniel Blount, and George Micklejohn, of colonial days, and two new ones, Wilson of Martin and Dr. Cutting of New Bern.¹⁷³ So demoralized was the church that even these men were not sure if there were other ministers or not. Pettigrew sent a list of the names just given to Dr. Cutting saying: "These are all the clergy of the Episcopal order that I have heard of in the State. Should you know or hear of any to the Southward of New Berne, I must request the favor of you to acquaint them with the matter [of a convention]." To which Dr. Cutting replied that he would "diligently enquire whether there are any of their Episcopal brethren to the Southward of New Berne."¹⁷⁴ Dr. Cutting's congregation was completely disorganized and there was no one possessing any authority. He wrote to Pettigrew:

How it may be in other Parishes or Congregations in this State, I know not; but here we have no Church-wardens, vestrymen, nor any officer to take any charge or care of the Church. Whatever meetings therefore we may hold in the Church will be spontaneous, unbacked by proper authority.¹⁷⁵

In the face of all this, the clergy of North Carolina attempted to organize a diocese within the new Protestant Episcopal

¹⁶⁹ Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 87; see letter from Earl, *Colonial Records*, IX, 1251.

¹⁷⁰ Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 5; F. L. Hawks, "Early Church in North Carolina," *American Church Review*, III (1850-1851), 307.

¹⁷¹ *200th Anniversary of The Building of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Edenton, North Carolina* (The Chowan Herald Print, 1936), 11.

¹⁷² Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 5.

¹⁷³ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 183.

¹⁷⁴ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 184.

¹⁷⁵ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 184.

Church of America. It will be necessary here to sketch briefly the creation of the American church in order to understand the situation in North Carolina.

Beginning with a meeting at Chestertown, Maryland, in 1780 steps were taken to draw together all the Episcopal churches in the various states and to adopt a constitution providing for their liturgy and government. The first general convention was held in New York in 1784, but neither North Carolina nor New England sent delegates. At Philadelphia in the following year the revised liturgy and the new constitution were adopted.¹⁷⁶

The next problem was to secure bishops for the United States. The English church was not too eager to consecrate bishops for America, so that Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, chosen by the church in that state, was forced to seek consecration from the non-juring bishops of Scotland. This he did in 1784.¹⁷⁷ Meantime, John Adams, then minister to England, had ascertained that the bishops of Denmark were willing to "confer holy orders on American Candidates without any Tests which (like those insisted on in England) would be improper for Americans to comply with."¹⁷⁸ It did not prove necessary to accept this offer, however, for the British Parliament in 1786 passed a law granting to the English bishops the permission to consecrate Americans, and in 1787 Bishop White of Pennsylvania and Provoost of New York received that sacrament in Lambeth Palace, England.¹⁷⁹ In 1789 James Madison, president of William and Mary College, was elected Bishop of Virginia and was consecrated in England the following year.¹⁸⁰ Also in 1789 the New England churches ratified the constitution and Bishop Seabury was added to the American episcopate.¹⁸¹ As soon as there were three bishops, the episcopate could be self-perpetuating, so that by 1790 the American church had become independent.

North Carolina had taken no part in any of the above events. Bishop White, however, had written to Governor Johnston in 1789 asking him to have the clergy consult on church interests.

¹⁷⁶ William Stevens Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church* (Boston, 1885, 2 vols.), II, 26-32.

¹⁷⁷ Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, II, 52-53.

¹⁷⁸ *State Records*, XVII, 435.

¹⁷⁹ Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, II, 66-73.

¹⁸⁰ Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, II, 124-125.

¹⁸¹ Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, II, 98.

The bishop apparently knew of no minister to whom he might address the letter. The governor seems to have given it to Pettigrew, who wrote to Dr. Cutting and others urging a state convention in Tarborough in 1790.¹⁸²

The first meeting was held on June 5, 1790, attended by two clergymen and two laymen: Charles Pettigrew, the Rev. Mr. James L. Wilson, Dr. John Leigh, and William Clements. The last of these was very active in the next few years in the attempt to establish a diocese.¹⁸³ The smallness of the meeting must have been very disappointing. Pettigrew wrote to Bishop White explaining it:

The Clergy of this State find it necessary to engage in the business of farming, for the support of their families, as contribution has ever been found so precarious a dependence; and this is perhaps the most busy season of the year, which I did not consider when I made the appointment. This is perhaps a principal reason why our Convention has been so small.¹⁸⁴

Nevertheless these four men proceeded to business. They ratified the constitution of the General Convention, called a new meeting for November, and planned to advertise it in the papers.¹⁸⁵ They sent an address to the General Convention in which they regretted not having known of its last meeting in time to send a delegate; approved the actions of the convention, and "cheerfully subscribe[d] and accede[d] to the union." The address continued:

The state of our Church in this Commonwealth is truly deplorable from the paucity of its clergy and the multiplicity of opposing sectarians who are using every possible exertion to seduce its members to their different communions. This grievance, however, we hope will be reduced in time by the energy of its faithful labourers. . . .¹⁸⁶

With this, the convention adjourned.

The second convention met in November as scheduled, but the delegates are not named or numbered except for the Rev. Mr. Micklejohn who was elected president. Six delegates were named

¹⁸² Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., Comp., *The Early Conventions, Held at Tarborough, Anno Domini 1790, 1793, and 1794* (Raleigh, 1882), 2.

¹⁸³ Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 2-3.

¹⁸⁴ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 186.

¹⁸⁵ Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 9-10.

¹⁸⁶ Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 10-11.

to attend the next General Convention, which would be in 1792; a committee for the state was named; the laity were to have right of representation in the state convention; and a convention was to meet every year.¹⁸⁷

The work of this convention was in vain. The meeting scheduled for 1791 was not even held. A letter from Pettigrew to Bishop White endeavored to explain:

. . . I had determined to be at our next *Episcopal Convention*, which was to meet in October, 1791, and not far off when I received your letter: I therefore, deferred answering it, in hopes that would furnish some new communication, which might render my letter more acceptable.

But being seized with a certain ague, two or three days before I was to have set out, I found it out of my power to give my attendance, as the distance was about a hundred miles. I soon after wrote to one of my brethren, to know what was done on that occasion, that I might transmit to you the particulars. But his letter having fallen into the hands of some careless person, I received it but a few days ago. It informs me, that there did not convene members sufficient to proceed to business.¹⁸⁸

Nor did any of the delegates to the General Convention attend. Only James Wilson started on the journey; but meeting with contrary winds on the voyage from Norfolk to New York, he arrived after the convention had adjourned.¹⁸⁹ However, a letter from the North Carolina convention and a copy of the proceedings of their 1790 meeting were read before the General Convention.¹⁹⁰ The list of all clergy which is appended to that body's journals for each meeting does not include any names from North Carolina, presumably because it had received no official communication containing such information.¹⁹¹

Yet a few brave souls did not give up hope. They tried again to hold a convention in November, 1793, this time with six persons in attendance. The meeting planned an advertisement and circular letter to urge each county to choose a vestry and name a lay reader; and they issued a call for another meeting the following spring.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 13-15.

¹⁸⁸ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 188.

¹⁸⁹ *Journals of the Early [Protestant Episcopal] Conventions* (Claremont, N. H., 1874, 2 vols.), I, 173.

¹⁹⁰ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 154.

¹⁹¹ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 175-179.

¹⁹² Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 17-18.

There were twelve delegates at Tarborough when the convention met in May, 1794. Present among the clergy were several of familiar name: Pettigrew, Wilson, Nathaniel Blount, Dr. Halling, and Robert Johnston Miller.¹⁹³ The decision was made to elect a Bishop of North Carolina, which office fell to Charles Pettigrew. A constitution for the diocese was drawn up and approved, the preamble to which stated their purposes as follows:

Whereas, There are numbers of good people in this State who have been educated in the faith of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and many other religious and well-disposed persons who appear to be desirous to worship God according to the forms used in said Church; We, the Clergy and lay deputies in Convention met, have thought it advisable to frame a Constitution for the future government of said Church; and humbly pray at the throne of Heavenly Grace that our endeavors may prove effectual to the promotion of virtue and true religion.¹⁹⁴

These papers, together with the testimonial of election of Charles Pettigrew, were sent to Bishop White, who promised that although the certificate of election was irregular and would have to be voted on by the next General Convention, "we may presume on their entertaining an inclination to do whatever is in their power for the increasing of the respectability, and the providing for the further increase of our Church."¹⁹⁵

The efforts to organize a diocese, however, were but the faint glow of a dying flame. Bishop Cheshire wrote later that the church was looking backward to the establishment with a hopeless and powerless feeling concerning the future. Self-reliance had been destroyed and the spiritual life of the church had been obscured by the civil relationship to the state which had existed prior to the Revolution.¹⁹⁶

For Bishop-elect Pettigrew to be consecrated, it was necessary that he attend a General Convention. This he never did. Although he set out in 1795 to take ship at Norfolk, he found yellow fever

¹⁹³ Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 21-23. Miller had been ordained in the Lutheran Church that year with the understanding that he regarded himself as an Episcopalian. He was finally ordained by Bishop Moore in 1821. See De Rosset, *Sketches*, 378-400.

¹⁹⁴ Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 25.

¹⁹⁵ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 205.

¹⁹⁶ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 243-254.

so rampant there that he returned home. In 1798, the year of the next meeting, Philadelphia itself experienced a yellow fever epidemic and the convention was postponed a year. There is no evidence that Pettigrew had planned to attend, however. In 1799, 1801, and 1804, his "poor crazy constitution," as he once called it, prevented any journey on his part.¹⁹⁷ It was impossible for any great growth to take place in the church without a bishop. Pettigrew, while held in great esteem both then and since, possessed no authority and seems almost to have retired from service. Occasionally he sent letters of instruction to Dr. Halling and Blount, and once urged the organization of a congregation in Person County; but that was the extent of his activity.¹⁹⁸

The decline of the church became ever more pronounced. From 1783 to 1817 only six North Carolinians were ordained to the ministry.¹⁹⁹ Frequently, as in the case of Christ Church, New Bern, schoolmasters served in the church in an attempt to hold it together.²⁰⁰ Congregations stayed together sometimes because of the perseverance of some member; thus Elizabeth and Susan Wainwright in Rowan County "were a tremendous power in their church" and kept it from being scattered until 1817 when the Rev. Mr. Miller finally organized it.²⁰¹ By 1803 the chapel at Skinnerville was in so unsafe a condition that the congregation was in danger while in it. Pettigrew himself financed the replacement of the building.²⁰² St. John's Church in Williamsboro was the scene of rope-dancing, punch-and-judy shows, and public theatricals until 1819.²⁰³ The will of the Rev. Mr. John Alexander, dated 1795, illustrates the well-nigh hopeless feeling of churchmen of the time:

The manly, masculine voice of Orthodoxy is no longer heard in our land; far therefore from my grave be the senseless rant of whining Fanaticism, her hated and successful rival. Cant and grimace dishonour the dead as well as disgrace the living. Let the Monitor within, who never deceives, alone pronounce my funeral oration, while some friendly hand deposits my poor

¹⁹⁷ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 197-201.

¹⁹⁸ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 205, 208.

¹⁹⁹ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 249.

²⁰⁰ Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 112-119.

²⁰¹ Robert B. Owens, *Christ Church, Rowan County* (Charlotte, 1921), 6-7.

²⁰² De Rosset, *Sketches*, 215.

²⁰³ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 211.

remains close by the ashes of my beloved daughter Elizabeth, with whom I trust to share a happy eternity.²⁰⁴

When Charles Pettigrew died in 1807, there was no Episcopal minister left in the state except Nathaniel Blount, who lived too far away to hold the funeral services.²⁰⁵ When Blount died in 1816, there was left not a single minister of the church in North Carolina.²⁰⁶

The darkest hour, however, had passed. After 1812 several young clergymen from the North had come to parishes in North Carolina; and while they were not there in 1816, the year of Blount's death, they soon returned to continue their work. Chief among these was Adam Empie, who was rector of St. James's in Wilmington. Upon his urging, a convention was held April 23, 1817, at New Bern, with four parishes represented. This convention, made up of nine delegates, adhered to the constitution of the General Convention, invited Bishop Moore of Virginia to serve their diocese too, adopted a state constitution, chose two delegates to the General Convention, and agreed to support a missionary in the state.²⁰⁷

This time the work was not to fail. Moses Jarvis, the lay delegate, attended the General Convention of 1817, held in New York, the first time a North Carolinian had been present.²⁰⁸ The new diocese was recognized, Jarvis was put on the committee on the state of the church,²⁰⁹ and the first list of North Carolina clergy appeared in the convention journals.²¹⁰ The report on the state of the church contained a section on North Carolina. This section stated that three parishes had settled ministers; namely, Fayetteville, Wilmington, of "considerable size and generally well attended," and New Bern, which was "numerously and respectably attended." None of the clergymen were from North Carolina. Edenton possessed a church but had had no rector for two years past, while Washington had lately lost Blount.²¹¹ This

²⁰⁴ Quoted in *The Church Messenger*, Aug. 7, 1884.

²⁰⁵ *Centennial Ceremonies Held in Christ Church Parish, Raleigh, N. C., A.D. 1921* (Raleigh, 1922), 14.

²⁰⁶ De Rosset, *Sketches*, 262.

²⁰⁷ *Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina, 1817*, 3-6; hereinafter cited as *N. C. Journals*.

²⁰⁸ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 452.

²⁰⁹ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 457.

²¹⁰ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 508.

²¹¹ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 476.

would appear to be a small basis on which to erect a strong church, no bigger in fact than that in 1794; but a new generation had taken charge which had no concept of any type of church except a freely and voluntarily supported one.

It is also interesting to note that the initiative and leadership came from persons who were not North Carolinians by birth or up-bringing. Adam Empie, of New York, and Bethel Judd, of Connecticut, came south for their health. Empie was asked to take charge at Wilmington and Judd organized a new congregation at Fayetteville. Of that new congregation, the *North Carolina Journals* for 1818 reported:

The zeal of that congregation, of which young men form a principal part, has been eminently evinced by their regular and devout attention to the worship of the church; by their liberal contributions for the support of their minister; and by their donations and exertions for the erection of a church, which will soon be completed. . . .²¹²

Hopefully the 1818 convention met at Fayetteville. It reported:

It is now but little more than a year since there has been a hope of the revival of the church in this state. Never was there a more gloomy season to its friends, than that which preceded this period: But the prospect has greatly brightened; and, by the blessing of Heaven, perseverance will crown their efforts with abundant success.²¹³

One new church was admitted, \$316.30 was reported for the missionary fund, delegates were chosen to attend the next General Convention, and a constitution was adopted for the Missionary Society.²¹⁴

The following table of statistics will show the growth of the church, 1817-1823, as reported in the *Journals* of the annual conventions of the Diocese of North Carolina. As some parishes made no reports or were absent, the figures are not complete.

²¹² *N. C. Journals*, 1818, 8.

²¹³ *N. C. Journals*, 1818, 9.

²¹⁴ *N. C. Journals*, 1818, 6-14.

	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823
Clergy attending	3	4	5	5	7	11	7
Laymen attending	6	6	7	5	10	21	23
Parishes represented	4	4	5	6	7	10	13
New parishes admitted		1	2		3	6	7
Baptisms		61	83	105	76	143	202
Communicants		168	250	326	332	370	432
Deacons ordained			2	2	2		3
Priests ordained				1	1		
Confirmations				221*			
Missionary fund	\$316.30	1,100	1,000	1,200	210	1,105.34	
Missionaries			1		2	5	4

* This represents the visit of Bishop Moore to the diocese.

Statistics do not tell the whole story. In the 1819 report on the state of the church, the committee on that subject stated:

Her interests have continued to advance with a success equal to every reasonable expectation; a considerable accession has been made to her numbers. The churches represented in this convention are in a more flourishing state than they were at our last meeting. . . . For many years, little has been done, because all seemed to despair of success. The friends of our church, regarding her state as hopeless, contented themselves with mourning over her ruins without making any efforts to raise her from her desolations. But the happy change which has lately been made, has called into action the zealous endeavors of many of her followers; and there is good reason to believe, that [they] will continue to increase.²¹⁵

The new spirit was revealed in the sermon delivered before the 1820 Convention by the Rev. Mr. Gregory T. Bedell. He described the decree of Cyrus by which the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple. Comparing that situation with that of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina, he concluded: " 'Who is there among you?' The way is prepared. Our God is with us. Let us go up.'²¹⁶

The report on North Carolina made to the General Convention of 1820 stated, in part:

At a period no more remote than the fall of 1816, the Protestant Episcopal Church in this state, was nearly at the lowest point of depression. There were, indeed, some who felt a lively

²¹⁵ *N. C. Journals*, 1819, 10.

²¹⁶ *N. C. Journals*, 1820, 17-31.

interest in her welfare and who wept when they remembered Zion. But, like Israel of old, they hung their harps upon the willows in almost hopeless anguish. Even those few houses of God, which had, for some years before, occasionally or statedly resounded with his praise, were closed and deserted; and the pious of our communion, though attached both by education and principle to the Church of their fathers despairing of seeing her ever again arise from the dust, stood ready to abandon her cause, and to unite themselves with any among whom they could enjoy, in any measure, the benefit of divine ordinances. But, blessed be the name of the Lord, the set time for Him to have compassion upon this part of Zion had come. He viewed with an eye of relenting mercy, the desolations with which his justice had visited her sins. The prayers of the faithful were heard by the Great Head of the Church, and the decree was sent forth—Let Jerusalem be rebuilt.²¹⁷

The new diocese also participated in the affairs of the Episcopal Church as a whole. Delegates attended the General Conventions of 1817, 1820, and 1823, and the special convention of 1821. Moses Jarvis, Jr., served on the committee for the theological seminary.²¹⁸ Later Duncan Cameron served as chairman of that committee and was chosen a trustee of the new institution.²¹⁹ The Rev. Mr. Gregory T. Bedell was named as one of the managers of the newly established Missionary Society.²²⁰ When funds were being raised for the seminary, North Carolina subscribed nearly \$10,000 toward endowing a professorship, the largest amount raised in any diocese. The Convention reported that the new diocese "has manifested a distinguished zeal and liberality in the cause of the seminary."²²¹

The organization of the diocese would not be completed, however, until it had secured its own bishop. By 1821 it was felt that the time had come for such action and in the convention of that year a committee was appointed to discuss the financial support of the episcopate.²²² The next year the committee assured the convention of the feasibility of the project, and a new committee was named to begin raising funds. A resolution was adopted to elect a bishop the following year.²²³

²¹⁷ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 541.

²¹⁸ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 461.

²¹⁹ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 524, 551.

²²⁰ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 553.

²²¹ *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 629-632.

²²² *N. C. Journals*, 1821, 19-20.

²²³ *N. C. Journals*, 1822, 24.

The 1823 North Carolina convention was held in Salisbury, on April 10-14. The finance committee having made a satisfactory report, the clerical deputies unanimously nominated John Stark Ravenscroft, of Virginia, to be Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina. The laity approved, and his salary was fixed at \$750 annually.²²⁴

On Thursday, May 22, 1823, at St. Paul's Church in Philadelphia where the General Convention was meeting, the consecration service for Bishop Ravenscroft was held, and the sermon was preached by Bishop Griswold of the Eastern (New England) Diocese.²²⁵ Thus at last, after years of struggle, the church in North Carolina was firmly established—not on the old basis of state support, in which it had failed, but on the new basis of an independent, voluntary church supported by the desires, energy, and labors of its clergy and its congregations.

²²⁴ *N. C. Journals, 1823, 21-23.*

²²⁵ *Journals of the Early Conventions, II, 18-19.*

THE PROFESSIONAL THEATER IN WILMINGTON, 1900-1930*

BY DONALD J. RULFS

As indicated in a previous survey of the professional theater in Wilmington from 1870 to 1900,¹ the trade of the port in the chief commodities of cotton, lumber, and turpentine increased steadily during the 1880's and 1890's, with the result that the number of theatrical offerings per season increased gradually until the final season of 1899-1900 when there were 108 performances. During the first seasons of the new century, all types of entertainment that had been popular in the last decade of the nineteenth century, with the exception of the spectacular melodramas, continued to draw good audiences.

During the period covered by this survey, Wilmington increased in population from 20,976 in 1900 to 33,372 in 1920 and then receded to 32,270 by 1930. By 1909 it had become the third largest naval stores port in the world and the fourth largest cotton port.² After 1910 in spite of the competition of Norfolk, which was enjoying the benefits of low freight rates on the trunk lines of the Norfolk and Western and the Chesapeake and Ohio to the Middle West,³ the volume of shipping continued to increase. According to U. S. Government reports, the tonnage and value of merchandise passing through Wilmington almost doubled during the decade 1916-1926. In 1916 the tonnage was 521,530 with a value of over thirty-four million, while by 1926 the tonnage had risen to 951,337 with a value of fifty-nine and a half million.⁴ During the 1920's the leading industries of the port were the distribution of petroleum products, the exportation of cotton, and the manufacture of fertilizer.⁵ Furthermore, with the

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

¹ Donald J. Rulfs, "The Professional Theater in Wilmington, 1870-1900," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (July, 1951), 316-331. In preparing the present survey, I have found newspapers missing from the files for the following dates: September 25, 1900, through March 21, 1901; October 6, 1903, through December 31, 1903; and April 1, 1904, through December 31, 1904. Papers for these dates are not available in the main depositories of Wilmington newspapers—the Wilmington Public Library, the University of North Carolina Library, Duke University Library, the State Library, and the Library of Congress.

² *Wilmington Morning Star*, October 3, 1909; December 14, 1909.

³ R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, 1929) II, 577.

⁴ *Economic Survey of Wilmington, North Carolina*, University of North Carolina Extension Bulletins, VI, No. 14 (June 1, 1927), 115.

⁵ *Economic Survey of Wilmington*, 24.

improvement of state highways during the 1920's, Wilmington became the central retail and wholesale market for at least nine counties in southeastern North Carolina.⁶

It should be noted in passing that the name of the theater, which had been changed from The Wilmington Theater to the Opera House at the beginning of the season 1871-1872, was again changed from the Opera House to the Academy of Music at the beginning of the season 1902-1903. In 1929 it was changed to Thalian Hall, as will be indicated below.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, one of the most popular of the long-run hit attractions on tour was the serious play, which was usually advertised as "a great emotional drama" and which was almost always labeled a "strong" play by the reviewers. The first of the most successful of these to visit Wilmington was Charles W. Chase's dramatization of Marie Corelli's novel *Thelma*, which appeared on October 7, 1901. The play had a setting in Norway and Finland and featured a realistic snow storm. Equally popular was W. E. Nankeville's *Human Hearts*, which was offered on September 18, 1902, and which was advertised as "A Tale of Life in the Picturesque Arkansas Hills." Next appeared *An Eye for an Eye*, adapted by L. Du Pont Syle from Dumas, *fils*, on January 19, 1903, with Kathryn Kidder in the leading role of Francine. The review stated that "Miss Kidder's portrayal of the stricken wife and her part in the final reconciliation was perfect, and supporting her was a clever and capable company."⁷ During the next season, Will C. Murphy's *Why Women Sin*, advertised as "a stirring society melodrama," was offered on March 31, 1904, and at the beginning of the season 1905-1906, Eugenie Blair appeared on September 20 in Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. She was followed within a month, on October 5, by Effie Ellsler in a costly revival of Steele Mackaye's *Hazel Kirke*. Equally well received was Charles Mayor's recent London success *Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall* on October 20, 1906, matinee and evening, with Laura Burt and Henry Stanford. A month later, on November 23, Helen Grantley appeared in Channing Pollock's *The Little Gray Lady*, and she was found to be "one of the most charming and delightful actresses seen in this city in a long time."⁸

⁶ *Economic Survey of Wilmington*, 79-91.

⁷ *Morning Star*, January 20, 1903.

⁸ *Wilmington Messenger*, November 24, 1906.

Perhaps the most elaborately staged serious play during these years was Denham Thompson and George W. Ryer's *Our New Minister*, which appeared for matinee and evening performances on January 26, 1907, with Joseph Conyers. It was advertised as a "\$15,000 production," and it was touring in its seventh season. Next, Henry W. Savage's adaptation of Ferenc Molnar's *The Devil* was offered on October 9, 1908, by a capable touring company while the original production was still playing as the triumph of the season in New York. This was followed in the same month, on October 26, by William Vaughn Moody's *The Great Divide*, featuring John E. Ince and Claire Krall, and it was considered to be "strong, engaging throughout, and is put on with a wealth of scenic embellishment typifying the abandon of the great West and the culture of the refined East."⁹ Within a month, on November 12, another hit appeared in the form of Henry V. Esmond's New York and London success *Under the Greenwood Tree*, with Florence Davis and Elliot Dexter. During the remainder of the season 1908-1909 two more outstanding serious plays appeared: George H. Broadhurst's *The Man of the Hour*, on February 13 with James A. Marcus, and Ibsen's *A Doll's House* on the following April 17 with Florence Davis. Although there was no review of the latter play, the writer for the *Morning Star* stated on the day of the performance that it was "a play penned by the oddest genius of modern times," and he discussed Ibsen's condemnation of "obnoxious customs" and "the hypocritical existence of unthinking folks."

The last season of the decade opened on September 4, 1909, with Eugene Walter's *The Wolf*, which returned on February 12, 1912, and it was followed by five other hit plays through the middle of February. On September 10, Henry Savage's *Forgiven* was presented with Lionel Lawrence, and it was described as "a play of the South . . . full of heart interest, mingling the tears with the smiles."¹⁰ Next appeared on October 2 Thomas A. Wise's *A Gentleman from Mississippi*, dealing with an old-time Southern senator in Washington. This drama was mentioned in the advance notices as being "the most successful American play of the last 20 years, with the possible exception of *The Man of the Hour*,"¹¹ and after the performance itself, the piece was declared

⁹ *Morning Star*, October 27, 1908.

¹⁰ *Morning Star*, September 10, 1909.

¹¹ *Morning Star*, September 29, 1909.

to be "one of the best attractions ever seen here."¹² It returned later in the season on February 2. On October 16, 1909, Charles Klein's *The Lion and the Mouse*, starring Carolyn Elberts, was presented at matinee and evening performances, with a return engagement on March 7, 1912. On January 14, 1910, Eugene Walter's *Paid in Full*, which had run for two seasons in New York, was offered, and it returned on January 12, 1912, and December 15, 1913. The last serious play was *St. Elmo*, an adaptation by Neil Twomey of Augusta J. Evans's novel, presented on February 14, 1910, matinee and evening, with Burton King.

The very successful religious plays which had been popular during the 1890's continued during the years 1900-1910. The first of these, Charles W. Chase's dramatization of *Quo Vadis*, had first appeared in Wilmington on March 14, 1900, and it returned on April 8, 1901, for matinee and evening, and on the following November 28. The next of this type, on October 5, 1903, was *When Her Soul Speaks*, described as being "on the order of *The Christian* but not so radical as *Ben Hur*."¹³ On September 30, 1905, appeared an elaborate production of Hall Caine's *The Eternal City* with music by Pietro Mascagni. Later in the decade four religious plays appeared in rather rapid succession, the first being Richard Ganthony's *Message from Mars*, which had played for three years in London and two in New York, on January 21, 1907, matinee and evening. It offered a strong preachment against selfishness and was found to be "of absorbing interest."¹⁴ During the next month, on February 7, *Parsifal*, advertised as "a sacred festival play," made a profound impression, and it returned the following October 26. It was followed on March 18, 1907, by Wilson Barrett's *The Sign of the Cross*, which so deeply moved the audience that there was no applause, ". . . the theme being too stirring in a soulful way for expression to be given by outward sign."¹⁵ At the beginning of the next season Clarence Bennett's *The Holy City* on October 24 and 25, 1907, had the same general effect. Two years later, on November 9 and 10, 1909, Charles R. Kennedy's *The Servant in the House* presented a study of human relationships applying the teachings of Jesus to modern life.

¹² *Morning Star*, October 4, 1909.

¹³ *Morning Star*, September 26, 1903.

¹⁴ *Messenger*, January 22, 1907.

¹⁵ *Messenger*, March 19, 1907.

During the first decade four plays with historical themes were offered. The first of these, Thomas Dixon's *The Clansman*, which appeared on October 10, 1905, matinee and evening, provoked more unfavorable comment than any other production that visited Wilmington during the early twentieth century. In addition to the regular theatrical review, the *Messenger* carried a lengthy editorial, in which the writer showed disappointment in that he did not believe *The Clansman* gave a true picture of reconstruction problems and would therefore prove a failure as "an instructor of the present generation." He continued to the effect that "While exciting and calculated to arouse animosity between the two races, it does not teach a lesson to either."¹⁶ In addition, the regular theatrical reviewer for the *Messenger* reported two "enormous audiences," but he found the company to be an "ordinary" one and felt that this was probably a good thing because accomplished performers could have made the appeals to prejudice even stronger than they were. The play returned on April 13, 1907, and February 27, 1908, but produced no further comment. Ivy Ashton Root's *Mozart* was presented on January 11, 1906, with Howard Kyle in the leading role. The piece was considered the best offering of the season up to that date, and the effects of Kyle's acting were strong: ". . . at times there was a stillness over the house like a death chamber, and at others tears stood in the eyes of his auditors."¹⁷ During the next season, on March 14, 1907, Julia Marlowe's adaptation of Charles Major's *When Knighthood Was in Flower* appeared with Anna Day in the role of Mary Tudor. Every aspect of the production was praised, especially the scenery and costumes, which were considered "ample and gorgeous."¹⁸ The last play was Thomas Dixon and Channing Pollock's *The Traitor*, a sequel to *The Clansman*, which was presented on October 21, 1908, but made no great impression.

Although many comedies were offered during the years 1900-1910, only a few were outstanding. The first was H. V. Esmond's *When We Were Twenty-one* on December 9, 1902, with a return engagement on November 14, 1905, for matinee and evening. Next, Henry G. Carlton's *That Imprudent Young Couple* with

¹⁶ *Messenger*, October 11, 1905.

¹⁷ *Messenger*, January 12, 1906.

¹⁸ *Messenger*, March 15, 1907.

May Sargent proved a hit on September 25, 1903, and during the same season two additional comedy successes were Kirke La Shelle's *The Earl of Pawtucket* on January 11, 1904, and Robert Marshall's *His Excellency, the Governor* a week later on January 18. Few plays, however, could match the wide appeal of Alice Hegan Rice's *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch*, on March 14, 1906, with Mrs. Madge Carr Cook in the leading role. *My Wife's Family* by Hal Stephens and Harry Linton, on January 14, 1907, also pleased, as did *The Man on the Box*, an adaptation by Grace Furniss of Harold MacGrath's story, which was offered on April 6, 1907, featuring Max Figman. Sol Smith Russell's *The Peaceful Valley* on the following November 1 and 2 was perhaps the best of several rural comedies which depended largely on character acting and dialect. Satirical comedy was represented by George Ade's *The County Chairman* with William T. Chatterton on January 31, 1908, and we are told that "The keen satire and humor . . . were a constant source of delight, especially to those interested in the wire-pulling of politics."¹⁹ George H. Broadhurst's *A Fool and His Money* was also well received on October 19, 1909, together with Margaret Mayo's *Polly of the Circus* on the following December 2. This elaborate production, featuring Fay Wallace as Polly, offered circus acts on the stage and carried three ponies, a trained donkey, and a horse.²⁰ Finally, the most successful of all the comedies, Pierre Veber's *The Girl From Rector's*, translated by Paul M. Potter, appeared on February 15, 1910, with Carrie Webber. The play had run for over one thousand nights in Paris, and three companies had run for one year each in Berlin, Vienna, and New York.

Just as numerous as serious plays and comedies were musical comedies, which became more and more elaborate in staging. Among the most successful of these was *The Belle of New York*, on December 16, 1901, which had enjoyed over two thousand performances in New York and London and was said to be "second only in all the world to the enormous vogue of *Pinafore* a generation ago."²¹ *Miss Simplicity*, with a company of seventy performers, also packed the Opera House on December 16, 1902, as did *The Telephone Girl*, which opened the season on August

¹⁹ *Messenger*, February 1, 1908.

²⁰ *Morning Star*, December 3, 1909.

²¹ *Morning Star*, December 15, 1901.

31, 1903. It had been running in various cities and on tour for seven years and was described as "a magnificent production."²² The beginning of the season 1905-1906 brought three hits in rapid succession: Charles H. Hoyt and Gus Bothner's *A Bunch of Keys* on September 21; *The Office Boy* with Frank Deshon on September 25; and *Fritz and Snitz*, featuring the comedy team of Mason and Mason with a company of sixty, on October 5. The show with the greatest number of return engagements, however, was *Buster Brown*, which first appeared on March 2 and 3, 1906, with Master Gabriel as Buster, and his dog Tige. A matinee for children was offered on November 3, and the show returned on January 10, 1907; January 25, 1908; and January 23, 1909. *Sergeant Kitty* with Helen Byron and a company of sixty opened the season on October 3, 1906, and the next hit was *The Runaways*, which had completed a long run at the Casino Theater in New York, starring George Ovey on October 23, 1908. *The Cat and the Fiddle* appeared on January 20, 1909, and February 21, 1910. On March 20, 1909, came *Fifty Miles from Boston*, the first of the George M. Cohan hits to come to Wilmington, and at the end of the same year, on December 13, appeared *The Red Mill*, an elaborate production by Henry Blossom and Victor Herbert.

The first of the star performers to appear was R. D. MacLean, who played opposite Odette Taylor in *The School for Scandal* on October 15, 1901. He was followed on December 9 of the same season by Rose Coghlan in Oscar Wilde's *A Woman of No Importance*, and she was found to be "all that the ecstatic press criticisms have proclaimed her."²³ She was also well received when she returned on January 7, 1904, in *The Greatest Thing in the World*, an adaptation of Henry Drummond's story. On January 2, 1902, James O'Neill, father of Eugene O'Neill, appeared in his perennial *Monte Cristo*, which advertised "the most magnificent scenic encompassments ever seen on the American stage." The review of the performance stated that "Almost every member of the cast is a star, and the performance may well be termed the gem of the theatrical season thus far."²⁴ The production returned four years later on February 15, 1906. Otis Skinner, who had first visited Wilmington on January 11, 1894, returned on

²² *Morning Star*, September 1, 1903.

²³ *Morning Star*, December 10, 1901

²⁴ *Morning Star*, January 3, 1902.

February 28, 1902, in George H. Boker's *Francesca da Rimini* (1855), which was accurately described as "the most brilliant example of the poetic drama ever achieved by an American," and Skinner's interpretation of the leading role was also highly praised.²⁵ In the field of musical comedy, Wilmington theatergoers had the opportunity of seeing and hearing the vivacious reigning queen, Eva Tanguay, who appeared on February 15, 1905, in *The Sambo Girl*.

One of the most popular stars with Wilmington audiences, however, was Creston Clarke, nephew of Edwin Booth, who first appeared on January 5, 1906, in *Monsieur Beaucaire*. His very polished acting was praised as were the elegant sets and costumes of the period of George II.²⁶ He returned in the same year on December 11 in *The Ragged Messenger*, and again on December 27, 1907, in *The Power That Governs*, at which performance, we are told, "The applause of the audience reached such a high pitch at the end of the second act that the actors were forced to respond to several curtain calls."²⁷ Next came Mme. Helena Modjeska, who had first visited Wilmington on January 30, 1884. She returned on April 7, 1906, in *Mary Stuart*, of which performance it was said that "There were those present last night who had seen Modjeska 20 years or more ago, and they said she was the same artist only lacking, of course, the fire and life of youth. But the power over her audience was still hers. . . ."²⁸ On November 22, 1906, the famous Ben Greet Players offered *The Merchant of Venice*, and they returned on April 18 and 19, 1910, to present *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Twelfth Night* (matinee), and *As You Like It* on the lawn of the high school.

John Griffith, advertised as "America's leading tragedian," was well received in *Richard III* on November 8, 1907, and he returned on October 25 and 26, 1909, in *Macbeth*, with Edyth Totten as Lady Macbeth, and in *Faust*. The next star was May Robson in Anne Warner's *The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary* on December 11, 1908. Concerning this performance we are informed that "The piece fairly scintillates with bright lines and clever situations, and Miss Robson and her support were clearly equal and more to each and every one of them."²⁹ The last noted

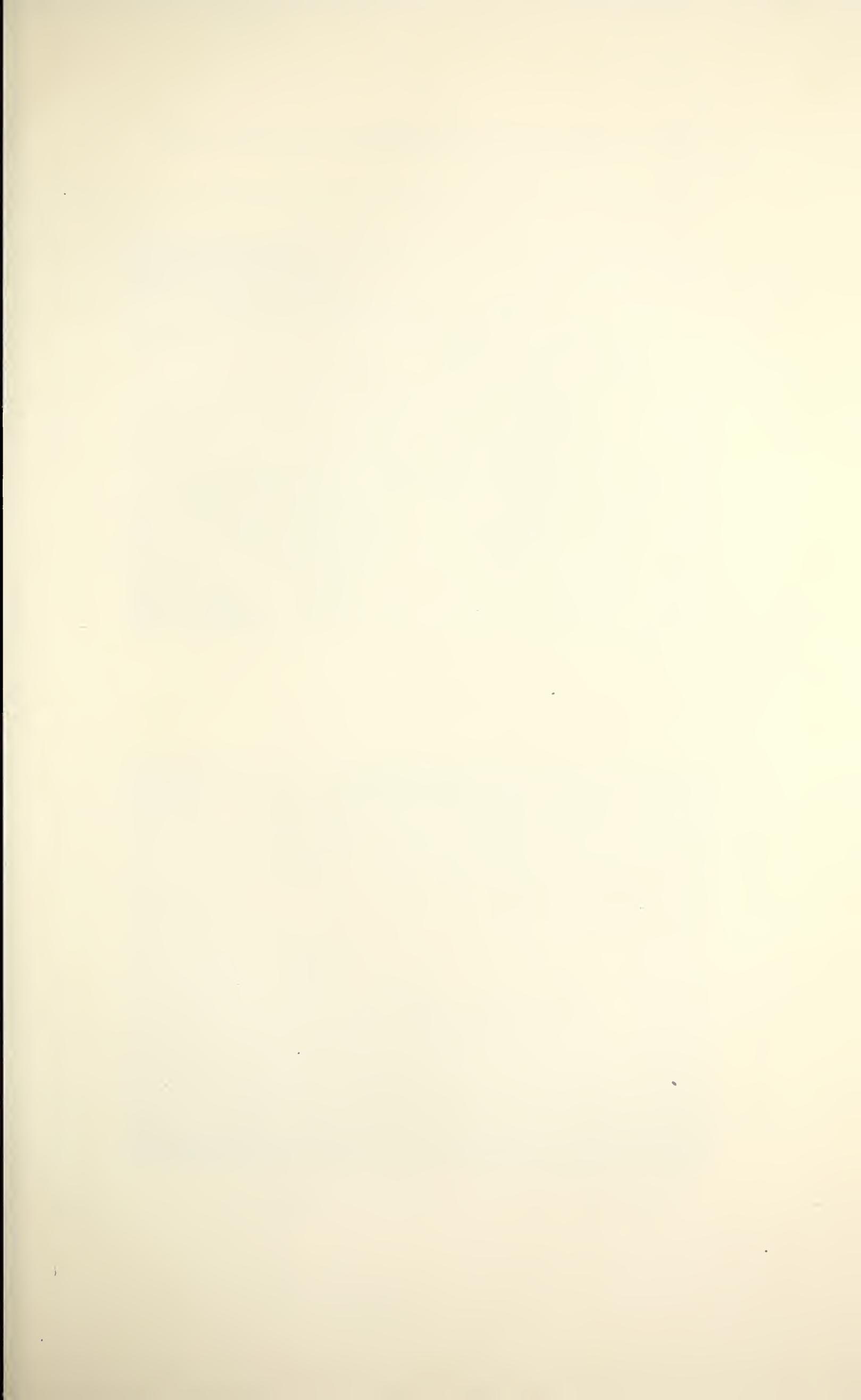
²⁵ *Morning Star*, February 25, 1902.

²⁶ *Messenger*, January 6, 1906.

²⁷ *Messenger*, December 28, 1907.

²⁸ *Messenger*, April 8, 1906.

²⁹ *Morning Star*, December 12, 1908.



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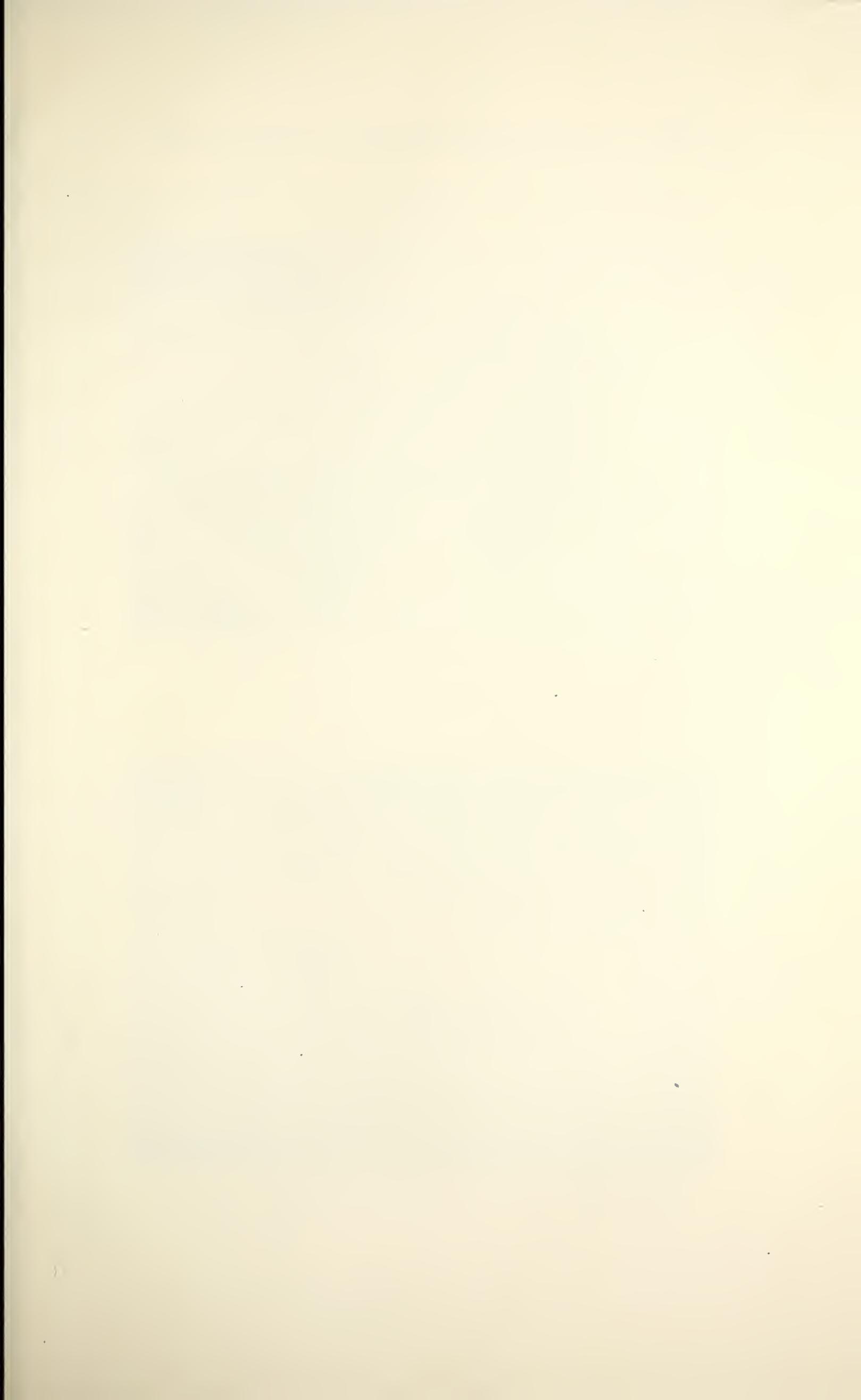
²⁵ *Morning Star*, February 25, 1902.

²⁶ *Messenger*, January 6, 1906.

²⁷ *Messenger*, December 28, 1907.

²⁸ *Messenger*, April 8, 1906.

²⁹ *Morning Star*, December 12, 1908.





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JAMES O'NEILL as the Count of Monte Cristo.



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OTIS SKINNER as Lanciotto in *Francesca da Rimini*.

performer during the decade was Lillian Russell, who appeared on January 6, 1910, in *The First Night*, a comedy adapted by George V. Hobart from the German. She was found to be not only "beautiful and bewitching, gorgeously gowned," but also "a finished and capable actress."³⁰

The repertoire or stock companies which had increased in number during the last five years of the nineteenth century continued to supply a large portion of the day-to-day entertainment between the appearances of hit plays and star performers. The companies continued engagements by the week, offering eight performances, with matinees on Wednesday and Saturday, and charging popular prices of 10, 20, and 30 cents. The engagement of a hit play or star performer, however, took precedence over the stock company and could break in on any night of the week. During a typical full season, such as that of 1906-1907, when there were exactly one hundred performances, the stock companies supplied fifty-one of the total offerings. Throughout the decade the plays given by these companies usually consisted of well-worn melodramas and farces, though occasionally an old hit play no longer on tour was attempted. The most popular troupes were the Mabel Paige, Osman's, the Peruchi-Gypzene, the Davis-Godwin, and the Four Pickerts.

In addition to plays and musical comedies, the decade witnessed some outstanding concert artists and two grand operas. The first artist was Blind Tom, the talented Negro pianist who had been appearing in Wilmington since 1862. He offered three concerts, including a matinee, on November 14 and 15, 1901. The next event was the Innes Band, sixty in number, on January 8, 1902, and November 8 of the same year. John Philip Sousa's Band played on February 7, 1902, and later on January 6, 1908. Another talented colored musician was Black Patti and her Troubadors, who were well received on September 29, 1902; March 3, 1904; January 1, 1907; and September 13, 1907. *Carmen* was offered on October 8, 1902, by the Gordon-Shay Grand Opera Company, featuring Cecelia Shay. This was followed on May 2, 1903, by the noted soprano Lillian Nordica, who appeared with the J. S. Duss Metropolitan House Orchestra. Next the pianist Edward Baxter Perry offered a recital on January 30, 1905, and returned on February 3, 1908. The second

³⁰ *Morning Star*, January 7, 1910.

opera, *Dorcas*, on November 18, 1905, featured Pauline Hall, and the same opera was repeated on November 16, 1907, by the Ethel Morton Opera Company. The New York Symphony Orchestra, with Walter Damrosch conducting and Marguerite Hall, contralto, as soloist, appeared on April 24, 1906. Beginning in the spring of 1909, the Wilmington chapter of the North Carolina Sorosis sponsored on May 26, 27, and 28 the first annual May Music Festival and presented several outstanding artists who performed with local musicians and choral groups. The Festival was repeated on June 1 and 2, 1910, though the artists were not of the same calibre as those of the preceding year.

At the beginning of the second decade of the century, seasons continued to be full, averaging about ninety performances. During the first season, when the Academy was under the management of Simeon A. Schloss, the hit attractions were coming in such rapid succession that the reviewer for the *Morning Star*, while commenting upon a performance of Clyde Fitch's *The City* on February 18, declared that "Without a doubt the present theatrical season in Wilmington has been the most glorious of all."³¹ It was the next season with one hundred and fourteen performances, however, that proved to be the fullest until the outbreak of World War I. Before Germany's declaration of war against Russia on August 1, 1914, the opening of the new Victoria Theater on January 12, 1914, affected the season 1913-1914 at the Academy. The new theater had a seating capacity of 1,100 and offered daily bills of B. F. Keith Vaudeville, which became very popular. Almost immediately performances dropped off at the Academy, where there were ninety-five performances during the entire season, only seventeen of which occurred after the opening of the Victoria.

As a result of the general unrest caused by the beginning of the war and the nation-wide effort to economize, in addition to the competition of the Victoria, there were only forty-three performances at the Academy during 1914-1915. During the next season, the manager of the Victoria, Marx S. Nathan, opened on September 13, 1915, with a permanent stock company, the Harme Associate Players, and the performances at both theaters totaled eighty-nine for the season. The Academy at this time was under the management of George M. Bailey. During 1916-1917 there

³¹ February 19, 1911.





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LILLIAN RUSSELL



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JOHN GRIFFITH as Macbeth

was a new low of thirty-six performances. At this time the United States was becoming more and more involved in the international situation, and war was finally declared against Germany on April 6, 1917. The season 1917-1918, however, brought an increase to seventy-six performances at the Academy and the Royal Theater, twenty of the offerings being by the United Southern Stock Company, which opened at the Royal on April 1, 1918. The next season, 1918-1919, was a full one at the Academy, and the plays of contemporaneous stock companies at the Victoria, beginning on February 3, brought the total number of performances to one hundred and sixty-eight, in spite of the fact that all theaters were closed from September 28 through October 19 because of the influenza epidemic. During the last season of the decade all performances were at the Academy, totaling sixty-eight.

All types of entertainment that were popular during the first decade continued during the years 1910-1920. Characteristically, the opening performance for the first season, on September 1, 1910, was an emotional play entitled *Ishmael*, an adaptation by Alice E. Ives of Mrs. E. D. Southworth's novel, with Virginia Howell in the leading role. The next significant offering of this type was Alexander Bisson's *Madame X* on the following November 21. This play, which was advertised as "The Supreme Drama of Mother Love," had run for two seasons in New York and for one year each in Chicago and Paris. It was declared to be "unquestionably the best production of the kind seen here this season."³² On the following February 18 Clyde Fitch's *The City* appeared after a year's run in New York and was also well received. At the beginning of the next season, Charles Klein's *The Gamblers*, "a gripping play of Wall Street" with Charles Mackey and Lillian Kemble, was given on October 11, 1911, before a crowded house that gave "thunderous applause . . . at various intervals throughout the evening."³³ A very similar emotional and moral play came during the next month on November 30 in the form of Henri Bernstein's *The Thief*, starring Frank Harvey and Edythe Ketchum. Still another strong play by Klein, *The Third Degree*, appeared on January 29, 1912, with Grace Lord and Raymond Wells.

³² *Morning Star*, November 22, 1910.

³³ *Morning Star*, October 12, 1911.

On February 5, 1913, David Belasco's production of William C. De Mille's *The Woman*, featuring Marjorie Wood, was said to be "faultlessly presented" and of "gripping interest."³⁴ During the next month A. G. Delamater's adaptation of Gene Stratton Porter's *Freckles* appeared on March 8 for matinee and evening performances, and within a week, on March 13, came A. H. Woods's *The Littlest Rebel*, starring Dustin Farnum. Both plays made great impressions, but of the latter it was stated that "Those who witnessed it will always remember it, and those who did not see it have missed the best show of its kind produced in Wilmington in many years."³⁵ Shortly after the opening of the next season, Marion de Forest's adaptation of Louisa M. Alcott's *Little Women* was presented on October 30, 1913, matinee and evening, and was acclaimed as being "all and more than one who knows the book could expect."³⁶ Within two weeks, on November 10, appeared the most popular of all the plays of this type in the form of Eugene Walter's adaptation of John Fox's *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine*, which returned on November 5, 1914, and February 14, 1920. Two similar hit plays at this time were Elsbury W. Reynolds's adaptation of Harold Bell Wright's *The Shepherd of the Hills* on November 22, 1913, and Rachel Crothers's *Young Wisdom* on the following December 5. Bayard Veiller's exciting drama *Within the Law*, featuring Clara Joel, was offered on April 28, 1914, and the following December 25. Another popular novel in dramatic form was Harold Bell Wright's *The Winning of Barbara Worth*, as adapted by Mark E. Swan, on September 25, 1915. Thereafter there were no more serious plays until after the war, when Lou Tellegen and Andor Gavay appeared in their own play *The Lust for Gold*, with a setting in western Canada, on January 7, 1920.

A new type of serious drama during the second decade was the problem play, the first two being by Thomas Dixon, whose concern with white supremacy in the South found expression in *The Sins of the Fathers*, on October 15, 1910, and September 30, 1914, and in *The Leopard's Spots*, on October 16, 1913. The latter play was of especial interest to a Wilmington audience because Dixon in a curtain speech stated that the Wilmington race riot of 1898

³⁴ *Morning Star*, February 6, 1913.

³⁵ *Morning Star*, March 14, 1913.

³⁶ *Morning Star*, October 31, 1913.

gave him "the idea upon which the whole structure of the book and play rests."³⁷ Other problem plays dealing with promiscuity and prostitution were Eugene Brieux's *Damaged Goods*, September 14, 1915; Michael Morton's *The Yellow Ticket*, September 22, 1915; and Whitney Collins's *The Girl Without a Chance*, December 13, 1918. Three plays having as their themes some aspect of the war were A. A. Powers and Elmer Walter's *The Soldier Who Came Back*, on September 25, 1918; Samuel Shipman and Aaron Hoffman's *Friendly Enemies*, dealing with German Americans during the war, on September 22, 1919; and Berte Thomas's *Under Orders*, on November 3, 1919.

The religious play continued during the second decade with *The White Sister*, Viola Allen's adaptation of F. Marion Crawford's novel, on October 21, 1911, matinee and evening. Within a month, on November 8, *The Rosary* by Edward Rose was well received, and later, on February 2, 1914, *The Tongues of Men* by Edward Carpenter and starring Henrietta Crossman was said to be "the best performance of its kind which has appeared here this season, and, in fact, in several seasons."³⁸ On December 18, 1915, appeared one of the most unusual plays ever to visit Wilmington. It was Walter Browne's *Everywoman*, an allegorical piece with music, on the theme of every woman's search for love. It had played for two years in New York and demanded a cast of one hundred and fifty, including local supernumeraries. The production returned on January 18, 1919. Another unusual offering was Maurice V. Samuels's *The Wanderer*, with music by Anselm Goetzl. This colossal biblical spectacle was presented on March 10 and 11, 1920, with one matinee, starring Florence Auer, whom David Belasco had rescued from the motion pictures.³⁹ The company of one hundred included a large ballet, and a flock of sheep was carried.

Among the hit comedies on tour, the first was Edgar Selwyn's *The Country Boy*, which reached Wilmington on November 1, 1911, and was well received. During the same season George M. Cohan's *Get Rich Quick Wallingford* was presented to a packed house on February 2, 1912, with Joseph Manning.⁴⁰ Within the same month, on February 29, Winchell Smith's *The Fortune*

³⁷ *Morning Star*, October 17, 1913.

³⁸ *Morning Star*, February 3, 1914.

³⁹ *Morning Star*, February 29, 1920.

⁴⁰ *Morning Star*, February 3, 1912.

Hunter, which had run for two years in New York, featured William Rosell. Augustin MacHugh's *Officer 666* came next on February 22, 1913, and was followed on April 9 of the same year by George Broadhurst's *Bought and Paid For*, which had played for one year in New York. Perhaps the greatest favorite was J. Hartley Manners's *Peg O' My Heart*, which played for matinee and evening performances on December 8, 1913, with Blanche Ring. It returned on October 12, 1914, and September 18, 1915. The next hit was *Brewster's Millions*, adapted by Winchell Smith from George B. McCutcheon's novel, on March 18, 1914.

At the beginning of the first season of the second half of the decade appeared *Potash and Perlmutter*, adapted from the *Saturday Evening Post* stories by Marjorie Glass, on October 6, 1915. Another favorite was Avery Hopwood's *Fair and Warmer*, starring Dorothy Mackele, on April 17, 1917. It returned on November 6, 1918, and April 24, 1920. Yet another New York hit was A. E. Thomas's *Come Out of the Kitchen*, dramatized from the novel by Duer Miller, on April 21, 1919. During the last season of the decade, the first comedy was Cosmo Hamilton's *Scandal*, starring Emma Bunting, on December 12, 1919, followed in the same month on December 27, matinee and evening, by *Pollyana*, adapted by Catherine E. Cushing from the popular stories of Eleanor H. Porter. Finally, there appeared at the end of the last season, on April 3, 1920, one of the most popular of the boudoir comedies, *Up in Mabel's Room* by Wilson Collison and Otto Harbach.

During the second decade musical productions far outnumbered all other forms of entertainment. They became so numerous, in fact, that Wilmington theatergoers must have eventually tired of them. Only the most outstanding productions can be noticed in this survey. The first and perhaps the best of the operettas was Franz Lehar's Viennese hit *The Merry Widow*, on January 7, 1911, starring Gertrude Hutcheson and George Damerl, with a return engagement on January 13, 1913. The theatrical reviewer for the *Morning Star* stated that at one time the operetta was playing in fifty different European cities simultaneously.⁴¹ Among other things, it created a vogue, and during the remainder of the decade five other productions with Viennese backgrounds

⁴¹ January 7, 1911.

appeared in Wilmington. The first was *The Spring Maid* on February 27, 1912, and February 19, 1913, starring Gene Lemeska. The scenery was described as being "gorgeously beautiful."⁴² Next was *The Prince of Pilsen* on December 30, 1912; November 27, 1915; and January 1, 1917. The third production was *The Kiss Waltz* on April 16, 1913, with Valeska Suratt, noted European beauty, and three years later another Lehar piece, *Gypsy Love*, appeared on December 6, 1916, starring Arthur Albro. The last of the Viennese group was *Pom Pom* with the Hungarian prima donna Mitzi Hajos on September 29, 1917, and January 15, 1919.

Outstanding musical comedies which cannot be classified according to any type were, first, *The Beauty Spot*, on October 3, 1910, with the famous comedian Jefferson De Angelis. Next, *Yankee Girl* with Blanche Ring on February 14, 1911, drew a "record breaking crowd," and it was stated that "The engagement tonight is one of the most important in theatrical annals for Wilmington."⁴³ Within a week, on February 20, appeared *The Cow and the Moon*, which was described as "a new musical extravaganza and a sort of continuation of *The Cat and the Fiddle*."⁴⁴ Near the end of the same season, on May 6, matinee and evening, came Oscar Straus's *The Chocolate Soldier* featuring Rena Vivienne and Charles Purcell. At the beginning of the season 1912-1913, the first of the George M. Cohan musicals to visit Wilmington, *Forty-five Minutes from Broadway*, appeared on September 25, with Burt Leigh, and a month later, on October 28, came *The Pink Lady* starring Teresa Kosta. Later in the same season *The Rose Maid* was offered on January 16, and *The Red Rose* followed on April 26. *Little Boy Blue*, a hit of the European capitals as well as New York, appeared at the beginning of the next season on September 20, 1913, with Otis Harlan.

During the last half of the decade, the first of the outstanding musicals was Victor Herbert's *Sweethearts* on October 13, 1916, with Julia Gifford and a company of sixty. Next, Arthur Hammerstein's *Katinka* appeared on October 26, 1917, with Howard Langford and Eve Lynn. This production was designated as being unusual in that "The humor was of a class not usually found in the ordinary musical comedy production, and the crowd

⁴² *Morning Star*, February 28, 1912.

⁴³ *Morning Star*, February 14, 1911.

⁴⁴ *Morning Star*, February 19, 1911.

was quick to realize and appreciate this."⁴⁵ Later in the same season, on February 28, 1918, Victor Herbert and Henry Blossom's *Princess Pat* made a hit, and *The Riviera Girl*, with book by Guy Bolton and P. G. Wodehouse, was also well received on February 24, 1919. The first of the Lee and J. J. Shubert productions to visit Wilmington was *Maytime*, with music by Sigmund Romberg, on October 31, 1919. On March 13, 1920, there was another hit with book by Bolton and Wodehouse, *Oh Lady! Lady!*, for which Jerome Kern provided the music. The last outstanding musical comedy of the decade was *La, La, Lucille* on April 17, 1920, with book by Fred Jackson and George Gershwin. In conclusion, mention should be made of three productions which were inspired by the war: *Over There*, November 20, 1917; *Oh! Johnny Oh!*, January 24, 1918; and *My Soldier Girl*, March 14, 1918, and February 1, 1919.

The first of the star performers to visit Wilmington during the second decade was Alla Nazimova, who appeared in Ibsen's *Little Eyolf* on December 30, 1910, before a large audience. She received three curtain calls at the end of the first act as well as calls at the conclusion of each of the other two.⁴⁶ During the same season, on March 25, 1911, De Wolfe Hopper and Louise Dresser were well received in Silvio Hein's musical comedy *A Matinee Idol*. During the next season Edward H. Sothorn scored a great success as Petruchio in *The Taming of the Shrew* on February 21, 1912. On September 24, 1913, Anna Held presented her All Star Variety Jubilee with a company of fifty, and during the same season Lillian Russell returned on January 10, 1914, with her Feature Festival, a very elaborate variety show. At the end of the same season, on May 1 and 2, Ruth St. Denis presented full length dance programs. The most noted performer during the decade, however, was Maude Adams, who appeared as Lady Babbie opposite Dallas Anderson in Barrie's *The Little Minister* on November 23, 1916. The reviewer for the *Morning Star* thought that it was "doubtful that if ever a larger audience greeted a theatrical production here," and he continued as follows: "Miss Adams radiated the spirit of youth and vivaciousness as the sun radiates heat. Not for an instant from the time the curtain rose on the scene in Caddam Wood, until she gave

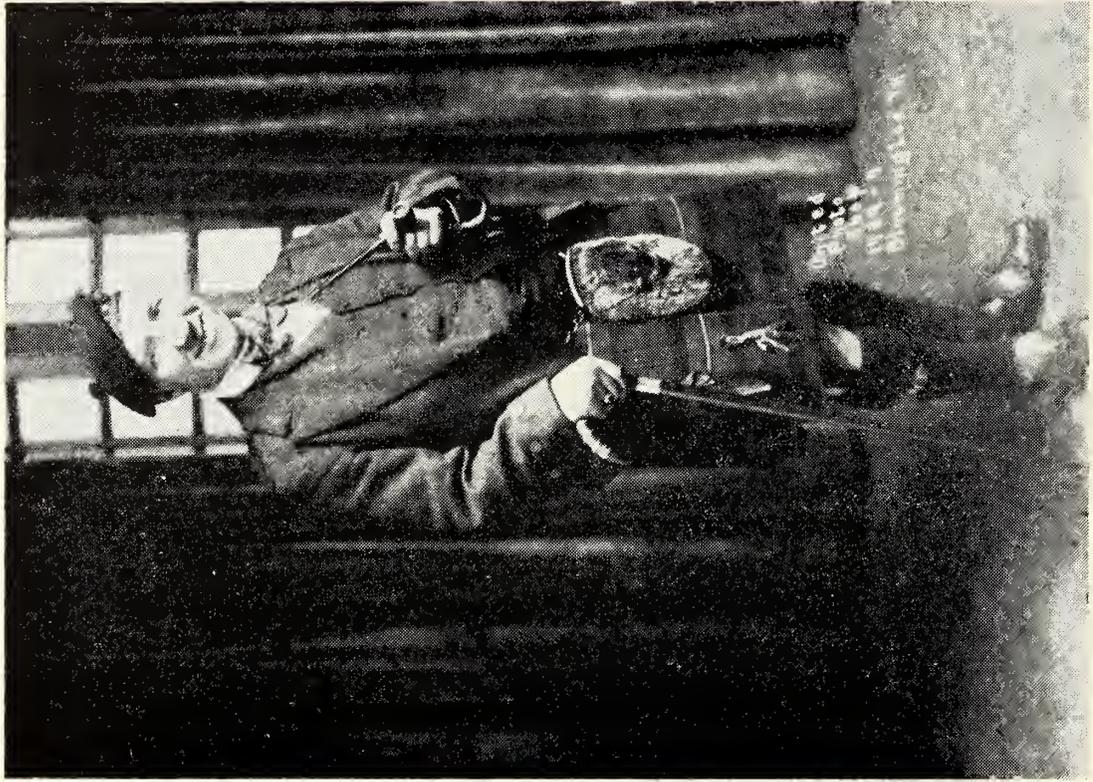
⁴⁵ *Morning Star*, October 27, 1917.

⁴⁶ *Morning Star*, December 31, 1910.



Reproduction courtesy New York Public Library.

MAUDE ADAMS as Lady Babbie in *The Little Minister*.



Reproduction courtesy New York Public Library.

HARRY LAUDER

the minister her last joyful banter in the closing scene, did she lose her grip on the audience."⁴⁷

On January 10 and 11, 1919, May Robson appeared in Anne Nichols's *A Little Bit Old Fashioned*, a comedy, and the reviewer found that ". . . she presents femininity in the 'sere and yellow' age with an understanding which makes it quite as attractive as the more youthful impersonations preferred by most stars."⁴⁸ A few weeks later, on March 7, matinee and evening, Harry Lauder presented a Repertoire of New and Old Songs, supported by a company of first-class variety artists, and his reception was said to have broken all records.⁴⁹

In the field of concert music and opera, well-known artists continued to appear during the second decade. The first event was a production of *Il Trovatore* by the Aborn English Opera Company on October 25, 1910, followed a few weeks later by Sousa's Band on December 9. During the same season, on February 7, the Robinson English Grand Opera Company offered *Cavalleria Rusticana*, featuring Hertha Heyman, and the Aborn company returned the following November 15 with *The Bohemian Girl*, which was repeated a year later on November 20, 1912. In the meantime, Lillian Nordica returned on March 11, 1912, followed within a month, on April 9, by Mme. Mieler-Narodny, soprano. Within the same month, on April 20, the New York Symphony returned under the direction of Walter Damrosch. At the end of the next season, on May 2, 1913, Alessandro Bonci, tenor, and Martina Zatella, coloratura soprano, were presented under the auspices of the Wilmington chapter of the North Carolina Sorosis. The remaining events were all in the field of opera: *Faust* in English, starring Umberto Giordano, by the New York Grand Opera Company on February 28, 1914, matinee and evening; *Rigoletto* and *Don Pasquale*, matinee and evening, by the National Grand Opera Company on October 23, 1915; and *The Bohemian Girl* by the Boston English Opera Company on February 19, 1916.

The third decade of the century was marked by a gradual decline in all kinds of entertainment until the middle of the season 1927-1928 when professional entertainment of any kind ceased

⁴⁷ November 24, 1916.

⁴⁸ *Morning Star*, January 11, 1919.

⁴⁹ *Morning Star*, March 8, 1919.

altogether for the remainder of the decade except for one weak performance, as will be indicated below. During the first three seasons of the new decade performances of touring attractions averaged between forty and fifty per season, and it should be noted that during the second and third seasons all road productions played at the Victoria instead of the Academy and continued at the Victoria during the fourth season until March 8, 1924, when they again appeared at the Academy. During the fourth and fifth seasons, touring attractions numbered twenty-eight for each season, and, although there was an increase to forty-six during the sixth, there was a decline to nineteen during the seventh, and only eleven during the last, 1927-1928.

In contrast to performances of touring attractions, however, the decade was marked by a great increase in the offerings of permanent stock companies, which often made the total number of performances per season rather large. For instance, during the third season there were fifty-three performances of touring attractions at the Victoria, but the Pickert Stock Company opened at the Academy on December 25, 1922, and stayed for eleven weeks through March 10, 1923, with a total of eighty-eight performances of mediocre quality. This was greatly exceeded during the next season when the Marguerite Bryant Players opened at the Academy on November 12, 1923, and played through April 5, 1924, moving on February 4 to the Royal and on March 3 to the Victoria for a total of twenty-two weeks and 176 performances. The same occurred during the season 1926-1927 when three different companies offered seventy-two performances, and during 1927-1928 at the Victoria when two companies offered fifty-eight. In spite of these figures, however, it would be correct to say that the professional theater declined rapidly during the decade because the productions of the stock companies were in most cases mediocre, whereas the best offerings were those of the touring attractions, which became fewer and fewer.

According to the most competent students of the American theater, the main reasons for the decline were as follows: the increase in railroad rates and in general operating expenses after 1910; the monopolistic practices of the New York booking syndicates, which frequently sent on the road inferior companies instead of the original New York casts; and the increasing

quantity and quality of the motion pictures, which were being offered in Wilmington at the Victoria, Grand, Royal, and Bijou Theaters.

Most of the hit plays which appeared during the 1920's were comedies. The first was *The Girl in the Limousine*, by Wilson Collison and Avery Hopwood, starring Emma Bunting, on October 2, 1920. On the following December 29 came *Turn to the Right* by John E. Hazzard and Winchell Smith, and it was followed within a week by *Adam and Eva*, a play by Guy Bolton and George Middleton which had run for one year in New York. On November 15, 1921, Frederick and Fanny Hatton's *Lombardi, Ltd.*, with Leo Carillo, was well received, and we are told that "Mr. Carillo kept his audience absolutely under his spell all during the play—from laughter to tears and back again. . . ." ⁵⁰ The next comedy hit was Aaron Hoffman's *Welcome Stranger* on October 11, 1922, with George Sidney, and this was followed during the next month, on November 24 and 25, by Winchell Smith and Frank Bacon's *Lightnin'*, which had just completed the longest New York run on record to that date—1,291 consecutive performances at the Gaiety Theater. Milton Nobles appeared in the leading role of Lightnin' Bill Jones and received much praise: "The childishness of his imagination, the helplessness of realism and a tender appreciation of his age, the tolerance of his limited philosophy are drawn with skill." ⁵¹

The season 1923-1924 opened at the Victoria on September 18 with *Kempy*, successful comedy by J. C. and Elliot Nugent, with Bert Baker. Several weeks later, on November 10, *Just Married*, by Adelaide Matthews and Anne Nichols, reached Wilmington after a two-year run in New York, and it returned on September 28, 1925, at the Academy. The next play was one of the most popular ever produced in the United States—Anne Nichols's *Abie's Irish Rose*, which played at the Academy on February 5, 6, and 7, 1925, featuring Phil White, Rene Brennan, and Wilbur Braun. This was a very capable road company touring while the original company was still playing in its third year in New York; it finally completed a run of 2,532 performances.

The first of the serious plays was *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, Eugene Walter's dramatization of John Fox's popu-

⁵⁰ *Morning Star*, November 16, 1921.

⁵¹ *Morning Star*, November 25, 1922.

lar novel, on September 16, 1922, with John Clayton and Janet Cameron. Next appeared Channing Pollock's *The Fool* on September 29, 1923, with a company of fifty. The theme of the play was the application of the principles of Christianity to the labor-management problem. Next came *Rain*, the dramatization of Maugham's story by John Colton and Clemence Randolph, on March 5, 1925, with Hilda Vaughn as Sadie. It was received with "more than ordinary interest by an almost capacity audience," and the reviewer continues to the effect that "There are lines and situations that border closely on things that are not passé, and yet there was really nothing that was offensive."⁵² Similar in some respects with its theme of love in the tropics was Leon Gordon's *White Cargo*, which appeared on January 9, 1925, after a run of three years in New York. The last serious production was George Abbott's *Broadway*, dealing with night clubs and the underworld traffic in bootlegging, on October 19, 1927.

One very popular type of play during the 1920's was the mystery or thriller, such as John Willard's *The Cat and the Canary* at the Victoria on October 23, 1922. During the next month, on November 20 and 21, came *The Bat*, by Mary Roberts Rhinehart and Avery Hopwood, with a return on November 15, 1924, at the Academy. Next, *The Monster* by Crane Wilbur was offered at the Victoria on October 27, 1923, and finally there appeared on November 26, 1925, at the Academy, Ralph Spence's *The Gorilla*, which, as a travesty of the thriller plays, laughed the type out of existence. It returned on January 1, 1927.

During the 1920's musical comedies and operettas continued to be the most popular type of attraction, and they became more and more elaborate. The first outstanding production was *Irene*, on October 30, 1920, which made famous the song "Alice Blue Gown." This was followed on December 9 of the same year by *Dardanella*, the theme song of which also became popular, and two days later appeared the Shubert production of *The Passing Show*, with a company of one hundred. Concerning this spectacle we are informed that " 'The Passing Show' is said to be as big as a three ring performance, the performance requiring three hours and fifteen minutes, and everything is new but the electric elevated runway."⁵³ Later in the same season, John Cort's hit

⁵² *Morning Star*, March 6, 1925.

⁵³ *Morning Star*, December 6, 1920.

Listen Lester appeared on February 5 after a year's run in New York. The first of the annual *Greenwich Village Follies* played at the Victoria on December 10, 1921, and returned on November 9, 1922, and December 17, 1925. The only hit attraction that ever played in Wilmington before it opened in New York was *Rose of Washington Square*, which was presented at the Victoria on March 14, 1922, while it was in the process of being "groomed" for the New York opening.⁵⁴ Finally, *Mary*, on September 27, 1922; *Lady Be Good*, on October 17, 1925; *No, No, Nanette*, on March 20, 1926; and *Rose Marie*, on October 2, 1926, all had theme songs which became very popular.

In a class of their own were three operettas, one of which proved more popular than any of the musical comedies. The first was the *Red Widow*, apparently patterned after *The Merry Widow*, on March 24, 1923, featuring George Damerl and Myrtle Vail, both stars of the original *Merry Widow* company in this country. The most outstanding operetta of the decade, however, was *Blossom Time*, based on the life of Schubert, and originally written by A. M. Willner and H. Reichert. Its American adaptation was by Dorothy Donnelly, and the music was by Schubert himself, H. Berte, and Sigmund Romberg. This production first appeared in Wilmington on October 20, 1923, starring Margaret Merle and Greek Evans; it returned on April 5, 1924; April 14, 1925; and April 14, 1926. In some ways similar was *The Student Prince of Heidelberg* with book and lyrics by Dorothy Donnelly and music by Sigmund Romberg. It appeared on November 18, 1925, and November 6, 1926.

The first of the few star performers to play in Wilmington during the 1920's was Jane Cowl, who appeared at the Victoria on November 7, 1921, in Allen Langdon Martin's *Smilin' Through*. Miss Cowl performed the difficult dual roles of Kathleen Dungannon and Moonyeen Clare, and we are told that "Handled by a less clever director than Miss Cowl, it could have proved an unfortunate type of play, but in her hands it was a silken scarf gently lifted from the lavender of time and lightly shaken in a summer breeze. . . ."⁵⁵ She was followed during the next month, on December 14, by Mme. Sara P. Adler, internationally known Jewish actress, supported by Nathan Ikofsky, in

⁵⁴ *Morning Star*, March 8, 1922.

⁵⁵ *Morning Star*, November 8, 1921.

Isadore Lillian's *The Stepchild of the World*. Within the same month, on December 26, Madge Kennedy, star of both stage and screen, made a great impression in *Cornered* by Dodson Mitchell. Ruth Gordon next appeared on January 19 and 20, 1923, with Gregory Kelly in Frank Craven's comedy *The First Year*, which had played for two years in New York. Wilmington's last great classic and Shakespearean productions were those of Robert Mantell and Genevieve Hamper in *Richelieu* and *The Merchant of Venice* on March 2 and 3, 1925. The latter performance was described as "a revelation and an inspiration" and "a refreshing mental draught."⁵⁶ The last star performer was Norman Hackett in Michael Arlen's dramatization of his own novel *The Green Hat* on October 23, 1926.

During the decade there were only two grand operas: *Faust* on February 11, 1921, by the New York English Opera Company, featuring Joseph Sheehan and Bianca Randall; and *The Bohemian Girl* on January 2, 1926, by the May Valentine Opera Company. The first concert artist was Marie Tiffany, soprano of the Metropolitan Opera, on September 29, 1921. She was followed by Evelyn Scotney with the Russian String Quartet, on January 18, 1922, and by the Russian Symphony itself on the following April 29 under the direction of Modest Altschuler.

The last regular season, 1927-1928, which witnessed only eleven performances at the Academy, ended on February 13, 1928, with an outstanding presentation—the George E. Wintz production of the *Ziegfeld Follies* with Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, and Nyra Brown. It was acclaimed as "one of the best if not the best revue it has ever been Wilmington's good nature to witness" and as "about the best revue the city has seen in a blue moon."⁵⁷ Thereafter, only three professional attractions appeared: a *Mutt and Jeff* revue on December 7, 1929; the Freiburg Passion Play with Adolph Fassnacht on November 21-24, 1932; and Gene Austin's *Broadway Rhapsody*, a revue, on March 4, 1933. From April 2, 1934, through March 6, 1935, the theater was leased by Howard Theatres, Inc., for offerings of sound pictures and occasional vaudeville.

Contemporaneously, the theater was also used for productions of the Wilmington Thalian Association, which was revived in

⁵⁶ *Morning Star*, March 4, 1925.

⁵⁷ *Morning Star*, February 14, 1928.

1929 for the fifth time since its organization in about 1788,⁵⁸ and for programs of the Community Concert Association. With the reorganization of the Thalian Association, the name of the theater was changed from the Academy of Music to Thalian Hall, the original name of the building when it was first opened to the public with the first professional performance by the Marchant Company on the evening of October 12, 1858. In 1938 the theater was closed for repairs financed by WPA funds. At this time the stage walls were reinforced with steel beams, the stage floor was rebuilt, and the dressing rooms were remodeled. In addition, members of the Thalian Association under the direction of Henry MacMillan and Claude Howell redecorated the interior of the auditorium. The theater was reopened on April 25, 1941, with the Thalian production of John Morton's farce *Box and Cox* and Rostand's *The Romancers*. *Box and Cox* had served as the after-piece of the first Thalian production in the theater on December 3, 1858, with the anonymous extravaganza *The Invisible Prince* as the main feature.⁵⁹ The last performance in the theater was the Thalian production of Joseph Fields's *The Dough Girls* on February 21-22, 1946. Shortly thereafter the balcony and gallery were condemned, and Thalian productions have since been offered in the auditorium of the New Hanover High School. At the present writing, however, the Wilmington City Council has approved funds for the complete repair and renovation of the historic theater, pending the awarding of contracts. Andrew H. Harriss, Jr., is the present chairman of the Thalian Hall Restoration Committee.

⁵⁸ The first Thalian Association was organized about 1788 and existed for a decade or more. The second organization occurred in 1814 and survived until the late 1830's. The dates of the third revival are uncertain, but must have fallen in the late 1830's and early 1840's. The fourth Association was organized in 1846 and lasted until about 1860. Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1941) II, 654-657.

⁵⁹ *Wilmington Daily Journal*, December 3, 1858.

LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO ANDREW JOHNSON

Edited by
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[Continued]

From Albion W. Tourgee⁷⁴

Greensboro N. C.
April 11th. 1867

Maj. Genl Daniel E. Sickles
Com'dg Military Dist No 2.
Sir:

I desire to call your attention, to the case of Wm Johnson, now confined in jail at Yanceyville Caswell Co N. C. Having been advising counsel, in the case from the time of his arrest, I am well acquainted with the facts. The following is a brief statement of them.

In the spring of 1863, Johnson being a deserter from the rebel army and engaged in getting up a company to cross the Federal lines, was closely pressed by the conscription hunters and without food or money, he, with two others went to the house of one Moore, and by representations induced them to open the door and admit them. They then, took from the house, about twenty dollars worth of meat and bread and some five dollars in Confederate money. No one was injured and no violence offered. Being pressed, two of the parties were captured. Johnson escaped to our lines in Tennessee and was appointed a 1st Lieut in the 10 Tenn Vols. Afterwards he was placed in charge of the Govt. stock at Knoxville in which position he remained until the close of the war, except when on special duty as guide.

In whatever position he held, about or in our army, he secured the confidence and esteem of his superiors, as the recommendations &c. they have given him abundantly prove.

The other two were arrested and confined in Rockingham County jail. At the next session of the court, an indictment for Burglary was found against them. All three of the parties. The two who were arrested were tried and found guilty of Larceny, and were pardoned on condition that they enlist in the rebel army, which they did.

At the close of the war, Johnson returned to his home in Rockingham County and last May was arrested upon the old

⁷⁴ Albion Winegar Tourgee (May 2, 1838-May 21, 1905), an outstanding carpetbagger, was born in Ohio; graduated from the University of Rochester in 1862; served in the federal army during the Civil War; was confined four months in a Confederate prison; began the practice of law in Greensboro, North Carolina, in the fall of 1865; took an active part in the North Carolina convention of 1868; served for six years as judge of the superior court; made money during reconstruction, but lost it in business ventures; dabbled with journalism; and later attempted more pretentious literary works. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 603-605.

indictment of 1863, for Burglary, Succeeded in havang his trial delayed six months, but was not allowed to give bail, though every man, on the same circuit, who was indicted for *murder*, was admitted to bail. He was therefore kept in prison subject to every sort of indignity and abuse. At the fall term, he was tried, found guilty and sentenced to death. At the earnest solicitation of three or four hundred citizens, Gov. Worth granted him a pardon, conditioned upon his paying the expense of the trial, jail fees &c. and immediately leaving the state, Being entirely penniless, and his family dependent upon charity, he is unable to do this, and is therefore still kept chained down in an iron cage, as he has been ever since his conviction, without fire during the entire winter,— On the trial everything was done to prejudice the jury against him. It was offered as evidence, *on charge of Burglary*, that he had acted as a guide for Stoneman in his raid in N. C. and had said that he wished every damed secessionist were killed, that he had done them all the harm he could &c.

The solicitor, was his former Confederate Capt. Thomas Settle, and he kept it prominently before the Court and jury, that Johnson had been a deserter and traitor to the confederate cause. One of the lawyers of the Prosecution said in his speech to the jury, that “he was a deserter from the confederate army and ought to be hung anyhow”

Johnson’s papers showing his connection with our army, recommendations, appointments, orders, passes &c. were filed with Gen’l Ruger last June by myself, but he could do nothing for him as he could show no connection with our army previous to the commission of the act.

His treatment since his incarceration, has been *simply damnable*. *Union* men and Yankees could endure confederate prisons, but God deliver us from North Carolina jails! Johnson’s accomplices were pardoned and are now at large— a reward for service in the confederate army. He has served nearly two years in our army and been imprisoned eleven months. And this is justice!—

In behalf of this man I respectfully ask that he may be released on bail and I will furnish \$4,000 bonds for his appearance when called for, I also request that his case may be investigated by a Military Commission at the earliest possible moment. He only asks justice and a fair show before an impartial tribunal.

In conclusion let me say that I have no pecuniary interest in this case. I bring it to your notice from a sense of humanity, decency, and Justice and the interest I have in a fellow soldier,

I am General

Very Respectfully

Your Obt Servt

Late capt. 105 O. V. L. and
Judge Advocate 14th A. C.

A true copy, Nov. 11, 1867
L. V Carizac

From Robert Avery

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen & Abandon Lands
Headquarters Asst. Commr. State of North Carolina
Inspector's Office

Raleigh N. C. May 4th. 1867.

Bt. Lt. Col. J. H. Chur
AAAG B. R. F & at
Dist of N. C.
Colonel,

I have the honor to submit the following report of our investigation made by me of the circumstances attending the murder of Archibald Beebee alias Warden, a freedman, in the town of Fayetteville N. C. on the 11th day of February 1867 and the action taken by the Civil authorities in the Case.

It appears that on the morning of the 11th day of February last Archibald Beebee alias Warden was brought before four of the acting Justices of the County of Cumberland in the town of Fayetteville N. C by the Sheriff of the County, charged with having on Sunday the 10th of February 1867 made an assault with intent to commit rape upon the person of one Miss Elmira M. Massey a white woman—

A preliminary examination of the case was made the woman Elmira M. Massey upon whom the assault was alleged to have been made testified positively to the assault and the identity of the Defendant Beebee as the person who made it; a colored woman named Dilly Stewart testified that she heard the cries of Miss Massey and came to her rescue, that she heard the voice of the party making the assault but did not see him, and that the voice sounded like the voice of the defendant Beebee.

No testimony was offered on behalf of the Defendant at this preliminary examination and it was ordered that in default of one thousand dollars bail he be committed to the Custody of the Sheriff at Cumberland County until further orders.

In the pursuance of this order the Sheriff R. W. Hardie took Beebee into Custody and started to convey him from the office of the Justices over the Market house of the town to the County Jail, a hundred or more yards distant. Before leaving the steps of the Justices Office the Sheriff and Prisoner Beebee were met by an angry mob of white men clamoring for the blood of the Negro. D. G. McRae a Special Justice for the town of Fayetteville and one of the Justices before whom the preliminary examination of Beebee had been made hurried hatless with haste from the bench of the Justice to the balcony of the Market house and started the cry of shoot him, shoot him, the Cry was eagerly taken up by the mob without, and the incitement to murder given by an Officer of the law was speedily obeyed by a mob of Rebels already thirsting for the blood of the Negro, and who regarded no law offering check to their unbridled passions. The mob tried to get hold of the Prisoner, the Sheriff & Posse tried to protect him and made such feeble resistance as they could against

the overwhelming numbers of the mob. At the foot of the steps a man called Monk Julip, made a pass at the Negro with a large Knife, attempting to cut his throat. Pushed and beaten by the mob through which the Sheriff was vainly trying to convey him to the Jail, the progress of the prisoner was slow, and while but a few feet away from the steps of the Market house, a man named Tolar, called Captain Tolar, from his Service in the Rebel Army, worked his way into the Crowd to within a few feet of the Negro and deliberately drew his pistol from under his shawl and shot the Negro, the ball entering the back part of his head and lodging in the brain, killing the Negro almost instantly.⁷⁵ After the Negro had been shot and while he was lying on the ground, the man called Monk Julip, tried to cut & mutilate his body, but was prevented by a policeman, he afterwards boasted that "although some one else had killed the Nigger, he had tried to cut the throat of the damned son of a bitch."

A minute after the murder had been committed, Mr. M. W. Weld late of the U. S. Navy, acting as Agent of the B. R. F. & A. L. arrived at the scene of the murder and demanded of the Mayor the immediate arrest of the guilty parties, to which demand the Mayor refused to accede, asserting that no arrests could be made until after the investigation had been made by a Corners Jury. On the following day (the 12th of February) a Coroners' jury was impanelled and an inquest held on the body of the murdered man, and although there was positive testimony taken & recorded before the Jury to the fact that the fatal shot was fired by the man called Captain Tolar, the Jury returned a verdict, "that the said Archibald Beebee came to his death by a pistol shot by the hand of some person unknown to the Jury." No arrests were made at the time, none have been made since and none will be made by the Civil authorities, and even should arrests be made, the trial before the Civil Courts would be but a mockery, in view of these facts and the moral turpitude exhibited by the Civil Officers of Fayetteville, I respectfully recommend that the Mayor & Justices & John Blake special Coroner be removed from Office and that a Provost Court be organized for the trial of minor offences and causes, the County Courts failing almost entirely to do justice to Union Citizens either white or black. I also recommend the immediate arrest of Captain Tolar, Monk Julip and D. G. McRea and that they be brought before a Military Commission and tried for the murder of Archibald Beebee, Tolar as the Principal and Julip & McRea as accessories and equally guilty of participation in this murder. Julip & McRae are not the only parties guilty of participation in this murder, there are others whose names cannot now be ascertained, but they will be discovered when the trial of those whose names are here given shall be commenced and when there appears to be some security

⁷⁵ This was one of the outstanding cases which was tried before a military court. William J. Tolar, Duncan G. McRae, Thomas Powers, Samuel Phillips, and David Watkins were represented by a strong array of counsel. Robert Avery served as judge advocate and Colonel J. V. Bomford was president of the military commission. As soon as the members were convicted an appeal was made for their pardon which was granted within a year. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 165-166.

for life and limb of those who may give testimony against those Rebel Murders. The murder of Archibald Beebee is by no means the only murder in Cumberland County which has gone unpunished. Outrages upon Negroes have become so common as to excite no comment. Captain Tolar should be arrested first, as he is constantly on his guard ready to fight or run, as may best serve his purpose, and is represented to be a desperate character, he left the place directly after the murder was committed, returning after two or three weeks he again left the place on learning of my arrival in it.

I am Col. with high respect
Your obt. Sv't.
Maj OBC Bvt Maj Gen &
Inspector

Headquarters 2 Mil Dist
Charleston S. C. Nov. 13, 1867
A True Copy
Louis V Caziarc
A. D. C. A. A. A. G.

From Jonathan Worth

State of North Carolina
Executive Department
Raleigh May 15th 1867.

To His Excellency,
Andrew Johnson,
Washington D. C.
Dear Sir,

You will receive at an early day an invitation to be present in this City on the 4th proximo on the occasion of erecting a monument at the grave of your Father. At the request of the Executive Board of Trustees of the University of which Board the Governor in ex-officio Chairman—and also at the request of Gov. Swain, Pres.^{dt} of the Faculty, I invite you to be present at Commencement at Chapel Hill on the 6th proximo. Your friends and the friends of the University will be Greatly Gratified if you will accept the invitation.⁷⁶

I have the honor to be
Yours Very Respectfully
Governor of N. Ca.

⁷⁶ In reply President Johnson wrote:
"Copy

EXECUTIVE MANSION

Washington, D. C. May 22^d 1867.

Sir:

I have received your communication of the 15th inst. and accept, with pleasure the invitation of the Board of Trustees of the University of N. C. to be present at the commencement at Chapel Hill on the sixth proximo.

I am, very resp'y yrs.
A. J.

To His Excellency,
Jonathan Worth,
Governor of N. C.
Raleigh."

From William Dallas Haywood

Mayors Office
Raleigh N. C. May 15, 1867

To His Excellency, Andrew Johnson
President of the United States,
Sir

As Mayor of the City of Raleigh, I have the honor to communicate to your Excellency the desire of our City Council, and our Citizens generally, that you should be present, with them on the 4^h day of June next at the erection of a monument to your father the late Jacob Johnson.⁷⁷

Your native City invites you to be her guest, our old men desire to recal with you, their earlier and happier days, to look back beyond the last few years of Sadness and Sorrow, and live again in the memories of the youthful, athletic sports in which they and you even want to engage.

Our young men desire to see the face of one, who furnishes the brightest example, of what they may hope to accomplish, by the exercise of persevering industry, united with moral worth, and all desire to honor the man who has so nobly striven to restore the alienated States to their former place in the Grand Old Union—

Allow me, Honored Sir, to add to this Official request, my own individual Solicitation, that your native State and City may be permitted to give you a personal welcome,

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's most
humble & Ob^t Servt.
Mayor

From David L. Swain

Raleigh 15. May 1867.

Dear Sir,

The monument to your father is proposed to be erected on Tuesday the 4^h of next month. The annual commencement of the University of your native State will be held on Thursday following. Allow me as the representative of the faculty to assure you of their very hearty concurrence in the solicitation of the

⁷⁷ President Johnson accepted the invitation:

"Copy

May 22^d, 1867.

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of the 15th. instant, and thank you for the cordial terms in which, as the Representative of the citizens of Raleigh, you ask me to visit that place.

I accept the invitation of my native city to be her guest, and, deeply grateful for the respect in which they hold my father's memory, will endeavor to be present with your citizens on the 4th. day of June next, the day set apart for the erection of a monument to commemorate his worth.

I am,
Very respectfully
& truly yours,
A. J.

To Hon^{ble} William Dallas Haywood,
Mayor of
Raleigh, N. C."

Trustees, that you will be present on both occasions. If you can it will afford me pleasure to meet you here on Wednesday evening and accompany you to Chapel Hill, where you can spend Thursday, and return to Raleigh on Friday.

Your predecessor Mr. Polk was with us at the annual commencement in June 1847 & Mr. Buchanan in 1859. Can we hope of an early and favorable response,⁷⁸

I remain

Very truly your friend

President Johnston

William H. Reeves and others

Univ. of N.^o Carolina.
Chapel Hill
May 20th/67.

His Excellency

The President

Of the U. S. Dr Sir:— We have just heard that you expect to visit Raleigh, and probably this University at our Commencement in June. As we are from Tennessee, and our State but feebly represented here at present, we have taken the liberty of inviting you, and saying that none will welcome you with more pleasure than ourselves:— and that we would be proud to have you become an Honorary Member of the Philanthropic Society, if you should visit the Hill. The exercises will begin on the 3.rd and end on the night of the 6.th of June.

If, Sir, we would not trespass too much upon your valuable time, we would be happy to hear from you.

We have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Y'r. ob'dt. Servants.
Wm. H. Reeves
G. G. Latta
J. W. Jefferson.

⁷⁸ In response to this invitation President Johnson wrote:
"Copy

EXECUTIVE MANSION

Washington, D. C. May 22^d. 1867.

Dear Sir:

I thank you for your kind note of the 15th. inst.

I have today accepted to be present at Raleigh on the 4th proximo, and also the request of the Board of Trustees of the University of N. C. to attend the commencement at Chapel Hill on the 6^h. June. I hope then to have the pleasure of seeing you

Truly yrs.

A. J.

Hon D. L. Swain
Chapel Hill,
N. C."

From John O'Connell

Greensboro N. C.
May 20th 1867

1st Lieut Joseph K. Wilson
8th U. S. Infy. Post Adjutant
Military Post of Greensboro N. C.

Sir:

In accordance with Special Order No. 3, Headquarters Military Post of Greensboro, dated May 11th 1867 I proceeded on the 12th inst. to Yanceyville, Caswell County N. C via Danville Va. On reaching Yanceyville I learned that the prisoner Mr Wm M. Johnson, had been released. not as I can learn from any sense of justice or humanity, but either to avoid expense or because the interference of Military power was anticipated.

I visited the prison when Mr Johnson was confined and measured the cage in which he was chained. It was nine feet square by six high. The chain by which he was bound was six feet long. My investigations in regard to the character of the trial, the prejudice excited and employed against him and the treatment he received corroborates in every respect the statment of Captain A. W. Tourgee as contained in the accompanying letter.⁷⁹ Everything goes to indicate that Mr Johnson was a worthy man and committed the act of Burglary through necessity, and was punished chiefly because of his staunch union sentiment and action participation in the operation of the Federal Army, Having returned to his home in Rockingham County I was unable to see him and could only ascertain these facts by inquiring of others.

I forwarded a copy of the records in the case, according to my order, but only in the payment of \$5.00 (five dollars) to the clerk. Mr. Johnson having been released by the civil authorities and being now only liable for the payment of the costs of the prosecution which he is totally unable to liquidate, I have the honor to recommend that he be released from liability by Special Order. A transcript of the records is forwarded herewith.

All of which is respectfully submitted

Very Respectfully

Your Obt Servant

Lieut 8th U. S. Infantry

A true copy L. N. Caziarc
A. D. Certified
Hedqs 2nd Mily Dist
Nov. 11, 1867

⁷⁹ See Albion W. Tourgee's letter to Daniel E. Sickles, April 11, 1867, p. 486.

Copy

From Jonathan Worth

State of North Carolina
Executive Department
Raleigh N C [M]ay 21st 1867.

Maj. Genl D. E. Sickles
Charleston, S. C.
General.

The report of Col. Bomford, with certain copies of a part of the record of Granville Superior Court, Spring Term, 1865 touching on indictment and conviction of William and Henderson Cooper, with your request for my remarks thereon, is before me.⁸⁰ These

⁸⁰ A copy of the report is found in the Johnson Papers, as follows:

"Head Quarters Military Command of N. C.
Raleigh N. C. April 22nd 1867.

Capt. J. M. Clous
A. A. A. Genl 2nd Mil Dist.
Charleston S. C.
Captain.

I have the honor to report that in obedience to Pa. 1 Q. O. No. 8. Hd Qrs 2nd Military District, North and South Carolina S. C. 1867, received at this office on the 1st day of April, I have taken the freedman Henderson Cooper into Military custody and that he is now confined at this Post. On the 4th day of April I ordered a Board to convene at Oxford N. C. for the investigation of the allegations against the said Henderson Cooper. The Board examined under oath all the witnesses except the woman upon whom the outrage was alleged to have been committed, and her daughter, a child of ten or twelve years of age, who could not be found to testify to anything touching the case; several of the witnesses whose testimony was taken at the trial of the two freedmen, Henderson and William Cooper at the opening term of the Superior Court. of Granville County in 1865, could not be found; the negroes who knew anything of the case, or of the parties evidently feared that personal violence would be done them, should they testify to anything, displeasing to their former masters; the white men who were examined gave their testimony in a guarded and cautious manner, seeming to fear that they might in some way reflect upon the firmness of the action of their own courts. The evidence produced before this Board, and the information received by the members of the Board outside of the sworn testimony— does not materially disagree with the report heretofore made in this case: the report first made states, that at the time the outrage was alleged to have been committed, the woman's husband was engaged in overseeing slaves; he was at that time in fact in the Rebel Army. It appears that witnesses to prove the good character of the prosecutrix were called by the Solicitor for the State, although her character had been attacked by the defense and that this testimony was of a negative character, the witnesses testifying that so far as they knew, the character of the woman was good. The evidence adduced before the Board, justifies the opinion that the reputation of the woman is bad, and shows that she not only permitted but encouraged the negroes to be familiar with her and that she was and for some time previous to the alleged rape, had been very familiar with William Cooper, the party who in the indictment stands charged with the Commission of rape. Mr. James Cooper, formerly the owner of the two men William and Henderson and on whose plantation the woman had been living prior to and for a short time after her husband joined the Rebel Army, sent her away from his plantation, not wishing her to remain among his negroes.

After carefully weighing all the facts, I have been able to obtain in this case, I am forced to conclude that a crime has been committed, which although not meriting so severe a penalty as that of death, should receive some punishment. William Cooper who was charged with the Commission of the rape, has been hung, whether justly or not, it is not necessary to inquire. Henderson Cooper who stands charged with having been present, aiding and assisting the said William Cooper, is now in confinement here awaiting orders of the Major Genl Commanding the District. I enclose herewith copies of the warrant indictment and record of trial before the Superior Court in 1865, and the record of the re-affirmation of sentence in March 1867.

I am with high respect,
Your Obt Servant
J. V. Bomford
Col 8th Inft. U. S. A. Comd.
Mil Comdt of N. Carolina
Hd Qrs 2nd Mil Dist.
Charleston S. C. May 16th 67.

Respectfully refered to His Excellency J. Worth Governor of N. C. for his consideration and remarks. These papers to be returned By Command of Maj Genl. D. E. Sickles

J. W. Clous
Capt. 38th Inf. A. A. A. Genl."

Henderson Cooper had been convicted of rape in March, 1865, by the court in Granville County and afterwards confessed his guilt. He escaped and was returned in the fall of 1866. General Sickles upon the representation of Colonel Bomford declared the sentence null and void. Colonel Bomford was then ordered to investigate the circumstances. Upon the receipt of his report a military commission was ordered, but the state of North Carolina was not

copies embrace no part of the evidence taken by the Military Commission. I am at a loss to know, whether the reference contemplates any inquiry on my part into the fairness of the trial: or simply such remarks as I may deem it proper to make, on the report itself, unaccompanied by the evidence on which it is based. I have no Knowledge, by report or otherwise, as to the proofs made on the trial. Judge Saunders who tried the Case is dead. I have addressed a letter of inquiry to the Solicitor for the State, who prosecuted, and to a clergyman in Granville, who, as I am informed, at the instance of the prisoner, visited him in jail after conviction and heard his version of the transaction. When their answer shall be received I will communicate them to you, if you desire it.

Looking to your order of April 1st— touching this case, in the recital you say that “the prisoner was tried and convicted by a Court not recognized by the United States” and you order “that the sentence and all the proceedings in the Case, be, and they are truly revoked and declared null and void.” If the action of our Courts, as to the administration of Civil and Criminal justice, during the continuance of the de-facto Government, are all to be treated as void, deplorable is our Condition. If they are only regarded by you as voidable, your order in this Case, at all events, totally annuls the action of the Court, and I must regard the Military Commission, as authorized to try the prisoner de -novo, or at least in the nature of an inquest to ascertain whether the facts constituted a prima-facie Case, warranting the putting of him on trial.

In either Case, the report, as a judicial proceeding, not in form but in substance, seems to me to be a caricature of justice.

The prosecutrix and her daughter and many other witnesses on the trial were not examined by the Commission. It is said they could not be found. It is not averred that *any effort was made to find them*. The report purports to be based on the evidence “produced before the Board and on the information of the sworn testimony.” I may be warranted in saying that I am informed by a credible Gentleman (incredible as the facts may seem) that the prosecutrix and her daughter were at their usual place of residence, only a few miles from Oxford,— and that they were not commanded to attend before the Commission.

The issue before the Commission was whether the prisoner was guilty or whether there was probable cause to charge him with being guilty of rape on the person of Susan J Daniels. It is not pretended she was not a competent witness. The slightest semblance of fairness in the conduct of the investigation, would have induced the Commission to examine her if she was to be found, and to judge of her credibility— or if not to be found, that proper effort to find her had been made.

It is a significant fact that on this issue whether Henderson

permitted to send a counsel. The Commission sentenced Cooper to be hanged. General Sickles then held that the action of the state and military court was void. The building in which the prisoner was confined caught fire and he was burned to death. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 229-230; Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 959-960, 961, 1089.

Cooper had been guilty of a rape on the body of Daniels, this Commission decries the facts pertinent *that her husband had been an overseer of negroes and a rebel soldier.*

Another fact stated, upon what evidence I know not, that the negroes examined exhibited unwillingness to disclose what they knew, from apprehension of their late Masters, is so totally at variance with all the information I have received, and in itself so improbable that I attach to it not the slightest credence, nor do I believe the other statement that white witnesses exhibited reluctance to give testimony reflecting on the fairness of our Courts.

The conclusion of the report, which seems to assume that upon the findings of this Commission, judgment of acquittal or punishment was to follow represents that the prisoner is guilty of something not defined, for which he deserves punishment but not the death penalty.

If the power of this Commission extended to a trial and verdict of acquittal or punishment, it failed to observe the essential rule in the administration of justice, that the accused and the accuser shall confront each other and both parties be allowed to introduce witnesses and to be heard by themselves and their Counsel. Upon this finding, I do not think that any punishment ought to be inflicted, because the offence of which the Commission found him guilty is not intelligibly defined.

I hope this commentary falls within the scope contemplated by the reference

I have the honor to be
Yours Very Respectfully
Governor of N. C.

J. R. Strayhorn and others

Chapel Hill N C
May 27th 1867

To His Excellency Gov Worth
Dear Sir

The undersigned, on the part of the Dialectic Society, address you for the purpose of requesting that your weighty influence be used for the end that President Johnson may be secured as an honorary Member of our time-honored body, which already possessed the name of his illustrious peer from Tennessee James K. Polk who was, as you know, a regular member of the Dialectic Society. Knowing the interest that you feel in our success, we are fully satisfied that you will comply with our request. With great respect we have the honor to be your obedient servants

J. R. Strayhorn
P. B. Means
W. S. Pearson

From P B. Means and others

University of N. C
May 27th 1867

To His Excellency Andrew Johnson
Honored Sir

It is with feelings of pride and pleasure, that we write you on a subject especially interesting to a large portion of the Students of the University as well as ourselves individually. Our anticipations in regard to the approaching commencement have been greatly enlivened by the assurance of your honored presence on the occasion.

In behalf of the Dialectic Society we tender you the greeting of that body and request that you do us the honor to enroll your name alongside of your illustrious peer from Tennessee Ja.^s K. Polk as a member of our time-honored association.

Names such as Badger, Ruffin, Mangum, Graham, Swain, Vance, Barringer and Worth grace our catalogue and to such we take pleasure in referring you as a model member of our Society.

With the sentiments of the propoundest regard We remain your Excellency's most ob-^t serv-^{ts}

P. B. Means
W. S. Pearson
J. R. Strayhorn } Com

From Sam A. Harris

City of Charlotte May 28. 1867

His Excellency Andrew Johnson
President of the United States

Dear Sir

At a meeting of the Board of Aldermen of the City of Charlotte held on the 27^{inst}, present Sam A Harris Mayor, John Wilkes, Allen Crum, R. M. Oates, A. A. N. M. Taylor M. D. L Moody, Jno L. Browne, Wm Harly Aldermen it was

Resolved unanimously, that his Excellency Andrew Johnson President of the United States be invited to become the guest of the City of Charlotte, as well as Raleigh, during his approaching visit to North Carolina, and that the hospitalities of our place are cordially tendered to him during his sojourn here.

Resolved that there would be a happy propriety in this visit; that as a Son paying the respect due to the memory of his father he visits the place of his birth, so as a son of the "Old North State" he visits the birth spot of American freedom where the first declaration of Independence was declared, and that here the Sons and descendants of the men of the early glorious days of our union, will write in Cardinal testimonial of respect and esteem to the President of our Country, our Sister States adopted son, and North Carolina's, own native born child.

I have the honour as Mayor of the City to forward to you above resolution, and trust you will find it brings pleasure and convenience to honour our City with a visit.⁸¹

I am yours with great respect

Counter Signed
Thos W. Denny
City Clerk

From Daniel M. Barringer

Brooklyn N. Y.
June 1, 1867.

President Johnson
My dear Sir

I deeply regret that my presence here, where I am detained by the *extreme* illness of Mrs. Barringer will prevent me from joining personally in your reception at Raleigh – & the attending ceremonies of the occasion which calls you there—

But you have my best wishes for your health & happiness, *now & always & c.*

Yr. friend & C.

From Johnathan Worth

State of North Carolina
Executive Department
Raleigh June 2 1867

K. P. Battle Esq
My dear Sir

The presence of Genl Sickles who is my guest, as well as continued indisposition forbid my going with you to meet the Pres^t at Weldon. I hope to be able to perform my part to-morrow.

I inclose a copy of what I propose to say which you will oblige me by handing to him.⁸²

Yours very truly

⁸¹ In declining the invitation, the President wrote:
"Copy

Executive Mansion
Washington D. C. May 31 1867

Sir.

I have read with feelings of sincere gratification, the resolutions of the City authorities of Charlotte, North Carolina, communicated in your letter of the 28th instant.

Deeply grateful for the invitation so gracefully rendered, I regret that my engagements will not permit me, during my brief sojourn in your State, to visit the place whence emanated the first declaration of American independence, and to assure its citizens, in person, of my appreciation of their cordial proffer of hospitality.

I am Sir

Very respectfully yrs
Signed Andrew Johnson,

To His Honor
S. A. Harris
Mayor
Charlotte N. C."

⁸² The document, in the handwriting of Governor Worth, is found in the papers of Andrew Johnson, and is as follows:

"Gentlemen & Ladies

I have the honor to introduce to you his excellency Andrew Johnston, President of the United States.

He visits the city of his nativity, on the invitation of its citizens to be present at the

From F S De Wolfe

Charlotte N. C. June 3^d 1867.

My Dear Friend

I have written to you twice since the war closed on business, and with the hope and purpose of hearing from you, I have still another request to ask of you, My Brother Stephen, who you saw in Washington a little more than a year ago, has applied for the appointment of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for one of the Territories, He prefers Utah I believe though he will gladly accept the position in any of the Territories, You can secure him this appointment, and I ask you in the name of our old and intimate friendship to do so, No objection can be urged to his appointment— He was in Utah and California during the entire war, and gave no sympathy or assistance to the rebellion, He is and always has been attached to the party your Father built up in Tennessee,

If it is necessary to send you any evidence of his feeling or action during the war. I will do so, I would not of course ask this for myself — for I was a Rebel Soldier,— though more loyal to day than some who profess to have always been loyal,

I am just as loyal now, and as much devoted to the success of your Father's Administration, as I was, when we use[d] to room together in Nashville, interested in his success and promotion, and I honestly believe if he had been the nominee of the Charleston Convention, that he could have been elected, and war averted for the time at least,

Please write to me and tell me what is necessary to do, My Brother is so far off that he has very little chance to have his character and qualifications properly known,

I had hoped your Father would extend his visit here, and that you would be with him. I would like the best in the world to see you, You & Whitthorn I have always esteemed my best Friends, Please write to me, and believe as ever

Your friend truly,

erection of a monument, to commemorate the worth of his father.

As the representative of North Carolina I offer him a cordial welcome from her whole people.

I deem it inappropriate to the occasion to allude to any of the political questions which now divide public opinion. We propose only a tender of respect to the President in which every true hearted North Carolinian ought to join.

We also desire the restoration of constitutional Union, as nearly as possible on its old foundations: and therefore we all honor our illustrious guest, as posterity will honor him, for his intelligent, constant and manly support of consitutional Liberty.

Welcome then ————— a hearty welcome To North Carolina's Son, — who has rendered himself illustrious by his honest, ————— earnest, ————— unflinching adherence to the Constitution & the Union."

A copy of the proposed remarks of the mayor of Raleigh was also sent to the President:

"On the arrival of the Cars in Raleigh Mayor, W^m D. Haywood Will address the President thus—

Mr. President—

Allow me Sir, in behalf of the City Council, and citizens generally, to tender to you, a cordial welcome, to the hospitalities of the City of Raleigh—

I trust Sir, the visit, you now make, to your native State and City, after an absence of many years, may be as agreeable to yourself, and friends who accompany you, as I know it will be pleasing to our people—

Many of the friends and associates, of your youthful days have passed away, but there are still some remaining, who will be delighted to honor, one, who has by his own exertions, ascended the ladder of fame, Step by Step, to its topmost round— The proud and honorable position of President of the United States of America—"

From Caesar Johnson and others

Warrenton, N C
June 4th 1867

To his Excellency
Andrew Johnson

and the Honorable Gentlemen of the Cabinet & Staff

We the members of the Baptist Association of Warrenton beg to present our petition for help in building a church—

We have none, and no building suitable for public worship and in our poverty are unable to raise sufficient money to accomplish this our earnest wish and desire:

In this extremity we most respectfully appeal to you, our benefactors for assistance,

You know our condition, as to pecuniary ability, to accomplish any end, where money is required: hence no reason is necessary.

We therefore beg that the Honorable gentlemen will do what they can to help us,

They have our deepest gratitude and love already for the inestimable gift of liberty to us and our posterity which no future gift could enhance, but by complying with this request it would seem to draw us nearer in the ties of religion and the furthering the cause of Him who died for all,

We would be pleased to know when you return as a great many are most anxious to pay their respects,

We are,

With deepest gratitude and esteem,
Your devoted and humble Servants

Caesar Johnson	}	Committee
Lem'l Thornton		
J Wilcox		
Willis Martin		
George King		
William McCram		

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Commencement ball

THE GRADUATING CLASS,

Thursday Evening June 6.th 1867

MANAGERS	HONORARY MANAGERS	MANAGERS
J. Edwin Purcell	Col. J. D. Taylor	Ike R. Straghorn
Geo. M. Maverick	Gov. J. W. Throckmorton	A. W. Graham
W. Clarence Jones	Col. H. R. Gordon	Eug. Morehead

HONORARY MANAGERS

Walter Jones, Esq.
Col. J. C. Webb
A. A. McKoy, Esq.

Compliments of

J. S. Barlow
J. S. Battle
G. G. Latta
W. S. Parsons
Marshals

From Mrs. William H. Polk⁸³

Warrenton June 22^d. 1867

To His Excellency
President Johnson
Sir

Pardon my trespassing again on your valued time, but having written about two months ago, requesting you would give me a letter endorsing my faithful adherence to the Government of the United States throughout the Rebellion—this endorsement, I wish to reserve for future use or when the Government becomes honorable enough to pay its just debts. As to the right of property in slaves that has been so often, and so ably discussed, that I will not venture a remark, further than to assert as such, it was recognized by the Government. & now having forfeited my right to its protection I feel I am entitled to compensation My Negro property valued at \$90,000 was almost my entire estate— the passing of the Military bill, rendering our lands entirely valueless— & without capital I can't have mine cultivated at all. This Mr President is a repetition of what I have told you before— & you will doubtless think why trouble you with such things when you can't relieve them perhaps not— but we can't divert our minds of the idea that the President is the Father of the Country & as such we must all pour into his ear our wants and cares

I regret much not seeing you as you passed the Warrenton Depot — had my bonnet on to go out to pay my respects— but was disappointed in getting a carriage there was quite a delegation from this town to Chapel Hill, who returned much please with the President's appearance but not the pleasure of an introduction

With my complements to the Ladies of the "White House"—

Very respectfully—

From Robert Avery

Rooms Military Commission
Raleigh N. C. June 29th 1867.

Capt J. W. Clous
AAA G 2nd Mil Dist
Charleston, S. C.
Captain,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from C. V. Kingsbury to the Major Gen. Commanding the Dist on behalf of D. G. McRae, and requesting our immediate investigation, which letter was referred to Col. Cogswell Commanding Post of Fayetteville, and by him returned with the recommendation that he be released from confinement and invites attention to affidavits of John W. Lett. All I can say in this matter is that there is positive testimony that D. G. McRae came out on the

⁸³ On July 27, President Johnson replied by telegraph. See Mrs. Polk's letter of August 3, p. 509, below.

balcony of the Market house and cried "Shoot him." If he is innocent he will be acquitted by the Commission, but while there in this positive testimony of his guilt it seems to me proper that he should be tried before he is released.

I am Captain Very Respy
Your obt. Sev't.
Lieut 44th Inf Bvt. Maj Gen
Judge Advocate Mil Com

Headquarters 2 Mil. Dist.
Charleston S. C. Nov. 13, 1867

A true copy
Louis V Caziare
A. D. C. A. A. A. G.

From John Mitcalf

Marshall N C
July 6 1867

Major Genl D E Sickles
Commandg 2^d Mily Dist
North & South Carolina
Genl

I have the honor to send you a petition signed by (80) Eighty of the leading men of Yancey County requesting that the proceedings against me in the state courts be stoped,⁸⁴ the In-

⁸⁴ There are seventy-nine signers from Madison and Yancey counties and enlisted men, chiefly from the third North Carolina regiment of the federal army.

"Burnsville N C
June 27 1867

Major D Sickels
Connandg. 2nd Mility Dist
Genl

We the undersigned would respectfully make the following statement to you and ask that you stop the indictments against one John Mitcalf late a privae Co 'K' 3rd N. C Mt Inf't. The said Private Mitcalf stands now indicted in six or seven case[s] in the state court at Burnsville Yancey County for offences done while he was a Federal soldier, and before he was discharged from the U S service. The indictments are for broken up and destroying some rebel citizens guns in the spring of 1865 before the surrender of Genl Johnson. The said Mitcalf has left to the adjoining county to keep the Sheriff from making the arrest, and desires that he be allowed to return to his own County again unmolested. Private Mitcalf Could get rid of the indictments by paying the Cost on them but he beaing [*sic*] a very poor man it would take every thing he has to pay the cost on all the suits. We would therefore most respectfully ask you to stop the proceedings against him, without cost to Private Mitcalf

Yancy County N. C

Names	Rank	Residences
Delaphuse Hensley	Privat	Co K 3 ^d N. C Mt Inf't
Iredille Tappar	Privat	Co M 4 Conn
John Tilar	Privat	Co E 2 ^d N C
Isaiah Price	Privat	Co G 3 N C
Lewis Hensley	Privat	Co I 3 rd N C
A. T. Austin	Privat	" K 3 "
James H. Ray	Private	Co A 3 rd N C. Regt
M. D. Hensley	Private	Co K 3 rd N C "
John H. Key	Pvr late	3 N C Mtinfity, U. S.
K. W. McElry	citison	yancy co N C
H B Ray	citison	yancy co N C-
Thos J. Murphy	citison	yancy Co N C
U B Banks	Private	Co K 3 rd N C us
Thomas S Ray	citison	yancy co N C
Thomas B Ray	citison	yancy co N C
E Rone	citison	yancy co N C
T H Gamberlin	citison	yancy co N C
A J Phipps	citison	yancy co N C
A. L Ray Jr	citison	yancy co N C
William B Banks		" Co B 3 N C

LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO ANDREW JOHNSON 503

dictments are all for taking forage, horses by orders of my Commandg Officer while I was a soldier in the U S service I respectfully ask that these proceedings be discontinued and I permitted to return home again in Yancey Co. I could go on and submit but the cost on the suits would take everything I have in fact I am not able to pay the cost they would run against me

Late a Pv Co K 3^d N C Mil Inf
Marshall Madison Co N C

Samuel Austan	citison	yancy co N C
John G. Gregory	Privat	Co K 3 rd N C
W A Ray	Citison	Yancy co N C
N M Wilson	Citison	Yancy co N C
Thomas Higgins	Citison	Yancy co N C
Robert Mcintosh	Citison	Yancy co N C
L B Hensley	Citison	Yancy co N C
C. K Edwards	Citison	Yancy co N C
R. A. McMahan	Citison	Yancy co N C
A. B. McMahan	Citison	Yancy co N C
Wm M Moore	Late Capt Co G, 3th Regt N C. U. S. A.	Yancy County
John N. Goforth	Citison	Yancy Co. N C
N. A Mcintosh	Citison	Yancy Co N C-
James Talor	Citison	Yancy Co. N. C.
J. H. Higgins		co G 3 rd N C us
R. B. Austin	Citison	Yancy Co N C-
C. C. Hampton		Co K 3 ^d " "
Thomas Radford	Citison	Yancy Co. N C
Ervin Ray	Citison	Yancy Co. N C
John Higgins	Citison	Yancy Co, N. C-
John Higgins		Co H 3d N C u s
Tatheral Allen		Co I 3 N C us
Robert McMahan		Yancy Co. N C.
Levi Bruckner	Privit	Co K 3D N C
William H Hensley	Citison	Yancy Co. N. C-
Ralert Taylor		
Jackson Barrett		Co K 3d N C us
A. J. Hensley	Citison	Yancy Co N C-
William P Hensley	Citison	Yancy Co N C-
Henry C Metcalf	Citison	Madison Co N C-
J. C. Mitchell		co 11 th Bristals Care
Wm. B. Angel	Citison	Yancy Co N C-
Wm. R. Roan	Citison	Yancy Co N.C.
Thomas S Hensley		co G 3rd Us Mt Inft
Wilson Hensley		Co G 3 ^d N C U. S-
Eli Waldrop	Citison	Yancy Co N C
David S Proffitt	Citison	Yancy Co N C
Gilbert Parker	Citison	Yancy Co N C
S. T. Parker	Citison	Yancy Co N C
J Taylor		Co E 2 ^d N C us
G. W Many	Citison	Madison Co N C-
Absalom Metcalf	Citison	Madison Co N C-
J. L. Holcombe	Citison	Madison Co N C-
John Mitchell	Citison	Yancy Co N C
Rob ^t . B. Crawford	Citison	of Madison Co, N. C-
Wm. H. Briggs	Citizen	of Madison Co, N. C
John Maurey	Citizen	Yancy County
Rob ^t . M. Holcombe	Citizen	Yancey co N.C.
J. B. Blackenship	Citizen	Yancy Co N.C.
Silas Parke		Yancy Co N.C.
William Metcalf		Yancy Co N C
S. T. Proffitt		Yancy County N C
B. B. Whittington		" " " "
Wm. Ray		
J. C. Proffitt		
James B Buckner		Yancy County 3 N C
Burtis Roberds		Madison County N C
B. W. Cox Esq		Madison County N C-

From J. J. Gudger and others

State of North Carolina
Madison County
2d Military District
July 20th 1867

Maj Gen Daniel E. Seckals

Sir

We the undersigned being Prosecuted in the Sum of Ten Thousand Dollars as being accessory to the Death of One Ransom T. Merrill which hapened under the following circumstances & with the following facts. At an Election held in this State for Delegates to the convention that ceceded from the union in May 1861 A Row occured (by he Merrill then Sheriff of this county) Husawing for Jeff Davis & the confederacy where uppon an Eliza Frisly Husawed for Washington & the union at which he Merrill Presented his Pistol At Frisly Frisly gave Back Merrill following pistol in hand Some 10 or 15 paces at which time Merrill Turned his aim at a man by the Name of Neely Tweed with whom he was verry unfriendly having on a former Occasion had their weapons drawn on Each other Tweed dodged his aim by Jumping behind Some other men Merrill Then Turned his aim at Tweeds Son Elish Tweed whoo was near by and fired Striking young Tweed in the Arm the Ball passing through & Struck a Rib &c where uppon Merrill Imediately ran in to a House the Owner of the House in order to Stop the Row shut the Door and perhaps it would have Ended here but for the further fact that he Merrill after having Shot young Tweed went up the Sta[i]rs Hoisted a window & with Pistol in hand called out to the crowd that they were a Set of Damd Black republicans & Linconites which verey much Exasperated the crowd there being on that occasion (144) votes cast at that precinct for union against (28) for cecession & a good Deel of Liquor had been drank that day &c While Merrill was at the Window & vapering his Pistol & making use of the Denunciations Nely Tweed father to the Son Shot: Shot Merrill in the rist or hand &c and after a Short Space of time the Door was open & the offi[c]er went in to Arrest Merrill Tweed again runn in & Shot him a Second Time which resulted in his Death first Shot had but Little Effect &c Tweed made no Effort to get a way but said that he was ready & willing to beTryd by the Laws of his Country untill a captains company of confed[e]rates came in Mar[s]hal array from an adjoining county to Arrest him & Fearing they would mob him he fled & finally went through the Lines to the Federal Army for protection he being a decided union man while Merrill was an open & avowed Cecessionist A prosectution was comen[c]ed against him Taking in Some 7 oth[er]s as being Aecessory Putting some of the parties in Jail th[e]ir getting out onely by heavy Bonds &c finally Since the Surrender it was dismissed in consequence of deficiency in the records & proceedings A Second Suit is now commenced against the undersigned as

being Accessory claiming Ten thousand Dollars as damages again Horroping us & Su[b]ject us to heavy cost & Bonds &c We Hum[b]ly But respectfully Petition you to interpose your Authority in our Behalf & quarsh the procedings Alledging that it occured by him Merrill first Shooting young Tweed without any Provocation & then Denouncing the crowd as DD Black repu[bl]i[c]an & Lincolnites That there is no Body Guil[t]y but Tweed whoo Died immediately after reaching the Federal Army in Kentucky at that time &c That the Suit is Brought against us as union men by Cecession Parties conducted by Cecession Laweye[rs] that the Laweye[r]s are promised half of what they can recover for the[i]r fees & that the Laweye[r]s were the most influential Speekers originaly for the cecession cause whil[e] the Sheriff was allso using his office for the Same purpose That the major part of the Witness her[e] tofor[e] Summ[one]d was allso Cecessionist &c That the onely thing or Evidence relyed on is Such Declorations as th[e]y that the present parties (Said If he had Shot my Son I would have killed him as Tweed did &c) That we are not Guilty that there was no overt act perpetrated onely by Tweed & that pro[c]eded from provi[ou]s grudge & Merrill Shooting his Son it is not Even alledged that the Son had Eith[e]r Said or done any thing But was Shot by Merrill without any provocation what ever – That it was the C[h]aracter of Merrill to have a Row at every geathering he was at that it was his common practice to draw his Pistol on persons &c That at the Same tim[e] & day he was Denouncing the crowd here his Son raised a row at a differe[n]t precinct by cursing the Flag of the (U S A) That we are union men & have been Prosecut[ed] & Persecuted as Such That one of the Partie[s] to the Defenc[e] (to wit) J. J. Gudger was the union candidate on that Occas[i]on as against cecession That the Ballanc[e] were his Suppourters & c That Some of the parti[e]s to the Defenc[e] have discharges from the Federal Governm[en]t &c that those above conscript age that had Sons or Sons in Law all went to the Federal Army & have discharges &c Showing our union proclivity &c while the Pla[i]ntiffs in the case (to wit) the Sons of Merrill were all Like him Self cesessionist & contin[u]ed So to the Last & there is no Evi[d]ence that they have Ever changed &c

We the undersigned Defendants thereby Petition that you order the Judge of the Superior court of Law to Desmiss the case against us for reasons & facts above S[e]tforth &c

Respectful[l]y your Obedient Se[r]vants &c

J. J. Gudger
 William A. Henderson
 H. A. Barnard
 Thomas J. Rector
 Thomas J. Candler
 William R. McNew
 M. W. Roberts

P S We the above Petione[r]s desire If the above is not full &

satisfactory ask a Military. Investigation &c at as Early a day as possible &c

J J Gudger
Wm A Henderson
H A Barnard
Thos J Rector
Wm R McNue
M W Roberts

From Augustus S. Merrimon⁸⁵

Copy

Asheville N. C.
July 22nd 1867.

His Excellency
Jonathan Worth,
Raleigh N. C.
Sir.

It seems to me manifest that the Judges of this State are obliged, while they continue in office, to uphold the existing State Government and to administer the Statute Law of the State, when the cause is not inconsistent with the Constitution of the State or United States. They have recognized in the most solemn manner the validity and legality of that Government; they have accepted office under and sworn to support it and its laws; and while it exists they cannot repudiate and disregard and it will not be demanded that it exists at it did from its creation. If this be true, then under the Constitution and laws of the State, no Judge can in the exercise of his office recognize or obey a Military order, for the laws forbid him to do so. Indeed, by the express terms of his oath of office, a Judge of the Superior Court is bound to disregard such order.

The Commanding General of this Military District, has been pleased to make certain Military orders, requiring the Judges of this State to disregard and reject certain Statutes of the State, and to proceed in the execution of their office according to the direction prescribed in such orders, and I infer that he claims to make and enforce such orders at pleasure.

Now, however ready I might be, in view of the prestant distressed condition of the people of the State, to sit in a Military Court or exercise the functions of the office of a *quasi* Military Judge I am constrained to say, that my settled conviction of official duty as one of the Judges of the State, will not allow me

⁸⁵ Augustus Summerfield Merrimon (September 15, 1830-November 14, 1892) was born at "Cherryfield" in Buncombe County, North Carolina; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1852; was a member of the state house of commons in 1860 and 1861; joined the Confederate army in 1861 and was captain on the staff of Colonel William Johnston, but resigned in 1861 to become solicitor of the eighth judicial district of North Carolina and served until the end of the war; was judge of the superior court in 1866 and 1867; resigned in 1867 as judge and moved to Raleigh where he resumed the practice of law; was elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate and served from March 3, 1873 to 1879; served as associate justice of the supreme court of North Carolina from 1883 to 1889 and as chief justice from 1889 until his death. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 1307.

to recognize much less obey any Military order whatever that may come to me while exercising my office in open Court or at Chambers. I have recognized in the most solemn and binding manner the Convention of the people which brought the present State Government into existence. I have accepted a high and important office in the Government put in operation by it, and have voluntarily taken upon myself oaths of office, obliging me to uphold that Government and administer its laws, and I cannot at all events while in office deny its validity or legality, nor can I repudiate my oaths of office at will and disregard the plain Statutes which I have sworn I would support and administer. No act of Congress can in my view operate to change or nulify my present official obligation to the State:— no power can change that obligation and relieve me from it, save that which created it.

I cannot therefore and will not while exercising my office as Judge recognize or obey any Military order that may come to me in contravention of the laws of the State. The conviction of my mind is clear, that if I were to do so, I would thereby violate my oath of office and prove false to the high trust conferred upon and accepted by me, and besides I should thereby detract from the dignity and independence of the judiciary of the State. The Courts cease to retain the dignity and power, and I may add, the glory of Civil Courts when they sit to obey the commands of Military Officers indeed, then they become mere Military tribunals. The condition of the State is such as to make it obvious that the Judges have not and cannot command any sufficient power, moral or physical, to enable them to hold the Courts according to laws of the State, and it is apparent, if I attempt to do so, Military power will be exercised to prevent any such action on my part and that power I cannot control. Such a conflict of authority would certainly ensue, if I should proceed to hold the Courts as I have heretofore done and the Courts would as certainly be suppressed to make such attempt on my part would be but a ridiculous show, resulting in no good, but in the tendency to irritate and inflame the public mind.

Entertaining these views of my official duty and seeing the certain consequences of any further attempt at the execution of the duties of my office, and being fully sensible that the Military power will establish a system of Courts under recent legislation of Congress, I have deemed it my duty to tender the resignation of the office of a Judge of the Superior Courts which I now hold; and I accordingly do now by these presents tender such resignation.

I beg to assure your Excellency, that the action on my part is prompted by a high sense of conscientious duty and not by any captious spirit or disposition to embarrass the public authorities, State or Federal, or to retard the reconstruction of the Union. Indeed, so far from this, I am anxious above all things politically for a happy and cordial restoration of the Government. I am painfully sensible that the people of the State and of the whole South can have no permanent or tolerable degree of prosperity

until this is done and as evidence of the most perfect sincerity of their assurances, I point you with confidence to my whole course of conduct, public and private, before, during and since the calamitous Civil war.

I will thank you to notify me of the acceptance of this paper.

I have the honor to be &c

Your Excellency's Obt Servt.

From R. S. F. Peete

Warren Plains P. O.

Warren Co. N. C.

July 29th 1867

Hon. Andrew Johnson

President U. S.

Dear Sir

If it were possible & practicable, I, with many whom I represent, would be very glad to know your views of the best plan for us to adopt, under existing circumstances, touching the calling of a Convention in this State. If the policy of reconstruction instituted by yourself could have been carried on to completion, not a southern man would have hesitated how to vote. One qualification should be made in this statement – there are a few politicians who opposed your views but all plain farmers like ourselves saw the reasonableness & justice especially to us (Southerners) of your policy. But your good efforts in behalf of the whole U. S. & of the South, have not been concurred in by Congress. The Military Bill wh. you vetoed, not only passed, but suppliments have been made in the Extra Session of Congress, to this bill (which the South was ready to ratify by its call for State Conventions) and the new features of Supplement 2.nd and the enlargement of the powers of the District Commanders, exercised without control or power of removal by yourself, have made us hesitate whether we are not better off under military rule than we will be under a Constitution adopted by such members as must necessarily compose the Convention in N. C. The great question is, does Pres.^t *Johnson* consider the reconstruction of the South so shorn of its valuable features by bad Legislation, as to require loyal men to oppose it? or does Pres.^t *Johnson* advise that we heartily cooperate in reconstruction as mapped out by Congress?

You are seldom addressed by a plain farmer and in thoughts of so little merit. This may never come to your eye, and even if it do, you may not have time to reply or think it prudent to write under such circumstances. I am not asking these questions for publicity, but for our own quiet of mind & regard to duty.

Permit me in conclusion to send you the regards of my special friend Mrs. Thomas Carroll, with whom you met at Ridgeway Depot

Very respectfully

From Lucy E. Polk⁸⁶

Warrenton Aug 3^d 1867

To His Excellency
President Johnson
Sir

Your favor complying with my request has just been received, accept my acknowledgments & sincere thanks. Should such an endorsement prove of no avail I shall have the proud consciousness of having done my duty & in my leisure hours abuse the ingratitude of Republics—

Make my kind regards to the Ladies of the White House
Very truly

From W. W Rollins

Marshall N C
August 3rd. 1867.

Major McNue
Comdg Post
Major

I have the honor to state to you that I was Major of the 3rd N C vol inft and that I know that John Mitcalf was a Private of Co "K" 3rd N C vol Inft. and that his honorable discharge is now in my hands and that I believe that the indictments against the said John Mitcalf are malicious⁸⁷

Many suits were brought against Federal officers and soldiers after they returned to their homes in this county, by the Rebel state courts Suits were brought against me because I was with Major Genl Stoneman in his raid in North Carolina and captured horses taken forage &c and I had to appeal for asst from the military

Yours truly

Marshall Madison Co N C

⁸⁶ The above letter was a reply to a telegram from Andrew Johnson as follows:
"Executive Mansion
Washington D. C. July 27, 1867.

Mrs. W^m H Polk
Nashville Tenn

I am gratified that it is in my power to state, as well from personal knowledge acquired while acting as Military or Provisional Governor of the State of Tennessee, as from general repute, that Mrs. W^m H Polk widow of W^m H Polk late of that state, was loyal to the Government at the beginning of, and during the rebellion, and has uniformly and steadfastly adhered to the Federal Union; that during the war she rendered valuable service to the Government and executed an influence in favor of the Union, and the restoration of peace and harmony between the people of all the States, that was felt and acknowledged throughout the community in which she resided. As a lady of character and confidence, and for her devotion to the Government and unquestioned loyalty, should receive that protection which the Government, acting in good faith, is bound to extend to all loyal citizens

Andrew Johnson"

⁸⁷ See John Mitcalf's letter to Daniel E. Sickles, July 6, 1867, p. 502, above.

From John Mitcalf

Marshall N. C.
August 3rd 1867

Major McNue
Comdg Post
Major

Your communications of July 27th has been reced and in reply will say that the indictments against me are all for acts done while a soldier and acting under orders. It is for taking horses forage &c. The indictments are all got up because I was a Federal soldier and they are doing all they can to drive us from the County. They all malicious— Hoping you will take some action in the matter, that will release me from the controll of the Rebel State Courts I am anxious you make an investigation in the matter.

Yours Truly
John [his mark] Metcalf
Late Co "K" 3rd N C Mt Inf

From Augustus S. Merrimon

Copy

Asheville N. C.
Aug 9th 1867.

His Excellency
Jonathan Worth,
Raleigh N. C.
Sir.

At the last term of Buncombe Superior Court, Carney Spears, a man of color, was tried before me for an assault and battery upon one Cook. The defence insisted upon was, that the defendant in doing what he did was acting under *duress*, and that he was *forced* to act by Federal Soldiers or by robbers. The evidence was conflicting and I charged the Jury carefully upon the whole case, but especially I charged them that if the defendant was *forced* to make the assault (if the jury should believe that an assault was made and I explained the law touching assault) then he would not be guilty and they must so find no matter whether the constraint and fear came from soldiers or robbers; but if he acted freely and voluntarily and without constraint, then he would be guilty. The jury found a verdict of guilty. In two other cases against the same defendant, his counsel proposed to enter submission and he was allowed to do so. The Solicitor in view of the disordered condition of the country at the time the offenses were committed, the condition of the defendant at the time, his poverty &c, with the approval of the Court, did not pray judgement, but consented that the defendant might go, upon securing the cost, and further consented to extend the usual time for the

payment of the cost; The defendant procured Natt Atkinson Esq to confess judgement with him for cost and he was discharged

No human being ever had a fairer trial: I put the case to the jury as strongly for the defendant as duty would allow, and the jury were good men, every one of them know Unionists as I am informed by the Clerk of the Court, with two exceptions, and these two are now strong Union men. The Counsel for the defendant has since said to me that the trial was fair and impartial and no great complaint could be made of it. The accompanying statement of the Col Coleman, the Solicitor, so far as the facts come under my observation is substantially true. I learn the Military Officers have taken the action mentioned by him and that their action was wholly *ex parte*.

It is much to be regretted that such summary steps should be taken in so hasty and imprudent a manner. There is the solemn judgement of the Court acting in harmony with the Government of the United States virtually abrogated by a subordinate and inexperienced (as to such matter) Military Officer in such way as to produce the worst conceivable feeling. The examination on the part of these officers was not only *ex parte*, but done in an offensive and I may add, in the most insolent manner. The obvious effect of this action is to bring about the worst conceivable state of insubordination among the colored people, indeed, all evil disposed persons, and to bring about the most utter contempt for the Courts and disregard for judicial authority. It were far better to abolish the courts absolutely, than to tolerate such summary and unjustifiable conduct. I cannot believe that such action has been taken with the approval of Genl Sickles or Genl Miles. If the Courts are "Rebel Courts" they ought to be abolished, if they are not, but are Courts existing with the sanction of the Government of the United States, they ought to be sustained. I am gratified to learn that the Officers made no attack upon or imputation against me. I appeal with unshaken confidence to my whole judicial course as evidence of the impartial manner in which I have dispersed justice to all men of all races and color. But this action on the part of these Military Officers by implication and in effect, reflects the Judge, Jury and all concerned.

I deem it proper to make this statement to accompany that of Col. Coleman touching the same matter. You can take such further notice of the matter as its gravity requires. It seems to me, that Genl Sickles is quite as much interested as the Courts, in questioning their action, done and had in pursuance of the law of the land.

I have the honor to be &c.

Your Excellency's Obt. Servt.

From David Coleman⁸⁸

Copy

Asheville N. C.
Aug 9th 1867.

His Excellency.
Jonathan Worth.
Governor of North Carolina
Sir.

I deem it my official duty to bring to your attention what I consider an unfortunate interference of the Military authority and the Agent of the Freedman's Bureau, with the administration of justice in this Circuit, to the end that proper steps may be taken to correct the evil resulting and to prevent its recurrence.

A the last term of Buncombe Superior Court. Carney Spears, a freedman, was convicted of an assault on a man named Cook. The testimony of Cook, his wife and daughter showed the coming to his (C's) house of the defendant, another colored man, and three white men, soon after the occupation of this section by the United States Troops, an assault on Cook, and that the defendant was one of the group which pursued Cook, and which, or some of them fired a number of shots at him, (being the assault charged) and was actively participating in the pursuit, at the time of the firing, with a pistol in his hand, Cook being in close pistol shot. Their evidence went to negative the idea of the defendant's acting under the compulsion of his associates, to show that he had willingly and eagerly joined himself to their party, and was an active and forward participator in their proceedings on the occasion. For the defendant, two colored witnesses, a man the most important (who having) accompanied them, was only not included in the indictment because I had not then been able to learn his name and a boy swore to statements, which, if true evidenced that the defendant acted under the compulsion of the white men, negated his participation in the assault, and showed direct falsehood in the testimony of the Cooks, in the points most material to the issue. Two of the white men were (the State's witnesses said) dressed nearly or altogether in blue clothes—whether in uniform did not appear I do not remember if any other witness was examined. These five were the material ones, on whose evidence the case depended. It was insisted for the State, that the evidence of the defendant's witness was inconsistent, contradicted by more reliable evidence and untrue. The defense was, denied of the alleged assault by the prisoner, and that he was acting under the direction and compulsion of Federal Soldiers. Whether they, the white men, were soldiers or not, did not appear, except from the testimony of the defendant's before

⁸⁸ David Coleman (February 5, 1824-March 5, 1883) was the son of William Coleman and Cynthia Swain Coleman, a sister of David L. Swain; studied at the University of North Carolina, but just prior to his graduation he entered the Naval Academy at Annapolis and served in the Navy until he resigned in 1850; practiced law in Asheville, was a member of the state senate in 1854 and 1856; was colonel in the 39th North Carolina regiment in the Confederate army; was solicitor of the western North Carolina district; and represented Buncombe County with General Clingman in the state convention of 1875. John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina, a History*, 403-404.

mentioned principal witness, who said he was them on duty with a detachment of U. S. soldiers and, perhaps some declarations, deposed to, of these white men.

The presiding Judge, Judge Merrimon, charged fully and fairly on the evidence and the points involved, and, among other things, that, if the defendant acted under the compulsion of the others, whether they were soldiers or robbers, he was not guilty. The conflict of testimony was left to the jury for their decision according to their belief, under all the circumstances. The jury found a verdict of guilty, the presumption being thereby implied, that they believe the State's witness and did not believe those for the defense. That the whole trial was fair and just to the defendant. I have heard of no one witnessed it doubting. I understand (from Judge Merrimon) that the defendant's counsel, Col Henry, Known here as a leading Republican in politics, admits it to have been so. There were two other indictments against the defendant, for larceny of horses, (or a horse and a mule) charged to have been committed by him with these men, one from Cook, one from a Mr Wells, after the verdict in the case above described, the deft. through his counsel submitted to verdicts of guilty, on them, the same and other similar evidence applying to them. In consideration of the unsettled condition of the County at the time of the offences, the liability of his class to be misled, and his insolvency, I did not pray judgement, and it was suspended in all cases, on condition of his securing the costs, one half payable at the Fall Term, and the other half at the Spring Term, 1867. Mr. Atkinson, of this place, became the security and by an arrangement with him, with which the Court had nothing to do, the defendant entered his employ to work out the amount of the costs.

On yesterday Mr Atkinson informs me, that the Agent of the Freedman's Bureau at this place, went to him, and demanded the release of the defendant, from his employ asserting the defendants innocence, based as he, the Agent, alleged, on the statements made to him, by the defendant and some other, I presume, the principal colored witness before mentioned, charging roundly injustice in the proceedings before the Court, and in the sentiments of the community towards colored people, complaining that no statement by the defendant had been taken by the Court; and declaring in substance, that things were not going on right here, as regarded the colored people and he was going to take charge for setting them right. Mr A. went with him to Capt Denny, Commanding the Post, (at the Agents request) and Capt Denny sustained the action of the latter and Spears left Mr A's employ). I have requested from Mr Atkinson, a statement, which if received in time I propose enclosing herewith. On the same day I am informed by the Clerk of the Superior Court, Capt Denny and the Agent went to the Clerk's Office, when Capt D. demanded the record of the Court, and made an entry on it (which I have not examined) directing, suspending further proceedings in these cases, until an order therein may be received from Genl Sickles. All this has been done without any notice or call for explanation

from Judge Merrimon or myself, both of us residing and being in the place.

What authority Capt Denny and the Agent may have in the premises, I do not know, but I think it is evident, on these facts, that its exercise has not been with reasonable discretion. It is deciding in effect, that, after a lawful and fair trial, the *ex parte* statements of a convict and his comrade raises the presumption that the Judge who presided and the jury who tried, have in violation of their duty and their oaths, done injustice and that the witness for the State, (impeached and so far as I know, unimpeachable) were perjured. I submit that the examination which these gentlemen have made of this case, is very insufficient to warrant such a conclusion.

I need not comment, on the deplorable results that such a proceeding as this and others that may follow it, are like to produce on the ignorant and bewildered minds of the freedmen. I cannot suppose that, if the General Commanding this Military District is fully possessed of the facts, he will sustain the proceeding and it is, that he may be so placed in possession of them, that I bring the matter to your Excellency's attention, respectfully requesting that it may be represented to Genl Sickles. I think also that a thorough investiagion would be made of the whole affair, embracing all the information that can be commanded

I am Very Respectfully
Your Excellency's Obt Servt.
Solicitor 8th District

From Natt Atkinson⁸⁹

Copy

Asheville N. C.
Aug. 9th 1867.

Col Coleman.

At your request I subjoin a brief statement of what passed between the Agent of the Freedmens Bureau at this place and myself on yesterday. About ten oclock I was called upon by him and requested to go over to his office, that Capt Denny wished to see me and he wanted Carney Spears, a colored man living with me to go also. I asked him what he wanted with us and he said he wanted to release the boy from his obligation to work for me, and to release me also from my obligation to the Court which I was under, namely, to pay certain costs which had been incurred in some suits which had been improperly brought against the

⁸⁹ Natt Atkinson (November 15, 1832-August 25, 1894), the son of John and Rebecca Bonner Atkinson, was born in McMinn County, Tennessee, graduated from Hiwassee College, served in the Confederate army 1861-1865 as captain in General Vaughan's brigade and was one of the escorts of Jefferson Davis on his historic flight from Richmond in April, 1865; was editor of the *Asheville Citizen*, 1870-1873; moved in 1873 from Asheville to his fruit farm at Swannanoa where he remained until 1882, when he returned to Asheville to engage in the real estate business, which he continued until his death; served as president of the Atlanta, Asheville, and Baltimore Railroad; began the construction of the first street railway in Asheville; was a member of the state legislature in 1879; and was called the father of the grade school in Asheville. Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, 453.

negro, that it was a great outrage and he was going to set the matter right.

At the last term of the Superior Court of this place, this negro was convicted in two cases of larceny and one of assault and Battery. He was remanded to prison without any disposition of him as yet by the Judge. On the same or next day, pending the Court I at the request of the friend of the negro, went to see him in jail, and he was very anxious to have me take him out and let him work with me until I was satisfied and would do anything I would ask him; being in need of a hand I told him if he would behave himself in a becoming and proper manner and do good and faithful service for me that I would make an effort to have him released. To this he agreed. Through his attorney I promised to become his security for the payment of the cost, if he could be released. The proposition was accepted and he was released without further punishment. I told him I thought the boy had been very properly convicted, that he had had a very fair and impartial trial and if he could hear the evidence of the witnesses for the State and understand *who they were* that he would likely come to a very different conclusion; he said he had investigated the matter and these witnesses for the State had sworn falsely with a view to punish and oppress the boy, because he was a negro. We then called the negro and started for his office. On the way he spoke very insolently of our Courts and people of the State, that they had committed treason and were ready to commit treason again, that he had gotten some soldiers here now to help him out and he was going to set matters right. I told him that the opinion he had formed was erroneous and unjust and was no doubt the offspring of prejudice, that our people were loyal and would act in good faith with the Government, that he needed no soldiers to assist him in executing any orders from the authorities all this he denied and said he understood how the matter stood. By this time we had reached his office, and I was asked to be seated until Capt Denny would come in, which was but a short time, when the negro was called up to make a statement touching the offences with which he had been charged at Court. He went on to make a very full and explicit narration of his innocence and the injustice that had been done him, fully exculpating himself from all offence, both of thought and deed. When he was through the Bureau Agent remarked to Capt Denny that, that statement was word for word as had been told him by some one else, whose name I did not hear. After commenting upon and condemning the course and conduct of the Court and people (excepting Judge Merrimon) he said why a white man here is allowed to make his statement in Court when he is being tried and a negro is not, now don't you see if this boy had been allowed to make his statement when he was tried that he would have been cleared"

I told him that he had no evidence of but one side and if he would hear the witnesses for the State, he would think as the jury did which found him guilty So says he I've looked into it and

am satisfied that he is innocent. So the trial being through Capt Denny told me he would discharge the boy from his contract with me and would refer the matter to Genl Sickles and have an order issued releasing me from obligation to the Court and in the meantime he would make an order upon the books of the Court suspending all action in the matter. The boy being released, came back to my house got his clothes and in a very insolent manner left.

This Col. is about the substance and in many places the language of what was said.

Very Respectfully
Your Oby. Servant

[To be continued]

BOOK REVIEWS

Cherokee Dance and Drama. By Frank G. Speck and Leonard Bloom in collaboration with Will West Long. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. xv, 106.)

The senior author of "Cherokee Dance and Drama," Frank G. Speck, died on February 6, 1950, in the year preceding its publication. Dr. Speck will be long remembered as an inspiring teacher and renowned scholar in his field—the study of man. His timely study of the Catawba Indians in the Carolinas resulted in the publication of "Catawba Texts," in which he preserved for posterity the best linguistic evidences of a culture rapidly disappearing. His junior partner in the study of the Cherokee, Leonard Bloom, states that "working with him was a happy and rewarding experience. There have been few American anthropologists so patient and thorough in the field."

Speck and Bloom, with the assistance of other scholars, followed the trail of the Eastern Band of Cherokee in their reservation in North Carolina and obtained directly, over years of study, an intimate knowledge of their surviving customs, particularly in festive celebrations.

Intensive study was made of a remote group, the Big Cove settlement sequestered in a valley of the Great Smokies. The chief native informant was Will West Long, a dominant character of the Big Cove settlement.

The book gives an intimate description of the Indians in their surviving dance and drama, with details of performance and paraphernalia.

As the description is given, faithfully recorded, the impression remains that there has been a dilution of ancestral Indian custom and procedure, that contact with the outside world has affected the ancient rites even in the isolation of the Great Smokies. It seems that the Indians are not keeping so true to form as when James Mooney described their ceremonials.

Douglas L. Rights.

Wachovia Historical Society,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Junaluska. By H. C. Wilburn. (Asheville: The Stephens Press. 1951. Pp. 20.)

A famous Cherokee Indian, Junaluska, has been the subject of intensive study by H. C. Wilburn, of Waynesville, N. C.

Mr. Wilburn has been active for many years in the development of Western North Carolina and in making the resources of the area available for the people of the state and for visitors from beyond. This biographical research began when he was historian for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

In his brief but thorough study the author has drawn attention to Junaluska in three directions: The Man Junaluska, the Name Junaluska, and Places that Bear the Name Junaluska.

The booklet is beautifully illustrated and attractively prepared, and the material presented bears the mark of authenticity.

Douglas L. Rights.

Wachovia Historical Society,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Biography of a Country Church. By Garland A. Hendricks. (Nashville: Broadman Press. 1950. Pp. 137. Illustrations. \$2.00.)

At the date of publication the author of this work was pastor of Olive Chapel Baptist Church, located near the western edge of Wake County. According to the account here presented, this church was organized with eleven members in 1850. In the century of its life it has been the source of spiritual guidance and a social center for three generations of descendants from the "Po' White Trash" that settled the ridge land passed over by the more discriminating land seekers of the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. It has had its full share of difficulties and vicissitudes which will stir nostalgic memories in the minds of readers who have been associated with such a church. That it has had more than its proportionate share of material blessings was attested in 1950 by a membership of 560, a church building conservatively valued at \$45,000, together with a parsonage, several acres of land, a community house, and recreational facilities bringing the total value of church property to some \$100,000.

Surprisingly enough in a book by a minister of a highly evangelical faith, very little of inner triumph or exaltation of the spirit is here delineated. An outdoor baptism in November

and some prayings through to conversion in the early days stand in distinct contrast to the general tone of the book. This again is exactly what the initiated would expect in the pastor's annual report to the governing board of his congregation in any one of several thousand Protestant churches in this country. Accessions to membership, troubles with the sexton, efforts to reach the standards set by the denominational hierarchy, improvement of the physical plant and the fiscal plan, and the keeping of the Lord's work in the hands of competent and dependable deacons are constantly recurring themes. Together they virtually form a screen between the reader and the services of the church to the community, since it is to be assumed that readers will come from those who sincerely believe that a church does render services other than the formal worship program.

The bibliographical paraphernalia so dear to the heart of the historian is entirely absent. In the preface the author declares his intention "to present the truth without casting any reflection of an unwholesome nature upon the good name of any person or family" (p. xiv); two other statements (pp. 80-81, 101) indicate that the clerk's records of the congregation's activities since 1850 are intact and deposited in a vault at Wake Forest College. The present work seems to be the reduction of these records to narrative form, with the added embellishment of human interest stories and an eleven-page sermon as a fitting conclusion.

The reflection of the historian on the work is mainly regret that a larger cross section of community life was not presented. A report on the internal workings of a church is an interesting story. It is merely a beginning of what a pastor might do to contribute a better understanding of the place his church fills in the community. Two examples, somewhat trifling in comparison to the whole work, will indicate the degree to which it is lacking in historical perspective. A few hours of study in census reports would have given a factual base for interpreting the unusual increase in membership of this church as compared to that of the general run of country churches. Comparative figures from Wake County tax digests would have been infinitely preferred to an unsupported statement that poor soil and a high percentage of landowning farmers made for greater pride in church and community buildings. This reader also searched in vain for some

estimate of the influence of the country church on its members who have moved everything they can to the city except their church letters. The author's evident tenderness in handling this subject suggests the possibility that such an estimate might have violated the prefatory pledge quoted above.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina College,
Greenville, N. C.

Centennial History of Alamance County. By Walter Whitaker in collaboration with Staley A. Cook and A. Howard White. (Burlington, N. C.: Burlington Chamber of Commerce. 1949. Pp. xvii, 270. Map.)

Alamance County, North Carolina, was fortunate in the selection of Walter Whitaker, a native son, to write the county history for its centennial celebration. Mr. Whitaker has combined sympathetic understanding with scholarship and has given an authentic and readable chronicle of the first century of his county.

The story of Alamance, as presented, includes the Indians, the early settlers, the conflicts of the Regulators and the Revolution, the origin of the textile industry, the coming of the railroad, ante-bellum Alamance, the War Between the States, hard times of Reconstruction, and later developments with survey of progress in business, education, religion, agriculture, and other vital interests of the county.

Deserved emphasis has been given to two subjects: First, the uprising of the Regulators, culminating in the Battle of Alamance, is clearly and comprehensively narrated and is worthy of study in the other counties of the state. Second, the textile industry, beginning with pioneer Edwin M. Holt in 1837, is described amply in its remarkable development.

There are a few minor errors, such as listing the "Sinnagar Indians" as a Canadian tribe instead of the Iroquois of New York State.

Numerous illustrations add to the attractiveness of the book and a liberal selection of "old time" scenes serves for better understanding of the past. A likeness of President Harry S. Truman, facing his message of congratulation, greets the reader at the opening of the book, followed by that of Governor W. Kerr

Scott, the second citizen of Alamance to serve as chief executive of the state of North Carolina.

The volume is appropriately and beautifully bound in cloth, Alamance plaid, furnished by Burlington Mills Corporation.

Douglas L. Rights.

Wachovia Historical Society,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina—The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, November 10, 1736-June 7, 1739. Edited by J. H. Easterby (Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina. 1951. Pp. xii, 764.)

It is good news indeed that South Carolina has begun the systematic publication of its colonial records. The series here inaugurated will be of the utmost value not only to persons directly concerned with the history of that colony itself, but to all those interested in the formative period of this country. The plan is first to publish in chronological order the journals of the Commons House from 1737 to the Revolution, next to print or reprint uniformly and completely the earlier journals, some of which have been separately published before, and then to move on to the council journals and other categories of documents. The program is as praiseworthy as it is ambitious.

The period covered in this initial volume spans the life of a single assembly. Threatened war with Spain and friction with the new colony of Georgia over control of Indian trade caused trouble to the south and west, but with the province's other neighbor, North Carolina, relations seemed unruffled. The assembly unanimously supported development of the postal service between Charles Town and the Cape Fear. At home the familiar problem of the currency led to a long and valuable committee report (printed in full) recounting the history of paper money in the colony since 1703. The most significant political episode during these years was a prolonged controversy over the council's right to amend money bills, an issue which remained unsettled when the lower house was finally dissolved.

Because parliamentary procedure in South Carolina was extraordinarily complicated and the clerk was meticulous in entering

every detail of action, this record ranks close to the top among colonial legislative journals in prolixity. The editor, by contrast, is perhaps unduly laconic; readers would welcome somewhat more ample footnoting in future volumes. The index, except for a few carefully worked-over topics, is almost useless: When the heading "Indians," for example is followed by 97 page numbers organized under only two subheads, or "Pinckney, Charles" is followed by an array of no less than 237 page numbers unbroken by any subheads at all, the reader is not given much help. Such inadequate indexing is quite unworthy of a text so important historically and a volume so handsomely printed and bound.

Leonard W. Labaree.

Yale University,
New Haven, Conn.

James Harrod of Kentucky. By Catherine Harrod Mason (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. introduction xxii, 242. Appendix and Index. \$4.00.)

James Harrod of Kentucky by Catherine Harrod Mason is the latest addition to the Southern Biography Series edited by T. Harry Williams and published by the Louisiana State University Press. Like all of the products of this press the volume is attractively bound, has a handsome jacket, and reflects high technical skill on the part of both the press director and the series editor.

James Harrod was the Pennsylvanian who led a party of men to the region in Kentucky where Harrodsburg (the first settlement in Kentucky) ultimately was developed. An excellent woodsman and frontiersman, he served with distinction in several campaigns during the French and Indian War and in expeditions against the Indians during and after the Revolution. He was also one of the handful of leaders who weathered those bitter years of strife to occupy a position of honor in the growing territory. He participated in the first assembly at Transylvania and served one term in the Virginia legislature. That he made a lasting and important contribution to pioneer Kentucky has never been doubted.

Anyone familiar with the present-day Kentuckians' love of finite objects and their lack of interest in things historical will

credit Mrs. Mason with persistence and energy, for Kentucky history must be written in far scattered libraries and in places where historical materials are valued more than in the Bluegrass State. She has made a valuable contribution in directing public attention to the confused and legend-beclouded frontier period of Kentucky history. Her volume is the product of patient research and (from the standpoint of material located) many hours of unrewarded effort. Generally it is a smoothly written study. However, it is regrettable that she did not fore swear footnotes and leave her volume in the proper realm of popular biography.

There are far too many careless errors in this volume. From the reviewer's viewpoint it is analytically immature, not balanced in interpretation, and not sufficiently critical of the materials used. Far-reaching claims are made to enhance Harrod's stature. Too little care has been taken in checking footnotes and sources cited. Ignorance of the geography of Kentucky and its terrain is readily apparent. Some documents cited do not support statements made in the text. Imagined conversations and efforts at reading the minds of men long deceased do not enhance its value. Since so much space is devoted to Will and other Harrods, a more exact title would have been "The Harrods of Kentucky."

Lack of adequate materials and time prevented a thorough check to determine the extent and number of errors, but this reviewer found enough to establish to his satisfaction that *James Harrod of Kentucky* is not an example of sound historical scholarship. A few examples will suffice. The source cited (page 31) as authority for Sam and James Harrod's fur trade with New Orleans does not even refer to them. It was indeed a jolly time if Daniel Boone and the Harrods met on the *Tennessee River* "at the site of the present city of Nashville" (page 31). The Englishman who encouraged General John Forbes to march on Fort Duquesne (page 23) was a prisoner of the Indians and was captured by an English-Colonial scouting party. Hence, the source cited does not support the statement that he escaped from the French. The dreamer Poague feared that the "breeches" of the guns were burning and not his "britches" (page 52). The statement regarding the West's "feeling" its own strength (page 94) may be true, but realistic pioneers must have feared for their lives unless they numbered more than the eighty-one fight-

ing men the census listed for the largest settlement, Harrodsburg (page 129). Clark did not send William Linn to scout the Illinois forts with Samuel Moore—it was his brother, Ben Linn (page 125). Harrod Wilson was actually at least a year old at the time he was born according to the author's chronology (page 127). The expedition of Harrod and Logan for powder occurred in October 1776, not 1777, according to Colonel William Christian who gave them the powder (page 128). Throughout the volume the location of "Chillicothe" is confused and many errors are made because of this uncertainty. For example, the Chillicothe attacked in the Campaign of 1779 was on the Little Miami River, not the Scioto. Thus the pioneers did not march approximately one hundred miles in two days to reach the village (page 163).

The *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (volume III, not II as cited) indicates that Harrod was recommended for a colonelcy in 1782, not 1779, and there is little evidence that he was ever sworn in as colonel (page 170); yet the statement is made, "During the winter of 1779 Jim Harrod received a permanent commission as colonel." The paragraph concerning the Indian attack on Logan's fort (page 198) contains three errors of fact. George Rogers Clark did not list Harrod as accompanying the expedition of 1782 (page 200) and there is no evidence known to the reviewer that he participated in the expedition of 1786 (page 227). The map opposite page 140 is not carefully drawn. The author confused the dates of the Danville conventions in her analysis of the fight for statehood. There are other errors that could be noted.

The volume has merit as popular biography. It calls attention to a little-known and even less studied period of Kentucky history. However, James Harrod is worthy of serious biographical consideration, for he had many qualities of leadership and achieved much while living in a period of heroic deeds and able men. But his own accomplishments will stand unpropped by far-reaching claims and imagined episodes. *James Harrod of Kentucky* serves to obscure the man.

Bennett H. Wall.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

The People of Atlanta: A Demographic Study of Georgia's Capital City.
By C. A. McMahan. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1950. Pp.
xxiii, 257. Maps, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography. \$4.00.)

For many years population analysts have endeavored to examine and describe the complex nature of modern society, and they have now adopted the term "demography" to designate their field of work. Dr. McMahan's book is not only a detailed treatment of specific characteristics of Atlanta's population but also an introduction to the subject of demography. He explains the methods used in analysis and gives a survey of earlier works in the field.

While the author attempts to show certain trends since 1850, the bulk of his study centers around the census data for 1930 and 1940. The value of many of his findings is increased by contrasts with data for Dallas, Nashville, and New Orleans and for the urban population of the entire United States.

Dr. McMahan finds that an extensive migration to Atlanta was essential for the city to maintain its steady growth in population. Most of the new inhabitants came from other parts of Georgia or from adjacent southern states. These additions more than compensated for the low birth rate, which was declining during the period from 1890 to 1940. Particularly was this true for Negroes, because they failed to reproduce themselves to the same extent as the white people and because their race suffered from an exceptionally high death rate. Under these conditions the whites outnumber the Negroes two to one, but because of the large-scale employment of Negro women in domestic and personal service, the total number of men in proportion to the number of women is fewer in Atlanta than in any other large city in the nation.

The reviewer believes that the reader would prefer that the same legends be used in figures comparing a factor in two different years (figs. 1-3, 5, 17-20) and that percentages total 100 where intended (pp. 129, 214). The author could have chosen more illustrations of the "people" themselves in place of those of Atlanta's landmarks. Despite these points this book should prove to be a worth-while addition to the field of population analysis.

Paul M. McCain.

Brenau College,
Gainesville, Ga.

The Gallant Hood. By John P. Dyer. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1950. Pp. 368. \$3.50.)

Mr. Dyer's biography of John Bell Hood is one of a long list of recent works on the Civil War (for a partial list consult pages 368-370 of this biography). The public hunger for such writings may be accredited in part to the war spirit of the time and to the long-existing appeal of the Old South.

John Bell Hood went from Kentucky by way of West Point, where he had "a terrific struggle with his studies," to service in the United States Army. In spite of the habits of carelessness and thoughtlessness, which even West Point failed to correct, he was advanced in rank and made two important associations: one with the state of Texas, the other with Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee.

It was as leader of the Texans that Hood made a name for himself when he left the United States Army to serve in the Confederate Army. From the beginning of his service with the Confederates until he followed Joseph E. Johnston as the commander of the Army of Tennessee, Hood was phenomenally successful. He was a "superb combat-officer" and was idolized by his Texans. Stonewall Jackson thought him "one of the most promising officers of the army," Lee valued him highly, and he became the confidant of President Davis. But even amidst the remarkable successes misfortunes occurred. Hood was badly wounded at Gettysburg and lost his right leg in the battle at Chickamauga. Even his love affairs took a bad turn and he lost the affections of Sara ("Sally" or "Buck") Preston.

The ill luck in the first part of Hood's military career carried over in the second part and bad fortune was continually at his heels.

When public anxiety and distrust of the Fabian methods of Joseph E. Johnston led President Davis to remove him, Hood was appointed to the command of the Army of Tennessee. The battle of Atlanta was lost. Hood's physical handicaps, dissensions within his army, and the superior strength of the enemy combined with Hood's own ineptitude to bring defeat. Following this, his move to cut off the supplies of the enemy was largely futile and his invasion of Tennessee ended with the rout of his army at Frankfort and Nashville. A few years of domestic happiness and

business success followed Hood's return to private life in New Orleans, but misfortune struck again, bringing financial reverses and a scourge of yellow fever which robbed him of his fortune and a large part of his family and brought about his own death while he was still in his forties.

Mr. Dyer's work must be regarded as a valuable contribution to the biographical studies of the Civil War. His style is easy and his zest in the writing evident. He keeps step with the armies and handles combats much as a sports writer might recount a hard-fought game. At times his zeal almost becomes a defect, when he writes page after page of the military story without a mention of Hood. The second part of Hood's career is by far the weaker part of the biography.

The evaluation of Hood is done especially well. The author's attitude is thoroughly objective without becoming colorless. He deals out both praise and criticism without apology.

An extensive use of military maps enhances the format of the book. Good pictures are used, but they lose value by poor distribution. It is disconcerting to the reader to come upon a picture of Hood's wife before any mention has been made of her and long before the account of his marriage is given. Some confusion in geographical descriptions covering such an expanse of terrain might be expected. The reader might well inquire how Johnston could "fall back behind the Etowah River at Allatoona Pass" when he was located at Cassville. As a whole the work is carefully done and the author may be congratulated on the completion of two good biographies of the Civil War heroes—*The Gallant Hood*, and *Fightin' Joe Wheeler*.

Alice B. Keith.

Meredith College,
Raleigh, N. C.

Napoleon Bonaparte Broward. By Samuel Proctor (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1950. Pp. x, 400. \$5.00.)

The subject of this study, a famous Florida character who lived from 1857 to 1910, was a river boat captain, a filibuster, and a politician. He was in turn sheriff, member of the legislature, and governor and had just won the Democratic nomination for United

States Senator when a sudden illness and death brought his career to a close at the comparatively youthful age of fifty-three.

Samuel Proctor has given a full length picture of this colorful figure whose influence and significance were of such a nature as to give his name to the "Broward Era." The author pictures Broward as a man of little formal education, boundless energy, and remarkable popular appeal. He was at his best in the rough and tumble of a strenuous primary campaign. In politics Broward belonged to the liberal wing of the Democratic party. Among other progressive measures, he advocated increased support for public education, a law to require registration of lobbyists, a corrupt practices act, and the establishment of a compulsory state insurance system. In his hostility to corporations he showed the influence of the Populist movement. His solution for the race problem as presented in a message to the legislature in 1907 was simple:

. . . the United States to purchase territory, either domestic or foreign, and provide means to purchase the property of the Negroes, at reasonable prices, and to transport them to the territory purchased by the United States. The United States to organize a government for them of the Negro race; to protect them from foreign invasion; to prevent white people from living among them on the territory; and to prevent Negroes from migrating back to the United States.

Yet Broward never became violently anti-Negro and was not associated with such exploiters of the race issue as his contemporary, James K. Vardaman of Mississippi. His principal political stock in trade was the drainage of the Everglades. He was sincerely interested in this project and emphasized it with telling effect.

An interesting aspect of Broward's life was his filibustering activity in the period just prior to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. The two chapters which Mr. Proctor devotes to these adventures reveal the negligence and inefficiency of the United States Government in preventing or breaking up these unlawful expeditions which were calculated to aid the rebels in Cuba against Spain, a power with which the United States was at peace. Broward's political popularity in later years stemmed in no small way from the interest of the public in these filibustering exploits.

This volume is an interesting contribution to the history of Florida. In some respects, however, it seems to lack a character of completeness and one feels that the author did not quite finish the job. Two examples will suffice: much is said about Broward's interest and activities in draining the Everglades; yet no effort is made to show how successful he was in this stupendous undertaking. Similarly, there is little effort to evaluate critically Broward's character and work; the last few pages are devoted to fulsome eulogy, better fitted to be a funeral oration than an objective estimate.

The book is well documented, with the footnotes relegated to a section at the end. There is a good bibliography and the index is adequate. This work will be welcomed by those interested in Florida history.

Cecil Johnson.

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

Yours Till Death: Civil War Letters of John W. Cotton. Edited by Lucille Griffith. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 128. \$3.00.)

Yours Till Death is a short volume containing letters written by a Confederate soldier to his wife. John W. Cotton, a yeoman farmer in civilian life, was a private in the cavalry during his entire three years in the Army. His wife, Mariah, remained in Alabama, making a crop each year with the help of a hired slave, one Manuel, and looking after the seven Cotton children. Only a few letters from Mariah to John are included in the book. Those indicate dependence on her husband for advice, as she frequently asked specifically for his suggestions. Letters from Mrs. Cotton were evidently irregular and infrequent, for Cotton often asked the same questions over and over when writing home.

Cotton showed his affection for his family in all letters; he more than once spoke of the time he spent "studying" about his family and longing to see them. During the time he was away, one of Cotton's children died. This tragedy made the soldier more homesick than ever; his letters about the death of this child and

about other members of the family who were sick from time to time are evidence of the strong home ties he felt.

The soldier's love for his family is illustrated by a portion of a letter written in April, 1863. Cotton told his wife to tell the children "that I want to see them tell them they must be smart children it ant worth while for me to try to say any thing about how bad I want to see you all I would like to see babe with his breeches on and see his capers and see little giney runabout and play but I have no idea she would no me if she were to see me tell sweet he must lern to talk before I come home tell bud and bunk they must help manuel cut bushes and weeds and make a heap of corn tell ann she must be a good girl and lern a heap and be kind to her teacher and lern to rite billy brown is sick he is at the horsepitol he look tolerable bad"—and on he wrote about many unrelated topics of news.

Yours Till Death throws much insight on the thoughts and activities of an "unknown" in the Civil War. Cotton found many things wrong with the Army, complaining about drunken officers, the food which was plentiful but "badly Cooked," and the fact that he did not get a furlough. Complaining about the furlough matter, he wrote in July, 1862, that "there is no chance to get a furlow sick or well unless they think we are going to dye. . . ." Guard duty and "fites" with the "yankeys" are described. On one occasion Cotton wrote that "the fite commenced soon in the morning the yankeys came across the river in the nite and had like to have got on us before we new it," showing that the Confederates were not always on guard.

Though the letters are difficult to read because Cotton was almost illiterate, they are full of vivid details which make them fascinating. The editor has done an excellent job of footnoting, thereby explaining obscure and unfamiliar references in the letters. The first letter included in the collection was written from Montgomery, Alabama, in April, 1862. The last was from "South-carolina Camps near Cartonville," written February 1, 1865. Though the letters ended in February, Cotton was in the Army until May 25, 1865, when he was paroled as a prisoner of war at Talladega, Alabama.

The book gets its title from the complimentary closes used by Cotton. Nearly every letter ends with some such phrase as "your

devoted husband til death" or "your true devoted husband and friend til death." For a fascinating, first hand account of activities of a private in the Confederate Army, *Yours Till Death* is an excellent source.

Fannie Memory Farmer.

Raleigh, N. C.

The Know-Nothing Party in the South. By W. Darrell Overdyke. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 322. \$4.00.)

Large-scale immigration of non-English Europeans to the United States in the 1840's caused the latent nativist sentiment to crystallize and led to the organization of the Native American or Know-Nothing party. The Native Americans were united by fear of alien domination in politics and hostility to foreign social and economic ideas. This was particularly true with the great influx of liberals and radicals from Germany after the failure of the revolution of 1848. Furthermore the nativists feared the influence of popery and foreign Catholicism.

The Know-Nothing party had its origin in the large cities of the North. The Order of United Americans, The United American Mechanics, The Order of the Star Spangled Banner, and the Order of the Stars and Stripes were names adopted by some of the many local organizations. An effort was made to unite these groups into a national party in Philadelphia in 1845. A national convention was held in the same city in 1847 that nominated candidates for president and vice president but the party did not have sufficient strength to conduct an active campaign. Charles B. Allen of New York and James W. Barker were able to unite all these groups in 1850-1852 and transform the moribund American party into a vigorous political machine that played a significant role in United States politics in the decade of the 1850's. It was this party with its secret ritual, handclasps, and degrees which, because its members professed complete ignorance of its existence, was called Know-Nothing and cast nearly 900,000 votes for its candidate, Millard Fillmore, in 1856. The fourteen southern states cast about half of the total vote. Only Maryland gave Fillmore its electoral vote, but Kentucky as well as Maryland fell under local control of Know-Nothings.

The southern states had relatively few foreign immigrants, a small Catholic population and little religious tension, and few urban industrial laborers to compete with foreign labor; hence one must seek beneath the surface for the explanations of the strong appeal the Know-Nothing party had for the South. Professor Overdyke points out that southern Americans differed from their northern brothers in that they insisted on a more temperate anti-Catholicism (in fact several southern states ignored the anti-Catholic clause in the Know-Nothing oath); were less inclined to active aggression toward foreigners and committed less destruction and bloodshed, and engaged in fewer anti-Catholic riots than did the North; and that they were much stronger in advocating national Unionism than the northern wing of the party. One explanation back of this latter attitude was the desire of southerners to escape the growing slavery issue. Kenneth Rayner of North Carolina was the author of the Third, or Union, Degree and it was adopted by the national party as a concession to southern slaveholders. The author declares that southern Unionists, while a minority, were a most militant one. He is in error, however, when he says the southerners attempted to avoid discussion of slavery and state rights.

Some few errors in local names appear in the book, Kingston for Kinston, North Carolina, and Camela for Coweta County, Georgia, for example. And the author lists Gilchrist Porter as a Know-Nothing congressman on one page but on the following classifies him as a Democrat. These are minor errors, however. The author has synthesized the findings of many special monographs and for the first time has treated the Know-Nothings for the entire South. The weakness of nearly all *southern* studies shows up in this one; namely, that since the southern states were not a political entity there must be much repetition in covering the Know-Nothing party in fourteen states. And while not necessary, there is considerable unbalance in treating the different states. The study is weakest, however, in general interpretation and evaluation of the party.

Fletcher M. Green.

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

Songs of the Confederacy. Authentic Facsimiles of the Songs that Stirred the South, with Historical Text and Illustrations. Edited by Richard Barksdale Harwell. (New York: Broadcast Music, Inc. 1951. Pp. 112. \$3.95.)

The significance and scope of this compilation of "Songs that Stirred the South" are succinctly stated in the opening paragraph of the editor's introduction: "To know the songs a people sang is to have a piercing insight into the spirit of the people. Here are the songs of the Southern Confederacy—songs of gaiety and optimism, songs of parting, sentimental songs of soldiers and sweethearts separated, rollicking songs of the camp, humorous songs, songs of defeat, and songs of defiance."

The introductory pages further contain interesting historical data and actual quotations relative to the part music played in the Civil War, in the camps, during battles, and on the "home front." Each of the thirty-eight songs in the book has concise, enlightening annotations concerning its history. While a few, such as "Dixie" and "Lorena," are not of southern origin, most of them were written, or composed, or both, by true Confederates, and each has a special Confederate flavor. Included are piano scores of three marches—"Our First President's Quickstep" (dedicated to and named for President Jefferson Davis), "General Lee's Grand March," and "The Beauregard Manassas Quickstep" (written in celebration of the famous victory of Bull Run). The songs are reproduced in their original form as published in the Confederacy, several of them ornately illustrated with original lithographs.

Mr. Harwell's wide research and deep study of Civil War and Confederate lore and his exhaustive study of the songs which were popular in the South (his previously published works include "Confederate Belles-Lettres" and "Confederate Music") render his latest volume an authoritative and convenient vehicle for reference and enjoyment, and a notable contribution to the mounting fund of musical Americana illuminating a colorful period of American history.

Christian D. Kutschinski.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

Appeal to Arms: A Military History of the American Revolution. By Willard M. Wallace. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1951. Pp. viii, 308. \$4.50.)

The campaigns and battles of the American Revolution constitute a significant, somewhat spectacular, and relatively neglected chapter in our history. This highly readable book, apparently written for the general reader, is soundly organized, adequately documented, and interestingly written. The author, both a soldier and an historian of the Revolutionary era, has presented a moving story of the strategy and tactics, the tragedy and glory, the heroism and villainy of these momentous years. The first seven chapters of the volume relate largely to the war in New England and Canada, with one chapter devoted largely to the trials and tribulations of organizing an army. Chapter eight discusses "The Awakening of the South," followed by some ten chapters on the war in the New York-New Jersey-Pennsylvania area. The last five chapters deal primarily with the war in the South, climaxed by the final American victory at Yorktown.

"With all due credit to the Americans and their French allies," Mr. Wallace says, "it is not too much to say that the British government and the British generals lost the Revolution for England." Some readers may disagree with this generalization, but the author points out one disastrous blunder after another made by the British high command and there can be no doubt that these blunders aided materially in the final victory at Yorktown in 1781. The relatively well-disciplined and well-equipped British troops were commanded by officers as varied in ability and temperament as those under Washington and upon such leaders, and upon their strokes of genius or folly, the outcome of the war depended in great degree.

The author, in a book as brief as this one, could not possibly cover all aspects of the war. More details about naval operations, military logistics, Whig-Tory warfare, desertion, prisoners of war, and intelligence service might have added materially to the value and interest of the volume—but would have resulted in a much larger book.

The reviewer wishes that the author had given more attention to "partisan warfare," which at times was partially responsible

for the outcome of some of the significant campaigns. The whitening down of Cornwallis' forces in the South is a case in point. A fuller discussion of the organization and administration of the American army, the supply problem, and the roles of state militia might have thrown light on the outcome of some battles and campaigns.

The author's appraisal of various American and British military leaders—with a few exceptions—seems to be in line with the best scholarship of this period. He does not attempt to deify, vilify, or whitewash certain officers as some writers have done. In the opinion of the reviewer, he gives too little attention to the role of Daniel Morgan—one of the heroes of Saratoga and a somewhat neglected figure in our histories. Neither does the author mention Lt. Col. John Eager Howard at the battle of Cowpens, who was responsible, in a large way, for the ultimate American victory. Mr. Wallace criticizes Greene for the distance between his lines in the disposition of troops at Guilford Court House. As a matter of fact, Greene was forced to place his first line where he did in order to take advantage of an open field and the excellent field of fire which it offered. Even modern militarists would likely have placed the third line on the crest of the hill. Mr. Wallace says that "A glimpse at the scarlet forms lying still and writhing on the field told him (Greene) he had ruined Cornwallis's little army." When Greene left the battlefield, he had no idea that he had ruined the opposing army. In fact, he thought that Cornwallis was going to follow up the battle with another blow at him and, with this in mind, he began throwing up breastworks when he first reached Troublesome Ironworks.

In spite of the above minor criticisms, the reviewer liked the book and found it interesting reading. After all, it is much easier to criticize a book than it is to write one. The author is to be congratulated on writing a book that the average undergraduate student or literate layman can read and understand.

Hugh T. Lefler.

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

Envoy to Caracas. The Story of John G. A. Williamson, Nineteenth-Century Diplomat. By Jane Lucas de Grummond. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. xx, 228. \$3.75.)

Interest in this story of a consul and minor diplomat in a comparatively unimportant post is somewhat intensified by two features. Williamson was a pioneer and he died at his post, a victim of the climate and the extreme dullness of his situation and work. As consul in La Guaira (1826-1834) and as chargé in Caracas (1835-1840) he reported on the local revolutions and Venezuela's secession from *La Gran Colombia*, negotiated the first treaty between the United States and Venezuela (a treaty of amity and commerce), and described, mostly in unflattering terms, the foreigners whom he met, Venezuelan officials, and life in Caracas.

During the last three years of his mission Williamson was in bad health, and perhaps it was his ailments and his Philadelphia wife's extreme discontent that caused his pessimism and his severe judgment of his associates and the people and leaders of the new republic. General Páez was among the few Venezuelans for whom this North Carolina diplomat ever had any words of praise.

Mrs. de Grummond's book is based mainly upon Williamson's diary (some of which has been lost) and his correspondence with the State Department. But she also consulted Páez's autobiography and a number of travelogues and histories, most of which she has evaluated in a short bibliographical essay, and made a research tour to Caracas. She fails, however, to mention two important documentary compilations by William R. Manning, in which may be found seventeen of Williamson's letters from Venezuela. Although presented in good style and well illustrated, this volume is not an important contribution to the relations of the United States and Venezuela.

J. Fred Rippy.

The University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.

HISTORICAL NEWS

In July the Council of State appropriated \$14,333 to the State Department of Archives and History to cover the cost of a State Records Microfilm Project through June 30, 1952. The program involves microfilming the modern records of various state agencies. For this purpose Mr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., Mrs. Bettie Y. Holland, and Mrs. Julia B. Jordan have been employed, under the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, of which Mr. W. Frank Burton is head. The first records to be microfilmed are those of the State Auditor.

The house in Statesville in which Governor Zebulon B. Vance lived for several months in 1865, after the capture of Raleigh by Sherman's army, has been moved from near the center of town to a public park, where it is maintained by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The house, which will be used in part for an Iredell County historical museum, was opened to the public on Saturday, September 1. Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan attended the opening.

The North Carolina Council of State has just published the *Public Addresses and Papers of Robert Gregg Cherry, Governor of North Carolina, 1945-1949*, edited by David Leroy Corbitt, pp. lxiv, 1058, illustrated. This book is available upon application to Mr. D. L. Corbitt, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Dr. Albert Ray Newsome, former head of the department of history of the University of North Carolina, died at his home in Chapel Hill, August 5, 1951. Dr. Newsome, the son of Richard Clyde and Julia Ross Newsome, was born in Marshville, North Carolina, on June 4, 1894. He attended the University of North Carolina, receiving his A.B. there in 1915. During the following years he taught school at Elizabeth City and Wilmington, North Carolina, and at the Bessie Tift College in Forsyth, Georgia. In 1919-1921 Dr. Newsome taught at the University of Michigan, where he received his M.A. degree in 1922 and his Ph.D. in 1929. From 1921 to 1926 he was an assistant professor of history at

the University of North Carolina, leaving the University during the latter year to become head of the North Carolina Historical Commission. He remained in this position, serving also as managing editor of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, until his return in 1935 to the University as head of the history department. He resigned as head of the department early in 1951.

Among the professional societies of which Dr. Newsome was a member were: the American Historical Association, of whose Public Archives Committee he was chairman in 1932-1934; the Society of American Archivists, of which he was a charter member and first president, 1936-1939; the State Literary and Historical Association, serving as secretary, 1926-1935, and as president, 1938-1939; and the Southern Historical Association. Dr. Newsome served as president of the National Conference of Historical Societies in 1928-1929. He was also a member of Phi Beta Kappa and was historian for the North Carolina department of the American Legion.

Dr. Newsome compiled the *North Carolina Manual*, 1927-1929. He wrote *Preservation of Local Archives: A Guide for Public Officials* (1932); *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina* (1939); and (with Dr. Hugh T. Lefler) *The Growth of North Carolina* (1940). He was editor of a set of North Carolina Social Science Maps, and also, since 1939, of the *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*. He was a contributor to the *American Archivist*.

Mr. Daniel M. McFarland has been appointed head of the department of social science at Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain, Mississippi.

Mr. Elisha P. Douglass, Elon College, has been given a grant-in-aid for the year 1951-1952 by the Institute of Early American History and Culture for his study of democracy in the American Revolution.

Mr. David L. Smiley, instructor in history at Wake Forest College, read a paper, "Cassius M. Clay and Southern Abolitionism," before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its final meeting on April 21, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Mr. Elmer Puryear, also an instructor in history, has received a grant from the Ford

Foundation and will study at the University of North Carolina for the coming year on leave of absence. Instructor Wayland Jones of the same institution will do part-time work at Duke University next year, and Mr. Thomas Clark will do graduate work at Princeton University under a fellowship granted by the American Council of Learned Societies.

Professor E. Cleveland Hollar of the history department of East Carolina College has retired from active teaching after twenty-five years of service. He is succeeded as supervisor of student teaching by Professor Howard B. Clay.

During the second term of summer school, Professor Paul Murray of East Carolina College was visiting teacher of North Carolina history at Western Carolina Teachers' College in Cullowhee.

Professor Louise Alexander is serving as acting head of the history department of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, for 1951-1952.

Dr. John Cairns has been appointed instructor and Dr. Franklin D. Parker, assistant professor, in the history department of the Woman's College. They replace Dr. John Beeler and Mr. Lawrence Graves, who are on military leave for the academic year 1951-1952.

Dr. Richard Bardolph and Dr. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., of the Woman's College have been awarded grants by the Social Science Research Council for the year 1951-1952. Dr. Grantham was awarded a grant in support of a study of the Progressive Movement in the South. He spent the past summer working in the library at the University of Georgia in connection with this piece of work. Dr. Bardolph's grant was made in support of research on organization and administration of the Confederate States Army with special reference to North Carolina. He spent the past summer working at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, making use of the Southern Historical Collection.

During the past year Dr. Lenore O'Boyle of the same institution has published "Theories of Socialist Imperialism," *Foreign Affairs*, volume 28 (January, 1950), 290-298, and "The German Independent Socialists during the First World War," *The American Historical Review*, volume 56 (July, 1951), 824-831; Dr.

Richard Bardolph has published "Liberal Learning and the Spirit of '76," *Social Education*, April, 1951, and "The Required Freshman History Course," *Journal of Higher Education*, December, 1950; and Chancellor Edward K. Graham's address, "North Carolina and the Southern Tradition in 1951," before the state Parent Teacher Association Congress in April was reprinted as an article by *Vital Speeches of the Day*, *Greensboro Daily News*, and elsewhere.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians made a tour of historic and scenic spots in upper Rutherford County on July 15. Sites visited include: Bechtler's Mint and Jewelry Store in Rutherfordton, the original mining site operated by Christopher Bechtler and his son Augustus and nephew Christopher from 1831 until 1849, Chimney Rock, and Harris's Tavern. Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, a member of the executive board of the State Department of Archives and History, served as tour director.

At a meeting of the Tryon Palace Commission in Greensboro on June 14, Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro was elected chairman, Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, first vice-chairman, Miss Virginia Horne of Wadesboro, second vice-chairman, Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern, secretary, and Mr. John Kellenberger, finance member. New members sworn in at this meeting were: Mrs. A. B. Stoney of Morganton, Mrs. J. Melville Broughton of Raleigh, Mrs. W. H. Belk of Charlotte, and Mr. Kellenberger.

"The Lost Colony" and "Unto These Hills," North Carolina's two symphonic dramas, had successful seasons during the summer of 1951. The first had a paid attendance of more than 50,000, the second of more than 150,000. It was the eleventh season for "The Lost Colony" and the second for "Unto These Hills."

High Point, North Carolina, celebrated its one hundredth birthday during the week of July 8-14 with a full week of events highlighted by a nightly presentation of a pageant of history, "Then and Now," depicting the growth of the city from its beginning in July, 1851, to the present day. Townspeople entered

wholeheartedly into the celebration and downtown merchants turned their display windows into museum cases for heirlooms and merchandise of a former day.

"Then Conquer We Must!" a historical drama based on the Battle of Kings Mountain, was presented in an outdoor theater located in Kings Mountain National Military Park, September 21, 22, 28, and 29, and October 5 and 6, with the final performance on Sunday, October 7, the 171st anniversary of the battle. Written by Robert B. Osborne, the drama was presented by the Kings Mountain Little Theater in conjunction with little theater groups in Gastonia and Shelby.

The Department of Archives and History has received *A History of First Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, North Carolina*, by the Reverend Andrew J. Howell, pp. 16, published by the History Committee in March, 1951.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director, and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, museum administrator, of the State Department of Archives and History, attended the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums in Philadelphia, May 31-June 2. Mrs. Jordan was elected co-chairman of the history section for 1952.

The recently established Advisory Committee on Disposal of Noncurrent Records held its first meeting on July 19 in the office of the director of the State Department of Archives and History. Members of the committee are Mr. Ben Eaton, Assistant Commissioner of Revenue, chairman; Mr. G. H. Brooks, Principal Administrative Assistant, State Budget Bureau; Dr. Preston W. Edsall, head of the Department of History and Political Science, North Carolina State College; Mr. Harry McGalliard, Revisor of Statutes, Department of Justice; Dr. James W. Patton, director of the Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill; Mrs. Davetta L. Steed, executive head of the North Carolina League of Municipalities; Mr. H. Plummer Edwards, clerk of the City of Raleigh; Mr. W. G. Massey, Johnston County Register of Deeds; and Mr. D. J. Walker, Jr., Alamance County Clerk of Superior Court. Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. W. Frank Burton met with the committee. At the meeting a beginning was made in attempting

to solve the various problems involved in the disposal of non-current records.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. William S. Powell, researcher for the State Department of Archives and History, attended the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Newark, Wilmington, Dover, and Newcastle, Delaware, June 14-16. They were present at the celebration of Newcastle's tercentenary on June 16.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. Stanly Wohl, the latter of Washington, D. C., represented the state of North Carolina at the celebration of the 175th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, July 1-4.

Mr. W. Frank Burton, state archivist, attended the thirty-third annual conference of the Association of Superior Court Clerks of North Carolina meeting at Wrightsville Beach, July 5-7. He addressed the conference on the microfilming and disposition of old records.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications of the State Department of Archives and History, addressed the summer meeting of the Daughters of Colonial Wars in North Carolina which was held at the Raleigh Woman's Club on July 6. His subject was "The Formation of Counties in North Carolina."

Dr. Christopher Crittenden addressed the Raleigh Lions Club, July 30, on the situation in Korea, and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, meeting at Guilford College, August 8, on "Preserving North Carolina's Historical Records." Dr. Crittenden also attended the annual meeting of the Roanoke Island Historical Association on Roanoke Island on Virginia Dare's birthday, August 18, and was present and brought greetings from the state of North Carolina at the dedication of a monument to Captain Robert Sevier, 1750-1780, by the Crossnore Chapter (Avery County, North Carolina) and the John Sevier Chapter (Johnson City, Tennessee) of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The dedication took place at Bright's Cemetery, Avery County, September 9.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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