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ARCHEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS AT FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE[1]

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Archeological excavations carried on at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Roanoke Island, North Carolina, during the springs of 1947 and 1948 have contributed important evidence that this was the site of Sir Walter Raleigh's ill-fated attempt to establish a colony on the American continent. Over the past few years, nation-wide public attention has been focused on this significant episode in American history by the presentation of Paul Green's symphonic drama, "The Lost Colony." Likewise, the designation of the area as a National Historic Site and its inclusion in the National Park System have increased public interest in the history of the "Citie of Ralegh in Virginia," as well as having brought additional attention to the site itself.

Historians have studied, and restudied, all readily available documentary records dealing with Raleigh's abortive colonizing efforts in North America during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and a great deal has been written on the subject. But no matter how carefully the records were studied, or how ingeniously the meagre evidence was analyzed in relation to natural features and existing remains, no one could say with certainty that the traditional site was actually that of Fort Raleigh. One might speculate on how the fort was built and what the little village looked like, but no one could go much beyond speculation. In regard to the houses, for instance, there are stray bits of recorded information, one suggesting that the houses had a second story and another indicating that the roofs were thatched.

[1] The traditional fort site and adjacent land, comprising an area of 16.45 acres, was transferred to the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior in 1940, and on April 5, 1941, under provision of the Historic Sites Act, it was designated the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. By a cooperative agreement between the Roanoke Island Historical Association and the United States, "The Lost Colony" drama may continue to be given each season in the Waterside Theatre at Fort Raleigh.

Thus it is with almost all of the documentary evidence concerning the location and physical appearance of the settlement. One reference, for example, suggests that the town was set apart from the fort, while another indicates that the houses were clustered closely around it. And as to the most intriguing question of all—what took place after Governor White went back to England in 1587—there is only the stark evidence of the word CROATOAN which White found carved on a tree when he returned to Roanoke Island four years later.

It has been quite apparent, therefore, that unless additional historical records are found, many of the questions concerning this episode in American history would have to go unanswered. But there was also the possibility that some evidence might have been left in the ground which archeological excavations would some day reveal. As soon after the war as possible, therefore, the National Park Service began preliminary excavations. In the preliminary explorations conducted at the site during the past two years, it was possible to explore only a portion of the area in which the "Citie of Ralegh" may have been located.[2]

The present article is a brief account of the general results of these preliminary explorations. Usually much more excavating is done before even a preliminary report is prepared, but because of the importance of the information recovered at the site and the uncertainty as to when the excavating can be resumed, it seems worth while to make that information available at this time. The present article, therefore, will not be detailed, as archeological reports go, and considerable information not particularly pertinent or understandable at this stage will be omitted. Nor will I review, to any extent, the historical evidence already presented in other sources. The accompanying diagrams and illustrations have been prepared for the present use and are greatly simplified. Detailed records of soil differences and miscellaneous minor features found in the excavations are not shown, although they are recorded in the field notes and drawings for use when the final study is prepared.

As a necessary background for archeological investigations and for planning and carrying out adequate interpretive development

[2] The excavations described here were conducted by the National Park Service under the direction of the author, with the assistance of Robert Atkinson, Custodian, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site.

at the site, considerable documentary research had been done by the National Park Service before the war.[3] In addition to the reappraisal of early accounts, maps and records of later periods were studied. These included land records, wills, navigation charts, court records, accounts of travelers, and other sources which might relate to the problem of locating and identifying the site. Results of this research were compiled in manuscript form and later consolidated into a fairly comprehensive history of the site by Dr. Charles W. Porter, III.[4]

The program of exploratory excavating, begun in the spring of 1947 and continued during the spring of 1948, had quite definite but limited objectives. The primary purpose was to determine whether the traditional site was actually that of Fort Raleigh. The second objective was to locate the general area of the village in order that a program for more exhaustive excavating could be planned. The aim of the major excavating project, following the preliminary explorations, will be to learn all that is possible about Fort Raleigh—its houses, the fort, things the colonists used and wore, and if possible, what happened to the colony left there by Governor White in 1587.

The first step toward preserving and commemorating the site was taken in 1893 with the formation of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association and its acquisition of the property the following year. In 1895 Talcott Williams carried on some archeological explorations for the Association, of which more will be said later, and in 1896 the traditional fort ruins were surveyed and outlined with stone markers.[5] In 1932 the Roanoke Island Historical Association was organized, and during the next few years, with Federal aid, a series of log buildings and the waterside theatre were constructed. Also at this time a stockade and log blockhouse were erected at the fort site, but these have since been removed. The trench for the stockade, which extended more than four feet into the ground, and the stone footing for the blockhouse naturally cause some damage to the fort remains.

[3] This research was made possible through the programs of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration, and was carried on largely by Dr. Charles W. Porter and Dr. Frederick Tilberg of the National Park Service.

[4] Charles W. Porter, III, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina: Part of the Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies of 1585-1586 and 1587," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XX (1943), 22-42.

[5] For a report on Williams' explorations and a description of the ruins in 1895, see Talcott Williams, "The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony," American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1895, 47-61. Of the twenty-four granite markers outlining the fort, nine remain, eight of which are in their original location.

The site is heavily wooded, a fact which seriously hampers the archeological work and explains the apparent haphazard location of the exploratory trenches. The presence of roads and buildings also affected the location of the trenches. Except for sand dunes, the area is fairly level, ranging from ten to thirteen feet above the level of normal high tide in the sound. The dunes are relatively small, the highest rising twelve feet above the normal ground level. One dune, on which the log chapel stands, extends inland some 700 feet. This dune, as well as the ones along the shore, may occupy a part of the original village site. This imposes a serious excavating problem, particularly since the recent archeological work has demonstrated that the dunes are of a later period than the settlement.

Figure 1 shows the principal features at the site and the location of exploratory trenches excavated in 1947 and 1948. In beginning the archeological work, it was desirable to locate as early in the excavating as possible something tangible, that is, something unquestionably associated with the settlement. It seemed logical that if the traditional fort site could be authenticated, we would not only know that we were actually dealing with the original site, but would have some definite basis for further exploratory work. The first trench, therefore, was located across what appeared to be the remains of the southern bastion of the fort. The exact position of this trench, as well as later ones, was affected to some extent by the presence of trees. The principal reason for choosing this particular bastion was the statement by Talcott Williams that he had sunk no test trenches there during the 1895 excavations.

As hoped for, definite remains of a fort were found in this first trench in the form of a ditch, apparently belonging to a military earthwork. It was realized that additional explorations at the fort would be required, even at this preliminary stage, but in the hope of securing some definite indications of the village site, trenches were next extended out from the fort in three directions. One series was run southwest to the public highway, one toward the northeast to the edge of the sand dunes along the shore, and the third northwestward toward the chapel, altogether some 800 feet of trenches.

It was considered not impossible that positive evidence of the village site might be encountered in one of these first trenches, either house remains themselves or ashes and refuse indicating the presence of nearby house remains. It was also reasoned that if the village lay in this general location and had been surrounded by a palisade, evidence of the palisade might be found in one of these radial trenches. However, no habitation remains and no evidence of a palisade were found in this first series of trenches. The only important find was the charcoal pit in the trench running southwest from the fort, which will be described in more detail later. This trench, and the one toward the shore, were extended into the fort, and additional sections of the fort ditch were found thereby. From the information secured on the fort during the first season's work, we were fairly certain that this was, beyond any reasonable doubt, the remains of Ralph Lane's fort. It was decided, therefore, that the orientation of the fort, particularly the location of the entrance, might furnish a clue as to the location of the village.

Trenches were then placed so that the maximum information concerning the plan of the fort could be obtained with a minimum of digging. Most of our hypotheses were sound, and critical points on the fort, as well as the entrance, were located by means of five additional test trenches. Location of the entrance suggested that the remaining time might best be spent in exploring thoroughly the area directly in front of the entrance, that is, to the west of the fort. This led to the excavating of several trenches in the area immediately west of the fort ruins, in which an area approximately 150 feet square was rather thoroughly explored. At the same time a series of trenches was extended straight west from the fort across the sand dune on which the log chapel stands. This series was excavated, not only to look for remains of the village, but to determine, if possible, the age of the sand dune.

When the work was resumed in 1948, exploratory trenching continued in the area outside the fort, but at a greater distance. With the excavation of some 2,300 feet of trenches the second season, all of the 16-acre government tract was explored, with the exception of the sand dune areas along the shore. In addition, one trench was run eastward from the fort nearly 500 feet.

In conjunction with this search for evidence of the settlement, additional excavating was carried on at the fort. During the first season, only enough work was done to determine the general nature of the fort. The work of the second season uncovered critical points along the fort ditch, sufficient to show the entire plan of the fort. No additional cross sections were made through the fort ditch, the trenches extending down only a foot or so in most instances. Nor was any more of the interior of the fort investigated during the second season.

THE FORT

I know of only four specific references in the records indicating that a fort had been built by the Raleigh settlers on Roanoke Island. A fifth mentions plans to build a fort and houses. Ralph Lane sent a letter to Richard Hakluyt "From the New Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585."[6] This was little more than a month after the colonists landed on Roanoke Island. A second direct reference to a fort is found in Lane's account of a plot by the Indians to burn the settlement, of which he says that all the houses were to be set on fire, "and that as well for them at the fort, as for us at the towne."[7] Hariot, in writing about the sources of iron in the new territory, records that one was located "sixe score miles from the Fort or place where wee dwelt."[8] A fourth reference is contained in John White's description of the ruins found when he returned to Roanoke Island with a new band of settlers in 1587. The pertinent sections of the account are as follows: "The three and twentieth of July the Governour with divers of his company, walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before. . . . When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrowen with Melons. . . ."[9]

A fort is mentioned on another occasion in the testimony given to the Spanish at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1600 by Darby

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[6] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (16 vols., Edinburgh, 1890; E. Goldsmid, ed.), XIII, 301.
[7] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 316.
[8] Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (facsmilie reproduction, William L. Clements Library, 1931), paragraph headed *Iron*, B3.
[9] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 362-363.

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FIGURE 1
MAP OF FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, ROANOKE ISLAND, NORTH CAROLINA, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE FORT RUINS AND THE EXPLORATORY TRENCHES EXCAVATED IN 1947 AND 1948.

Glande, one of the settlers of the 1585 enterprise. He is reported to have stated that as soon as the colonists landed "they began to make brick and fabric for a fort and houses."[10] Although there is no reason to question the evidence, it states only that the colonists *began* to make brick and does not furnish information as to the quantity of bricks made, nor that they were used in the actual construction of a fort and houses. There is also the possibility that the bricks were planned for structures within the fort rather than for fort construction proper.

Although these references furnish indisputable evidence that a fort existed at the "Citie of Ralegh," they are not specific concerning the location, size, or method of construction of that fort. It can be inferred from the account of the frustrated plot to set fire to the thatched roofs of buildings "at the fort, as for us at the towne," that in March, 1586, at least one building with a thatched roof stood within the fort. When the second group of settlers arrived in July, 1587, they found the fort "rased downe." This account states further that on the same day every man was ordered to repair the ruined houses and to build other "new Cottages, for such as should neede."[11] It is probably significant that no mention is made in this account of rebuilding the fort. From what we know now as to the probable construction of the fort—a small earthwork with ditches and earth embankment—the statement that the fort was "rased down" is not clear. It may have referred to a building, or buildings, originally standing within the fort, which other evidence would indicate had existed. It is also possible that this statement referred to a palisade, or to brick or timber construction in connection with the embankment of the fort.

When John White's relief party finally returned in 1591 (new style), no mention is made of a fort. The record states that "we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes [curtains] and flankers very Fortlike."[12] This reference is somewhat ambiguous, but it would seem to indicate that the entire

[10] General Archives of the Indies, *Audienca* of Santa Domingo—Letters of the Governors of Florida, 1568-1611, extract of a letter of Gonzalo Mendendez de Canco to Philip II, June 28, 1600, Case 54, Drawer 5, file 9, Seville, Spain; translated by Katherine Reding and printed in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1924). The name also appears as Glauin, Glaud, and Glavid.

[11] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 363.

[12] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 383-384.

village, rather than just a small fort, was enclosed with a palisade.

Nor do later maps and descriptions help us much in locating the fort and determining its original appearance. The first indication on a map of a fort in this vicinity is found on the Collet Map of 1770.[13] John Lawson, however, had mentioned visiting the ruin in 1709,[14] but it is not until Edward Bruce describes his visit of 1860 that we have a description of the ruins.[15]

Then in 1895, two years after the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association was formed, Talcott Williams explored and described the ruins. This was the first time the site had been explored archeologically, but, unfortunately, Williams' notes and records are lost. According to his published report, he dug thirteen trenches at the fort, most of them three by five feet in size and from four to nine feet deep.[16] He states that these test trenches were excavated inside the fort and not in the embankment or ditch. It is of interest, in this connection, that of the previous excavation trenches encountered in the recent work, one was near the center of the fort, while several were squarely within the old ditch fill, which Williams failed to recognize.

Williams reports finding a typical humus layer of six to eight inches, below which was a layer of "black, ashy earth, containing many fragments of charcoal and frequent fire pits. This layer rested directly on undisturbed sand, often penetrated by fire pits. . . . Toward the base of the black, ashy layer were found small pieces of iron, a corroded nail, a chipped piece of quartzite, and some small fragments of Indian pottery, networked. . . . For a site occupied at it was, the place proved singularly barren of debris."[17] Conditions somewhat similar to those described by Williams were noted in the recent excavations. His "fire pits" were undoubtedly the rotted and charred remains of tree roots, and his "small pieces of iron" were possibly the rusty appearing concretions found through the subsoil. These natural formations are commonly mistaken for iron. Williams' failure to observe the fort ditch when encountered is not surprising, since the soil

[13] *A Compleat Map of North Carolina from an Actual Survey*, by Captain Collett, Governor of Fort Johnston (London, 1770).
[14] John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1709), 62.
[15] Edward C. Bruce, "Loungings in the Footprints of the Pioneers," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XX (May, 1860), 721-736.
[16] Williams, *Surroundings*, 59.
[17] Williams, *Surroundings*, 59.

distinction is not always too obvious, and good archeological work can never be done in trenches as small as three by five feet.

Williams mentions the digging done by some Federal soldiers stationed on Roanoke Island in 1863.[18] According to his report, they apparently dug some holes at the eastern side of the ruins but were stopped by the owner before any great damage was done. With the two exceptions noted above, there is no record of the site having been disturbed until the palisade and blockhouse were erected in 1936.[19]

It is too early to give a detailed description of the fort, but the evidence uncovered so far is of interest and is sufficient to show the original shape and appearance of the structure (see Figures 2, 4, and 5). It is anticipated that complete excavation of the ruins will reveal many other details of the fort's construction and possibly remains of structures within the fort. The preliminary exploration, however, showed that the fort was a small earthwork with surrounding ditch. These excavations have also been of value in determining the best method of completing the excavations and in suggesting ways of treating the site for interpretive purposes.

Sections through the fort ditch were obtained at five points. In addition, the ditch was located in plan at all critical points, permitting the entire plan to be projected, as shown in Figure 2. The structure was basically a square with bastions on three sides and an entrance on the fourth. The clear space inside the parapet was not over sixty feet square. The sides of the fort were oriented approximately with the compass, the entrance facing almost due west. The two bastions facing the shore were triangular, while the third, facing inland, was "reniform" in shape, and noticeably unsymmetrical. Possibly a powder magazine or some other structure was located within this rounded bastion.

The sides of the original ditch, and probably the parapet as well, had a relatively steep slope and would have eroded very rapidly. The fill in the bottom of the ditch was found to be relatively pure subsoil material with little or no topsoil ad mixture.

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[18] Williams, *Surroundings*, 58.

[19] Local residents informed me that grading for a highway a few years ago extended up to the fort ruins from the south, possibly disturbing the south bastion. There are surface indications of a road a short distance to the west of this location. Apparently the grading operation was done in connection with relocating this eariler road which had served for many years as the main entrance to the site.

This would indicate that the light yellow sand, characteristic of the subsoil, had been thrown up last on the parapet, and was the first to be washed back into the ditch. This process of erosion must have started very soon after the fort was built, before any humus layer had developed in the bottom of the ditch or on the parapet. Contemporary instructions for building small earthworks called for sodding the faces of the parapet, but this would have been difficult to carry out at Fort Raleigh, because of the sandy soil of that locality.

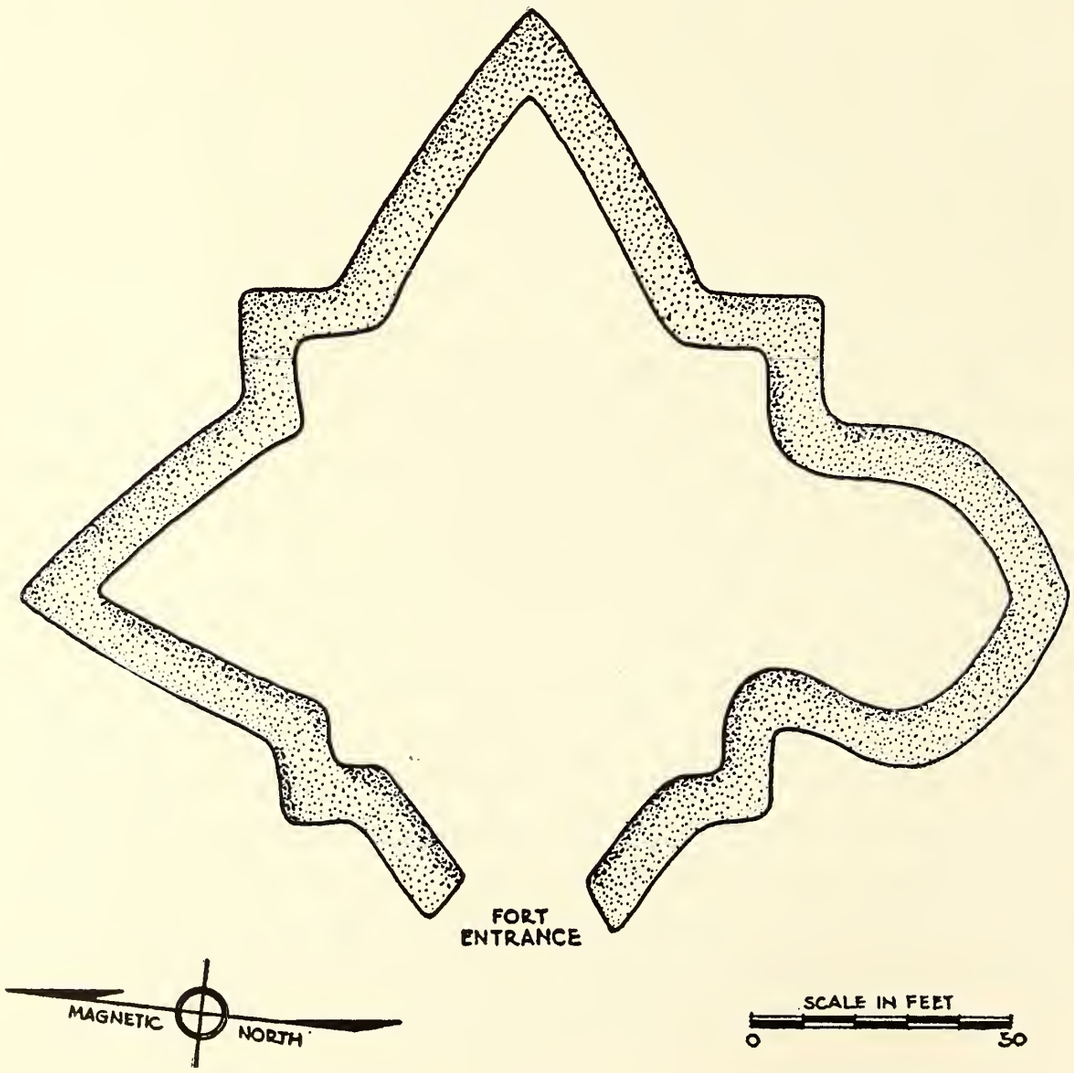


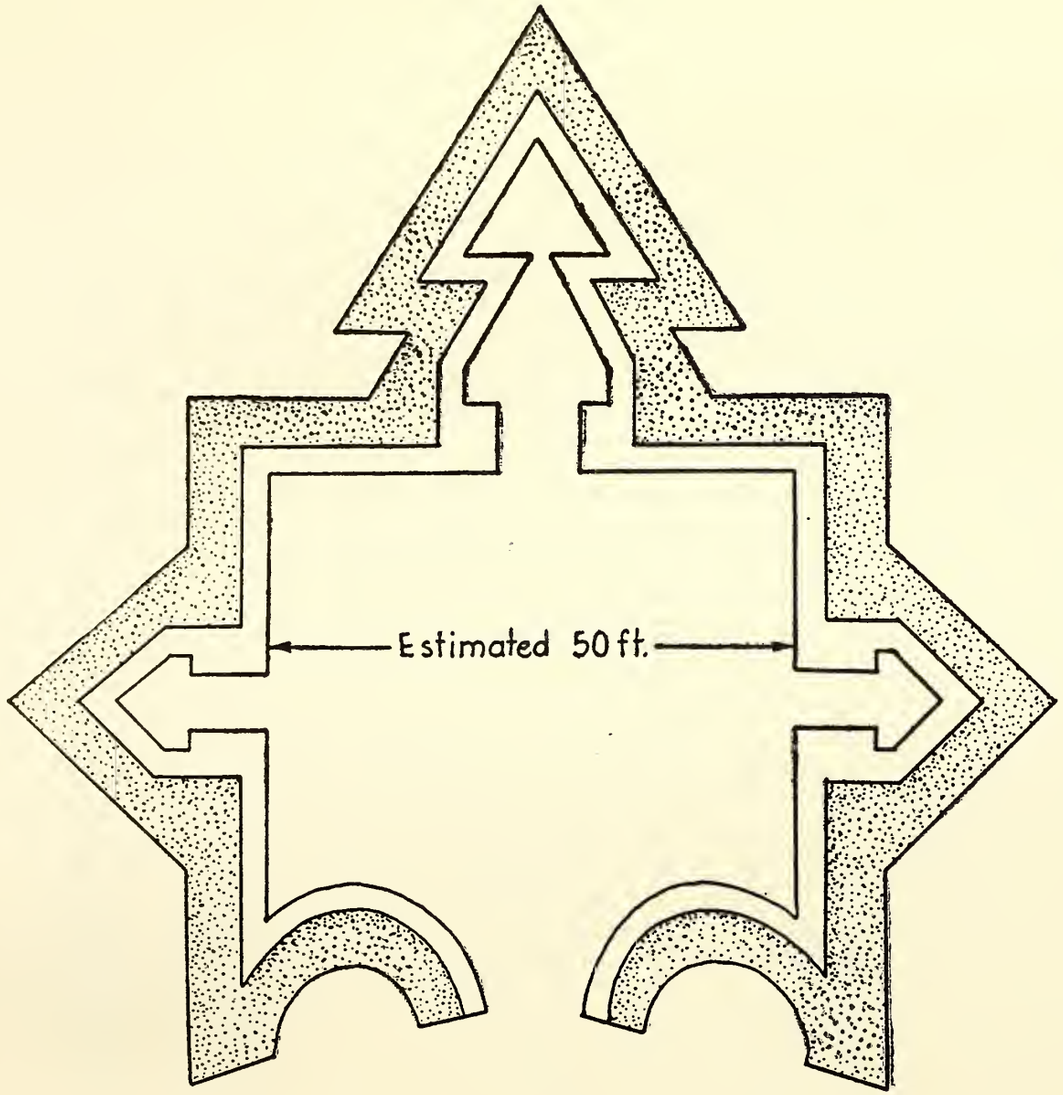
FIGURE 2

PLAN OF THE DITCH OF THE FORT RUINS AT FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, AS REVEALED BY ARCHEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS.

After the ditch had partially filled in, there is evidence that further filling took place rather slowly. The fill in the upper layers is mixed with topsoil, and in places these darker humus deposits are roughly crescent-shaped, showing slow accumulation from leaf mould and other natural soil action. Eventually the parapet had washed down to within a foot or so of the original ground, and the ditch had filled up correspondingly. This, roughly, was the condition of the ruins when observed by Bruce in 1860 and by Williams thirty-five years later. The condition of the ditch fill, showing slow accumulation from natural causes over a relatively long period of time, is strong evidence of the fort's antiquity. Civil War earthworks on Roanoke Island, although abandoned for over eighty years, show no such erosion.

Of the few objects found in the excavations at the fort, none was in a position which would definitely associate it with the period of the fort's construction and use. Very little was found in the ditch fills, and all of it must have been deposited there after the fort came into disuse. Two large sherds of Indian pottery were found in the ditch fill, 1.0 feet and 2.2 feet, respectively, above the bottom of the ditch. This pottery might have been in the earth originally thrown up from the ditch and later washed back in again. Of European material, only two fragments were found at a depth which would suggest that they might have been deposited while the ditch was filling up from erosion of the parapet. One is a fragment of hand-made brick, found 2.5 feet above the bottom of the ditch; the other an unidentified piece of iron found 1.3 feet from the bottom. Only one dimension on the brick is available, the thickness, which is 2¼ inches. This happens to be the thickness of bricks required by English statute at the time of the Roanoke Island settlements. It must have found its way into the ditch fill at a fairly early date, and may very well have come from one of the settlement's structures. The hand-wrought iron object is a thin, flat blade or strap, two inches wide. The portion found, apparently only part of the original, is seven inches in length.

The only other objects encountered, except occasional sherds of Indian pottery and a few small nondescript iron fragments near the surface, were seven large, handwrought iron spikes found in the northeast bastion about four inches below the present



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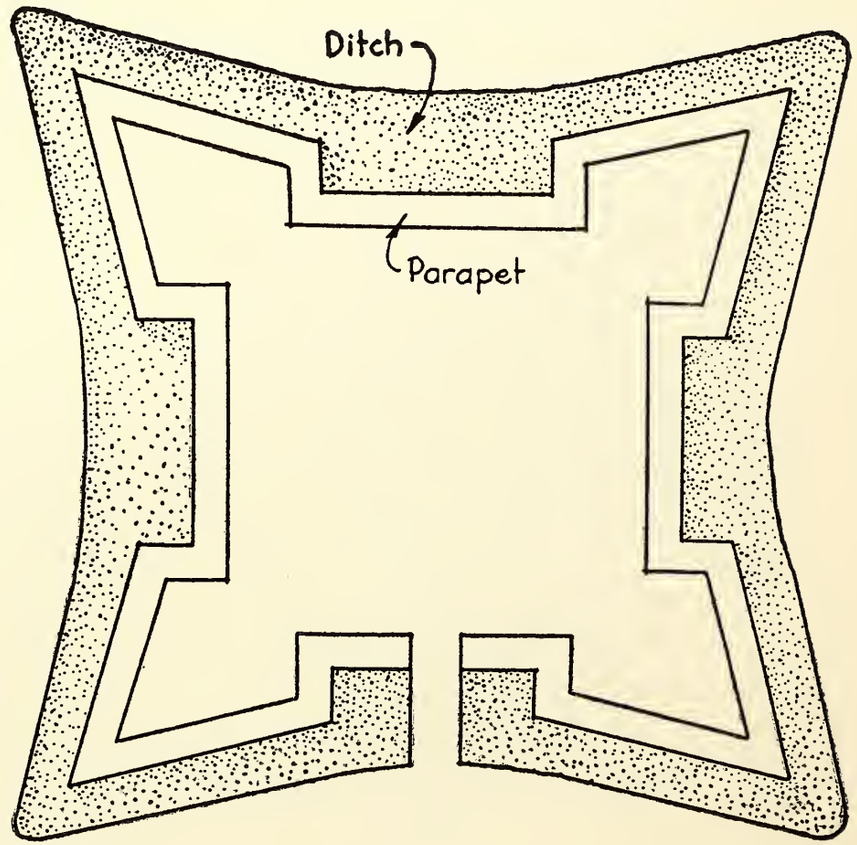

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FIGURE 3

RALPH LANE'S FORT ON ST. JOHN'S ISLAND (PUERTO RICO) COMPARED WITH CONVENTIONAL BASTIONED FORT OF SIMILAR SIZE AND CONSTRUCTION.

A. SIMPLIFIED COPY OF JOHN WHITE'S WATER COLOR SKETCH, LABELLED BY THE ARTISTS "THE FORME OF A FORT WHICH WAS MADE BY MR. RALFE LANE IN A PARTE OF ST. JOHNS ILANDE NEERE CAPROS WHERE WE TOKE IN SALT THE XXVITH OF MAY, 1585."

B. TYPICAL SMALL, FOUR-SIDED EARTHWORK OF THE PERIOD

surface. They were in a cluster as though deposited in a bundle. They are badly rusted, but appear to have been approximately seven and one-half inches long and one-half inch square just below the head, tapering uniformly to a flattened point. In brief, very little cultural material was found at the fort ruins, and none under conditions which would prove the ruins to be those of the Lane fort.

The strongest evidence in favor of this ruin being Lane's fort of 1585 is its distinctive plan. Although I have referred to *bastions* in describing the remains, these may very well have not been true bastions with flanks. All we have to go on at present is the shape of the ditch. If the parapet followed the ditch outline exactly, then the fort was a modified *star fort*. In this case, the structure might be described as a star fort, formed on a square, having large angles on four sides with small angles between, and having the entrance at the point of one of the large angles.

Even though star forts were constructed at the period of Fort Raleigh, they were not looked upon with favor by military engineers for the lacked the flanking defense afforded by the bastioned fort. As early as 1585, the formal bastioned fort had come into use, although the period of great systematization came somewhat later, particularly with the work of Vauban and others of his day. The method of building bastioned forts must have been known to Lane, but it would appear that he favored forms derived from the star-fort design. One manual of that day, written by Paul Ive, and published in London in 1589, is very explicit as to materials, form, and use of forts.[20] The bastioned forms shown in Ive's handbook (Figure 3-b), which are recommended for small earthworks, are quite unlike the fort on Roanoke Island.

Other works of that period gave similar instructions for constructing small earthworks, and the term "sconse" or "skonse" was often employed for fortifications of this type. This recalls Lane's letter in which he proposed to build sconses at two-day march intervals along the route to the Chesapeake Bay region.[21]

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[20] Paul Ive, *The Practise of Fortification* (London, 1589). Several fortifications erected about this time are of particular interest for comparative purposes. Among them are Fort Caroline in Florida (1564); Grenville's fort in Puerto Rico (1585); Lane's fort in Puerto Rico (1585); Fort St. George in Maine (1607); and Jamestown, Virginia (1607). A contemporary plan or description is available for each of these.

[21] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 305-306. Lane wrote that at the head of the river [sound] he would raise "a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would have left five and twentie, or thirtie men," and that similar sconses would be raised at intervals along the route.

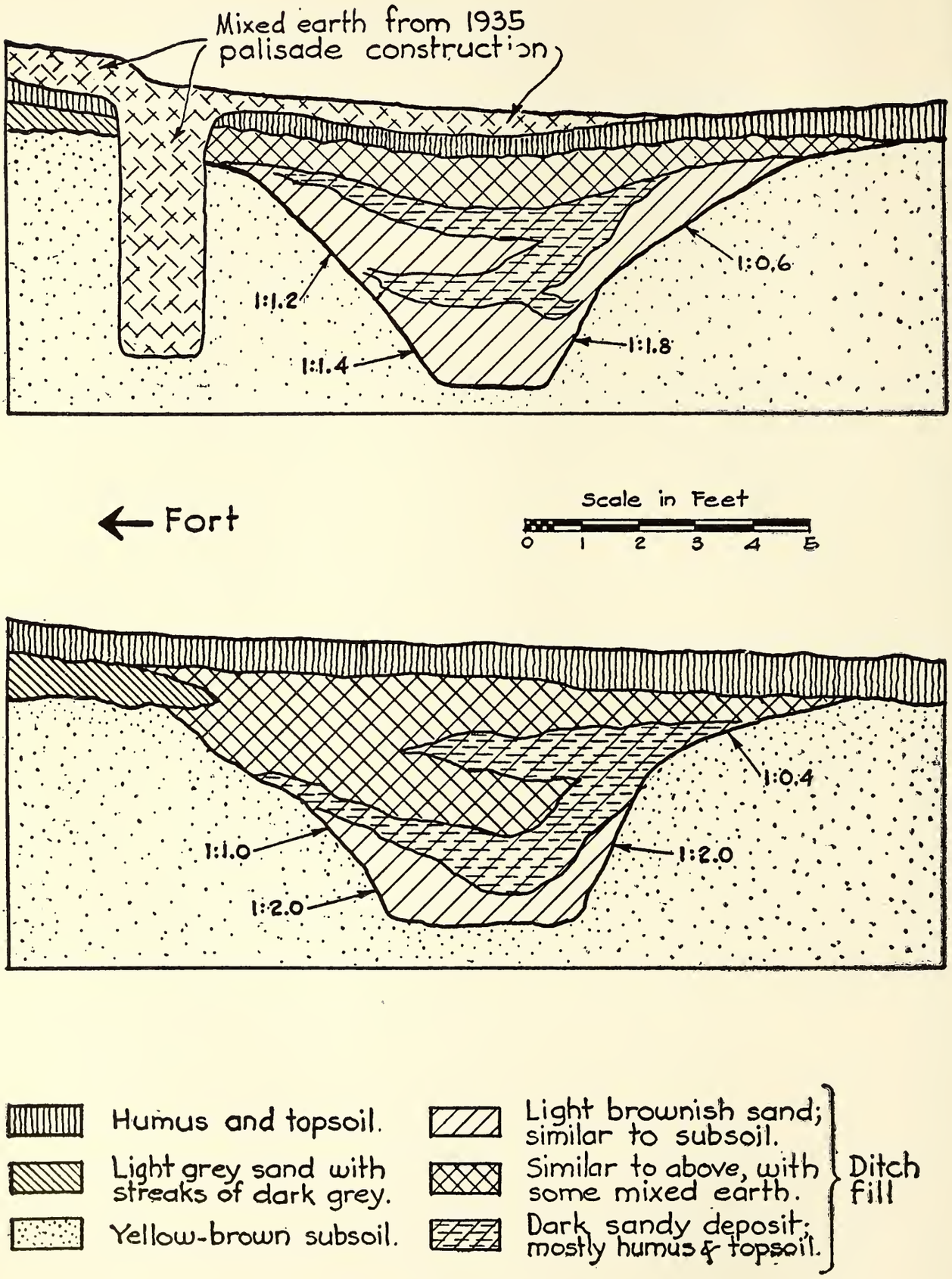

FIGURE 4

TYPICAL CROSS SECTIONS THROUGH OLD FORT DITCH AT FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, SHOWING SHAPE OF ORIGINAL DITCH AND NATURE OF DITCH FILL.

Lane's high regard for the defensive worth of the sconse, properly located, is indicated in his letter to Secretary Walsingham, written while he lay at anchor off the coast opposite Roanoke Island. Referring to the advantages of a certain inlet, he states that this inlet, "if fortified by a sconse, could not be entered by the whole force of Spain."[22]

Of special interest in this respect is the fort built by Lane at St. John's Island (now Puerto Rico) on his way to Virginia, as recorded in one of White's drawings (Figures 3 a). This fort—or perhaps Lane would have called it a sconse—was built as a temporary protection from the Spanish while the English colonists were gathering salt.[23] No scale is shown on White's sketch, but judging from the size of the people and a small boat, the fort was apparently similar in size to the earthwork on Roanoke Island. The distinctive thing about this St. John's fort was its plan—a square with bastions on the sides rather than at the corners.

White shows one odd-shaped bastion in the Puerto Rico fort, with a sort of "arrow-head" plan. It is possible that this is the artist's conception of a leaf-shaped form, such as the southeast bastion of the Roanoke Island fort. Likewise, the entrances of both forts may have been more similar than White's drawing would indicate.

Although the St. John's fort, as represented in White's sketch, has bastions of a sort, it is not a bastioned fort in the true sense, and basically is similar to the fort on Roanoke Island. The similarity of these two structures is the strongest evidence we have thus far for identifying the one on Roanoke Island as the fort built by Ralph Lane for the first Virginia colony.[24]

Post-settlement accounts of the site are not sufficiently detailed, or precise as to location, positively to identify the traditional site. A fort in this location first appears on the 1770 Collet map, which eliminates the possibility of its having been built during the

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[22] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660*, 3.

[23] The official record of this episode is as follows: "The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo Bay upon the Southwest side of Saint John, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as hee arrived there, hee landed with his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himselfe upon the sandes immediatly, compassing one of their salte hills within the trench." Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 295-296. White's sketch, however, shows what appears to be two salt hills.

[24] To Dr. Charles W. Porter should go the credit for first suggesting the comparison of these two forts built under the direction of Ralph Lane as possibly the surest way of identifying the ruins on Roanoke Island. He called attention to a general similarity between the two, suggested by comparison of the 1896 survey and the White sketch. (Porter, "Fort Raleigh," 29.)

Revolutionary War. There is no record of military activity in this vicinity prior to 1770, although there is evidence that a town, with fortifications to defend it, was planned for Roanoke Island early in the eighteenth century.[25] The location, apparently, was to have been approximately that of the present town of Manteo, but later maps and land records would indicate that the plan for building the town and fortifications was never carried out.

Weighing all available evidence, therefore, it would seem that the case for the ruins at Fort Raleigh being those of the fort built by Lane in 1585, which tradition has staunchly maintained throughout the years, is too strong to longer doubt.

One wonders why the fort was located some 500 feet inland, whereas the one at St. John's Island was built directly on the shore. The answer is quite obvious. The St. John's fort was built to protect the Englishmen from Spaniards, already on the island, while the salt hill was being looted and the salt loaded on their ship, anchored off shore. At Roanoke Island, on the other hand, the settlers were concerned with Spaniards who might approach from the water. Obviously, the fort was not constructed to provide protection from the Indians. Even as undermanned as the settlement was, the English did not look upon the "savages" as worthy military antagonists. They certainly realized that an earthwork with a few cannon would be quite ineffective against an enemy that hid behind trees, shot fire brands into the thatched roofs of their houses, and attacked without warning in the night.

There is evidence that the shore line has changed perceptibly during the past three centuries, although the shore directly opposite the fort may have been in about the same position as at present. Apparently considerable erosion has taken place westward from the site. There is also evidence that the present cove, toward which the northeast bastion of the fort points, did not exist in its present form in earlier times. It is difficult to say just what the shape of the shore line was in 1585, but it seems likely that there was a slight indentation opposite the fort site. This would explain not only the indentation shown on White's map in this general vicinity, but also the orientation of the fort. Guns in the two pointed bastions would have controlled nearly half a mile of shore line opposite the fort. In this position the

[25] Porter, "Fort Raleigh," 40.

little earthwork could have dealt quite effectively with landing parties from Spanish ships. This important problem of the configuration of the shore line during the time of the settlement obviously calls for further research.

From the archeological evidence thus far secured, some conclusions can be drawn as to the original appearance of the fort. The ditch appears to have been about five feet deep and from ten to twelve feet across at the ground level. A hypothetical section through the ditch and parapet is shown in Figure 5.

The excavating thus far has revealed no evidence of a stockade laid against the scarp (logs laid vertically against the fort side of the ditch), which was sometimes done when soil conditions required. Likewise, there may well have been a berm (level space between toe of parapet and top of ditch), in view of the sandy nature of the soil and the difficulty that would have been encountered in adequately sodding the slopes.

Excavations have thus far revealed none of the features found in more elaborate defensive works, such as a "covert way," "place of arms," or "palisade," in the area outside the ditch, and it is doubtful if such features would have been used in so simple a structure. Nor was there conclusive evidence of a "glacis" (slight elevation at top of outer edge of ditch), although this feature may well have been used.

The excavating thus far has not been sufficient to determine any details concerning the original parapet. There was probably a "banquette" (firing step) along the inside of the parapet, as shown in Figure 5. The outer slope of the parapet, normally sodded on works of this sort, may have been faced with logs, but almost certainly brick or stone was not used. The number and location of embrasures for the guns will probably never be known, although further excavating inside the fort may reveal the location of timber gun platforms.

The fort undoubtedly had some sort of feature for protecting the entrance ("ravelin"), although the one trench extending west from the entrance revealed no evidence of such a structure. It could well have been a simple breastwork, without ditch or palisade, in which case all remains would likely have disappeared.

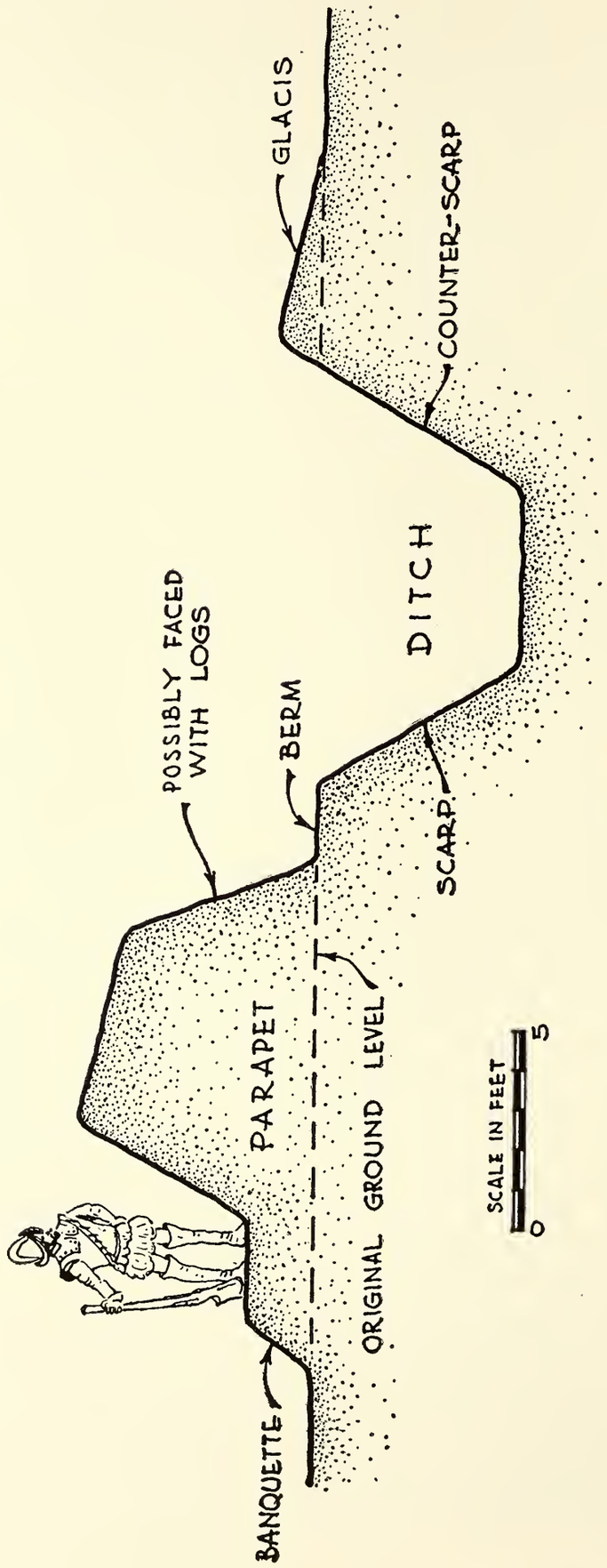

FIGURE 5

SECTION THROUGH PARAPET AND DITCH OF SIMPLE TYPE OF EARTH WORKS OF THE FORT RALEIGH PERIOD, SUGGESTING POSSIBLE APPEARANCE OF THE FORT CONSTRUCTED BY THE RALEIGH COLONISTS ON ROANOKE ISLAND.

Within the fort there was at least one thatched building, as previously mentioned. This may have been a storehouse or quarters for the garrison. There would likely have been a powder magazine and a well, both of which should be found when further excavating is done.

THE VILLAGE

Although some 4,000 lineal feet of exploratory trenches were excavated outside the fort, no physical remains of settlers' homes were found, nor was there encountered sufficient building or household refuse to indicate the proximity of a habitation area. The fact that no visible remains of houses were found is not surprising, even though the exploratory trenches may have crossed the settlement area. The buildings were certainly constructed of impermanent materials and were probably built directly on the ground.[26] In spite of the presence in the colony of brickmakers and masons and in spite of the Irishman Glande's testimony, it is doubtful if bricks were made and used in any of the houses at Fort Raleigh. Moreover, the Indians, who were in the region for at least a hundred years after the settlement was abandoned, would have carried away almost anything they might have found on the ground.

Even though relatively little habitation refuse was found in any of the trenches, it is true that more was found immediately to the west of the fort. The trenches north, east, and south of the fort were completely sterile. In view of the available evidence, it is my opinion that the settlement lay to the west of the fort, possibly within a distance of a few hundred feet. Further excavating in areas beyond those already explored may reveal definite evidence of house sites, but it is not impossible that the settlement stood within the area already explored.

In excavating the five-foot-wide exploratory trenches, the earth was removed in layers, roughly two inches thick, until the yellow-brown subsoil was reached. Intrusions into this subsoil stratum, whether natural or man-made, are easily recognized. Only a very few features or disturbances of human origin were encountered, and these, on the whole, appeared to be of no importance.

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[26] Undoubtedly the buildings were timber-framed, with a timber sill resting on the ground. Possibly other crude materials were used, such as wattle, but it is almost certain that logs, laid horizontally, were not used by the early English colonists.

Some were clearly of recent origin, such as the filled post holes from the posts for the speaker's stand, erected for the August 18, 1937, celebration at which Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke. Even so, every disturbance of the ground was accurately recorded for future reference. In addition, the location of trees, evidenced by darkened areas caused by decayed or burned roots, was recorded.

Only one feature worth mentioning here was encountered. It was a rectangular pit, roughly three and a half by four and a half feet in size and four and a half feet deep, located about 100 feet west of the fort. The bottom two feet of the pit was a solid mass of charcoal, made from unsplit pine sticks, from one to four inches in diameter. Some showed ax marks where they had been cut, and none of the pieces appeared to be much longer than a foot. There was evidence of heat on the sides and bottom of the pit, but no ashes were found in the pit, suggesting that it had been used infrequently, possible no more than the one time. This is certainly not the convential method of making charcoal, but we cannot assume that the first colonists in Virginia were always conventional. Even though this pit may not have served as an intentional means of making charcoal, it is quite apparent that it is very old and may well date from the period of the settlement. It stood for a considerable time, nearly filled, as shown by the relatively thick humus layer over the depression. No cultural material was found in the fill or among the charcoal, but it may be possible to date the feature by tree-ring study. Such a date would be highly important, for if it should be later than 1587, it would show that the colonists had not abandoned the site earlier than that date. Discovery of this charcoal reminds us of the fact that the first group of colonists had set up a portable iron "forge" in Puerto Rico in May, 1585, while en route to Roanoke Island, for making nails.[27]

In planning further excavations, as well as interpreting historical records and archeological finds, it would be advantageous to know as much as possible about the topography of the site at the time of the settlements. During the recent excavating some information was gained concerning soil conditions and topography changes, particularly the development of the sand dunes.

[27] Porter, "Fort Raleigh," 27.

The original ground in this vicinity was relatively level, sloping from eight to ten feet above average high tide near the shore to about fourteen feet at the southeast corner of the sixteen-acre tract. The fort was not placed on a natural eminence, as might be suposed, although there was a low knoll 300 feet west of the fort. This knoll, in the vicinity of the present log chapel, may have been the cause for the later accumulation of wind-blown sand which formed the dune on which the chapel stands. The present topsoil layer averages six to eight inches in thickness and shows no evidence of having been plowed. In addition to the dune deposits previously mentioned, there is a thin sand deposit over a great portion of the area. There are no large trees growing on these sand dunes, and no trees in the vicinity, for that matter, of any great antiquity. It is doubtful if any tree there is 200 years old.

Archeological evidence showed quite conclusively that some, and probably all, of the dunes on the site had developed after the period of the settlement. A brass buckle, an iron nail, and some miscellaneous refuse, such as burned clam shells, were found on the old top soil below considerable sand dune deposit. The finds were made under closely observed conditions, and it was clear, in each instance, that the sand layer had not been disturbed since it was deposited. This evidence confirms the theory that the dunes along the shore in this vicinity, as well as the sand deposit of varying thickness over most of the site, were formed subsequent to the clearing of the land when the settlement was established.[28] It also explains the apparent incongruity of a fort built behind the dunes when it obviously was intended to command the approach of enemies from the water side.

In addition to the objects found in the excavations at the fort ruins, relatively little European material was recovered. No single artifact found thus far is limited in provenience to the Elizabethan period, although most of the objects are not out of place there. It is unlikely, moreover, that any such object will ever be found, although there is always hope that a coin or some other datable artifact will come to light.

[28] It is possible, of course, that the colonists made use of land already cleared by the Indians.

Of the ceramic fragments found, one is a small piece of lead-glazed earthenware from the rim of a Spanish olive jar. As the colonists had traded for supplies in the Spanish West Indies while en route to Virginia in June, 1585, this discovery may be of prime significance.[29] A few small fragments of stoneware appeared, but they cannot be ascribed to a specific period. Two larger pieces of earthenware, however, appear to be very old and could well be from the settlement period. A portion of a brass buckle was found among a large group of Indian pottery sherds near the entrance to the fort. This buckle is not out of place at Fort Raleigh, but cannot be assigned exclusively to the Elizabethan period. The same is true of a second brass buckle fragment found in the westernmost trench, lying in the old topsoil below more than two feet of sand dune deposit.

A brass finial, said to have been found in the roots of an overturned tree several years ago and now in the collection at Fort Raleigh, may very well date from 1585. A lead ball was found in a location that suggests it was not of recent origin. It was 16 mm. in diameter, which would be about .62 calibre, or 20 to the pound.

As mentioned before, the interesting thing is the relative scarcity of cultural material or refuse of any sort. There were, of course, the usual bottle caps, but aside from these and occasional modern nails and tin cans, there was very little of recent origin. This would confirm the evidence, both traditional and documentary, that the site had not been built upon since the time of the Raleigh settlements until the recent activities of the Roanoke Island Historical Association.

ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS

Sherds of Indian pottery were found in several of the trenches, but in no large quantity, except in one small area just outside the entrance to the fort. Study of this pottery suggests several interesting problems, particularly when it is compared with pottery from other Indian sites in this general region. Much more work will have to be done, however, both at Fort Raleigh and at other sites nearby, before the subject can be discussed intelligently. It is quite possible that information will be secured which will establish the cultural position of the local Indians contemporan-

[29] Porter, "Fort Raleigh," 27.

eous with the Raleigh settlement. Such studies should also show the sequence of Indian cultures in the region both before and after the short contact with Europeans at the close of the sixteenth century. Study of the Indian remains in the Roanoke Island region appears to be a most fertile field for answering important historical questions, among them the story of the Lost Colony. This would require surface surveys and excavations at selected sites which the surveys indicate are probably contemporaneous with the English settlement.

SUMMARY

Briefly, the two seasons' explorations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site have shown, beyond reasonable doubt, that the site is that of the Raleigh settlements on Roanoke Island. They have established the identity, type of construction, and plan of Ralph Lane's fort, built there in 1585. They failed to locate the site of the village, which was presumably in the general vicinity of the fort, but they did reveal certain conditions which strongly suggest that the settlement may have been located in the area immediately west of the fort.

An important result of the excavating was in showing that a great deal of the original fort is left in the ground, and that careful investigation of these remains should provide fairly complete information as to its original appearance.

THOMAS BURKE, DISILLUSIONED DEMOCRAT

By Elisha P. Douglass

During his tumultuous, short, and tragic political career, Thomas Burke, the Revolutionary patriot and governor, showed a growing disillusionment with popular government that was typical of many Revolutionary leaders.[1] The accumulating disasters which struck North Carolina in the years 1779-1783 and his own growing feeling of bitterness and resentment toward his colleagues in the government led him to relinquish the greater part of his earlier democratic creed. Thus, himself the representative of a frontier society, he ended his life with only contempt for the individualism of the backwoods. Although he drafted one of the first democratic pronunciamentos in American history—the Orange instructions to the county delegates at the Halifax Congress of 1776—he advocated a hereditary aristocracy at the close of his political career. The pioneer theorist of state sovereignty in 1777, he led the fight for centralized authority in the Continental Congress in 1780. Suspicious of executive power, he turned out to be an arbitrary state governor and did not hesitate to nullify the Assembly's legislation. Finally he was compelled to compromise even his personal honor by breaking his parole to the British army.

None of these inconsistencies were due to lack of courage or conscious hypocrisy. Burke had to compromise his principles for two reasons: first, the disastrous course of the war in North Carolina made political consistency a dangerous virtue; second, Burke's inability to get along with people produced a disillusionment that eventually colored his whole outlook on life. It was Burke's tragedy that he died believing that his reputation had

[1] Although there is a tremendous amount of material bearing on Burke in *The State Records of North Carolina* and in E. C. Burnett (ed.) *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, no full-length biography of him has been written. For short sketches see *Dictionary of American Biography;* S. A. Ashe (ed.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 27-32; J. G. DeRoulhac Hamilton, "Governor Thomas Burke," *North Carolina Booklet*, VI (1906-1907), 103-122; speech by Archibald Henderson in *The Durham Herald-Sun*, Oct. 22, 1944. The one special study on Burke is J. B. Sanders, "Thomas Burke in the Continental Congress," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (1932), 22-37. Little if any use has been made of the interesting manuscript material on Burke at the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, or in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill. The present article is an attempt to bring together all the sources on Burke and to present him against the background of the sectional and class struggles of the Revolutionary period.

been distroyed by his enemies and that his state did not remember the tremendous sacrifices he made in her behalf.

Of Burke's early life little or nothing is known. Born in Galway, Ireland, about 1747, he wrote later that his family had once been affluent but that "misfortunes reduced me to the alternative of domestic indolent dependence or an enterprising peregrination, and I very early made choice of the latter, which I have no reason to repent of." [2] Probably Burke was brought up by his uncle, Sir Fielding Auld. The uncle sent him to a university, but the two apparently quarrelled and young Thomas set out for America.[3] Nearly all we know about his young manhood is contained in two letters, one to his uncle and the other to a "dear cozen," both in Ireland.[4] Burke must have felt keenly the stigma of ostracism, for he brags flagrantly about his tremendous achievements in America. Settled at Norfolk, he announced to his uncle that he was the intimate friend of all the great men thereabouts, "at the head of the literati of America. Esteemed the pattern of Taste and the Prince of Genius."[5] Then with obvious satisfaction over the surprise this must cause, Burke proceeds to document his boast. He includes an ode on the occasion of the repeal of the Stamp Act which he wrote only for his private enjoyment, but which was of course wrung from him by his numerous admirers. He declares that it was immediately pronounced "a prodigy of Genius." But young Thomas makes it clear that the dizzy heights of fame have not altered his nature. He would never have mentioned the matter of the ode, he says, except that his motto was "Magis Amicus Veritas." His fondest ambition is still "Secura Quies et Naquid fallere Vita."

The ode begins,

> Triumph America! Thy Patriot Voice
> Has made the greatest of mankind rejoice,

[2] To John Bloomfield, April 25, 1772, Burke Letter Books, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Burke's family was apparently distinguished. A relative compiled a lengthy genealogy which he delivered to Thomas Burke in a letter of Dec. 2, 1769. *State Records of North Carolina*, XV, 676-679. (Hereafter cited as *S. R.*)

[3] Referring to Auld, Burke comments, "Him I had the honor of stiling a near relation, but I am not very vain thereof nor desirous that he should so regard me." To Bloomfield, Apr. 25, 1772, Burke Letter Books. Auld is almost undoubtedly the uncle referred to in an undated letter of Burke's which begins: "I have held a long struggle between Indignation and Natural Affections. The latter has at length prevailed." He then goes on to inquire about his relations, describing himself as "without a crime nor prone to any vice, almost free of the levity of Persons of Age, abandoned, persecuted, denied even justice . . . ." *S. R.*, XIX, 921.

[4] "Dear cozen" was a Mrs. Jones with whom Burke was apparently in love before his departure and his subsequent marriage. She was the only one of all his friends "who have ever given me to know that I had any place in their memory." Letter of Dec. 29, 1772, Burke Letter Books. The Letter to Mrs. Jones is in *S. R.*, XIX, 917-920.

[5] *S. R.*, XIX, 922.

He goes on to apostrophize Pitt and Meredith and ends with a stern injunction to "the ladies:"

> And you ye fair, on whom our hopes depend
> On future Fame and Empire to Extend,
> Whose fruitful beds shall dauntless Myriads yield
> To Fight for Freedom in some Future Field,
> Resign each dear.[6]

Burke turned out a considerable number of like productions. None entitle him to much praise, but after the first enthusiasm was spent he was able to regard the ladies in a less functional manner. Much of his verse consisted of love lyrics, and from the variety of names that appear he was apparently a very enthusiastic but fickle swain.[7]

Burke was more explicit but scarcely less conceited about the progress of his career in his letter to his "cozen," Mrs. Jones. On arrival in Virginia he studied medicine. "My success was very great, and my opinion even by the most experienced was relied on," he declared. But finding that law was more profitable, he studied "for a few months," took an examination to practice, and passed "with very great applause." His practice, as might be expected from his account, was soon immense.[8]

Stripped of youthful braggadocio these two letters show Burke as an ambitious, energetic, uninhibited, brash young man of real ability. But their tone betrays those very weaknesses which did so much to darken his later life. His resentment against his uncle, although perhaps justified, is an example of a quickness to take offense which made him many enemies. His conceit was never entirely conquered but reappeared in the form of an exaggerated self-deprecation which he often employed in a rather obvious effort to call forth assurances of his superiority. His ambition turned into an agressive self-confidence which secured his position as a natural leader but also made him stubborn.

In religion Burke was an avowed deist, although probably born a Catholic. He condemned bigotry and religious "enthusiasm" and showed supreme contempt for clergymen. He gives a

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[6] *S. R.*, XIX, 922-924.
[7] See Burke Papers in N. C. Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, and Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill.
[8] *S. R.*, XIX, 918, 919.

rather unflattering picture of them in a satirical poem describing the feelings of a sow seeing her offspring about to be slaughtered for Thanksgiving dinner:

> Doomed to behold her slaughtered offspring bleed,
> That priests may glut, and glutted priestlings feed;
> That saints and saintlings sate their ravening maws,
> And blend their ethic with the christian laws.

In a footnote he declares he is not against religion itself, but considers himself "a citizen of the world." Admitting that there might be true saints, he explains that his antipathy extends only to those who are "enthusiastic." [9] This attitude, typical of the eighteenth-century deist, suggests Voltaire. Although most of Burke's antipathy was directed against New England puritanism, his expression of it was so broad as to include all organized religion. In all his writings there is no evidence that he ever considered himself a Catholic or that he ever attended Mass.

Burke's temperament, past experiences, and associations all combined to produce the radical. He was one of that group of natural revolutionaries who had left England in their youth after more or less unhappy experiences and had come to America to make their fortunes—men like Tom Paine and James Iredell. Declaring himself "a passionate lover of liberty and a Hater of Tyranny" at the time of the Stamp Act, Burke defined liberty as "being governed by laws made with the Constitutional consent of the community, ultimately judged by that community and enjoying and disposing their property only agreeable to Will. . . .[10] Looking back on his youth after his retirement, he explained: "The rights of Mankind became known to me and I was early impressed with their importance. Policy seemed to me what involved so much human misery or happiness, and my love of humankind prompted me to examine its principles and to acquire clear ideas concerning it. My zeal was a passion for the liberty of mankind. I could not stand aloof from the struggle." [11]

Having taken his stand, Burke "commenced politician." But the results of his activities do not appear on the records for sev-

[9] Burke MSS., Southern Hist. Coll., Chapel Hill. An Irish friend, Dr. Fallon, wrote to Burke later in life, "You are a philosopher, more merciful than religious." *S. R.*, XIV, 50.

[10] *S. R.*, XIX, 922. In a second letter to his "cozen" Burke declares himself not English but American, "sharing the general love of liberty of the country." Undated letter, Burke MSS., Southern Hist. Coll.

[11] Letter of July 6, 1782, Burke Letter Books.

eral years. He apparently practiced both medicine and law at Norfolk and ran a profitable business on the side collecting bills for merchants. His letter books show that he corresponded regularly with some of the outstanding lawyers and whigs of Virginia—Jefferson, Pendleton, Nicholas, and Wythe.[12]

In 1772 Burke moved from Norfolk to Orange County, North Carolina, following the example of a host of Virginians who saw new opportunities in a fertile, relatively unsettled country.[13] He laid out a plantation near Hillsborough but apparently spent most of his time in a law practice which grew steadily more prosperous.[14] One of his most important clients was the Scottish merchant, Andrew Miller of Hillsborough, who subsequently became a loyalist.[15]

Burke's political ambitions were first realized in 1775 when he was elected to the second Provincial Congress.[16] From that time forward he indeed "commenced politician." Reelected to the subsequent congresses at Hillsborough and Halifax, he grew steadily in importance as a whig politician, to judge from the increasingly important committee work for which he was chosen.

When the Congress met at Halifax, April 4, 1776, independence was in the air. Governor Martin had fled to a British war vessel. The whigs had already fought and won the battle of Moore's Creek. To men like Burke, Caswell, Harnett, and Person, independence seemed logical and inevitable. But others held back. Maurice Moore in a clandestine letter to Martin had stated that all North Carolina desired was the status of the years before 1763.[17] Joseph Hewes viewed independence with reluctance.[18] Samuel Johnston, the colony's leading conservative, also had

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[12] See entries in Burke Letter Books for year 1769.

[13] Burke's main reason for leaving Norfolk was apparently his desire to find a more healthful climate. He picked the region around Hillsborough because "the lands are fertile, the water good and the climate remarkably moderate and healthy." Letter of Dec. 29, 1772, Burke Letter Books. The extent of the immigration into Orange can be judged from a letter in the *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, March 11, 1768: "There is scarce any history either ancient or modern, which affords an account of such a rapid increase of inhabitants in a back frontier country as that of North Carolina . . . . Twenty years ago there were not 20 taxable people within the limits of the county of Orange, in which there are now 4,000 taxable."

[14] "I follow my business more extensively than before," he wrote back to a friend in Norfolk. Letter of Dec. 29, 1772, Burke Letter Books.

[15] For Burke's relations with Miller see *S. R.*, IX, 356, 826, 1004. Miller, a close friend of Gorvenor Martin, tried to gain Burke's support in the effort to have the sinecure position of clerk of the pleas abolished and the extensive patronage it carried transferred to the governor. But Burke insisted that only the legislature could alter the judicial system. Letter to Miller, April 14, 1774, Burke Letter Books.

[16] Hamilton, *Thomas Burke*, 105.

[17] *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 396. (Hereafter cited as *C. R.*) Also printed in *S. R.*, XI, 269.

[18] *S. R.*, XI, 288.

fears. On April 4 he wrote Hewes in Philadelphia that no move toward independence should be made before foreign alliances were secured.[19] These men were staunch whigs and they were willing to carry resistance even to the point of arms, but independence, with all its consequences, was for them a step to be taken only with the greatest caution.

But they could not hold back the radicals. On April 8 a committee of seven, including Burke, Person, and Harnett, was chosen "to take into consideration the usurpation and violences" of Great Britain.[20] Four days later the committee brought forth a report recommending that the congressional delegates be empowered to vote for independence. It was carried unanimously.

With the colony committed to independence it was necessary to draft a plan of government. A committee including Burke, Person, Johnston, Harnett, Nash, and later Hooper was appointed to draft a "temporary" constitution. But immediately a split occurred between the conservatives and radicals. In the other colonies there had been bitter debate over the subject of independence. Men like Jay and Duane of New York, Galloway and Dickinson of Pennsylvania, and Rutledge of South Carolina instinctively opposed independence because they feared that violence might lead to social upheaval.[21] When they recognized their inability to stem the tide they then turned their efforts to moulding the new state constitutions in such a way that the former arisocratic control of government would be maintained. In this they were nearly everywhere successful mainly because they were able to bring a large majority of the radicals over to their point of view. This was not difficult because most of the radicals —at least in the South—were fellow aristocrats with the conservatives. When Tom Paine's *Common Sense* appeared with its identification of liberty and democracy, the two groups found they had much more in common than they expected. Both opposed any levelling movement.

The action of John Adams is a case in point. Completely uncompromising in his devotion to independence, he should have danced for joy at the appearance of *Common Sense*. Instead he had only a few words of commendation for Paine's treatment of

[19] Hayes Collection, N. C. Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
[20] *C. R.*, X, 504.
[21] See Merrill Jensen, *The Articles of Confederation*, 13, 14.

the "Royal brute" and confined himself to bitter denunciation of Paine's plan of government with its unicameral legislature and universal suffrage.[22] To prevent the spread of the poison of democracy he wrote his famous pamphlet, *Thoughts on Government,* which was to have such an important effect on the constitutions of North Carolina and Virginia. In effect Adams recommended reproducing the colonial governments, but with one change: the legislature and not the governor was to hold the balance of power. Large property owners, represented in an upper house, were to have a veto on all legislation by the people's representatives in a lower house. The governor as general arbiter was to have a second veto. The plan was designed primarily to maintain the existing social and political status quo.

Both Paine's and Adams's pamphlets had arrived in North Carolina by theh time the Halifax convention met in April, 1776. Hewes and Hooper, North Carolina delegates to Congress in Philadelphia, had recognized the danger of *Common Sense* when it appeared and had decided not to send copies home. But "finding brother [John] Penn had a fondness" for Paine they reluctantly forwarded a few.[23] Penn and Hooper had solicited and received copies of *Thoughts on Government* from Adams.[24]

But there was another situation besides conflicting theories of government that might be expected to cause dissension at Halifax. Two members of the drafting committee, Burke and Person, represented frontier communities that had been the heart of the Regulator movement. The others on the committee were tidewater aristocrats. The battle of Alamance had by no means written an end to the Regulators. Sheriffs and tax collectors were still occasionally beaten up after 1771. Maurice Moore and Abner Nash on a secret visit in 1772 to James Hunter, the outlawed Regulator leader, urged him to use his influence to calm the country. But they failed. "I think they are more afraid than ever," Hunter wrote grimly to two other Regulator leaders exiled in Maryland, William Butler and Hermon Husband.[25] Johnston hesitated to call a Provincial congress in the summer

[22] Dubbing Paine a "disastrous meteor," he commented: "I dreaded the effect so popular a pamphlet might have among the people and determined to do all in my power to counteract the effect of it." C. F. Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams,* II, 507.

[23] Hewes to Johnston, Feb. 20, 1776, N. C. Letters from the Emmett Collection, N. Y. Public Library. Copies in N. C. Department of Archives and History.

[24] *Warren-Adams Letters,* I, 230.

[25] Hunter to Butler Nov. 6, 1772, Regulator Papers, Southern Hist. Coll.

of 1775 because he had heard a rumor that Hunter was planning to march with 1000 men on any meeting.[26] The danger was apparently ended, however, after Johnston personally had a meeting with some of the former Regulators and was assured that they would not be hostile.[27] This turned out to be the case. There were relatively few Regulators in the battle of Moore's Creek.

Nevertheless, the Regulator demands for salaried judges, lower court fees, religious freedom, and an end to the domination of the assembly by lawyers and tidewater aristocrats had never been met. It may be assumed that when it came to writing a constitution, Thomas Burke, representative for Orange, a self-made man and an outstanding radical, and Thomas Person, a former Regulator and representative of Granville, would clash with Johnston, Harnett, and Allen Jones, all of the tidewater.

And clash they did. "We are going to the devil without knowing how to help ourselves," wrote Johnston to Iredell from the Halifax Congress.[28] The conflict was between those who favored a representative government which would be immediately responsive to the people's will and those who favored checks and balances that would maintain the status quo. The radicals pushed through a resolution "to establish a purely democratic form of government" and drafted an instrument to implement it.[29] Burke was one of the authors of the original democratic draft. "Nash and Burke are framing a Constitution for this colony to preserve it from total anarchy," wrote Hooper to Hewes on April 17. "They differ very materially in their ideas from Mr. Johnston, Penn, or myself." [30] Hooper then went on to voice his doubts as to whether it was wise even to attempt to draft a constitution at that crucial time, an idea that Johnston had previously put forth. But this was undoubtedly only an expedient whereby the conservatives could kill Burke's and Nash's draft by having the whole project of a constitution dropped.[31] Their view prevailed. The committee was discharged and a new committee was

[26] Johnston to Iredell Aug. 14, 1775, Chas. E. Johnston Coll., N. C. Dept. of Archives and History. See also Johnston to Hewes June 27, 1775, Hayes Coll.

[27] Details of the meeting are in a badly mutilated manuscript in Johnston's handwriting dated 1775, Chas. E. Johnston Collection.

[28] April 4, 1776, Hayes Coll.

[29] See letters from Johnston to Iredell in G. J. McRee, *James Iredell*, I, 276, 277. Also J. S. Jones, *A Defense of the Revolutionary History of North Carolina*, 278.

[30] Hooper to Hewes, Apr. 17, Hayes Collection.

[31] See Jones, *Defense*, 281.

formed to draft "a temporary form of government." [32] It drew up a plan continuing the existing temporary executive system with a few changes in favor of efficiency. Both Burke and Nash were on this committee. Person and Johnston were dropped, possibly because they were irreconcilable.

During the summer interest in the plan for a constitution heightened and the split between factions became wider. The Council of Safety, as a gesture to strict constitutional procedure, recommended to the people that they "pay the greatest attention to the election for the Congress to be held at Halifax in November 1776," because the delegates would not only be legislators but would write a permanent constitution.

Meanwhile the North Carolina delegates to Congress—Hooper, Hewes, and Penn—were observing Pennsylvania form her constitution. The process was not reassuring. Because of unique conditions within the state political power had passed from an ultra-conservative to an ultra-radical group. The latter, under the leadership of James Cannon, a mathematics teacher, Timothy Matlack, a lower-class agitator, and the astronomer David Rittenhouse, had imposed a constitution on the state that was probably as democratic as any of the forty-eight states has ever had. Its central feature was the unicameral legislature. Naturally this constitution was the execration of nearly all Whigs. By their reaction to it they showed their basic conservative leanings. Hooper was one of the most outspoken of these. "You have seen the constitution of Pennsylvania," he wrote to Johnston in September,—"the motley mixture of limited monarchy and an execrable democracy—a beast without a head. The mob made a second branch of the legislature. Laws subjected to their revisal in order to refine them. A washing in ordure by way of purification. Taverns and dram shops are the councils to which the laws of this state are referred for approbation before they possess a binding influence." Then, summing up his own philosophy, he said, "Were I to choose a motto for a modern Whig—it should be—'Whatever is, is right.' " [33]

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[32] *C. R.*, X, 552.

[33] *C. R.*, X, 819, 820. The "washing in ordure" to which Hooper referred was the provision in the Pennsylvania constitution that all legislation after passage must be published to the people at large before it could become law.

In a later letter addressed to the Halifax Congress, October 26, he detailed his recommendations for a constitution. Declaring the British constitution to be the nearest thing to political perfection in an imperfect world, he warned against violent change. Stick to the accepted traditions, he advised. Above all observe the principle of balance of power. Provide for a two-house legislature where property, "which gives independence and impartiality to the human mind," can check the excesses of the people. Hooper then recommended the new constitutions of Delaware, South Carolina, and New Jersey as examples to follow.[34] These were all instruments drafted quickly by aristocratically controlled legislatures and combined bicameralism, relatively high suffrage qualifications, and very high property qualifications for office. They were of course never submitted to popular ratification.

Hooper's ideas are probably a good representation of the conservative point of view. The best example of the radicals' ideas are the Orange County instructions to the convention delegates drafted by Burke. The mere fact that instructions were given is in itself significant. Although the practice had been strictly followed in the New England colonies and in Pennsylvania since earliest colonial times, there are few, if any, instances of it in North Carolina. Here assemblymen, after election, were free agents. This was one of the loudest complaints of Hermon Husband, Burke's sometime predecessor from Orange. Husband tried to point out to the exploited people of the piedmont that it was no use petitioning for redress of grievances. They should control their representatives and force recognition of their claims. This was the point of his bitterly satirical "Sermon to Asses." [35] Over the years Husband's message must have taken effect, for the Orange instructions reflect the determination of the people to make their representatives realize that they were the people's servants. The first section of the instructions was thus devoted to making the relationship of people and government crystal clear.

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[34] *C. R.*, X, 866-869. Hooper wrote in the same vein to Johnston the next day. "The Pennsylvania constitution," he declared significantly, "has made more tories than the whole treasury of Britain." Hayes Collection. He held high hopes that it would be repudiated by the people of Pennsylvania. When efforts of the conservatives there failed, he was gloomy. "If Matlack's system prevails, farewell to this country," he wrote Hewes on November 1. Hayes Collection.

[35] W. K. Boyd (ed.), *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts concerning North Carolina*, 325-331. See also, "Address to the Inhabitants," Boyd, *Eighteenth Century Tracts*, 301-304.

The specific demands were not so radical as one might expect—a bicameral legislature, freedom of religion, and ratification of the completed instrument by the people. Suffrage qualifications were limited to freehold for the upper house, household for the lower house. Nothing was said of property qualifications for office.[36]

If Burke did not dictate these instructions, it may safely be said that they conformed to his opinions. The only known copy was in his own handwriting.[37] From the evidence available it appears that he was the nominee of the radical group in Orange. This election, like many others throughout the state, was extremely disorderly. Because of the commotion the polls were closed at sundown of the first day, whereas usually two days were allowed for voting. A group under the leadership of John Butler—brother of William Butler, the escaped Regulator—petitioned the Congress later for a new election. The committee appointed to investigate recommended rejection of the request.[38] The Congress agreed, but a few days later rescinded its resolve and called a new election, with householders as well as freeholders voting. The county returned nearly a whole new slate, including Burke and Butler.[39]

Burke's arrival was probably welcome to the Congress, for he was immediately assigned to important committees.[40] But he was not a member of the committee which drafted the constitution and bill of rights. The instruments were passed on December 18, two days after his arrival.[41] Nevertheless he must have been in attendance on the Congress for a considerable time previously, for some of his contemporaries bear witness to his influence. Samuel Johnston, taking a dim view of the new state legislature in a letter to Burke June 26, 1777, speaks of the constitution as "your plan."[42] A county was named in Burke's honor, apparently because of his efforts in the Congress.[43]

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[36] *C. R.*, X, 870f-870h.

[37] This copy was apparently destroyed or lost after publication of *The Colonial Records.* There is no trace of it in Burke's personal papers. It may have been included in the Legislative Papers, N. C. Departmeint of Archives and History. All of these records for 1776 have been lost. *C. R.*, X, 870f.

[38] *C. R.*, X, 932, 933.

[39] *C. R.*, X, 970.

[40] *C. R.*, X, 973.

[41] *C. R.*, X, 974.

[42] *S. R.*, XI, 504.

[43] Abner Nash wrote on April 19: "Our Assembly have paid a compliment to our worthy Delegate Dr. Burke, which no private man has experienced before. A new county taken from Surry is called after him." *S. R.*, XI, 453.

Yet the constitution was not the work of any one man. It bears all the marks of compromise, even though most of the concessions came from the radicals.[44] In the words of Dr. R. D. W. Connor, who has made the best summary of its formation and given the fairest judgment of it, ". . . the government established by the Constitution of 1776 was a representative democracy in form, but in form only."[45]

Perhaps Burke was disappointed in the constitution. He should have been, for the final instrument certainly did not correspond to the government his instructions called for. The suffrage qualification for the upper house was higher, there were property qualifications for office, and the instrument was never submitted for popular ratification. The constitution was designed by the members of the colonial aristocracy to solidify them in the enjoyment of the sovereignty they had wrested from Great Britain, to protect large aggregations of property from "levelling" movements, and in general to maintain the social *status quo*. Nevertheless the politically unprivileged had made a significant gain. The constitution declared in the language of the Orange instructions that all governmental power was derived from the people as a whole and that political rulers were servants of the people.

This principle was to be honored more in the breach than in the observance for many years to come. The people reigned, but they did not rule. But the mere fact that the principle had general acceptance meant that the days of aristocratic control of government were numbered.

There are indications that Burke rationalized the shortcomings of the constitution on the grounds that it was temporary and that a new instrument could be drafted in an atmosphere of calm and reflection after the war.[46] If so the rationalization suggests that Burke was losing conviction in the ideals expressed by the Orange instructions. In 1777 he would probably not have been aware of it himself, but the coming years which were to bring

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[44] "The Constitution was not the work of any one man or group of men, though tradition and an occasional reference in contemporary documents attribute a few features to certain individuals." *History of North Carolina*, I (by R. D. W. Connor), 415.

[45] *History of North Carolina*, I, 417.

[46] "I am perfectly of your opinion," wrote Johnston to Burke, April 19, 1777, "that the only object of importance at present is the defense of our country. Until that is effectually secured, leagues, Confederacies, and Constitutions are premature, except as temporary expedients." *S. R.*, XI, 453, 454.

with them bitter political quarrels and personal animosities in the Continental Congress, anarchy and carnage in the state during his governorship, and a growing sense of frustration and persecution, were to turn him into a hopeless reactionary.

Burke was elected to the Continental Congress at the Halifax meeting. He arrived in Philadelphia on February 4 and was immediately precipitated into many vexing problems affecting the states. All were connected with the pressing question—what was the status of Congress? What powers did it have? What powers should it have? It was evident that Congress was not a sovereign body, in spite of efforts of some conservatives to give it sovereign power. But the line between state powers and congressional power had never been clearly defined. Burke was the first to provide a fully formulated distinction. It was simple and unequivocal. All sovereignty lay in the states. Congress neither had nor should have any powers over the states. Congress was only a meeting of diplomatic representatives to provide for temporary exigencies, such as common defense in war.

In a sense this view of the relations between the states and Congress was concomitant with Burke's democracy. Merrill Jensen has pointed out that most of the violent whigs in the years before the Revolution were inclined to have liberal views on formation of state constitutions and to suspect any centralizing movements that infringed on state sovereignty.[47] There were several reasons for this. In the first place, any centralization of power suggested the British empire. Although the Revolutionary patriots to a large extent reproduced the British government inside the states by creating omnipotent, aristocratically controlled legislatures resting on limited suffrage and unequal representation, nevertheless they completely repudiated all methods of imperial control. Political theory and historical experience seemed to prove conclusively that any centralization of power inevitably became tyranny. Machiavelli and Bodin had discovered that the essential qualification of a state was sovereignty. Hobbes had proved deductively that the sovereign state must, by definition, be a despotism. To the colonists, eight-

[47] Jensen, *Articles of Confederation*, 15, 16. This theory has value but is severly qualified by numerous individual exceptions to the rule. For instance, William Hooper, John Adams, James Wilson, Robert C. Nicholas, and Alexander Hamilton were all leading whigs, yet all were conservative as regards theory of government. Instances could be multiplied.

eenth century England, although technically a limited monarchy, was actually a despotism under the heel of a corporate body no less tyrannical than a single dictator.

Most of the members of the Continental Congress were well versed in history and philosophy, and they had had bitter experience with the British conception of empire. Hence it is easy to see why they were so fearful of giving powers to Congress that might approach sovereignty. Of what use to fight the British if they with their own hands created a new tyranny just as vicious? A federal state with a sovereignty of divided powers was a new, untried conception. Experience and history seemed to prove that it must inevitably resolve into a tyrannous national state. In the words of Burke, "power breeds power."

Hence it was entirely consistent in Burke, and a proof of his democratic ideas, that he immediately opposed any move to give effective powers to Congress. With almost pathological intensity he examined even the most routine questions under consideration to ferret out any qualification of state sovereignity. Thus on February 7, 1777, three days after his arrival, he spoke strongly against a resolution which would fix the size of state delegations. The purpose was to increase the membership of the delegations, thereby insuring quorums at the sessions and rendering the duties of individual members less arduous.[48] But Burke objected. "This is a matter each state has an exclusive right to judge of," he asserted.[49] The measure was defeated. A few days later in the matter of Congressional approval for an impromptu meeting of the New England states he declared himself even more positively. The states had come together without notification to Congress to discuss methods of combating inflation. Was this an invasion of the realm of Congressional authority? The consensus of opinion was that Congress had a right to inquire into the causes of such meetings and to be informed on proceedings. And since everyone was in favor of combating inflation it was thought that a program might be started and Congressional authority asserted at the same time by a resolution to approve the New England meeting. At this Burke was on his feet. Referring to North Carolina's right to join in any meeting or combination she

[48] For a description of the tremendous load of work on Congressmen, see John C. Miller, *Triumph of Freedom*, 433-435.
[49] E. C. Burnett (ed), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, II, 239.

pleased, he declared the state "could do everything which she had not precluded herself from by plain and express declaration: to yield up any of her rights was not in his power and very far from his inclinations. . . ."[50] And then he asserted for his own state the power contended for by Congress in terms which showed unmistakably his convictions on state sovereignty. North Carolina, "by the Law of Nations had a right to demand a satisfactory account of any transaction by one or more of our states," he declared. The question was finally settled by a resolution which approved the measures of the New England meeting but did not refer to any power of Congress to approve or disapprove of such meetings.[51]

In two military matters that came up in this period Burke sensed danger to state sovereignty. The question had long been debated as to whether general officers should be named by Washington or appointed by Congress. Many members, foreseeing the danger of military dictatorship, strenuously urged that the power of appointment be kept by Congress.[52] Burke, as a good democrat, was ever on guard against increasing the power of the military, but congressional appointment of officers over the North Carolina line in the Continental army was incompatible with state sovereignty. Thus he was in a deliemma. But he extricated himself neatly by proposing and carrying a resolution that officers be secured by promotion, the criteria to be seniority, quota, and merit.[53] Appointments were to be signed by Congress, but in theory candidates were to be qualified for positions automatically. The element of "choice" by Congress was minimized.

A second military question which involved state sovereignty arose. Did the Continental army or the several states have jurisdiction over deserters? A committee charged with bringing in a report on the matter recommended an eventual system providing for a civil trial by the state in which deserters were found. But for the time being the committee suggested that they be handed over to the military.[54] The report was adopted by Congress without objection, but when Burke be-

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[50] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 249.
[51] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 253. W. C. Ford (ed), *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VII, 124.
[52] E. C. Burnett, *The Continental Congress*, 268, 269.
[53] *S. R.*, XI, 381; *Journals*, VII, 131, 132.
[54] *Journals*, VII, 115-118.

came aware of the implications of the clause providing for temporary jurisdiction over deserters by the army he insisted on reopening the question and demanded that his objection be placed on the journals. He became involved in a lengthy debate with James Wilson of Pennsylvania which well illustrates the democratic fear that centralized control was as much to be feared as a British victory. All individuals were under the protection of the laws of the states in which they found themselves, Burke asserted. If the army could seize and try deserters wherever it found them, constitutions and bills of rights were "meer waste paper." Moreover, if Congress could decide on the question one way or the other, then "Congress has power unlimited over the lives and liberties of all men in America." The majority of Congress, however, agreed with Wilson that the measure was one of necessity, and so the resolution remained unchanged.[55]

Burke now began to be more often in a minority on points at issue. So the problem presented itself: to what extent are majority decisions binding? When an attempt was made to change a rule which permitted any one state to postpone a vote, Burke again smelled tyranny. He maintained that even a majority of Congress could not change rules. They were higher law, a constitution in themselves. He supported his case with the reasoning that the rules had been adopted by "common consent," and so could only be altered by a unanimous vote.[56] Warming to his subject he declared that if a majority of Congress could change the rules it could also declare three or four states a quorum, or change voting procedures.[57] He clearly saw that the majority, as opposed to the minority, could be as arbitrary as an absolute despot. But he offered no solution of the eternal problem of majority rule *vs.* minority rights other than to deny the former in favor of the latter.

After his first contentious month in Congress, Burke felt the need for some instrument that would accurately define the powers of Congress. "Power of all kinds has an irresistible pro-

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[55] *Journals*, VII, 154, 155.

[56] The term "common consent" in the eighteenth century lent itself to ambiguity. Did it mean that every issue determined by a public body must be agreed to by every member, or did it denote an original consent to be bound by the will of the majority? When speaking of the rights of their legislatures against Parliament, the colonists adopted the former interpretation, but in regard to their own internal legislation they obviously had to practice the latter.

[57] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 283.

pensity to increase a desire for itself," he wrote Governor Caswell. "It gives the passion of ambition a velocity which increases in its progress: and this is a passion that grows as it is gratified."[58] He suspected that the northern states might be harboring designs against the southern states. He foresaw the possibility of Civil War. Local jealousies would always prevent America from uniting. "Patriotism in America must always be partial to the particular states. Patriotism to the whole will never be cherished or regarded . . . ," he prophesied. Congress, in his eyes, should never be more than a body to provide common defense in time of war. In peacetime it must necessaily become the instrument whereby the strong oppressed the weak.

Burke had his wish that a plan be completed to define the boundaries between state and congressional authority. In April, 1777, Congress resumed discussion of the Dickinson draft of the Articles of Confederation, which was the report of a committee appointed June 12, 1776, to form a plan of union. The committee was heavily loaded with conservatives, among them Joheph Hewes. Dickinson himself, an ardent whig in the 1760's and author of the much praised *Farmer's Letters*, had been overpassed by the Revolution. As the breaking point with Britain came nearer he became more and more afraid that political and military revolution would presage a social revolution. Hence he became the leader of the forces of reconciliation. He considered the Declaration of Independence a fatal error. Then before his eyes the worst happened, in the form of the Pennsylvania constitution. Convinced that the trend toward democracy must be stopped if there was to be any security for property, he embodied in his draft of the Articles of Confederation—in disguised form, to be sure—potential powers which might be used by a strong central authority to create a national government capable of exercising restraint directly over individuals in the states.

"The Dickinson draft," says Merrill Jensen, "while by no means as explicit as the Constitution of 1787, made the constitution of the central government the standard by which the rights, powers, and duties of states were to be measured. Congress was

[58] *S. R.*, XI, 418.

theoretically, if not practically, the supreme authority."[59] The states were given powers, but in every case it was stipulated that these powers must not conflict with those of the central government. There were only two substantial guarantees of states' rights; first, each state was entitled to enjoy as many of its present laws as it saw fit; second, the regulation of internal police was to be the exclusive province of each state. Yet even these guarantees held implicit reservations which could render them nugatory. It was not stated that the states would be permitted future enjoyment of their laws, and as for the regulation of internal police, no measures could be taken which would interfere with the operation of the Articles.

In the months succeeding the Dickinson report Congress wrangled over the immediate issues it raised: the basis of representation and contributions by the states, and the distribution of western lands. But it remained for Burke to go to the vital issue. The third article, he said, which reserved to the states only the power of control over their own police, consequently resigned every other power. "It appeared to me that this was not what the states expected, and, I thought, it left it in the power of the future Congress or general Council to explain away every right belonging to the states and to make their power as unlimited as they please."[60] So he submitted an amendment which became the second article of the final instrument and was the decisive declaration of state sovereignty: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the united states in Congress assembled."[61]

But even with this declaration of principle the Articles were not satisfactory to Burke. In May he wrote Governor Caswell that it was almost impossible to reconcile state sovereignty with the large state demands for representation in accordance with population and wealth. "It is far from improbable," he wrote, "that the only Confederation will be a defensive alliance."[62] As a solution to the problem of representation he devised a scheme for a bicameral national legislature which would have been much

[59] Jensen, *Articles of Confederation*, 130.
[60] *S. R.*, XI, 461.
[61] *Journals*, IX, 908.
[62] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 371.

like the present Senate and House of Representatives. The fact that the lower house voted by voice, and not by states, was a significant concession. But the plan was rejected quickly by Congress.[63]

The Articles were cast in final form on November 15, 1777. Burke, who had left Congress for North Carolina in October, brought all his influence to bear against ratification. He wrote Governor Caswell that the Articles were entirely unsuited to the states and voiced deep suspicion of all who urged their acceptance.[64] In a document dated November 15 he specified his objection to some of the individual provisions.[65] Just as the Dickinson draft gave no absolute power to the states, so Burke would give no exclusive power to Congress. In general, Congress should handle foreign affairs and limit its positive actions to declarations of war or peace. But the states had the parallel power of sending ambassadors and making treaties. Moreover, any one state could stay neutral in the event of a declaration of war. Any confederation, in Burke's eyes, should be no more than a loose, defensive alliance behind a facade of unity erected purely to impress foreign powers. The Articles were a dangerous, unnecessary "Chimerical project."

His criticisms undoubtedly made a deep impression on the Assembly. When the Articles arrived for ratification Burke was placed on a committee to report on them.[66] None of the other delegates to Congress, Harnett, Penn, or Hooper, had shown convictions one way or the other on the matters of basic principle that seemed so important to Burke. Hence the committee followed his advice almost to the letter and recommended only seven of the thirteen articles for ratification.[67] Their only deviation was in their belief that the final instrument, when ratified, should be permanent and binding. The Assembly followed the report and gave the suggested partial ratification.

Although Burke's campaign against the Articles had been quite a triumph and had undoubtedly raised his political prestige

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[63] *Journals*, VII, 328, 329. Burke's faith in bicameralism had grown since the time of the Orange instructions. In March he defended the principle vigorously in a letter to Caswell. *S. R.*, XI, 422.

[64] *S. R.*, XI, 669.

[65] Burnett, *Letters* II, 552-566.

[66] *S. R.*, XII, 401. On his return to North Carolina Burke had been elected to the Assembly from Orange. *S. R.*, XII, 317.

[67] *S. R.*, XII, 411.

at home, his aggressiveness and irascibility had made him many enemies in Congress. New members of legislative bodies are supposed to mind their manners and not speak unless spoken to—at least for a while. Moreover it is the course of prudence for them to show respect for their elders. Yet young Thomas Burke, hardly turned thirty and sometimes painfully aware that he was Mr. North Carolina, was assertive from the moment of his arrival and sometimes showed a tendency to take a reversal as a personal affront. In the debate over the question of congressional power to increase the size of state delegations, he chose to consider the move as a slighting reference to his own ability since he was the only North Carolina delegate in Congress at the time. In a speech in which he deprecated his abilities in an exaggerated, ironical manner implying superiority, he declared that "he considered the amendment as implying a Censure on his country and he must therefore protest against it." The other delegates, probably much surprised, hastily disclaimed any intention to censure.[68] A few weeks later he lectured the Congress on the art of polite expression. Apparently some very salty language had been used in a committee report on alleged British outrages. Although the volatile Richard Henry Lee urged that the language was appropriate "because it expressed only what our enemies really are," Burke replied that "simplicity of style was true beauty, and dignity in the language of public bodies." "Embellishments of splendid epithets and figures," he declared, warming to his subject, "were only for rhetoricians and such as write for amusement." Continuing a report of his speech in the third person, he observed, "he could wish that our Energy might appear in our Actions and that our Language might be simple and unadorned. He admired the Peasants of Switzerland who in their struggles for Freedom were as remarkable for Modesty in their Language as Vigor in their Exertions, and Congress might imitate them in both."[69]

A few months later Burke himself became the most flagrant violator of his own lofty sentiments. In April, 1778, his continued insistence on absolute state sovereignty led him into what many members considered a sovereign contempt of Congress.

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[68] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 239.
[69] Burnett, *Letters*, II 265, 266.

There had been an acrimonious debate on the ninth and tenth over the wording of a letter to be sent to Washington. The general had been negotiating with Howe for an exchange of prisoners and had agreed that armed loyalists were to be given belligerent status. When many members objected that armed loyalists were traitors and should be prosecuted as such by state courts, Washington rejoined that it would be better "to let the laws sleep." Using this statement as a springboard, a group hostile to the general drew up an insulting letter of remonstrance.[70]

Although Burke was in entire agreement that armed loyalists should be subject to prosecution for treason, he disapproved the obvious intent to insult Washington. On the evening of the tenth, while the debate was at its height, he walked out of the Congress and broke the quorum. Later he stated that he was too ill to attend further, but more likely he made the move purposely to postpone the question by forcing an adjournment. Henry Laurens, the president, sent a messenger after him to require his attendance. Burke, logically maintaining that there could be no Congress without him and that the message was therefore unofficial, replied, "Devil take him if he would come. . . ." [71] Faced with this impertinence, Congress decided to teach Burke a lesson. The incident, and his words, were spread on the journal. When Burke learned of this next morning he declared with gusto "that he would not submit to the tyranny of a majority of Congress." He would attend at times he thought reasonable, but would not attend at times he thought unreasonable.[72] But he did not realize the extent of the annoyance of Congress. Member after member denounced him as guilty of contempt. When Burke rose to reply he was considerably chastened. He acknowledged that Congress had a power to enforce the attendance of its members and that his refusal to attend was a breach of order, thus admitting that his status was something less than that of a diplomatic representative. Nevertheless he declared that "any undue or unreasonable exercise of any power, tho' lawful power, is Tyrannical, and no freeman is bound to submit to it." This he held to be "the Grand

[70] Burnett, *Letters*, III, x, 160, 161; Burnett, *Continental Congress*, 303.
[71] *Journals*, X, 334.
[72] *Journals*, X, 336.

Principle of Whiggism." [73] The matter might have rested here, but on the twenty-fourth Burke moved to have his defense entered in the journal. The request was refused. His enemies now referred the whole matter to a committee, and a full investigation ensued.[74] The result was a severe rebuke to Burke. His action was declared in a resolution to be "disorderly and contemptuous" and a blow at the very existence of the house. Moreover, a copy of the resolve and all documents on the case were ordered to be sent to the Assembly of North Carolina.[75] Burke's only recourse was to write a long letter to Governor Caswell by way of justification.[76]

Burke's statement that no free man is bound to submit to "unreasonable" exercise of lawful power represents the fulfillment of his democratic thinking. The fact that any such criterion of judgment was bound to be subjective and would lead to anarchy was of course outside the comprehension of an age that believed reason to be a virtual body of law so clear that no divergencies of interpretation could occur. The fact that the principle when transferred to any federal union of states meant nullification and disruption of the union would have been regarded by Burke with indifference.

Burke emerged from this fracas with an intense antipathy for Henry Laurens, president of Congress. Even though a South Carolinian, Laurens had made no move to defend him.[77] A year later Burke got his revenge. When Laurens sided with John Adams in insisting on fishing rights in the North Atlantic as *sine qua non* of peace with Britain, Burke advertised his disregard of southern interests to the Assembly of North Carolina and threatened to have North Carolina troops withdrawn from the defense of South Carolina. Laurens came to heel and no longer supported the demand for fisheries. It was a complete turnabout. This time Laurens, not Burke, was compelled to justify himself to Caswell.[78]

Another bitter quarrel took place with General John Sullivan. Burke had been present at Brandywine and had become con-

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[73] *Journals*, X, 340.
[74] *Journals*, X, 386, 389.
[75] *Journals*, X, 390, 391.
[76] *S. R.*, XIV, 403-407, 87-89.
[77] Before he started for home, Burke wrote a rather humble letter to Laurens. Burnett, *Letters*, III, 193, 194. Laurens' reply was cold and indifferent. Burnett, *Letters*, III, 206.
[78] The series of letters covering the controversy appear in Burnett, *Letters*, IV, 129-149.

vinced of Sullivan's incompetence. Accordingly he made strenuous efforts in Congress to have him removed from his command. Sullivan, on the other hand, represented himself to Congress as the victim of a smear campaign on the part of Burke. Thereupon Burke wrote him a letter which can scarcely be equalled for sheer effrontery. With icy contempt he accused him of complete, blundering incompetence.[79] Before the matter could come to a duel, Sullivan was ordered to Rhode Island. He conducted a campaign there with skill and later won signal victories in western Pennsylvania. Then he hurled back Burke's charges. Deprived of any effective answer, Burke chose to duel rather than apologize. But apparently the two never had an encounter.[80]

As a concomitant to his suspicion of any effective union of the states, Burke had undeviatingly supported sectional legislation. Although he recognized the weaknesses of paper money in financing the war, he was unalterably opposed to the issuance of loan office certificates believing that these, bearing interest, would be bought up by northern speculators and would constitute a continuing tax on the South.[81] He tried to wean Virginia away from any close relations with the northern states.[82] He was adamant in opposing the New England move to demand the North Atlantic fisheries as a condition for peace.[83] Although he was not willing to prolong the war to obtain the free navigation of the Mississippi, nevertheless he favored making a demand for it from Spain.[84]

But by 1779 his views had begun to change. The war was moving toward the South. The safety of North Carolina demanded a union which would be effective enough to force northern aid. Burke gradually ceased to test all measures of Congress by the criterion of state sovereignty and began to think more in terms of national power. This change in his ideas illustrates the fact that the doctrine of states' rights is not so much a creed as a policy which has been adopted or rejected by American sections in various periods of American history to attain specific political and economic objectives. Early in the

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[79] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 519.
[80] For a full account of the matter see *Journals*, VIII, 742, 749; Burnett, *Letters*, II, 496, 515, 519-520, 530; *S. R.*, XV, 83-86, 86-89.
[81] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 240-242, 246-249.
[82] *S. R.*, XI, 391.
[83] The best summary of this struggle is in Burnett's prefatory notes to *Letters*, IV, xviii-xxvi.
[84] *Journals*, XIX, 153, 154.

Revolution, when the fighting was taking place chiefly in Massachusetts and New York, the northern states were strong for national unity and the South championed state sovereignty. But when the war moved into Virginia and the Carolinas the situation was reversed.

Thus as early as 1778 Burke favored the creation of a permanent officer corps which would guarantee the effectiveness of a national army. He admitted that the existence of such a force would make some kind of permanent union necessary.[85] Most revealing is his attitude toward the idea of a partial confederacy which had been advocated by some of the states when Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation.[86] "For every purpose of common defense and common exertions in the progress of the present war and for the conclusion thereof the states are united by former acts of the several states," he wrote to the Assembly in October, 1779. Any move for a partial confederacy might promote disunion. He viewed with alarm the fact that five states could veto a peace treaty. This was an unexpected interpretation of the Articles of Confederation by one who had maintained only a few years before than any permanent union was a "Chimerical project" and who had argued for the right of any individual to judge the reasonableness of any act of power. It was a little inconsistent of the man who had declared that there could never be a national patriotism in 1777 to speak of "the old union" in 1779.[87]

But in 1780 Burke went even further in the attempt to give the central government power over the states. He introduced a resolution on March 18 "That the states be requested to pass laws enabling Congress to levy an impost of one percent on all exports and imports" to carry on the war and support the currency. The motion was overwhelmingly defeated by a solid block of northern states. But the next year he and John Witherspoon of New Jersey succeeded in effecting the passage of a resolution urging the states to grant Congress the power of levying a five percent duty on imports.[88] Favoring a national tariff would have been unthinkable to Burke a few years previously.

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[85] Burnett, *Letters*, III, 161, 162, 163.
[86] For details see Burnett, *Continental Congress*, 494.
[87] *S. R.*, XIV, 350.
[88] *Journals*, XVI, 261; XIX, 112.

There are indications that Burke's democratic ideas on internal policy in his own state were changing also. During short periods of his congressional career when he was in North Carolina, Burke often occupied a seat in the Assembly. He introduced a good bit of legislation, all of it to strengthen the executive. Thus in December, 1777, he presented a bill to empower the governor to send the militia out of the state.[89] He had favored court reforms which would bring officials more under the control of the governor, and he advocated higher taxation. Moreover, he voted for an act validating the claims of speculative land companies to the western domain. The objections of Thomas Person, who led the forces against this act, show a widening gap between the two men. "Perpetuities and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free State," are Person's words as written in the journal, "and the granting thereof is a direct violation of our Constitution. . . ." Moreover, ". . . the property of the soil in a free state is one of the essential rights of the collective body of the people." [90] These are words which might have been written by Burke himself in 1776, but now they were written by an opponent.

As Burke approached the last period of his life, as governor of the state, he was showing more of the qualities of a good executive—an ability for organization to meet specific problems, steadfastness in the face of opposition, and the ability to command. But he was definitely losing the strain of democratic idealism illustrated by the Orange instructions of 1776.

When Burke came into office as the third governor of North Carolina, June 25, 1781, the state was in anarchy. Shortly after the battle of Guildford Courthouse, Green had gone south to besiege Charleston and Cornwallis had moved into Virginia. In their wake both armies left partisan bands that ravaged the country. "During this period," says Connor, "North Carolina was the victim of a carnival of pillage, rapine and murder that surpasses that of the era of Reconstruction." [91] Governor Nelson of Virginia, in congratulating Burke upon his election, declared that any man who could bring order out of the chaos of North

[89] *S. R.*, XII, 347.
[90] *S. R.*, XII, 409.
[91] *History of North Carolina*, I, 487.

Carolina would be "Magnus Apollo."[92] Nelson's statement was hardly an exaggeration.

The preceding Assembly had done away with the Board of War, a committee that made all military decisions, and had given almost dictatorial powers to the governor acting with a "Council Extrordinary" of three.[93] In his inaugural message, Burke called for a stiffer militia law that would make every able-bodied man subject to draft, more efficient supply service, and better tax collection. Disparaging the value of militia, he advised the establishment of a permanent officer force similar to the national cadre he had advocated in Congress. As for the loyalists, the best policy would be "to reclaim all who are reclaimable of our ill-advised and deluded citizens and expel the incorrigible by force of arms." He advocated a protective tariff, even though he admitted this was a "delicate subject." [94]

The Assembly quickly passed legislation covering all of his recommendations except those that referred to long-range policy. The session was short, for it was evident the members wanted to get home to their families.[95]

After the dissolution July 14, Burke put his wide powers into operation. His first problem was the armed loyalists. The state government from the beginning of the war had adopted the theory that they were traitors subject to criminal process.[96] Burke shared this view, along with most other whig statesmen of the period. Under the authority of the Assembly's latest enactment he proposed that all loyalists be required to go to various predetermined centers and take an oath of allegiance. Those who refused would be subject to expulsion and confiscation of their property and would be treated as enemies. Leaders of armed bands and those guilty of violent actions against the state would be subject to criminal process. Special courts of oyer and terminer would be set up to try these cases.[97]

In setting up these courts, Burke, on his own authority, nullified an act of the Assembly on what he believed to be constitutional grounds. The incident is important as an early exam-

[92] *S. R.*, XV, 577.
[93] *S. R.*, XXIV, 378.
[94] *S. R.*, XVII, 910-913.
[95] See *S. R.*, XXIV, 384-387, 390-398, 404-405.
[96] For a good discussion of loyalist legislation see R. O. De Mond, *The Loyalists in North Carolina during the Revolution*, chapter VII.
[97] *S. R.*, XIX, 862.

ple of constitutional review. The act gave these courts life and death power. No appeal was provided for. "This will be a precedent for erecting courts of justice, the judges of which must be entirely dependent on the legislature," he informed his council. "Should the legislature ever become so corrupt and wicked as to erect them, civil liberty will be deprived of its surest defenses against the most dangerous usurpations." Since the governor nominated the judges, Burke went on, he and the judges acting in collusion could proscribe at will. Thus the courts, armed with the power of life and death, in effect became supreme although dependent on the executive. Burke felt that the bill was dangerous and unconstitutional. It was beyond the power of any legislature to create a supreme power. Repeating the fear so often voiced by revolutionary leaders, he declared, "nothing can at any time hinder the Assembly from voting itself perpetual" if it assumes such a power, "and making it high treason to dispute such usurped authority." [98] Therefore he recommended ignoring the law and setting up courts under an earlier law of 1777.

It is evident that Burke's reasoning is contradictory. In one breath he declares the courts unconstitutional because they are dependent on the other two branches of the government, thus destroying the principle of balance of power written into the constitution. In the next he condemns them because they are supremely independent. But the greatest shortcoming in his reasoning was a failure to realize that if the executive assumed a power to nullify legislation on any grounds whatsoever, he was arrogating to himself a veto—a move not only in itself obviously unconstitutional but also a stretch of power that would go far to make the executive superior to any other branch of government. Nevertheless the council followed his recommendation and the courts were set up under the law of 1777.

The incident is interesting as an example of the confusion of lawmakers under the first state constitutions caused by the inevitable problem of constitutional review. How to provide for review without at the same time making the reviewing power superior to the constitution? Pennsylvania and Vermont provided for councils of censors and New York set up a council of revision, but these expedients proved either inadequate or arbitrary. The

[98] *S. R.*, XIX, 864.

only solution was to take the power out of the hands of men and give it to the law. To the eighteenth and nineteenth century this was a happy solution, since the law was the embodiment of reason, seemingly independent of the lawyers who construed it.

The next two months were periods of intense activity for Burke. He was confronted with staggering military problems. It was necessary to raise militia forces to protect the northern border against a move south by Cornwallis and to protect the southern border against a move north by British forces based at Charleston. At the same time some way must be found to destroy the loyalist bands ravaging the country, to contain the British at Wilmington, and give all possible support to General Greene, commander of the Southern Department. With grim determination Burke took the whole responsibility of organization on himself. He traveled about the country at great personal hazard, issued hundreds of orders to militia commanders, and did his best to give Greene all coöperation. The extent of his effectiveness will probably never be known, but probably it was small. The problems he faced were well-nigh insuperable.

Burke's capture by the notorious loyalist partisan leader, David Fanning, brought his activities to a sudden halt. The governor was temporarily encamped at Hillsborough with a small force when the loyalist leader surrounded the town early in the morning of September 12, 1781. At first Burke was determined to sell his life as dearly as possible, for he expected no mercy from the partisans. But a short time after the firing started, a British officer approached the house within which the governor and his staff had barricaded themselves and informed them they would be taken to Wilmington as prisoners if they surrendered. Burke agreed. By forced marches through back country in order to avoid whig forces, the cortège finally arrived at Wilmington on the twenty-third. Here they were handed over to the British commandant, Major Craig.[99]

Burke was completely done in. His clothes were in rags and he had been pillaged of everything he owned. But from the friendly greeting he received from Craig he hoped that he would soon be exchanged as a prisoner of war. The next day, however, he was

[99] Burke gave two detailed accounts of his capture, one in a letter of Oct. 17 (*S. R.*, XV, 650-654), the other in a message to the Assembly (*S. R.*, XVI, 11-19). See also Fanning's narrative. *S. R.*, XXII, 207.

confined to a bare room on the order of Craig and informed he was "a prisoner of state." The ambiguous term had an ominous ring, but Burke's courage did not desert him. In his adversity he called upon philosophy. ". . . my prospect was that of reducing to practice much of what I had read of the Lacedemonian virtue," he wrote a few days later, "and I began to cast my memory back through the history of that patient, autere people in search of some person whom I could propose for my model." [100] He had ample time for choice, for "tho' not shut up in a Seraglio," he was "as difficult of access as his Majesty of Constantinople." He left no record of whether he found a historical character suitable for emulation, but he took consolation in the fact that "his most trifling movements were considered so dangerous to a Prince who is Lord of so many brave Battalions and so invincible a navy and such inexhaustible resources as his Majesty of Great Britain."

Burke was given parole in November on his own request, but only within the limits of James Island, off Charleston. Here he was in grave danger of his life from loyalist refugees who had settled there after expulsion from North Carolina. An unseen assailant, firing through a window one night, killed a companion at his side. Then a friend who had talked to Craig explained to Burke the significance of his status as "prisoner of state." He was being held as a hostage for the lives of loyalists—particularly Fanning—who might be condemned by North Carolina civil courts. Now Burke realized that he was in more imminent danger than ever.

An apreciation of his predicament requires an explanation of the law of belligerent status observed in the Revolution. At the beginning of the war the British granted belligerent status to the rebels, although legally they might be considered as traitors subject to criminal process. The move was not taken because of humanitarian considerations, but merely because the legal course would invite retaliation. Belligerent status was extended to militia as well as the regular army, but the British insisted, with reason, that the Americans extend belligerent status to what the British considered their own militia—the armed loyalists. Washington agreed to this but the states protested. They insisted on

[100] *S. R.*, XV, 652.

regarding armed loyalists as traitors under their own state laws. This was the occasion for Washington's statement, "it would be better to let the laws sleep" which caused such a furor in Congress.[101] The argument was never settled. The Continental Army held loyalists as prisoners of war while the states, regarding them as traitors, held them personally responsible for all acts of violence.

General Greene, after the fall of Charleston, had made an arrangement with the British — called a "cartel" — whereby prisoners would be exchanged on both sides and officers given parole. It was agreed that loyalists were to have belligerent status corresponding to that of American militia.[102] But this was contrary to North Carolina law and the most cherished ideas of Governor Burke. As early as 1777 Burke had introduced a bill into the Assembly to confiscate loyalist estates.[103] In 1781 the Assembly, at his urging, made more stringent its treason laws.[104] When General Caswell, of the state militia, put to death some loyalist prisoners, Craig accused him of murder and wrote to Burke threatening reprisals on prisoners in British hands.[105] Burke replied that Caswell was carrying out the law. He threw the threat back into Craig's teeth with grim sarcasm: "Should you in any instance put this threat into execution," he wrote, "the effect will be very different than you expect, for although we would abhor following the example of our Indian savage neighbors in delivering over prisoners to be tortured at the pleasure of a fierce and vengeful kindred, yet the example of a nation so polite and celebrated as Great Britain would meet with more respect, and we should probably imitate it with peculiar advantages should our humanity be obliged to give way to public utility."[106] A few days later the Assembly ordered Burke to pursue a policy of retaliation.[107]

Then Burke himself was captured and delivered over to Major Craig. It must have seemed to the major a prime example of poetic justice. Burke was hoist on his own petard. The most

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[101] Burnett, *Letters*, III, 161.
[102] G. W. Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, III, 282.
[103] *S. R.*, XII, 412.
[104] *S. R.*, XXIV, 396.
[105] *S. R.*, XXII, VI, 1024-1024; see also XV, 553-555.
[106] *S. R.*, XXII, 1028.
[107] *S. R.*, XVII, 829.

important advocate of the policy of retaliation had himself become the most fitting subject for retaliation.

As Burke regarded his own position, it must have seemed very grim indeed. At any moment on James Island he might be shot out of hand by loyalist refugees or he might he formally executed by a British firing squad. And what would the North Carolina government do? It had two alternatives. Either it could suspend the treason laws and save Burke—at the expense of probable renewed loyalist outbreaks—or it could enforce the laws and perhaps send Burke to his death. Either alternative was undoubtedly very painful for Burke to contemplate. But there were three possible ways out of the dilemma. He might be exchanged for a prominent Britisher in American hands, he might be paroled behind the American lines, or, all else failing, he might break his parole and escape from James Island.

Hope for the first possibility went glimmering when neither North Carolina nor the army made a move to effect his exchange. On November 27 Burke begged a friend to intercede with General Leslie, commander at Charleston, to grant his parole home.[108] He received no answer from either the friend or Leslie. He knew Craig's purpose too well to make attempts in that quarter, so nothing remained but *sauve qui peut*. Accordingly he dispatched a letter to the North Carolina government advising that the treason laws be put in full force, and made good his escape, leaving behind a letter to Leslie explaining the motives for his action.[109] His escape was absolutely necessary, he said, because Leslie refused to provide him protection from imminent danger of assassination. This alone would cancel any obligation to adhere to his parole. But when he heard that he was being held for possible retaliation, he continued, then he felt doubly justified in escaping. The letter was violently recriminatory and made it crystal clear that Burke felt no further obligation to those who had extended him parole.

But after Burke had arrived at Greene's headquarters and had had a talk with the general, he dispatched another letter to Leslie, much more subdued in tone. Omitting any personal recrimination, he justified his action solely on the ground of imminent

[108] *S. R.*, XIX, 887.
[109] *S. R.*, XXII, 606-608.

danger to his person and did not mention the subject of retaliation. Moreover, he offered to effect the release of any British officer Leslie might name by way of exchange, or to return to the British lines on condition that he would be treated as the officers of the Continental Army when prisoners of war.[110] Thus he admitted what he had denied in his earlier letter to Leslie—a continuing obligation contingent on certain conditions.

Leslie made reply by a letter to Greene January 27. Deriding Burke's fears of assassination as "chimerical," he made it clear that Burke should return to Charleston immediately. He guaranteed that after his return every precaution would be taken to insure his safety.[111] Burke refused the demand and took over the reins of government of the state.

Historians have hesitated to pass judgment on whether Burke was justified in breaking his parole and returning to his position as governor. The difficulty is to appraise his action in terms of eighteenth-century values. From the facts as we know them, Burke was probably justified in considering all obligation at an end. He was very plainly in real danger on James Island. His former host there, writing in 1783, declared that if he had not escaped he would never have left the island alive.[112] Burke was right in assuming that parole was a bilateral obligation. The British owed him protection in return for his promise to remain disarmed and thus relieve them of the necessity of guarding him. When they plainly refused to perform their part of the bargain, and when Burke sincerely believed himself in danger, he was justified in considering all obligation at an end. The fact that he was held as a "prisoner of state," a possible subject for retaliation, would not in itself justify breaking parole. He had requested parole with full knowledge of his indefinite status.

The question arises as to whether Burke was obligated to return on the basis of Leslie's promise that he would receive full protection. The answer must be that he was not. Burke offered to return on the condition that he be given the status of a Continental Army prisoner. Leslie did not meet this condition. He offered nothing more than a return to Burke's original status.

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[110] *S. R.*, XVI, 178.
[111] *S. R.*, XVI, 179.
[112] *S. R.*, XXII, 620.

Some might argue that even though Burke was justified in breaking parole he was unwise in taking up the reins of government. Actually Burke was compelled by law to resume his position as governor. The Assembly had passed a law in 1781 forcing all Americans paroled by the British to renounce their obligation.[113] The law was intended to reach those who got themselves captured and paroled with the express purpose of thereby avoiding military service. If Burke had not renounced his parole he would have been held personally responsible to the Assembly.

All these considerations were minor, however, beside the question of whether Burke had violated his own personal honor—the eighteenth-century code in whose service men performed both heroic deeds and deeds of heroic absurdity. In the eyes of its devotees—particularly military officers—Burke had committed the only unpardonable sin. He had broken the code. *Noblesse oblige* dictated that he should have gone to his death on James Island chin up, eyes forward, a few words for the edification of posterity on his lips. It was Burke's misfortune that he himself probably believed this. If he could honestly have convinced himself that he was justified in breaking his word, the remainder of his life might not have been so tragic. Actually, the regard by American military leaders for the binding quality of oaths was highly selective. A host of Revolutionary officers from Washington down the line apparently felt no compunction in breaking oaths of allegiance to Great Britain taken earlier in the Royal Army or militia service. The whigs of North Carolina had taken great pains in 1776 to persuade former Regulators that the oaths of allegiance they took to Great Britain after the battle of Alamance—largely at the insistence of these same whigs—were no longer binding. It was apparently only in the realm of gentlemanly conduct that oaths became things to die for.

Burke wrote letter after letter to Greene, fulminating against the disapproval he felt to be all about him and repeating the reasons for his decision in vain hope of a complete moral vindication.[114] In defending himself from attacks he tried to maintain that it was on Greene's advice he had resumed his position. This

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[113] *S. R.*, XXIV, 394-395. The law is badly drafted and unclear, in that it does not directly invalidate all British paroles. Yet it is plain that all returning civil and military officers would open themselves to prosecution unless they personally renounced their paroles.

[114] *S. R.*, XVI, 214-216, 278-283, 312-314, 445.

put Greene in a bad spot. He could not afford to offend Burke. Burke's energy and the full cooperation he gave as head of the North Carolina government were valuable military assets. So Greene made it plain that he sympathized with the governor and did not condemn his action. Yet as an officer and a gentleman he carefully avoided giving approval. He said his advice had been for Burke to retire "in order to put his conduct in as favorable a light as possible" [115]—advice he could safely give once convinced of Burke's determination to the contrary. Finally, forced by Burke's importunities, he rendered the crushing verdict. "My idea of the sacredness of a parole is such that I would sooner have abided the consequences than have left the enemy's lines," he said.[116]

Burke was further embittered by the feeling that the state and the army had deserted him in his hour of need. If efforts had been made to exchange him, he thought, the whole affair might have been avoided. The army "would have made themselves very easy if I had been privately murdered or publicly executed," he charged.[117] As for the state, "It is easy to perceive that I was sacrificed to difficult, dangerous and important tasks only because I was supposed to have the talents to execute them." [118] In his message at the opening of the Assembly in 1782 he plainly accused the members of neglect.[119]

It is an open question whether Burke sought re-election to the governorship when the Assembly met in May, 1782. He protested his desire to retire, but in such terms as to suggest he could be drafted. Yet the Assembly took no notice and dismissed him with a curt, one-sentence resolution of thanks that contrasted markedly with the lavish ceremony and the declaration of esteem that had preceded his induction into office.[120]

Thus bitter, disillusioned, and probably harried by a sense of shame, Burke went back to what was left of his plantation in Orange County. It was probably in this period that he wrote an essay on constitutional government which shows how far he had

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[115] *S. R.*, XVI, 238.
[116] *S. R.*, XVI, 331.
[117] *S. R.*, XVI, 253, 280.
[118] *S. R.*, XVI, 280.
[119] *S. R.*, XVI, 18.
[120] *S. R.*, XVI, 44; XVII, 813-814.

deviated from his former democratic faith.[121] Personal resentment undoubtedly had much to do with the change in his ideas, but a more important cause was probably the course of North Carolina during the war. The mass of its citizens certainly had not exhibited the noblest qualities of mankind. Outside of a relatively small number of ardent patriots and equally ardent loyalists, the majority of the people appear to have been indifferent. No other reason can explain why the third most populous state, and one with good agricultural production, could support only a small army in the field. The laws of this period indicate that every dodge was used to escape military service.

In his essay Burke declares there can be no equality in a political society. An inequality of talents will always produce an inequality of property, and property will always command honors. Therefore "I should advise that those causes should produce their natural effects as easily and advantageously as possible." In other words, we live in a world where inequality is inevitable, therefore the purpose of a constitution is to promote and perpetuate it. To that end a nobility based on landed property should be created. They should constitute an upper house of the legislature. Here the similarity to the House of Lords is evident. A lower house whose purpose was only to check the upper house should have a representation based on freehold suffrage even though theoretically it was to represent all the "people." "Only those who own property are interested in the permanent happiness of the country," declares Burke. He specifically denies that the people as a whole are able to govern themselves—the essence of the democratic creed. Foreshadowing *The Federalist* he declares that factions are inevitable and will disrupt government unless the higher orders of society ". . . direct the actions of the community, plan for its advantage, and correct by lowering their passions, the inferior orders." Political power should rest with ". . . the few who have wealth and leisure."

Although Burke, as an inhabitant and representative of Orange County, spoke the credo of the frontier in 1776, he used a different language in 1783. Refusing the offer of a friend who

[121] The MS., a fragment of a longer work, is in the Burke Papers, N. C. Department of Archives and History. It might have been written at the time of the Halifax Congress of April, 1776, but the whole tone of it is so contrary to what must have been Burke's ideas at the time that it seems almost certain to have come from a later period.

invited him to join in carving out a plantation in the back country of Georgia, he said, "new countries lure the idle as well as the adventurous, and take up many people who have found it inconvenient to remain in other states." In this society "no form of government can give security and liberty is as much an empty name as among the natives of indostan. Power is tyranny in its most hideous form" (i.e. except when in the hands of the wealthy and leisured) "for it is cruel, unrelenting and capricious as that monster multitude by whom it is exercised." As for himself, he wanted to spend the rest of his life "in an elegant enjoyment of the pleasures of society." [122] Frederick Jackson Turner would probably have been puzzled by Burke.

A more complete repudiation of democracy can hardly be imagined. Burke's political thought had come a complete circle since 1776. Starting with his increasing desire to centralize authority while a delegate to Congress, he had been led to qualify severely, if not even to repudiate, state sovereignty. Then the events of 1781 and his subsequent disillusionment had done the rest.

The circumstances of Burke's death are almost as tragic as his last years. For some time he had been separated from his wife and in bad health.[123] He died on December 2, 1783. Hooper wrote to Iredell on the occasion. "Dr. Burke died about a fortnight since, and fell, in some measure, a sacrifice to the obstinacy which marked his character through life. . . . It would, however, be a question with his friends whether life upon the terms he had it would not have been a curse in the extreme. Laboring under a complication of disorders; oppressed with the most agonizing pains, which for months had deprived him of his natural rest; his whole mass of blood dissolved; his temper soured with disappointment, and, to sum up his misery—no friend or companion at his home to soothe the anguish of his mind or mitigate the pain of his body. Was not death to him 'a comforter, friend, and physician?' "[124]

Hooper's rhetorical question was pertinent. It was fitting that he, the great denouncer of popular government in 1776, should write Burke's epitaph in 1783.

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[122] Letter of Aug. 4, 1783. Burke Letter Books.

[123] James Iredell wrote his wife in November, 1782, that Burke was "*wife hungry.*" McRee, *Iredell*, II, 26.

[124] McRee, *Iredell*, II, 83.

Probably no man of the Revolutionary period in North Carolina has given more devoted service to the state than Thomas Burke. Under different circumstances his talents would have been of great use to the state and his faults kept in control. He was indeed one of the state's most grievous casualties of the Revolutionary War.

THE SOUTHERN SENATORS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1918-1920

By Dewey W. Grantham, Jr.

Twenty-nine years ago eighteen southern Senators[1] joined a dozen Republican irreconcilables to defeat the Lodge resolution for ratifying the Treaty of Versailles and thereby to prevent United States entrance into the League of Nations.[2] Since that fateful day in March, 1920, the historical spotlight has often been directed at the train of events which culminated in the Senate's rejection of the treaty, and especially at the motivating forces behind the Senate's decision.

The traditional culprits who share the blame for the defeat of the treaty in the Senate are Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts Republican, usually depicted as breathing fire and brimstone at mentioning the pedantic Wilson, the twelve or thirteen irreconcilables, usually relegated to one side and labelled "isolationists," and the great crusader himself, Woodrow Wilson. Since the largest single element in the defeat of the treaty in March, 1920, was the southern vote, and since little inquiry has been made into the whys and wherefores of the southerners' actions, it seems profitable to analyze briefly their attitude toward the League and, perhaps, to glean an understanding of their staunch refusal to quit Woodrow Wilson on this final vote—as most of their Democratic cohorts did.

Southern Congressmen formed the nucleus of the Democratic forces which enacted the great Wilsonian domestic program.[3] They worked together harmoniously and fruitfully, in the main, to achieve these Democratic triumphs. When Wilson led his country on a holy crusade for peace and brought back from Paris the covenant of a "Society of Nations" to enforce the peace of the world, the southern Senators forsook the traditional Democratic

[1] For the purposes of this paper the southern states will include only the eleven secession states.

[2] The final vote in the Senate occurred on March 19, 1920, resulting in the defeat of the resolution by a vote of 49 to 35, only seven votes short of the required two-thirds majority. Significantly, only five Democrats outside the South voted against the resolution, while fifteen Democrats who had voted against it the previous November now voted for ratification. *Congressional Record*, Sixty-Sixth Congress, first session (Washington, 1919), 8803; *Congressional Record*, Sixty-Sixth Congress, second session, 4599.

[3] An analysis of the contributions of southern Congressmen in enacting the Wilsonian legislation is contained in Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., Southern Congressional Leaders and the New Freedom, 1913-1917, unpublished master's thesis, 1947, University of North Carolina.

position (which opposed the extension of America's participation in international affairs) and gave their support to the treaty as it stood.

The twenty-two southern Senators form an interesting group for historical study. Eighteen of them were directly concerned in the passage of the New Freedom legislation; eleven were chairmen of important committees in the House or Senate during the period from 1913 to 1919; while only two, William Julius Harris of Georgia and Nathaniel Barksdale Dial of South Carolina, were freshman Senators in 1919. One, Thomas Staples Martin, longtime Virginia political boss and conservative, was majority leader of the Senate Democrats during the period of their control and the minority leader from March 4, 1919, until his death in November of the same year.[4] Martin's death was to be one of the factors in the League fight in the Senate.

A majority of these Senators had given Wilson wholehearted assistance during the preceding six years. Conspicuous among his supporters were John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, Lee Slater Overman of North Carolina, and Carter Glass of Virginia. The sixty-four-year-old Williams was truly a congressional "character." A man of great scholarship and southern tradition, Williams was perhaps Wilson's staunchest enthusiast. This little man had come to Congress in 1893, had served as Democratic minority leader in the House, was a splendid debater, and was regarded as a liberal.[5] Overman was a good constitutional lawyer and had served as Senate chairman of the Rules Committee during the previous six years. He was a liberal conservative who embodied the best traditions of the Senate.[6] Carter Glass entered the Senate in early 1920, a dapper little newspaper editor, with an outstanding record as a Congressman from Virginia. He had been more than any other man save Wilson responsible for the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 and had served briefly as Secretary of the Treasury.[7] He was a warm friend of Wilson.

Oscar Wilder Underwood, dynamic Senator from Alabama, had worked well with the President as Democratic majority leader

[4] Virginius Dabney, "Thomas Staples Martin," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 346-347.

[5] George Coleman Osborn, *John Sharp Williams, Planter-Statesman of the Deep South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1943), 11-12, 104, 106, 113.

[6] William K. Boyd, "Lee Slater Overman," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 114-115.

[7] Rixey Smith and Norman Beasley, *Carter Glass, A Biography* (New York, 1939), 38; Grantham, "Southern Congressional Leaders," 25-26, 55-62.

in the House and would soon make a bid for the minority leadership in the Senate. He was a parliamentarian of superlative quality, with great persuasive powers.[8] Furnifold McLendell Simmons, quiet and deliberate North Carolinian, had also achieved fame because of his relation with the New Freedom. Claude Augustus Swanson of Virginia, Charles Allen Culberson of Texas, Joseph Taylor Robinson of Arkansas, Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, and Byron Patton Harrison of Mississippi were stalwart Wilsonians, and could be expected to support his League.

Hoke Smith, big, sixty-three year-old Georgian, was probably the most conspicuous southern Senator who frequently disagreed with Wilson. Smith possessed a career packed with political experience. He was sincere, able, and quite willing to be independent if necessary.[9] Duncan Upshaw Fletcher and Park Trammell of Florida and John Knight Shields of Tennessee were men also capable of action independent of the administration. These were the leading southern Senators; most of them—but not all—would support their leader to the utmost.

II

In spite of Wilson's appeal to the voters for the return of a Democratic Congress in 1918, the Republicans won the election and obtained forty-nine of the ninety-six Senate seats.[10] This allowed them to organize the Senate committees. The Foreign Relations Committee was headed by the veteran Henry Cabot Lodge, and of the seventeen members on the committee, ten were Republicans, six of whom were irreconcilables. The leading Democrat on the committee was Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska, while the Southerners represented were Williams, Swanson, and Shields.[11] Perhaps it was unforunate for the League that more conciliatory and independent Democrats were not on this committee.

The southern Senators generally endorsed Wilson's decision to go to Paris. Morris Sheppard believed that it was in every way proper, while Hoke Smith said that the President's "information will be most valuable, and will contribute to the future welfare of

[8] Grantham, "Southern Congressional Leaders," 16-18, 46-47.
[9] Robert Preston Brooks, "Hoke Smith," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 281-282.
[10] *Official Congressional Directory*, Sixty-Sixth Congress, first session (Washington, 1919), 150.
[11] *Official Congressional Directory*, Sixty-Sixth Congress, first session, 150, 179.

the foreign countries of the world." [12] But even the Democrats were a little cool toward Wilson when he spoke to Congress on the eve of his departure, upon which occasion he requested "the encouragement and the added strength of your united support." [13]

Some of the southerners were quick to defend the President, however, as is evidenced in John Sharp Williams' chiding speech directed at the Republicans and made in answer to Lawrence Y. Sherman's criticism of Wilson's trip.[14] The Democrats, with the exception of renegade James A. Reed, Missouri irreconcilable, said little about the League prior to Wilson's return in late February. Williams proved to be the most fervent defender of the President's peace policy during this period. He believed the League would be insurance "that no civilized nation shall dare make war upon another without either offering or accepting fair arbitration." [15] Other southerners like McKellar and Swanson rallied to Wilson's support.

Beginning with McKellar, on December 30, 1918, most of the southerners made long, prepared speeches favoring the treaty and the League. Characteristic of these addresses was that of William P. Pollock, retiring Senator from South Carolina, on January 30, 1919. Pollock commented that he had "listened with some impatience at the petty criticisms of the President . . . on account of his visit abroad. . . ." He compared the proposed League with the American Articles of Confederation, cited the British support of the Monroe Doctrine, and gave his undivided support to Wilson.[16] Less friendly to the President were the swan songs of two other departing southerners, James Kimble Vardaman of Mississippi and Thomas William Hardwick of Georgia. Their speeches, delivered on February 15 and March 1, 1919, indicated that they would have been irreconcilables had they remained in the Senate. But they were exceptions to the southern rule.

On February 15, 1919, after Wilson had made his request that the Senate refrain from debating the League pending his arrival

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[12] *New York Times*, November 19, 1918.

[13] *New York Times*, December 3, 1918; *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 8.

[14] Sherman had introduced a resolution which would have declared Wilson out of office. Williams even accused some of the Democrats of "sticking the President with a fine Italian dagger every chance they got." *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 28-31.

On December 8 the *New York Times* printed a cartoon entitled "The Girl He Left Behind Him," depicting the girl as "Senatorial Fault-Finders" sticking her tongue out (from a wharf) at the fading *George Washington* which was carrying Wilson to Paris.

[15] *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 84, 88.

[16] *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 2340-2344.

Senators John Hollis Bankhead of Alabama, Ellison D. Smith and Nathaniel P. Dial of South Carolina, Kirby of Arkansas, Martin of Virginia, Trammell of Florida, Harris of Georgia, and Culberson of Texas made no speeches on the League before November 15, 1919.

back in the United States, there was a strong element of opposition expressed in the Senate, both to the request and to the League. Southern Senators Robinson, Ransdell, McKellar, and Swanson were quoted as favoring the League, however.[17] In opposition to this prevailing southern view was Vardaman. "The President is coming home well pleased with his little gold rattle," he said, but it should "receive ripe, mature, full, and complete discussion." In Vardaman's opinion, Wilson should have asked the Senate to "tear it to pieces," "analyze it," "vivisect it," and find its defects.[18]

The majority of the southerners continued to give steadfast, though sometimes confused, backing to their leader. John Sharp Williams took every opportunity to introduce pro-League editorials, speeches, poems, and articles into the *Record.* The nature of some of this material afforded his colleagues many chuckles.[19]

To those who opposed him Wilson let it be known that he would brook no opposition; this is indicated in his alleged reply to Senator Martin's expression of doubt concerning the ratification of the treaty: "Any one who opposes me in that, I'll crush!" [20] In his New York speech of March 4, 1919, the President belligerently said that "when the treaty comes back . . . [my opponents] will find the covenant not only in it, but so many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant that you cannot dissect the covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure." [21] The limelight during these early months of the Senate fight was not on the minority Democrats but on the critical and majority Republicans.

Between May 19, 1919, when the Senate was convened in extra session, and November 19, 1919, when the treaty was finally voted on, the Democrats (including the southerners) fought a gradually-retreating rear-guard fight in behalf of the League. Soon after the session commenced, on May 26, Reed of Missouri created something of a sensation when he attempted to draw southern opposition to the League through the device of white supremacy. "How will the Senators from the South," queried Reed, "who represent States which have contended that the white race alone is fit to control the destiny of the States of America,... [feel when]

[17] *New York Times,* February 16, 1919.
[18] *New York Times,* February 16, 1919; *Cong. Record,* 65 Cong., third sess., 3656.
[19] On September 2, 1919, Williams placed certain resolutions in the *Record* drafted by the Confederate Veterans of Mississippi which urged ratification of the League.
[20] Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York, 1945), 13.
[21] *New York Times,* March 5, 1919.

Liberia, [and] Haiti, . . . [sit] at the council table of the world and each cast [s] a vote equal to that of the United States?"[22] In a blistering answer Arkansas' Robinson offered to resign his seat if the Arkansans did not support the League two to one.[23]

In early June Williams said that it seemed to him that the discussion "has been a plain, palpable, and obvious effort . . . , to nag and worry and bedevil the President . . . , not with regard to the making of a treaty but with regard to its negotiation, and every possible step has been taken to create in foreign countries the impression that his own people are not behind him." [24] On June 19 the Democrats openly accused the Republicans of partisan activity against the League, and Williams, in his typically picturesque way, spoke of the work of an "infernal gang." [25]

Just before Wilson laid the treaty before the Senate, the two parties released polls of the Senate on the matter of reservations. The Democratic poll stated that forty-nine senators favored reservations, while forty-seven were listed as opposing them. The Republicans estimated that forty-nine favored reservations, but that only thirty-eight opposed them. Of these thirty-eight, they listed eighteen southerners.[26] The southerners were loud in their praise of Wilson, and the newspaper men reported that during the ovation given Wilson after his treaty presentation speech of July 10, the "rebel yell" could be heard quite distinctly.[27]

The Republican strategy of slowing up action on the treaty soon began to worry some Democrats, including the President. He conferred with eleven Senators of his own party on July 28 regarding the treaty and chances for speedier action.[28] The Democrats on the Foreign Relations Committee were highly vocal in their opposition to some of the treaty changes being approved by the committee. After it voted on August 23 to return Shantung directly to China, Swanson charged that it was an attempt to defeat the treaty, but he predicted success for Senate ratification.[29]

The majority report of the Foreign Relations Committee was presented to the Senate on September 10, 1919, advising ratifica-

[22] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 244.
[23] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 239.
[24] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 677.
[25] *New York Times,* June 20, 1919.
[26] Bankhead, Shields, Hoke Smith, and Underwood were considered doubtful by the Republicans. *New York Times,* July 9, 1919.
[27] Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal,* 5.
[28] *New York Times,* July 29, 1919. Swanson, Overman, Harrison, and Shields were the southerners present.
[29] The committee vote was nine to eight. *New York Times,* August 24, 1919.

tion but with forty-six technical amendments and four reservations.[30] The minority report was read to the Senate the following day, and was said to be the work of Hitchcock, Swanson, and Williams.[31] This report, which was signed by all the committee Democrats except Shields, condemned the Republican changes to the treaty, and charged that their action was "government by obstruction as well as by a minority." It recommended that "the work of the peace conference be confirmed, the will of the people fulfilled, and the peace of the world advanced by ratification. . . ." [32] On September 15 the treaty became the regular business of the Senate.

The defeat of the committee amendments in early October found the southerners adding their support to the rejection of the changes.[33] Just before the committee decided on its final program of reservations, Shields advocated that the Democrats compromise with the Republican leaders in order to smooth the way for ratification, but Hitchcock opposed such a move, while a conference of fifteen Democrats reached no decision on the question. [34] In the subsequent committee debate on reservations, Shields sided with the Republicans.[35] The committee's new program included fourteen reservations to the League; and Williams claimed that the foes of the treaty had "wrapped swaddling clothes around it," and "tucked [it] away in its grave."[36]

The voting on the Lodge reservations, which began on November 7, found most of the southerners, as well as most other Democrats, voting in the negative.[37] A total of twenty-eight southern votes were cast for the fourteen Lodge reservations, averaging about two votes per reservation. Hoke Smith and John K. Shields gave the most southern support to the reservations.

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[30] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 5112.
[31] *New York Times,* September 8, 1919.
[32] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 5213, 5215.
[33] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 6269, 6276.
[34] *New York Times,* October 22, 1919.
[35] *New York Times,* October, 23, 1919.
[36] *New York Times,* October 24, 1919.
[37] See table below for the southern vote on the Lodge reservations. *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 8139, 8437, 8755, 8560-8570, 8730, 8741; *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., second sess., 3242, 3515, 3741, 3748, 3857, 3894, 3955, 4007-4010, 4067, 4333, 4522. See also W. Strull Holt. *Treaties Defeated By the Senate* (Baltimore, 1933), 297-298.

SOUTHERN VOTES FOR THE LODGE RESERVATIONS

Amendment	Nov., 1919	Feb. & Mar., 1920
1. Withdrawal	Hoke Smith	Fletcher, Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
2. Article 10	Hoke Smith	Shields and Hoke Smith
3. Mandates	Shields and Hoke Smith	Culberson, Dial, Fletcher, Gay, Glass, Harris, Harrison, Kirby, McKellar, Overman, Randsdell, Sheppard, Shields, Simmons, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
4. Domestic questions	Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell	Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
5. Monroe doctrine	Kirby, Shields, and Trammell	Fletcher, Kirby, Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
6. Shantung	Shields	Shields and Hoke Smith
7. Appontment of representatives	Shields and Hoke Smith	Fletcher, Kirby, Overman, Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
8. Reparations Commission	Shields and Hoke Smith	Shields and Hoke Smith
9. Expenses of League	Shields and Hoke Smith	Shields and Hoke Smith
10. Armaments	Shields and Hoke Smith	Kirby, Shields, and Hoke Smith
11. Covenant-breaking states	Shields and Hoke Smith	Shields
12. Illegal acts	Shields	Fletcher and Shields
13. International labor	Dial, Shields, and Hoke Smith	Shields
14. Dominion votes	Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell	Fletcher, Kirby, Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
15. Irish self-determination		Harris, Harrison, Kirby, McKellar, Ransdell, Shields, Sheppard, and Ellison D. Smith
Total	28	62

In a last minute conference on November 17, Wilson informed League leader Hitchcock that he would "pocket" the treaty if the Senate ratified it with the Lodge reservations,[38] and in a letter to the Senate leader the following day he referred to the Lodge resolution of ratification as a "nullification of the treaty," he asked "the friends and supporters of the treaty" to vote it down.[39] The Senate voted on the treaty resolution late in the afternoon on November 19. The galleries were crowded and the air tense when the motion to vote came.[40]

In accordance with Wilson's request the southerners, with the exception of Shields and Hoke Smith, voted against the Lodge resolution, which was defeated 39 to 55.[41] James A. Reed then moved that the vote be reconsidered. The Democrats and irreconcilables rose up to defeat the Lodge resolution a second time, 41 to 51.[42] It was then that Swanson, ardent League exponent, walked over to Lodge and pleaded: "For God's sake, can't something be done to save the treaty?" "Senator the door is closed," replied the Massachusetts Senator, "you have done it yourselves." [43] And truly the door was closed, for although Lodge allowed a vote on the Underwood resolution (without reservations), it was rejected 38 to 53.[44] At 11:10 p.m. a weary Senate adjourned *sine die,* and news of the defeat of Wilson's League sped around the world.

III

In two remarkable letters to Wilson, Colonel Edward M. House, on November 24 and 27, 1919, advised the President not to mention the treaty in his annual message, "but return it to the Senate as soon as it convenes." House wanted Wilson to keep hands off the reservations, but to allow the Democrats to vote for such changes as a majority of the Senate might suggest, although they might strive to make the reservations as harmless as possible.

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[38] *New York Times,* November 18, 1919.
[39] *New York Times,* November 20, 1919.
[40] *New York Times,* November 20, 1919.
[41] Three Democrats, Gore (Oklahoma), Shields, and Hoke Smith, voted for the Lodge resolution. *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 8786.
[42] Six Democrats, including Shields and Hoke Smith from the South, voted for the resolution. *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 8802.
[43] *New York Times,* November 20, 1919.
[44] Hoke Smith and Trammell deserted their southern colleagues to vote against the Underwood resolution. Eight Democrats opposed the resolution. It was the hope of the administration, whose strategy was to bring a double vote on the treaty, that enough Republicans (mild reservationists) would vote for the League without change to bring ratification. *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 8803.

The rest should be left to the Allies. It seemed to House that the American people wanted ratification—with or without reservations. To the ordinary man the distinction was slight.[45]

Wilson paid no heed to the Texan, and no word concerning the treaty came from the White House during the remainder of the year. As a matter of fact Wilson was in no condition to give the Democrats effective leadership, and the death of Thomas S. Martin left the Democrats without any real leader in the Senate. The situation was further complicated when Underwood and Hitchcock began a struggle for Martin's old position as Democratic leader. In mid-December Underwood urged that a compromise be effected and gave his support to a set of mild reservations.[46]

Public opinion was not yet ready for America to discard the League. On December 19 Hoke Smith reported that fifteen or twenty Democratic Senators were willing to enter a non-partisan conference of Senators favoring reservations.[47] On the next day Underwood proposed a conciliation committee.[48] On December 22 Lodge conferred with Underwood;[49] four days later a group of Republican mild reservationists informed Lodge that they would treat directly with the Democrats unless he made progress on the treaty;[50] and on January 2, 1920, the press reported that the Democrats were ready to compromise through mild reservations.[51] The compromise snowball seemed to be well underway, but the Underwood-Hitchcock rivalry continued to complicate matters. Hitchcock was reluctant to accept reservations before the scheduled Democratic caucus of Januray 15, which would choose the new leader. He reasoned that the Democrats would be more likely to support him if he were continuing to bear the brunt of the League fight.

The month of January, 1920, was high-lighted by constant compromise negotiations between the Senators from the two parties and by Woodrow Wilson's Jackson Day letter of January 8, which suggested that "the clear and simple way out is to submit it for determination at the next election . . . [in] the form of a great and

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[45] House thought the treaty would pass if Wilson turned it over to the Senate—"probably in a form acceptable to both you [Wilson] and the allies." Charles Seymour (ed.), *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (Boston and New York, 1926), II, 509-511.
[46] *New York Times*, December 17, 1919.
[47] Smith predicted an agreement by January 15, 1920. *New York Times*, December 20, 1919.
[48] *New York Times*, December 21, 1919.
[49] *New York Times*, December 24, 1919.
[50] *New York Times*, December 27, 1919.
[51] *New York Times*, January 3, 1920. Lodge conferred with Swanson on the same day.

solemn referendum, . . ." [52] Hoke Smith, McKellar, Swanson, and Simmons were southerners who made conciliatory moves during this period. The most important of these informal steps was the calling of the bi-partisan committee by Lodge at the instigation of Le Baron Colt of Rhode Island and Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee.[53] McKellar and Simmons were the southerners who participated in this conference. Lodge was never very enthusiastic, and finally terminated the meetings in late January.[54]

On January 26 Wilson wrote to Hitchcock that he would accept the mild Hitchcock reservations,[55] but the Lodge reservationists were encouraged by the appearance of the Grey letter on January 31 to believe the Allies would agree to the fourteen committee reservations. The Democrats were frustrated and looked to the White House for guidance.[56] On February 9, 1920, the day the Senate officially began a reconsideration of the treaty, the *New York Times* flashed the following headlines: "TREATY UP TODAY; WIDE DEMAND FOR ACTION; BIG ORGANIZATIONS BRINGING PRESSURE; BRYAN ON HIS WAY TO TAKE PART IN FIGHT."

The treaty emerged from the committee on February 10 with fifteen reservations, including the new one favoring Irish self-determination. The reservations were all voted on and approved by the Senate between February 21 and March 18. It is interesting to note the increase in southern support for the Lodge reservations. A total of sixty-two southern votes were cast in support of the Lodge changes, averaging about four votes per reservation. Almost five southerners refrained from voting on each reservation for one reason or another. This left only thirteen southern votes against each reservation. It is also worth while to point out

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[52] *New York Times*, January 9, 1920.

On January 3 Hoke Smith invited William H. King of Utah, George E. Chamberlain of Oregon, and Park Trammell of Florida to confer with him at his home regarding a compromise.

On January 6 John B. Kendrick of Wyoming offered a new plan said to be the work of William Jennings Bryan, McKellar, Swanson, and others. Sponsors of the plan claimed that forty-four Democrats would support it.

Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma led a conference of twenty Democrats on January 11 which tried to work out an agreement. Southerners Underwood, Dial, McKellar, Harrison, and Hoke Smith participated. *New York Times*, January 4, 7, and 12, 1920.

[53] Maurice H. Darling, "Who Kept the United States out of the League of Nations?" *Canadian Historical Review* X (1929), 199-200.

[54] Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Senate and the League of Nations* (New York, 1925), 195. Lodge issued a statement to the press in which he said that "no final agreement, even to submit any changes to their colleagues . . . , was reached." Apparently the irreconcilables helped persuade Lodge.

[55] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., second sess., 2622.

[56] Sir Edward Grey, former British foreign minister, wrote the above-mentioned letter after visiting in the United States and conferring with congressional leaders. On February 5 the White House released a statement to the effect that Grey had acted without consulting the President. Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 237-239.

that sixteen southerners voted in favor of the third reservation (mandates), while eight supported the fifteenth reservation (Irish self-determination).[57]

As the vote drew near the press reported, on March 4, that the Senate itself felt that the treaty was dead.[58] On March 5 it was rumored that the Democrats were looking to Wilson for a decision, but that Simmons and others were still trying to work out a compromise on article ten.[59] Taking the cue, Wilson wrote Hitchcock on March 8 that the reservations nullified the treaty. "I hear of reservationists and mild-reservationists," wrote the President, "but I cannot understand the difference between a nullifier and a mild nullifier." [60]

The final vote came on March 19, 1920, and despite wavering, the southerners voted strongly for the Wilson position. Eighteen southern Senators voted against the Lodge resolution, while only five Democrats outside the South voted similarly. Sixteen Democrats reversed their November vote and supported the resolution.[61] Three of the first four Democrats to vote left Wilson and voted for the treaty; then it was time for the venerable Culberson of Texas to answer yea or nay. If he supported the resolution, a stampede toward the treaty might well be started among the Democrats. For a moment the highly-esteemed Culberson hesitated, his face perplexed—then came his "nay." Perhaps the other southerners felt as Culberson later told friends he had felt: you know, for a moment I "didn't know how to vote." [62] The southerners and irreconcilables had defeated the Lodge League once again, and this would be the last defeat.

IV

The majority of the southerners in the Senate during the League controversy may be termed "Wilsonians," that is they sincerely believed in essentially the same kind of League as did

[57] *Supra.*
[58] *New York Times,* March 4, 1920.
[59] *New York Times,* March 6, 1920.
Simmons was anxious to talk to Wilson about his proposal. In early March Hitchcock wrote directly to Wilson urging that he see Simmons. The reply came in Mrs. Wilson's handwriting and said that it would be "folly" to undertake individual action. Apparently Carter Glass, good friend of Wilson, was the only Senator to see the President during this period. Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal,* 256, 258.
[60] *New York Times,* March 9, 1920. Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal,* 260, says Wilson's March letter whipped the wavering Democrats back into line.
[61] The five Democrats who voted with the southerners were Thomas of Colorado, Reed of Missouri, Hitchcock of Nebraska, Johnson of South Dakota, and Stanley of Kentucky. *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., second sess., 4599.
[62] Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal,* 267.

Wilson, or they were unwilling to take a different stand for political reasons. It is well to remember that forty per cent of the state resolutions endorsing the League during 1917-1919 were passed by southern states,[63] and that public opinion in the South was almost solidly behind the League. There were eighteen Wilsonians at the time of the November vote,[64] and seventeen when the March vote came the next year.[65] Thus the southerners maintained virtually the same position throughout the controversy.

The most vociferous southern Wilsonian, and probably the ablest, was John Sharp Williams. He was constantly championing Wilson and the League, was not connected with compromise negotiations, and approved of only one of the Lodge reservations. He poured contempt upon the irreconcilables, and once charged the League opponents with finding in the treaty "Sun specks, mare's nests, new discoveries of presidential sins!" [66] Williams' position was as extreme as that of Wilson, and he seemed also to have caught some of the President's idealism. As early as December, 1918, he said:

> My passion is peace, and I am so fond of peace that I will fight for it . . . whenever it is necessary or possible. . . . I do not believe that even my own country has the right to be the judge in its own quarrel, and to avoid peace when peace can be brought about with self-respect.[67]

This was as far as Wilson himself was willing to go.

Other vigorous Wilsonians were Joseph T. Robinson, who frequently took Wilson's enemies to task, Kenneth McKellar, whose part in the futile compromise negotiations were large,[68] Claude A. Swanson, Foreign Relations Committee member and one of the drafters of its minority report, and Carter Glass, late arrival on the Senate floor. All of these Wilsonians urged ratification of the treaty as it came from Paris. Oscar W. Underwood and Furnifold M. Simmons, influencial Democrats and Wilsonians,

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[63] *New York Times*, April 28, 1919.

[64] Thomas S. Martin, who had died a few days before, probably would have been a Wilsonian. *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8786, 8802.

[65] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., second sess., 4599. Two southerners, Ransdell and Fletcher, shifted over from their November position. Glass was a new Wilsonian.

[66] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 3235.

[67] *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 198 (December 6, 1918).

[68] In a floor speech on December 30, 1918, McKellar asked: "Why should we receive a part of the fruits of victory now and postpone the remainder [League] until some other time?" *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 918-926.

supported the Wilson treaty, but said little before the November vote; both were later prominent in conciliation moves.

At least six southern Wilsonians took no part in the treaty debate, and several others made only one speech.[69] Some of the southern supporters were very idealistic and sometimes a little naive. Edward J. Gay spoke of the sovereignty of small nations being assured;[70] Joseph E. Ransdell saw a great spiritual regeneration sweeping over the world and the end of secret diplomacy and alliances; Pat Harrison brought forward ten ways in which the League opponents were deceiving the American people.[71]

Several southerners made able arguments for the Wilson position. Duncan U. Fletcher defended the mandatory system, pointing out that although the United States would share or give up some right to independent action, the sacrifice would be worth making if the fundamental policies were accomplished.[72] Morris Sheppard stated that the League had been drafted with careful regard for the Constitution, that American participation would always remain within the control of Congress insofar as the people desired participation, and that legislation required to make and keep a treaty operative must come from Congress.[73] Oscar W. Underwood, like Woodrow Wilson, argued that Article Ten was the heart of the League, and that mutual defense of nations was the greatest principle of the covenant.[74]

It appears almost impossible to determine just where the convictions of the southern Wilsonians stopped and just where Wilson's influence took over. One thing is certain: these men backed up their President all the way, and they universally praised him in the Senate. It would seem that most of them had strong convictions in favor of the Wilson covenant, but that the people back home exercised important influences in the casting of the southern votes. Southern people, including their Congressmen, were strongly attached to Wilson. After all it was he who had led them to their only victory in national politics in over half a century. They could not easily desert him.

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[69] John H. Bankhead, Thomas S. Martin, William J. Harris, Ellison D. Smith, Nathaniel B. Dial, and Charles A. Culberson made no Senate speeches on the treaty.

[70] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 3313-3316.

[71] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 3398-3403.

Some of Harrison's charges were that Great Britain would dominate the League, colored peoples would control it, the papacy would run it, and it would take away the rights of American citizens to regulate their own domestic affairs, *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 2940-2946.

[72] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 3096-3100 (July 24, 1919).

[73] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 1431 (June 20, 1919).

[74] *New York Times*, July 16, 1919.

V

There was only one southern Senator in 1919-1920 who may be called an irreconcilable, and he was not consistent in his opposition to the League. The name of John K. Shields, who had supported the Wilson policies until 1918, was frequently linked with the Lodge reservationists and occasionally with the Republican irreconcilables. In 1919 he supported ten of the Lodge reservations, voted for the Lodge resolution of ratification, and opposed the Underwood resolution.[75] Shields felt that the League covenant should be amended so that a government like the British Commonwealth would have only one vote.[76] He strongly believed that the United States should reserve the right to decide questions affecting its honor or vital interests. "I say it is a ignominious proposition," Shields argued, "that we should submit our honor, or a matter of vital interest of our Nation, to a foreign council to be inquired of. We will neither take their advice nor submit to their arbitration as long as we are a free, sovereign, and independent Nation." [77]

This might well have been an irreconcilable talking, but Shields was reservationist enough to support fourteen of the Lodge amendments in 1920. Then for some inexplicable reason the Tennessean reversed himself completely and voted like his southern colleagues against the Lodge resolution of ratification.[78] It seems probable that Shields was a genuine isolationist and that he saw the possibility of keeping his political fenses in repair at home by joining the other southerners in defending Wilson's treaty, while at the same time voting against American entrance into any league.

Thomas W. Hardwick and James K. Vardaman, though not reelected to the Sixty-sixth Congress, seemed headed for the irreconcilable camp. Hardwick raised thirty-three solemn questions concerning the League[79] and declared that it would likely lead the

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[75] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 8786, 8803.

[76] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 7679-7680. He offered an amendment to the committee reservation to this effect.

[77] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 8639 (November 17, 1919).

[78] On the day before the final vote Shields had assumed a cautious position. "I think there is a great deal in this treaty that neither the Senate nor the entire treaty making power has a right to do." *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., second sess., 4505.

[79] Typical Hardwick questions were these: "Are you willing for this republic to become a vassal state?" "Are the American people incapable of self-government?" "Do you believe in the fairies?" "Is there anyone in this country . . . so base as not to be free?" *Cong. Record,* 65 Cong., third sess., 4704.

United States to war. He believed that the League would violate the American Constitution by encroaching upon the treaty-making power of Congress and limiting the right of that body to declare war. There "ought not to be coupled with the conclusion of peace," argued Hardwick, "any other proposition on this earth whatever as an international legislative rider." [80] Vardaman thought the people should decide the fate of the League, but that the government did not have the authority to make treaties superior to the Constitution.[81]

VI

If Shields is included, there were three southern reservationists in November, 1919, and five in March, 1920. The arch-southern reservationist, the man who supported the Lodge reservations second only to Shields, and the southerner who brought forward the most concrete proposals was Hoke Smith.[82] He consistently spoke and voted for ratification—but only with reservations. Even before the President first reached Paris Smith let it be known that he considered it entirely proper for the Senate to give its "advice" on pending treaties.[83]

Some people said that Smith's independent course during the treaty fight resulted from the Smith-Wilson feud of many years' standing. They pointed out how both men as young lawyers hung out their "law shingles" in Atlanta at about the same time. Smith was a "hustler" and prospered, but Wilson, though a gentleman with an abundance of dignity, found few clients.[84] Be that as it may, Smith steadfastly claimed that he believed in the cooperation of nations to preserve peace[85] but that he wanted the United States to enter this League with open eyes.

On the afternoon of October 2, 1919, he rose in the Senate and proposed seven reservations to the League.[86] The Smith reservations were practically all duplicated by those of Lodge. On October 22 Smith informed reporters that the committee reservations

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[80] *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 4699.
[81] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., third sess., 3657.
[82] Smith voted for eight of the Lodge reservations in 1919 and for ten in 1920.
[83] *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 77.
[84] Wilson later described Smith to Colonel House as an "ambulance chaser." House insisted that his vote was important though. Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 13.
[85] *New York Times*, February 16, 1919.
[86] *New York Times*, October 3, 1919; *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 6271-6272.

would form a "working basis" from which the Senate "could pick what reservations it desired." [87]

Smith stated that he desired early ratification but that even though the League could help preserve peace, "it could not be hoped that it would help if its very provisions left a certainty of dispute among its members as to what it meant." [88] "If a treaty contains doubtful provisions," continued the Georgian, "they should be made clear in advance of execution. If a treaty contains provisions which we do not expect our Nation in good faith to perform, we should frankly so declare before executing the treaty." [89]

He was in favor of a League based on an organized moral force, but he was critical of Article Ten, which he characterized as a pledge of "lead and sabers." [90] He desired that United States representatives to the League be responsible not to the President but to Congress.[91] He was perhaps the only southerner who sincerely believed in most of the Lodge reservations.

Although several other southern Senators were reported to be in favor of mild reservations from time to time,[92] and although Simmons and Underwood worked hard to achieve a compromise which would have included reservations, there were only three other southerners, Trammell, Fletcher, and Ransdell, who were willing to support the Lodge resolution with its fifteen reservations.[93] The Floridians Trammel and Fletcher each voted for five of the Lodge reservations in 1920, though it is significant that neither supported the Lodge change to Article Ten, the heart of the League.[94] William F. Kirby of Arkansas voted for five of the Lodge reservations in 1920 but refused to support the Lodge resolution of ratification; Joseph E. Ransdell of Louisiana voted for only one of the Committee reservations (Irish self-determination), but he gave his support to final ratification.

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[87] *New York Times*, October 23, 1919.
[88] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 6271-6272.
[89] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 6271.
[90] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8278.
[91] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8059.
[92] For example see *New York Times*, September 7, 1919, which quoted Simmons, Overman, and Ellison D. Smith as disposed to favor mild reservations.
[93] An interesting parliamentary rules discussion occurred preceding the November vote on ratification when Underwood ineffectively argued that the Senate could not consider the committee reservations before the resolution of ratification. *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8019-8020 (November 6, 1919).
[94] Fletcher had stated a year before the final rejection of the treaty that despite the fact that he was "a strong believer in the League," there "should be no delay in ratifying the general peace treaty" — "I believe that time will be saved and the settling of the whole issue expedited by the separation of the two matters." *New York Times*, March 13, 1919.

Hoke Smith and Shields, then, were the most extreme of the southern reservationists, while Trammell and Fletcher desired reservations before ratification. These men were a small minority among the southerners, and their actions seem even more independent in view of the steadfast position of a great majority of their colleagues.

VII

In the final analysis it appears that partisanship defeated the League in America.[95] Lodge hated Wilson and was quick to seize upon the League as an instrument to humiliate him. The Republicans followed their leaders, most of whom were reservationists or irreconcilables, while enough Democrats stuck by Wilson to prevent ratification with reservations. Sectionalism was also a factor in the League failure. The Republicans distrusted Wilson because he was a southerner, because southerners were in his cabinet, and because southern Democrats were in control of Congress. They believed Wilson was conspiring to aid the South.[96] Wilson for his part was unwilling to compromise the issue, and regardless of his sturdy southern support was unable to win.

The fact is that the South and her Senators, just as other regions and their Senators, was more than a little confused and ignorant regarding the League. But unlike any other part of the country, it was glad to accept Wilson's guidance and to go down the line with him. As the Greenville (South Carolina) *Piedmont* put it: "The South is heart and soul for the Treaty. It hasn't read it, but it has read some of the speeches of them darned Republicans." [97] The southern Senators might have read the treaty as well as speeches of the "darned Republicans," but they too were heart and soul for the treaty.

The southern Senators were responsible at the last instance for defeating the League in the Senate, but they were more the victims of fate than the authors of premediated action. If the efforts of any one of the southern leaders to arrange a compro-

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[95] Thomas A. Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 39, points out that where the Democratic party was strong the League was strong and vice versa.

[96] This is the opinion of Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 39.

The Greenville (South Carolina) *Piedmont* asserted that "The Senate's chief objection to the League idea is that Wilson is a Democrat." Quoted in Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 42.

[97] Quoted in Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 48.

mise had been successful, it appears that the southerners would have risen in a body, in defiance of Wilson even, to support it.

Wilson had said of the League:

> The stage is set, the destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan of our conceiving, but by the hand of God, who led us into this way. We cannot turn back. We can only go forward, with lifted eyes and freshened spirit, to follow the vision. It was of this that we dreamed at our birth. America shall in truth show the way. The light streams upon the path ahead, and nowhere else.[98]

The southern Senators, with minor exceptions, were eager to follow this vision, but the path ahead, through no great fault of their own, was not to include the League.

[98] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 2336-2339 (July 10, 1919).

PAPERS FROM THE FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER 3, 1948

INTRODUCTION

By Christopher Crittenden

The forty-eighth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh, Friday, December 3, 1948.[1] Meeting concurrently with the Association were the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the North Carolina State Art Society, the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, the North Carolina Society of County Historians, the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Symphony Society, and the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina. At the morning meeting of the Association, with President Alice M. Baldwin of Durham presiding, Dr. George W. Paschal of Wake Forest read a paper, "The Educational Convention of February, 1873, and the Common Schools";[2] Mr. George M. Stephens of Asheville read a paper, "Southern Authors Reveal a Changing South"; and Miss Mary C. Wiley of Winston-Salem gave a review of North Carolina books and authors of the year.

At the evening meeting, with Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville presiding, Dr. Baldwin delivered the presidential address and Dr. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina, gave a talk in which he announced that the annual Mayflower Cup award had been made to Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University for his book, *The Growth of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848*. The meeting was brought to a close by an address by Mr. John W. Vandercook of New York on the subject, "Is the Marshall Plan Working?"

It is believed that the session was unusually interesting and stimulating, and all the papers and addresses for which copy was

[1] For further information regarding this session, see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVI (January, 1949), no. 1.

[2] The title of this paper appeared on the program, "Development of Interest in the Common Schools of North Carolina, 1860-1890." The title given above, however, is the title Dr. Paschal gave the paper when he revised it for publication.

prepared are published in the pages that follow. The only omission is the address of Mr. Vandercook, which the audience found informative and worth-while but which cannot be included with the other papers because the speaker used only notes and did not write out his address.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION OF FEBRUARY, 1873, AND THE COMMON SCHOOLS

By George W. Paschal

With your good will, I am sure, I am undertaking to discuss only a small part of the subject, "Development of Interest in the Common Schools of North Carolina, 1868-1890," as announced on the program. Fortunately, it is not necessary that the whole subject be treated, since Dr. Edgar W. Knight has already ably discussed it in his excellent *Public School Education in North Carolina.* I am only adding some supplementary matter gathered from sources which seem not to have been available to Dr. Knight or Dr. M. C. S. Noble or to others who have written on our educational history. Of several such untreated topics, I discuss only one, the first in chronological order, the Educational Convention which met in the First Baptist Church of Raleigh on Tuesday, February 11, 1873, and continued through the Wednesday and Thursday following. I venture to declare that this was one of the most important educational meetings ever held in North Carolina, possibly the most important. And this is true as regards both the discussions in the meeting and the results.

The convention was designed primarily to open a campaign to raise $100,000 as an endowment for Wake Forest College, but in issuing the call for the meeting the president of the College, Dr. W. M. Wingate, said: "It will be observed that the call is not for a single object—the endowment of Wake Forest College—but the design is to move, if possible, the whole denomination in the State to an interest in every form of education."

It was of free public schools that Wingate was thinking, and he made it clear in numerous statements in the *Biblical Recorder* in the weeks preceeding the meeting that he was convinced that the welfare and even the continued existence of Wake Forest College and other colleges of the state depended upon the establishment of good elementary schools. In the *Biblical Recorder* of December 12, 1872, he said: "The movement for the endowment of Wake Forest College must not begin for that alone, and certainly it must not end there. A deep interest in one enterprise

will naturally awaken thought on the general subject of education. But this incidental effect is not enough. Our need is too serious; our want is too pressing. We must awaken our interest in the school house and the school master. Our apathy in this direction is coming to be a grave matter. What can the colleges do without more and better neighborhood schools? And what can these last accomplish without a spirit of education among our people? Who can speak? Who can write? Let them to the work. We must increase the number and efficiency of our schools: boys and girls must be trained. All along through our borders from the seaboard to the mountains EDUCATION must be the watchword."

Again in a later issue of the *Recorder* Wingate said: "The teachers of our male and female schools must come (to the Convention) for the movement would fail of half its effect, if a deeper interest in education itself was not promoted. . . . The active leading laymen must come, for they may tell us how to form and establish schools in the neighborhoods. While carrying forward the great movement of endowing our College and thus giving us means of enlarging and perfecting plans for the highest culture, we must not forget that the true foundation upon which high school and college instruction is built, is the perfection of earlier and preparatory training in the local schools scattered through our towns and rural districts. Can there not be an interest awakened in all these directions at once? Can we not carry them together as parts of a great whole?"

As one reads these words of Wingate one can understand why his contemporaries so often spoke of his wisdom. A further manifestation of his wisdom was his choice of men he associated with himself on the committee whose duty it was to prepare a program and provide for the Educational Convention. Among those on that committee were two able and practical business men of Raleigh, W. H. Heck and John G. Williams, who a few years later showed their interest in education by erecting the building which today houses the Wake Forest College Library and its School of Law, the first important building erected on any North Carolina college campus after the War between the States. Another was Ex-Governor W. W. Holden, then Raleigh postmaster, through whose influence the building of the present

Raleigh postoffice was begun. Others on that committee were Dr. T. H. Pritchard, pastor of the Raleigh Baptist Church; J. H. Mills, then editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, and later the founder of two orphan asylums, the Oxford Orphanage and the Baptist Orphanage at Thomasville, now called "Mills Home" in his honor; W. T. Brooks, president of the Baptist State Convention; W. H. Avera; and J. L. Stewart.

It was an excellent program that this committee prepared—seven meetings—one on Tuesday evening, February 11, 1873, and three each on Wednesday and Thursday, and every meeting was to be addressed on some live educational topic by men of recognized ability. All friends of education in the state were urged to attend. The railroads co-operated by offering half-fares.

In order to recommend the educational meeting, Dr. Pritchard had this to say in the *Biblical Recorder* two weeks before its assembling:

> Many of our wisest and best men are much interested in our Convention. Ex-Governor Graham [then in charge of the Peabody Fund in North Carolina] assured the writer a few days since, that so far as other educational interests were concerned, North Carolina is in worse condition than she has been in forty years, and that he was profoundly interested in the meeting on that account. Other public men have expressed much gratification at the calling of the Convention and have promised to attend and take part in the deliberations.
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> Dr. Barnas Sears will be with us. He is the agent of the Peabody Fund, and has resided at Staunton, Virginia, for the past three years. Dr. Sears is one of the most venerable and striking-looking men I have ever seen, and is regarded by all who know him as one of the wisest, best educated, and most irreproachable men in America. His ability and especially his experience will be of great service to us in our meeting. He was at one time head of the public school system in Massachusetts, and resigned the presidency of Brown University to take his present position [with the Peabody Fund.]

Dr. Sears had been secured to speak on the public schools. For the discussion of that topic, the best place on the program, Wednesday evening, was given. To the meeting of that evening on special invitation came the members of the two houses of the General Assembly, then in session. Following the plan of the exercises for all meetings, the discussion began with a paper.

This was by Rev. N. B. Cobb, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, a prominent Baptist minister, an accurate writer on historical topics, and one of the state's best scholars and clearest thinkers. The subject of his paper was "The Present Condition of Education in North Carolina; What can be done by the Baptists to improve it?"

The condition of education as Dr. Cobb revealed it was appalling. Doubtless there was a startled look in the eyes of every person in that great audience when the reader, quoting from the figures of the United States Census of 1870 and the report of Alexander McIver, Superintendent of Public Instruction, made such statements as these: "We have in this State 268,000 children of school age, 182,690 white, 85,239 colored, and 396 Indian, and less than 58,000 of all these, less than 1 in 4½ [we would say today, less than 22 per cent] are going to public and private schools." What was even more startling, doubtless, to many in that audience, was Dr. Cobb's statement that a larger per cent of colored than of white children were shown by the Census of 1870 to be attending school in North Carolina. Especially disquieting to the Baptists present was his demonstration that as many as 50,000 of the 100,000 members of Baptists churches in North Carolina, full one-half, could not read and write. And then he went on to say:

> If you can look on these figures and not see the necessity for arousing our people on the subject of education, you can do more than I can do. Then ask yourselves, if the Baptists have in their ranks 50,000 persons who cannot read and write, ought they not to be waked up, thoroughly waked up to the importance of education?

This was only a glance at the appalling educational conditions of North Carolina as Dr. Cobb found them portrayed in the United States Census and the reports of Superintendent of Public Instruction Alexander McIver.

I must stop here a minute to pay due tribute to that able and faithful, and courageous public servant, Superintendent Alexander McIver. A graduate of the University of North Carolina in the class of 1853, he had served on the faculty both of his alma mater and of Davidson College as professor of mathematics.

In September, 1871, Governor Caldwell appointed him to the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction in place of S. S. Ashley, resigned, and he continued in office until January 1, 1875, when—shame to the party in whose creed I was suckled—he was displaced by a man who proved to be an embezzler. During McIver's years of service he had to struggle against the indifference and even the hostility of many of the state's most prominent and influential men, and to suffer also from lack of co-operation. He received reports from only forty-six counties in 1872 and only sixty-three in 1873. But he never relaxed in his arduous labors for the schools. He was able too. His reports as Superintendent of Public Instruction will challenge comparison with any other public documents ever issued by the state.

To return now to Dr. Cobb. As announced, the first part of his paper discussed the condition of education in North Carolina. In the second part he sought to answer the question, "What can be done by the Baptists about it?" That something should be done was agreed to by all who heard that paper. Among those was the famous Josiah Turner, Jr., then editor of the *Daily Sentinel,* who said editorially on February 16: "Our entire state should be awaked to the real state of things; our best men should take the field and our best minds should work out a system that can be operated for diffusing the blessings of intelligence to the citizens of the state."

Dr. Cobb, however, did not forget that he was in a Baptist meeting, and he talked very straight to the Baptists, putting the obligation on them, and saying: "It is plain that something should be done—done by the Baptists—and done *speedily* by the Baptists to improve the present condition of education among us."

"What is that something which should be done?" asked Cobb. I propose to give in outline his answer to that question, for it proved to be a program of action the Baptists have followed from that moment, and which immediately proved effective in creating interest in education. It was followed by the numerous preachers and teachers, both in academies and Sunday schools, editors of papers, and progressive laymen and women who returned from that educational convention to their work in all sections of the state. It was followed by the organized workers in the campaign

for the endowment of Wake Forest College, who went forth soon after that convention and sought to reach every Baptist association, every church, and every individual Baptist in North Carolina. It was probably the greatest educational campaign ever conducted in North Carolina.

Here are Cobb's proposals, for the most part in his own language:

1. Create a public interest among our people in favor of general education. . . . Let the voice of the living minister be heard in every village and hamlet, in every church and Sunday school from Dare to Cherokee, setting forth the imperative necessity for an educated church membership as well as an educated ministry.

Let those who can read take the *Biblical Recorder*, one of our most valuable educators and the cheapest, and read it to those who cannot read.

2. Establish and sustain Sunday schools in every church and secure the attendance of every Baptist in the Sunday school either as teacher or as scholar. In no other way can we readily reach the adult illiterates in our churches. Let every one of them —the illiterates—be impressed with the idea that it is his Christian *duty* to learn to read that he may study God's word for himself.

3. Encourage common schools. We are impelled to this by patriotism and self-interest as well as by Christianity. In a government like ours, where every citizen is invested with the right of suffrage, and may aspire to the dignity of a ruler, every citizen should have the advantage of an education.

Such in brief was Dr. Cobb's great paper, but many of the people of the state were able soon to read it in its entirety, for it was published not only in the *Biblical Recorder*, but also in a number of other papers of the state, sometimes with statements of editorial approval, and propositions of their own, such as this:

1. Let the friends of learning see that a school is put in reach of every child of suitable age to attend.

2. Let us vote an increase of taxation to sustain public schools all the year.

3. Let papers publish articles and public men deliver addresses on education and show the evils of ignorance and the benefits of learning.[1]

All this with reference to Dr. Cobb's paper. However, that paper was not intended to be the main feature of the program of that evening. The people were there to hear the great educator of international reputation, Dr. Barnas Sears. It is not recorded what he said, but when he was done, there were a dozen men on their feet wanting to be heard. As it was late, further discussion was postponed until the next day, when the consideration of the subject was continued in all three of the meetings, taking much of the time assigned to other important topics. Dr. Sears was present at them all, ready to answer questions. To the evening meeting at seven o'clock came Daniel Moreau Barringer, former United States Ambassador to Spain, and at that time chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. He came for the express purpose of endorsing the statements of Dr. Sears in favor of public schools.

But the matter did not end there. We have seen that the members of the legislature were invited and attended the meeting on Wednesday night. The next day both houses invited Dr. Sears to address them in joint session on Friday night at seven-thirty o'clock. Less than two weeks later, on February 26, 1873, they ratified an entirely new education law.[2] Superintendent Alexander McIver considered this new law a great improvement. In one respect, surely, it was a great improvement, for it increased the tax assessment for public schools twenty-three per cent, from six and two-thirds cents to eight and one-third cents on the hundred dollars valuation, and provided that a much larger per cent of the poll tax should go to the public school fund. In two years the number of children in the public schools and the amount expended on them were three times as large as they had been.

Probably as a new manifestation of the interest excited by the Educational Convention in February was a second State Educational Convention, called by the State Board of Education, which assembled in Raleigh in July of the same year, and took measures looking to the reopening of the State University and also for

[1] *Biblical Recorder*, May 12, 1873.
[2] *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1872-73*, chap. xc.

furthering the interest in the public schools. Of this convention Dr. Knight has written. I say nothing more than that many who had a part in the February convention had a part in this July convention also. In fact the demand for the reopening of the State University was violent in the February convention, as it had been in the *Biblical Recorder* long before. During all these years the columns of this most widely circulated paper in the state were freely used by the alumni and other friends of the University in their efforts to save it and have it restored to its former status. In it all they had the lively sympathy of the editor, the redoubtable Jack Mills, who with characteristic vigor joined in the fight. He was outraged when a part of the campus was lost, and it was due to him as much as to any other person that the entire University plant was not sold for conversion into a denominational institution. He was quick to see that danger and quick to fight it.

SOUTHERN AUTHORS REVEAL A CHANGING SOUTH

By George Myers Stephens

Those of you who secretly or openly practice the vice of book collecting should take heed of the place it might lead you—to the platform if not to the scaffold.

The vice which landed me on this platform was just a mild one —trying to find all the books on pioneers in the southern mountains. By chance I received the leaflet of a little-known Kentucky publishing house announcing a facsimile of the Filson edition of Daniel Boone's narrative. Price only a dollar fifty.

This happy discovery raised the speculation as to how many other book collectors—and buyers of new books as well—might welcome a bulletin on books published in the South, especially those not mentioned in the national book reviews. A little encouragement from book publishing friends fanned the idea into action, and so *The Southern Packet* was launched. What served most to grease the runways was not having to pay cash for the printing, since it was done in my own publishing plant.

In its June, 1945, issue, *The Packet's* purpose was stated in these words:

"*The Southern Packet* sets forth on its maiden voyage this month to do one thing: to make southern books easy to find.

"*The Packet* grew out of individual efforts to find what books are being published in and about the South. We are delighted to discover the number and variety of books which form ever widening streams of thinking, writing and publishing below the Mason and Dixon line.

"But like most rivers of the South, the streams of good books from the growing southern university presses, publishing houses and private printers have flowed their separate courses, each southerner knowing little of the other's achievements.

"*The Southern Packet* proposes to travel these publishing courses, bringing in the good news. It proposes to make easy the finding and buying of books on the Southern Region. It proposes to act as a clearing house on notices of books published, to print competent reviews of books of regional interest and to present

as rapidly as possible a complete bibliography of recently published works on the South."

It is interesting to discover that this idea of a meeting of minds through the printed page was beautifully achieved in volume I of the State Historical Commission's publications. Covering the period from this association's organization in 1900, through the year 1905, volume I brings together the thoughts of a dynamic new generation of North Carolinians. Fifty-two contributions are listed, each from the pen of a man or woman who had a part in our state's progress during the past fifty years.

Edward P. Moses heads the list, followed by F. A. Olds, Francis D. Winston, and Clarence H. Poe. Soon follow two governors: Glenn on industrial progress and Aycock on education. Kemp P. Battle writes on "The Rebirth of the University," W. C. Smith on "The North Carolina State and Industrial College," and E. W. Sikes on "The Genesis of Wake Forest College." Last comes Stephen B. Weeks' description of his notable collection of North Caroliniana and R. D. W. Connor's report on Captain Ashe's *Biographical History of North Carolina.* In a striking fashion this one volume brings into focus the cultural resources of a people ready to move forward. That this meeting of minds was followed by half a century of unusual progress is now a matter of history.

But when, forty years later, *The Southern Packet* proposed to aid each month such a meeting of minds for a whole region with similar conditions and problems, one friendly newspaper editor questioned the wisdom of any project which might continue to make the South conscious of itself. This is a fair question. It could be answered best by reviewing the various regions of the United States.

He would see New England with its metropolis at Boston, a meeting place not only of commerce but also of ideas. He would see for the Middle Atlantic states the same sort of focal point for ideas in New York. For the Mid-West he would see Chicago, for the Far West San Francisco. But in the South he would see no metropolis. Instead, he would see scores of smaller cities and towns, scattered over an area suggesting the back of an outspread human hand. From the lofty central knuckles of the Appalachian Highlands the great land segments and their valleys

stretch southward and eastward like fingers to the seaport cities around the rim of the region. No one undisputed crossroads of commerce, no one center of education, no one dominant metropolitan newspaper to bind the ideas of the region together as an articulate part of the nation.

Perhaps our editor might say that until the South catches up with the rest of the nation, every legitimate means, including regional publications, must be used to bring the best thinking of the region into focus on the task of getting from where we are to where we should be.

This focusing of ideas is successfully going on already in special fields. Bankers, sociologists, doctors, historians have their regional journals. One native North Carolinian is publishing in Atlanta ten trade journals ranging from jewelry to paper making.

It is the layman of the Southern region, the people who must pay the taxes and make the public decisions, who need a clearing house for ideas. And that is the need which *The Southern Packet* seeks to serve.

The first cargo for *The Packet*, and still one of the most important, consisted of reviews of the good historical, literary, and social studies from the university presses of nearly every state in the South. Under the leadership of such men as Howard W. Odum, the South has measured, classified, scrutinized, and inwardly digested itself as no other part of the world ever has. In addition, scores of smaller studies and pamphlets, novels, books of poetry, and privately printed titles deserve brief description each month in classified lists which are accumulated into a booklist supplement each December. In three and a half years the total of titles reported will approach a thousand.

The experiment of surveying occasionally a special field such as library service, southern books, or politics has met with such favorable response that it will be continued. Because the personalities of authors and other creative thinkers can mirror the region as truly as facts, *The Packet* has been experimenting cautiously with personal sketches, the subjects thus far being Thomas Wolfe, Olive Tilford Dargan, and Carl Sandburg. Fields of information just being developed include reading outlines for students and clubs, reporting of social innovations and changes,

and reporting of research in progress of interest to the business man. A monthly column reports authors' work nearing completion.

The Packet's circulation to subscribers has been built on the conservative theory that the real measure of its value is the number of people and institutions willing to pay for it. It has grown past its first thousand subscribers. The largest single group is laymen, about equally divided between men and women. Libraries rank next, followed by several professional groups, publishing houses, and colleges. North Carolina leads in number of subscribers, followed by states of the upper South, then the lower South, then New York and Pennsylvania. Altogether, thirty-nine states are represented. A continued upward change in circulation is naturally the main change desired by the publisher from this changing South.

Now to look at the changes in the South since the turn of the century. Though we are still largely a rural people, the tractor and its brood of farm machinery enable fewer farmers to feed us and clothe us. So our growing farm families provide three times the youths needed, and they turn toward the towns. For every boy and girl who stays on the farm, twice as many enter the adventure of a new way of life in town. Whereas for the nation the growth of towns has been at a fairly steady rate, the growth of towns in the South has been at three times the national rate.

Out of this urban movement comes the second great change, a rise in the standard of living. The physical comforts and the desirability of having more of them are part of the adventure of moving to town.

And out of the desire to insure more comforts and pleasures of a material sort for each child in this new adventure comes the third change: fewer children. The good old family of eight or ten is a matter of remark in town, as it was common place in the country.

Why was it possible to leave the farm in the South? Because factories wanted more workers, and stores wanted clerks to serve factory workers. In the growth of industry lies the foundation for this great adventure in the lives of several million rural southerners. From Virginia to Alabama and up into the head-

waters of the Tennessee, the shoals that hindered the pioneers became the water power for the first factories. As the twentieth century dawned, the southern piedmont had built up enough capital and enough technical knowledge to develop the water power of whole river valleys, and to stretch electric lines a hundred miles to either side. There were cotton and timber at hand to make cloth and furniture, and always the farm boy and girl ready to take a job for cash each week.

Out of these main changes have come other changes for the South's people today. None is more striking than in more schooling for more children. Whereas in the nation the enrollment of school-age children increased during the first third of the century by about fifteen per cent, in the South it increased by about thirty per cent. In enrollment of all children of high school age in the same period the South's rate of growth was not double the nation's, but twenty-fold. Across the land this new chance for a high school education represents a sort of social revolution, the equalizing of opportunity implied in the American dream.

In the training for leadership associated with college, the South's rate of growth has outrun the nation's. Using the listings of eminent persons in *Who's Who In America,* Dr. Vance in his book, *All These People,* demonstrates that the South has increased both its proportionate part of eminent people born in the region and of those moving into it. Likewise the South shows a more rapid rate in increase in the proportion of professionally trained persons. This higher training, in turn, affects the welfare of the whole people, as our State Medical Care Commission's recent report showed in the field of health. Thus the spread of training in technology speeds up the use of machines and scientific methods. In turn these speed up the rate of change in way of living for our great rural population.

Though the timing in these changes the South has brought a significant improvement in living to the American scene. The good roads movement already mentioned got well under way before the major period of industrialization. And lines from the power dams spread a network through the piedmont.

The result was that after 1920 most of the factories were built well outside the larger towns and even in the open country. With the improvement of secondary roads and the extension of electric

lines to serve homes, industrial life became mainly a matter of living on the farm and riding to work by auto or bus.

In this feature of southern industrial life may well lie the South's major contribution to social progress. That man's productivity is far greater when joined with the factory's machine power and its organization goes without saying. It is the foundation for a rising standard of living.

When this is coupled with the wholesome features of a rural environment for the worker's growing family, a new combination has been achieved. It is not simply a matter of sunshine, space, and freedom during childhood's growth. It is the preserving—albeit modified—of the folkways of generations which promises stability and peace to the southern worker above all his fellows. Even with the changes that do occur when the farm family turns industrial, there is far less of harmful uprooting than our industrial growth has required heretofore.

Perhaps one other feature of industrialization is worth noting in the South of recent years. Factories have sprung up so fast that the region has drawn in substantial numbers of technicians and managers from the north and even from abroad. Because both their business interest and tastes call for entering into the life of the community, these newcomers have generally added a fresh outlook.

In our changing social fabric the life of the Negro third of our people is being altered in ways so different that they must be noted separately. For the Negro, the feature not yet changed is the one which brought most of the other changes for the white population—the growth of industry. With certain notable exceptions, southern factories have not opened up new work opportunities for the Negro.

But as a by-product of industrial growth in the South, service occupations in southern towns have drawn tens of thousands of Negroes from the farm. Though living conditions can hardly be described as better for a large part of these migrants, they receive more cash in a month than many saw on the farm in a year.

In opportunity for public school education they appear in at least two states, Kentucky and North Carolina, to be approaching the standards available to white children. Even in the deep South are heard rumblings of the doctrine of equal school oppor-

tunities for all. As compared with the region's increase of about twentyfold in white high school students, the Negro increase has been about one hundredfold between 1900 and 1938. On the college level it may be interesting to know that with about eight thousand students in North Carolina, the Negro's share in total number compares favorably with his proportion of the state's total population.

The appearance in southern cities of large communities of Negroes has been followed by their development of service occupations such as neighborhood stores, taxi companies, bus companies, and even insurance companies. Thus we see a growing Negro middle class with doctors, dentists, professors, and a sprinkling of lawyers.

Finally, a substantial part of the race has moved from the South. Whether he who moved or he who stayed has made the better choice is a question we may soon have the chance to answer.

To take a broad glance at changes in southern life, the standard of living is rising and families are growing smaller as farm youth moves into towns and into industry. The trend is toward a healthier balance between farm and factory, between rural and urban life. Travel and communication are vastly greater. Try venturing on a highway any Saturday during the football season. Public works and social services as well as education have grown prodigiously in the past quarter century, especially in the upper South. And the Negro's change is at a far more rapid rate as he moves into the main stream of the region's and the nation's life.

A general parallel can be seen between the changing South and the increase of its writers on such tangible subjects as factories, crops, people, schools, and history. In this field of non-fiction writing, cause and effect have marched side by side. Where non-fiction writing has been scarce, so have been economic and social change. Conversely, those states of the deep South whose way of life has changed but little support few non-fiction writers. Social studies are scarce as snowballs in Mississippi.

But fiction writing is different. Let us borrow an illustration from another field of art.

Guided by a human eye and human insight, the hand of the portrait painter can record a human personality far better than mathematically exact methods might do. And when we would paint in words the portraits of a region's people, the pen of the fiction writer can often excel all others. For this reason our inquiry into the nature of today's changing South should lean heavily on the novelist, the short story writer, the dramatist, and the poet.

But here we run into difficulty. While it is true that an expanding economy should furnish leisure as the first requisite for a writer, two unpredictable elements seem important. One is the writer's emotional conditioning to achieve the drive and the human insight needed to picture his characters in universal terms. The other is the writer's native ability or genius. In scattering the seeds of genius, Mother Nature has played her little jokes. Some have sprouted in the most sheltered households, and some in the most desperate.

Recently a Mississippi state archives staff member tossed into the teeth of the too-free critics of her state a few names, including Eudora Welty, William Alexander Percy, William Faulkner, Tennessee Williams, James Street, Ben Ames Williams, Elizabeth Spencer, David Donald, Stark Young, Hodding Carter, and David L. Cohn. No curve on the state's economic graphs could follow this literary rainbow.

But we might find a clue or two worth tracing in this fiction mystery. Like Sherlock Holmes we might start with an obvious fact. While a useful non-fiction study might be published by a subsidy or grant, this rarely happens for the fiction writer. What he writes must interest enough of fiction's regular buyers to make a profitable size edition salable.

For the first fifty years after the Civil War, the southern writer's devastation was as severe as the farmer's or the industrial worker's. The same forces which burned the factories and stripped the farms wrecked southern writer's work tools. But early in the twentieth century a new palette came into the hands of the southern painter of fiction—naturalism. It is a technique which heightens contrasts—the ludicrous and the sordid in human life. It was of greatest use to authors who knew the backwaters of the South. William Faulkner's pictures from his early

life in Mississippi are the works of a master of naturalism. Erskine Caldwell's *Tobacco Road* must surely have reached through this medium a universal quality—albeit distasteful to southerners—when the dramatized version ran on Broadway for some ten years.

Another clue to the trend of fiction in the region lies in the book market. It is not southern book buyers who keep southern fiction writers alive. It is readers in the northeast and the middle states. Such a group of readers will take an occasional book by a southern realist if there is drama in it. We can be thankful that the South has not committed as many lynchings as its authors have in recent years. But for this same group of readers the story of a rising urban family holds less interest. The ground has already been well worked early and late, from William Dean Howells, past Booth Tarkington to Sinclair Lewis. Likewise the story of the rural family adjusting its ideals to changing standards is an old tale for the book market—ably worked by Edna Ferber and many others.

In this market situation for the novelist and in this half-century lateness of the South in growing urban and industrial we find one answer as to why our changing South is not fully revealed by its fiction writers, at least to a wide reading public.

To these general statements on fiction we can happily find many exceptions among southern writers. Their success is generally the result of good material extremely well handled. Any tale is interesting in the hands of the right story teller. Margaret Mitchell and Thomas Wolfe carry their readers through hundreds of pages by the sheer fascination of what they have to say.

There is some evidence that southern fiction is improving in quality, if a best seller record is an indication. Frank Luther Mott's story of best sellers, *Golden Multitudes,* listed no titles by southern authors in this century prior to 1936, but in the ten years that followed, three novels and one non-fiction book won top place in a year's sales.

One area of middle ground should be mentioned: biography. The South has produced a sizeable share of good biographers. Many consider Douglas Southall Freeman the leading American in this field today. But the great work has been almost wholly on personalities of history—not of today's world. The changing

South of today is not in general the biographer's field just yet, though we find a notable exception in *Tar Heel Editor,* by one who helped to change the South. But the biographer shares the fiction writer's problem of writing books that will sell in a book market largely eastern and mid-western. When he tells a life story already well told a generation earlier in other regions, the publisher's appreciative note of rejection must be his main reward.

What fields are promising ones for the novelist and the biographer? What subjects will interest the main book market because of their meaning in our national life, yet are known best to southern authors? The answer should be found in those important changes taking place in the South in advance of the rest of the nation.

The significant feature is the passing of masses of farm people into industry without changing their rural ways of home life. Because this change is not a dramatic one, the writer who would suceed with it must have more than ordinary talent for picturing the beauty and the deeper satisfactions of life.

The story of the outlander who comes South will likewise be a field for both fiction and biography. Perhaps the viewpoint of the outlander will make him more successful than the native in telling this story of change.

Still one other field holds great promise for the southern writer, because of its meaning to the nation. This is the story of the new Negro, with his growing business and professional class. Here is opportunity for the drama of change, the tragedies and the triumphs of the Negro as he proceeds cautiously—sometimes incautiously—into the realm of full citizenship. Perhaps the Negro himself will tell this story, as Richard Wright did so well for his youth of desperate poverty in *Black Boy.* Perhaps the white writer with really objective thinking will add as Catherine Dupré Lumpkin did in *The Making of A Southerner.* From whatever source, this exchange of ideas between white and Negro will surely release new talents in a race just awakening. The insight that authors can bring is sorely needed so that the two races may harmonize their ideals and work for the best future of the region.

And now one final note on these changing times for the people of still another race, the Cherokee Indians at the foot of the Great Smokies. The efforts of Col. William H. Thomas, their adopted white chief, saved these intelligent people from extinction after the great removal a hundred years ago. A watchful nation has protected their old way of life and permitted self-government through their tribal council. A friend of mine who is their legal advisor met with their council on a Saturday afternoon two weeks ago tomorrow.

During this council session an Indian message bearer brought in a folded paper to the tribal hall and handed it to the first member seated in the circle. The Cherokee read the message without a change of expression. He handed it solemnly to the next member, Andy Saunook, Lloyd Runningwolf, and so on past the chief, around to the other end of the circle to my lawyer friend. He opened and read the message: "At the end of the first half: Duke nothing, Carolina nothing." This is the changing South.

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKS OF THE YEAR: A REVIEW

By Mary Callum Wiley

In completing my reading for the Mayflower Cup contest I feel as if I had come through a semester of college work—hard work under thorough masters—on the present status of the intellectual life of North Carolina.

The reading of these books submitted for the 1948 Mayflower award has been most stimulating to my intellectual growth; I confess that some of the books were too deep for me; that some of them dealt with matter about which I had little personal point of contact; that the sordid realism of the works of fiction at times marred my enjoyment of the reading. Yet on the whole, the reading of these books of varying types, of wide ranges of subject matter, has opened up to me new fields of thought, given me profound respect for the scholarly, painstaking professors of history and of literature in our North Carolina institutions of higher learning, a deeper appreciation of the contributions they and the other North Carolina men and women of letters are making to the cultural progress of our state.

It is not my purpose this morning to analyze for you the twenty-six books submitted for the 1948 Mayflower award. I am no expert in the reviewing of books, neither am I a literary critic; I am just a plain lover of books, and as such I have come to talk with you, in a very informal way, about the books on the 1948 Mayflower list which are of special interest to me.

I trust that my selection of the nine or more of the twenty-six books will not lead you to think that the books I have omitted are of small literary or historical value. Indeed, I feel sure that the other members of the award committee will in many instances differ with me as to the outstanding books of the list.

Among the books about which I shall talk is the book chosen by the majority vote of the award committee as the outstanding literary production of the year. I hope that in my enthusiasm I shall say nothing that will give away the great secret which is to be publicly announced tonight—the 1948 winner of the Mayflower Cup.

It has been no easy task deciding upon the outstanding book of the twenty-six, presenting as they do a wide range of literary production—fiction, history, social and economic studies, literary and musical criticism, essays sermons, poetry—and requiring in their appraisal standards of widely differing skills.

For instance, the historical studies or those dealing with social or economic questions, ranging in subject matter from *Research Management* to *The Papacy and European Diplomacy,* from Dr. Odum's *Understanding Society* to Dr. Sydnor's *The Development of Southern Sectionalism*—must be judged by their evidence of scholarly research, of keen assimilation of facts. On the other hand, the works of fiction must be judged by their "artistic simplicity," which, someone has said, is a part of greatness"; the poetry, by its appeal to the imagination, its beauty of thought and phrasing.

The difficulty lies in deciding whether the best historical work should be given precedence over the outstanding novel, or the stimulating book of sermons, or the verse "rich in simple living," showing "rare heights of beauty."

There are two rather unusual works submitted this year for appraisal: one narrowed to the field of the trained musician, William S. Newman's original study of keyboard sonata history—*Thirteen Key Board Sonatas of the Eighteenth and Ninteenth Centuries;* the other of interest to the student of French, Robert White Linker's new edition of a manuscript of the thirteenth century by an unknown author—*Aucassin et Nicolet*—presented to the reader in the original Old French.

It is of peculiar interest to me that two of the Mayflower books of the year have been written by former high school students of mine: *The Leaf Against the Sky* by Paul Ader and *The Hunter's Horn* by Peirson Ricks; and a third book, *Pilgrims Through Space and Time* by a young man who began his teaching days in my department of English of the R. J. Reynolds High School, Winston-Salem, Dr. J. O. Bailey, now of the University of North Carolina department of English.

Dr. Bailey has chosen for his study a very unusual subject—a search into the literature of the weird and supernatural, the literature dealing with the experiments of men of science in

changing human behaviour, in causing animals to take on the nature of man.

Peirson Ricks and Paul Ader in their beginning novels give promise of future work. Both present North Carolina scenes. Paul Ader gives the impression of a personal, intimate knowledge of the places and people about whom he is writing as he unfolds his story of a youth brought up in the strict atmosphere of a Methodist parsonage struggling to reconcile old and new loyalties. Peirson Ricks builds his plot around the conflict of the social elements in a rural community of eastern North Carolina.

In fiction my taste often runs counter to the stark realism of so many of the novels of the day which are acclaimed best sellers. Having read no review of *Tomorrow Will Be Better,* I picked up the book, I must confess, with strong feelings that I would not like it. But from the opening chapter to the very end of the story—a depressing, realistic story of the Brooklyn Betty Smith knows so well—I was held by the "artistic simplicity" with which the author wrote, her evident sincerity and sympathetic understanding of the people about whom she was writing.

A little child one day in talking to her mother about a favorite book said she liked the book because the story people made her like them. The men and women in Fielding Burke's *Sons of the Stranger* make me like them and recognize, in spite of the sordid details of their lives, their inherent nobility of character in the heroic struggle they make throughout their moving, tragic lives. Beautifully written, *Sons of the Stranger* is a book that will live —a book that will find its place in the classification Ruskin once made, "Books for All Time."

For beauty of diction, clear flowing style Dr. Henry Louis Smith's *This Troubled Century* is a book I like to dip into again and again. No matter upon what subject Dr. Smith is speaking, with his characteristic manner of speech, vigorous and polished, he draws the attention to whatever he has to say. He speaks, and with authority, upon a wide range of topics and to various classes of hearers—on practical everyday matters of conduct to college boys; in cultural gatherings he gives philosophical interpretation of world events or discusses such men as Luther or Robert E. Lee, with rare insight into their characters; in dealing with

matters of scientific investigation, reverently he opens up to his hearers "the glorious landscapes of the imagination."

Berlin Reparations Assignment, for an understanding of "the slow and painful process in the negotiation of a German reparations settlement," for a candid view of Soviet diplomacy, merits a wide reading. The very fact that the book is, as the authors, Professors B. U. Ratchford and William D. Ross of Duke University, state in their preface, "primarily a personal account of what they saw, what they did, and some of the impressions they received" makes the book of special interest and value. This personal viewpoint makes us see the stress under which the authors performed their daily tasks, due in part to the recurring shortages of pencils and typewriters, coal, gasoline. How embarrassing it was to the two Americans, at the end of a wearying committee meeting, to have to stand on the corner waiting for a hitch-ride while their fellow committeemen from Great Britain, France, and Russia "rode off in American lend-lease vehicles, on American lend-lease gasoline." As the authors describe their work from day to day, they give revealing glimpses of the kind of men they had to deal with—the French delegations, inclined time and time again to side with the delegation from Russia and so, perhaps not intentionally, blocking whatever move the Americans were trying to make; tough, stubborn, impulsive General Clay; smooth-tongued Soviet diplomats, armed with a definite plan from Moscow and determined against all odds to push that plan through—Soviets trained in the art of "selling the same horse twice"—and usually at a higher price the second time.

For the subject of her study Lilliam Parker Wallace could not have chosen a more involved and highly controversial question than the one treated in her scholarly work—*The Papacy and European Diplomacy: 1869-1878*. With remarkable clarity, in spite of the depth of the subject and the fact that most of the documentary material, both primary and secondary sources, had to be translated from foreign tongues, and in a spirit of fairness and unbiased candor the author discusses not the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state but the relations of the states with each other as affected by the policies of that Church.

Notwithstanding the fact that from its very nature a work of this kind makes its appeal to the trained historian rather than to the lay reader, I found the book stimulating in that it opened up to me a new and wide field of thought. I was especially interested in the sections devoted to the promulgation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility and the "war of civilization" it brought on—"the struggle of modern liberal, scientific culture against ecclesiastical slavery." As Bismarck pointed out, "the struggle was not the struggle of an evangelical dynasty against the Catholic Church, nor between belief and unbelief, but an old struggle, as old as the race, between priestly and kingly power."

While the teaching of English over a long period of years has been a joy and an inspiration to me, my spare time has been freely given to the searching of the annals of the past, especially of my own section and state, delving into time-stained manuscripts and books. And so the books of history on the list, every one of them showing painstaking, accurate research, make their appeal to me. Naturally, since my forebears grew up under the Presbyterian atmosphere of old Guilford County, the preaching of David Caldwell and Eli Caruthers, I read with interest John W. Simpson's *History of the First Presbyterian Church of Greensboro*—a church springing from David Caldwell's old Alamance and Buffalo churches of Guilford County.

While it is true that this book is limited in interest to a narrow circle of readers, it is of value in that it not only contributes to the religious history of our state, but with its wealth of personal detail, its intimate glimpses of the people of one locality and faith, it fits in with the all-around picture of North Carolina. present and past.

Those who like informal, fireside chats as it were about old times and present time, men and also "notable spinsters" of bygone days, will find Edward H. Davis's *Historical Sketches of Franklin County* delightful reading. The early citizens of Franklin, old records show, were "men of handsome information and eager after knowledge." Indeed it was only eight years after the formation of the county that they established an academy "with great advantages to the State in general and to the County of Franklin in particular." The one interest—education—Mr. Davis declares, has characterized the history and growth of Franklin

County more than any other and so he devotes much space to the early schools and school teachers of the county. Preachers, Methodist preachers especially, likewise through the years made their impress upon the county. One of these old-timey preachers, "Uncle Jimmy Reid," who had the distinction of having both a son and a grandson members of the conference at the same time with himself, had such a wonderful voice that all he had to do when he ascended the pulpit was to start a hymn, utter the word "Mesopotamia" and the congregation would be on their knees, the saints shouting for joy, the sinners crying for mercy. From far back the people of Louisburg have had a healthy local pride—in the estimation of her neighbors too healthy. In the early 1830's they were unwilling to have the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad pass through their borders lest it disturb the atmosphere of serenity and culture and study for which their town was noted. Some fifty years ago a prominent public man from another section of the state declined an invitation to deliver the commencement address at Louisburg College because, as he is reported to have said, he did not have time to prepare his speech and half-prepared he had rather face an audience anywhere else in the state than in Louisburg.

The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848, by Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University, is the fifth volume in the projected ten-volume history of the South, sponsored by the Littlefield Fund of the University of Texas and the State University of Louisiana. In his clear, logical way of writing, Dr. Sydnor presents first the Old South, at peace with the nation on political issues—her people, mostly planters, small farmers, village folk, content with their self-government through the county court and in their thinking along public issues, moral, and social questions largely directed by their churches, church colleges, and denominational press. Then the distinguished author makes clear how the industrial development in the North and in the rapidly-growing West, the mounting sentiment against slavery, the changes in national party organization resulting in the southern loss of leadership in Congress, brought about among the states of the South "a feeling of oppression, of defeat, and even of desperation"; and how these states, to build up against their resentment and bitterness, withdrew as it were into themselves, creating

"an idealized portrait of Southern life; a romantic legend . . . which in the nearer future was to give the Confederate soldier something to die for." Dr. Sydnor's scholarly work, with its faithful delineation of the mind of the South, one puts down with a deeper appreciation of our section of the nation and the problems peculiar to it. As for me, as a teacher of English, I found keen delight in the literary style of the author—the lucid, flowing sentence structure, the easy transition of thought from paragraph to paragraph, the choice selection of words.

The volume entitled *The Papers of Walter Clark*, edited by Aubrey Lee Brooks and Hugh T. Lefler, is a worthy addition to the source material of our state relating to the reconstruction period and the years following through the turn of the century. Through this volume one gets not only "the true inwardness" of the controversial issues of the 1890's, such as the Clark-Kilgo case, but an insight into the legal philosophy of the "fighting judge" who had so great a part in bringing about judicial and legislative reforms in the North Carolina of the 1890's and early 1900's. Fearlessly he proclaimed: "The vital question which this country is called upon to determine is Where shall the government power reside? Shall it be Men or Money?" To me personally the appeal of this book lies not in the first-hand legal and political matter but in the early letters with their intimate glimpses of the home life of young Clark, of his years at boarding school and military institute, in the Confederate army. The twelve-year old boy off at boarding school, ending his letters to his mother with "Kiss the children for me," tries manfully to hide his homesickness; the devoted mother admonishes her son to read his Bible every day and brush his teeth; "little Clark" the soldier with a word here and there reveals the hardship of camp life—the ragged Confederate soldiers, lying by the fire in the raw November night, with no covering blankets; the barefoot men waiting their turn in line to get the hide from the beeves killed for rations that they may make moccasins for themselves. The mother makes her soldier son a new coat out of his old one turned with the cuffs shortened; she sends him apples from the little tree at home and fresh garden stuff with onions slipped in because, as she writes him: "Your Pa insists on sending you some

onions & your Cousin Will says you ought to learn to eat them; they are so healthy."

With the patient, conscientious research of the trained historian, Paul Hibbert Clyde, professor of history in Duke University, has given us a masterly presentation of the subject he treats in his massive volume of 800 pages—*The Far East, A History of the Impact of the West on Eastern Asia.* Since Dr. Clyde designed his book primarily for Americans, he devotes large space to the activities of Americans and appraisal of American policies. In one short chapter Dr. Clyde with remarkable clarity reviews the progress of World War II in the Far East, culminating in the dropping of the first atomic bomb used in warfare.

In his final chapter Dr. Clyde shows how difficult are the economic problems of the postwar Far East, "conditioned (as they are) by the traditional historic social habits which have as yet, by no means adjusted themselves to a Western and modern world." In the creation of the future Far East, the eminent historian declares, the United States and the Soviet Union exert the greatest influence, "the sphere of influence of Soviet Russia being in the ancient frontier against Siberia and Central Asia, the back door to the East—the sphere of the United States being the new frontier, the maritime gateway to China on the Pacific.

"These frontiers meet along the 38th parallel in Korea . . . the remote geographical line, unhearlded and unsung in the records of history . . . will divide or unite America and Russia in the creation of the future Far East."

Every now and then some North Carolina poet brings out a slender volume of verse. This year we have on our Mayflower list a choice collection of poems written by a poet eighty-two years of age, who only five years ago began the serious work of composition: *Look Up, O World* by Herbert Delahaye Miles[1] of Asheville. In the clear tones of the Classic, as he expresses it, Mr. Miles writes his poems and with a delicacy of touch and a nobility of sentiment unusual in much of the present day poetry —or so called poetry. With that simplicity and sincerity which mark the true poet, Mr. Miles gives voice to his poetic urge upon a variety of themes. In these lines from *When April Comes* note the beauty of language, the appeal to the imagination:

[1] The quotations from Mr. Miles works are reproduced by special permission.

A soft prelude
A mild melodious piping to the lovely things that rise
Is blown by spring-time winds to mark the faintly rising sighs
Of Earth's response! And soon new life in all its urgent tide,
A tide that springs from waiting woods, from meadows, from wayside,
Wakes to the piping.

In the native dialect of two of his mountain friends the poet thus vividly makes us see a bear hunt:

Ol' No'th Ca'lina Bill breathed hard and deep—
"That b'ar outsharped us, up to Briar Knob,
An' we-uns got her in the big sink-hole!

Coaly Calhoun, our rough and ready hunter,
Toasted his toes and eagerly joined in.

She done outsharped our dogs, too; doubled back
An' kep we-uns a-chasin' till nigh dark!
She run off like the devil whoppin' fire,
Then she come by that mean sink-hole up thar
That's full o' rocks an' briars an' laurel bush,
An' riz up quick an' div down into hit,
The dogs a-top o' her an' like to die!
I skinned me on them rocks as I fell in
Plumb into dogs an' b'ar.

An' that thar b'ar were mad; no time to waste!
Her eyes shined like new money. I fired twiste
An' got her.

This lovely lyric, one of several inscribed *To Delia*, is entitled "The Spirit of Motherhood:"

Your proud wise head, once gold is white,
Its lovliness is ours.

For love and life and you are one,
To us you are the whole of three.

Unbowed by Time, you find life good:
Your spirit sings. So love can be!

And we—we view life understood
In your serenity.

And so ends my survey of the 1948 North Carolina books I like best; I trust that you will read these books for yourselves to see how fine they are.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN NORTH CAROLINA

By Alice M. Baldwin

You will all remember the scholarly and interesting paper by Dr. Mims at our annual meeting in 1946 on the intellectual development of North Carolina during the last fifty years. I could not, if I would, write anything of equal value but it has occurred to me that it might be of some interest and perhaps even of some slight value if I should talk briefly and informally of some of the changes in other fields during the last twenty-five years. I have chosen only a few which have especially interested me. I fear that it may be like bringing coals to Newcastle to talk of these developments to you, who in many cases have been instrumental in bringing them about, but after all, it is pleasant now and then to take stock of one's work and to know that it is good.

As I was driving down from the North two weeks ago, I saw a deep cut in a new road where workmen were digging diagonal trenches for the planting of vines. The broad shoulders were green with new grass, and I thought of the changes the last twenty-five years have brought in the appearance of our land and country-side. Along the highways today one sees far less of the raw earth and fewer eroded fields and gullies. Many of the cuts are covered with vines, the shoulders levelled and planted with grass and there is a fair amount of contour farming. As one drives through the country one sees better-kept farms, many of them with electric wires running from the highway, a larger number of cleaner and finer cattle and a greater variety of crops.

In the towns and villages trees have been planted along the streets, oaks and dogwoods and crepe myrtles. Well kept parks are more common than formerly, school buildings, many of them new and attractive in design, have shrubbery and flowers growing about them, areas around railroad stations and along the railroads have been improved and in some cases landscaped.

There has also been a great change in the homes of the people. Years ago there were many which were without foundations,

with swept but grassless yards. To see a woman sweeping her bare yard was no uncommon sight. Today a large number of these houses have been bricked in, shrubbery and flowers have been planted around the house, and grass grows in the yard. Almost all new homes, however small, are built with foundations or closed underpinning. There is an appearance of greater stability, order, and beauty and certainly these homes must be warmer and less drafty.

The increased interest in the history of the state and in the preservation and restoration of the lovely old buildings, historic sites, and relics has been notable. Old-time handicrafts have been revived and native folk songs and folk dances brought out of obscurity. Indeed, these have become well known beyond the state boundaries. Old courthouses have been cleaned and painted and historic towns like Hillsboro made far more attractive.

Perhaps some of you have read the article by Louis Bromfield in the November *Atlantic*, entitled "Go South, Young Man," in which he discusses some of the changes which I have mentioned. "Of all the Southern states," he says, "and for that matter all the forty-eight, no state has shown more progress within the past generation than North Carolina." I had written this paper before my attention was called to Bromfield's article and was, of course, pleased to find my own layman's observations supported by such an authority. All of these developments are proof not only of the greater economic prosperity of the state but also of a growing aesthetic appreciation and an awakened civic consciousness and pride.

The most striking illustration of the development of aesthetic appreciation is the amazing growth of interest in art and music. Today the larger cities have excellent musical programs, the great orchestras play to capacity houses, the state is even supporting its own symphony orchestra, one of the very few state orchestras in the United States. People come many miles to hear good music. It reminds me of North Dakota where, before the day of automobiles, they thought nothing of taking an all day's train journey to hear the opera in Minneapolis.

And the same thing is true of the interest in painting and sculpture. Art museums have been built and exhibits, many of them excellent in quality, are well attended.

Twenty-five years ago in the colleges of the state little attention was given to these subjects. Perhaps there was a lingering belief that they were primarily for women, the finishing touch in their polite education, as they had been for so many years. Today in all the colleges and universities of North Carolina departments of art and music are doing serious work, appealing to men as well as to women. And best of all, there are North Carolina artists and musicians who are creating new beauty in their chosen fields.

This increased appreciation of beauty in all its forms has been due to the devotion of certain individuals who have labored tirelessly over long years and often against discouragement, to organizations like the woman's clubs, the garden clubs, the societies meeting here this week, to various other state organizations, to the teachers in schools and colleges, to local art and music societies, and to many other groups as well as to the state legislature.

Of course, this development has not occurred in North Carolina alone. It has been nation-wide, but to me at least this aspect of the state's progress is one of the most significant. North Carolina has become conscious of what the love of beauty can do for the state and its citizens.

The many changes in customs and manners are known to all of you, of course. I confess to a certain nostalgia when I think of the more leisurely life and of some of the ways of the old South which so fascinated me when I first came to North Carolina: the friendly and courteous salutes of the old Negroes, the rhythm of the Negro workmen as they sang to the swing of their picks, the songs of the servants as they shelled peas in the dormitory kitchens, and the kindly "Miss Alice" with which I was greeted in the shops. These bits of southern color seem fast disappearing, at least in the larger towns and cities.

Some of the older ways of living fortunately remain. For example, in the churches one still sees the whole family, men and boys included, rather than the more feminine congregations in many of the more northern churches and, in spite of the different social habits of today, family ties seem as strong as in earlier days.

But in some respects these twenty-five years have brought very great changes. Naturally I have been especially interested in those affecting the lives of girls and women. And great indeed they have been, some of them again only a part of a world-wide movement, some more peculiar to North Carolina and the South.

It is hard to realize that only twenty-five years ago at Trinity and other colleges in North Carolina girls were not even allowed to dance together and could date only at strictly limited times and in sharply specified places and that deans of women, in the smaller colleges at least, were seriously concerning themselves in their annual conferences with the comparative wickedness of bare elbows and rolled hose. Today these meetings deal with problems of real import in the education of high school and college women.

In those earlier days the newly formed student government associations in the colleges also concerned themselves chiefly with minute questions of manners and discipline and with social activities. Today, although these still take up much time, student councils have grown in power and maturity and are deeply interested in the curriculum, in vocational guidance, in social service of many kinds in the college and community, in local, state, and national government, and in the more fundamental bases of individual and group conduct.

The interest of the students has shifted to a large extent from education, foreign language, English, and history to sociology, psychology, economics, political science, business administration, and the natural sciences, although very recently there seems to be a slight renewal of interest in teaching. This has been due perhaps in large part to the greater number of opportunities for women, a change hastened to an amazing extent by the last war. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the variety of positions now open to women. Perhaps the change in the attitude of parents towards their daughters' occupations has been less noticeable.

Twenty-five years ago teaching was almost the only profession approved by North Carolina parents for their daughters, with the occasional exception of a position as secretary, and it was rarely that they approved a position outside of the South. Many a time I tried without success to persuade a mother or father to permit their daughter to enter nursing or to study medicine,

for example. Today there seems little reluctance to let the girls try their hand at anything which interests them from a secretaryship in South America, social work in Hawaii, a position as stewardess on an international plane to that of psychiatrist in a Richmond juvenile court, a chemist in a naval ordnance center, or a model in New York. Seniors go to Miami, to Tennessee, to New York as well as to Raleigh and Charlotte to be interviewed by prospective employers.

But it is not only school and college girls before whom new vistas have opened. The development of the Federation of Women's Clubs, of the Parent-Teachers Association, of the American Association of University Women, and of the service clubs such as the Altrusa, Pilot, and Business and Professional Women has been rapid and is still continuing. Women are employed in almost every field of endeavor. In addition, an enormous amount of voluntary service is given by North Carolina women to their home communities and to the state. It would be impossible to enumerate all their activities but were they suddenly to cease there would be an acute realization of their value and indeed of their necessity. I have spoken of their work in the development of aesthetic appreciation. It has been equally noteworthy in social welfare and in other fields. There is one field, however, in which it seems to me there has been little progress and perhaps even a retrogression. That is in the field of politics. I shall never forget my first attendance in 1924 at a state meeting of the League of Women Voters. Never in any state or even in any national meeting had I met women who impressed me so forcibly with their vigor, independence, spicy individuality, and determination to share in the political life of the state. Many of these vigorous women have gone from the North Carolina scene and, able as are their daughters and granddaughters and active as they are in local and state affairs, I think there has been a loss of that earlier ardor. In any case, there is certainly a lack of women in our legislature and in city, county, and state offices.

Another development of great significance has been the improvement in interracial relations. This summer I read frequently in the Boston papers favorable comments on the situation in North Carolina, especially on the equal pay of Negro and white teachers and the excellent Negro colleges. Although further im-

provement is needed, especially in the schoolhouses and their equipment, certainly one of the greatest changes in the state during the last twenty-five years has been the growth of educational opportunity for its Negro citizens. Today in a number of the larger cities and perhaps in some of the smaller towns as well, committees of Negroes and whites have been appointed to study conditions and to find ways of improvement, not only in education but in housing and in other common problems. The ability to think and to work together, on a basis of mutual respect, is, I believe, the best augury for a peaceful and just solution of interracial difficulties.

Notable also has been the change in the position of industrial workers. Not only are their wages higher and their living conditions much better but they have become far more articulate. Not so long ago I knew workers who were afraid of losing their jobs if they so much as mentioned unions or tried to raise money among their fellow-workers for a scholarship to a workers' summer school. Such a situation would seem strange indeed today. The improved economic condition and the increased self-respect of so many of its citizens is a great asset to the state.

There has also been a decided change in the attitude of North Carolinians to new residents from the North and West, less sensitiveness to criticism, less consciousness of separateness and that in spite of the recent campaign. One seldom hears today the term "foreigner" applied to fellow Americans. The economic changes, the war, the national reputation of North Carolina institutions have brought more men and women from other parts of the country to North Carolina and have carried more North Carolinians to the North and West. Perhaps the fact that Europeans called all American soldiers "Yankees" has helped to make the term less opprobrious.

Many other changes the years have brought to the state, some of them fully as significant as any I have mentioned, the remarkable development of hospitals and interest in public health, for example, but the limits of my time and knowledge are upon me.

There are still, of course, certain qualities and habits which belong especially to North Carolina as well as others which are of the South and many of them I hope we shall retain because they

speak of the past and give its own special characteristics to the state.

You will notice that I say "we." And that brings me to my final word. Twenty-five years has changed a Yankee to such a good North Carolinian that I *like* turnip salad, automatically open and butter my hot biscuits immediately, can say North Carolinian and pronounce Concord with the long last syllable without any hesitation and have been caught calling myself in all innocence a Southerner, much to the amusement of my northern family. The beauty of North Carolina, the friendliness of its people, the strength of family and church life, the exciting sense of growth, the continuity with the past, together with the readiness to accept the new, all these have won my interest and affection. When I return after an absence, however short, I feel at home.

PRESENTATION OF THE MAYFLOWER CUP AWARD

By Douglas L. Rights

"Of making many books there is no end." This is the text. The flood gates of the printing presses are open and the tide is rising high.

The largest university library in the United States has more than six million volumes. If a student in his freshman year began reading in the library at the rate of ten books a day, a liberal assignment, he would complete his reading through the library in a little less than two thousand years, only to find that fifty million more books had accumulated at the present rate of increase.

Something must be done about this. Something has been done.

A notable effort has been made to provide a liberal education on a five-foot shelf.

There are offerings of condensations, or synopses. The digest magazines give articles in reduced space and books are boiled down. The digest of a five-hundred-page book can be read in five pages. Why read five hundred when five will do?

If the trend continues, we may expect the reduction of a book to an impression produced by a pill. You do not need to read the book; simply take the pill and you will get the effect. In the not far distant future the gentle reader might seat himself comfortably in his easy chair and reach, not for the book case, but for the pill box, choose a pill—let us say the red pill "Tale of Two Cities"—take the pill, and—the rest is silence.

Against this strong tide of literary production North Carolina has continued heartily resistant. The voluminous flood beats with little effect on the sandbanks, the rock-ribbed mountains, the sandhills, and the piedmont.

The State Literary and Historical Association is not unmindful and declares among its purposes "(1) to foster the interest of our people in the literature and history of North Carolina, and (2) to encourage productive literary activity within the State and to assist in bringing to public attention meritorious works by North Carolina writers."

In the years 1905 to 1922 a cup was provided by a loyal citizen to be awarded annually to the writer of the book selected by judges to be the outstanding literary production of the state in that year. When conditions required that this award be discontinued, the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, in 1930, provided for the annual award of the Mayflower Cup.

This is deserved recognition. It does not, however, go far enough. I would recommend that a collection of cups, and perhaps plates, and saucers, and sufficient other vessels be provided for distribution to deserving authors so that all contributors to the literary production of the state be rewarded.

I would go further. I would recommend cups for booksellers. What good is a book if it is not delivered into the hands of readers? North Carolina is notoriously poor in book stores. A request to a publishing house for a list of booksellers in North Carolina produced only a list issued ten years ago, which exhibited, after deduction of newsstands with their loads of lurid comic and tragic displays, and drug stores with their offerings from sandwiches to strychnine, only about a score of qualified book stores in this state.

I would recommend cups for public libraries, too often neglected and underprivileged.

And still further, I would recommend cups for readers. What good are authors and book stores if no one reads the books? Give us intelligent readers to demand the best in literature.

For the one cup that is provided by the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, it is my pleasure to make the presentation to Dr. Charles S. Sydnor as the award in 1948 for the book, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848.*

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JAMES, WILLIAM DOBEIN. A sketch of the life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion, and a history of his brigade . . . Marietta, Ga., Continental Book Company, 1948. 182, 39 p. $5.00.

KEPHART, HORACE. Camping and woodcraft. New York, The Macmillan Company, [c.1917-1947] 2v. in 1. $2.95.

KNOX, ROSE BELL. Marty and company on a Carolina farm. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1946. x, 280 p. illus. $1.00. Juvenile.

LEFLER, HUGH TALMAGE, ed. North Carolina history told by contemporaries. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, [c.1948] 502 p. $6.00.

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WHITE, STEWART EDWARD. Daniel Boone, wilderness scout. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1947. 308 p. $1.00. Juvenile.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Resource Management in North Carolina. By Paul W. Wager and Donald B. Hayman. (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science. 1947. Pp. 192. Free.)

This book is one of the results of a regional study conducted along state lines. In 1945 six southern states joined hands in producing similar studies. The Tennessee Valley Authority cooperated with money and staff members and the General Education Board helped finance the project.

The authors, Professor Wager and Mr. Hayman, of *Resource Management in North Carolina,* were not concerned so much with the natural resources of the state as they were with the public or legal control of these resources. They divided their study into four large divisions: first, the rise and growth of public agencies dedicated to the protection and management of the state's resources; second, the examination of their organization and procedures; third, the evolution of these procedures; and fourth, the recommendations and conclusions for future progress.

As early as 1738 a law was enacted to "Prevent Killing of Deer at Unreasonable Times," but the present resource agencies did not begin until 1891 with the establishment of the Geological Survey.

All of the natural resources and their management are discussed and evaluated, but land and water are given emphasis. The Soil Conservation Service of 1937 and the TVA are chief agencies. The authors declare: "The unrestricted pollution of North Carolina streams is without doubt the greatest single threat to her industrial development."

In the fields of administrative control, fiscal management, and personnel management much has been done but more yet needs to be accomplished. During the year 1945-46 the federal and state governments spent more than $5,000,000 in North Carolina on the resource program.

The authors say that North Carolina can be justly proud of the progress made in the use of the state's natural resources. They recommend with a view to improvement, however, continued research, education stressing the unity and undeveloped potential-

ities of natural resources, methods of integrating the separate programs, personnel selected on basis of merit and freed from partisan politics, and legislative and administrative solution of problems of organization.

No short review can do justice to this splendid factual study. As a teacher I have long felt the need for such a book, for reference and for general reading. It should meet an urgent need in both colleges and high schools. No member of the General Assembly or office holder can afford to neglect it. The volume deserves and will have wide distribution. Having been financed by the General Education Board, the book is for free distribution.

D. J. Whitener.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone, N. C.

Henry Harrisse On Collegiate Education. By Edgar W. Knight. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1947. Pp. 54.)

Dr. Edgar W. Knight of the University of North Carolina has made a contribution to the history of education by bringing to light a previously unpublished essay on higher education by Henry Harrisse, an author little known by the average student of education.

At the time of Mr. Harrisse's writing, the "Cultural" viewpoint and the "formal discipline" conception largely dominated the thinking and the practice in education. However, for a century or more such European educators and writers as Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Comenius, Bacon, and others had been fostering a different conception of education, and Harrisse in his essay espouses a broader, a more liberal, and a more practical education than was then offered in the comparatively young University of North Carolina. He challenges, for example, the contention that Latin and Greek have a greater "disciplinary" value than French and other modern languages. He also says, "all of our colleges, universities, and classical academies, seem to have adopted a stereotyped course of studies and mode of instruction." He favors not only a broadened and more practical curriculum, but better teaching and more effective study.

"That which we substitute [for the formal classical studies—Latin and Greek] instead, is neither new nor obsolete. It consists merely in extending several of the very studies pursued in all the literary institutions of this country, adding a few others, and adopting a method of instruction which exacts more from both student and instructor. Through this method, the whole sum of physical and mental application which can be expected from an American youth in educational pursuits, will be obtained."

"The vast amount of time hitherto devoted to an imperfect acquisition of the dead languages, we transfer to a profound study of our own language and literature, a foreign tongue universally spoken, that can be acquired in a few years, and which at the same time trains the mental powers in a satisfactory degree; a comprehensive study of History, both ancient and modern; Drawing and Penmanship, Mental Philosophy, Logic, Constitutional Law, Political Economy, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Geology and Gymnastics, complete the course."

Harrisse also discusses the still controversial subjects of general and specific, or vocational education. On the whole, the article is well organized and is presented in scholarly fashion. Pertinent questions for education then and now are treated in a thoughtful and challenging manner. The students of education and the interested layman, alike, will find food for thought in Dr. Knight's fifty-four page editorial presentation of Harrisse's essay.

B. Y. Tyner.

Meredith College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Papers of Walter Clark, 1857-1901. Edited by Aubrey Lee Brooks and Hugh T. Lefler. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. xv, 607. $6.00.)

When a man has lived a long and useful life spanning critical epochs in the history of our nation, when he has earned outstanding distinction in public positions, including the highest judicial office in the gift of his native state, when he has fought valiantly in peace and war for the right as he saw it, when with a vision possessed by few of his contemporaries he clearly saw far-off

horizons—then not only his actions and deeds but also his words and thoughts become of rare importance. By this token, Aubrey Brooks and Hugh Lefler have placed primarily every North Carolinian and secondarily every true American, in their debt, for the patience, tact, and good taste they have displayed as editors of the volume under review.

As a letter-writer, Judge Clark cannot compete with Mr. Justice Holmes on the score of intellectual brilliance, nor can he vie with the amazing versatility displayed by Thomas Jefferson. Yet from the standpoint of self-revelation, Judge Clark goes beyond both Holmes and Jefferson. A reader of Judge Clark's letters, who went no further, would have a pretty complete picture of the man. For he sets forth in his letters the reasons for the faith that was in him as a social crusader, far ahead of his time. Judge Clark's epistolary style is direct and trenchant, "weasel words" are not for him.

A captious critic might point out that many of the controversies into which Judge Clark threw his very soul were local and provincial. At best, that would be a half-truth, for it has been well said that provincialism touched with genius, or even talent, becomes by subtle alchemy, cosmopolitanism. For example, there is unquestionably much that is peculiar to North Carolina in the Clark-Kilgo controversy which shook the Old North State to its foundations. Yet that episode throws light on every contest between advanced educational liberalism and tyrannical academic authority.

Practically every reader will find in these letters views that he does not share, but that is as it should be. And the fact that Judge Clark's ideas were deeply colored by his own personal experiences lends added historical value to what he thought. Thus, Judge Clark's fierce advocacy of the election of federal judges by the people runs absolutely counter to the view of this reviewer. But it is only fair to point out that Judge Clark's associations with the federal judges of his day were altogether unhappy. This reviewer is himself a federal judge, who owes his tenure to presidential appointment. And Judge Clark's enemies, many of whom were altogether to his credit, could not in any fairness claim that he does not set forth his ideas with clarity and vigor, with charm and originality.

There is hardly a person of real consequence in North Carolina during his day who is not mentioned in these letters of Judge Clark. And a valuable contribution by the editors is a note telling the reader who and what each of these persons is. Yet the correspondents of Judge Clark were not limited to those usually considered as important. Through these letters there flashes a panorama of persons of every degree and station—a variegated collection of people rarely seen save on the grand opera stage where kings and dukes, lords and ladies, doctors, lawyers, farmers, peasants, and slaves all sing together with lusty abandon to make up a swelling chorus.

The volume is clearly printed, copiously illustrated, admirably indexed. Before each period of Judge Clark's life covered by his letters written during that particular period, is an explanatory sketch, etched by the editors with brevity and charm, which readers will find exceedingly helpful in enabling them more fully to understand and appreciate the letters.

Finally, it is this reviewer's considered opinion that our American life would acquire a richer and deeper meaning if we had more Walter Clarks, more Aubrey Brookses, more Hugh Leflers. A fighting crusader has happily found, in this value, two sympathetic and sincere editors.

Armistead M. Dobie.

Charlottesville, Virginia

The Building and the Builders of a City: High Point, North Carolina. Compiled by F. J. Sizemore, Executive Secretary, High Point Chamber of Commerce. (High Point: Hall Printing Company. 1947. Pp. vi, 329. Free distribution.)

This book is made up of a random selection of items from the history of the High Point area since its beginning as a white settlement in the late colonial period. The first historical records are to be found in the reports of Baptist and Quaker meetings shortly after 1750. There are numerous family names and highly suggestive incidents in the era of handicraft manufacturing. Both the name and the town of High Point are described as

originating in its selection as a way station of the North Carolina Railroad. The whole work constitutes an interesting picture of a transition over a century and a half from an agrarian economy to an industralized urban life.

One cannot but doubt, however, the validity of the compiler's feeling "that the publication contains much valuable and interesting data which can be used in the writing of a real history of High Point." The work is so loaded with names and trite materials that little room is left for "valuable and interesting data." A two-page table of contents partially atones for the lack of an index. Many of the items are personal accounts with no indication of the sources on which they were originally based. The most valuable materials in the book are the excerpts from public records and from *The High Point Enterprise,* especially the Golden Anniversary issue of January 20, 1935. The prospective author can by reading this book gain some idea of the nature of these sources, but he will hardly find the excerpts here given already fitted to his needs.

The Building and the Builders of a City is certainly not history: it is doubtful whether it can be used directly as source material for writing history. It contains some passages of undoubted local interest and others that cast fitful rays into a relatively dark area of history. Its very faults demonstrate that trained historians would do well to write more local history and criticize the efforts of amateurs less than has been the custom recently. For the past half century most of the basic research in state and local history has been done by the apprentices in the craft whose very success has meant their promotion to other types of work. As a result, American history is in grave danger of losing that vitality imparted to it by a former generation of masters who continued local research as an integral part of their mature scholarship. Viewed in this light, this book becomes a challenge to every competent historian who has a few hours per week that might be turned to account in collecting and editing local materials.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, N. C.

Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which it Grew. By George MacClaren Brydon. (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Historical Society. 1947. Pp. xxii, 571. $7.50.)

According to a statement in the preface this volume tells the story of the Anglican Church in Virginia for the years 1607 to 1727, the first period; it is to be followed by a second volume for the second period, 1727 to 1814. Possibly a third volume for the third period, that since 1814, is in contemplation, but it is not definitely promised.

The present volume, though only one-third of the whole, is monumental—monumental in the number and size of its pages, printed normally in eight-point, with quotations and notes in smaller types, all well documented and indicating a prodigious amount of labor and pains.

In the preface the author indicates that *Virginia's Mother Church* is to have encomiastic qualities. He charges that Hawks and Meade, the first "accredited historians of the Episcopal Church in the United States, having only a very limited amount of records to guide them," did not hestitate to present the darkest possible view of moral and religious conditions in Virginia, and in support of their "opinions" had misinterpreted their records. Later historians of the Church had followed Hawks and Meade, and what was worse, they had been the dupes of denominational historians, accepting their darkening and sometimes imaginary stories of the church as "gospel truth." "Surely, it is desirable," says he, "for the reputation of Virginia and her Mother Church . . . that a history of religion in the colony should be written." For more than twenty years the author had been obsessed with such views, and had expressed them in his introduction to Goodwin's *The Colonial Church in Virginia.* Here at last is the desired "trustworthy" history, one in which proper care is taken of "the reputation of Virginia and her Mother Church," Such is the reviewer's inference.

Very regrettably Dr. Brydon has sought to recommend his own work by speaking disparagingly of that of Dr. Francis Hawks, whose readers and admirers, among whom are many able and respected historical writers, have firm confidence in his honesty, and have often praised him because he recognized that "the soul of history is *Truth,*" and among the first of our American his-

torians based his various histories on documents he himself had discovered after much industrious research. They have also obesrved Dr. Hawks' passionate love for his Church, and that, while he does not attempt to conceal the fact that it suffered much from unworthy ministers, he presents it as superior to all the evils that beset it and as having the promise of potency of its later triumphant career. Doubtless many discriminating members of that great Church have come to a higher appreciation of it from reading the sober and judicious narrative of Hawks than the work under review with its many highly partisan statements can possible give them.

After reading the author's preface one is not surprised to find that he has taken much care that his volume shall contain nothing, or as little as possible, that is discreditable to the Mother Church. Though he is undertaking to write "an exhaustive history," he makes no use of the writings of those whom he "mislikes or slights." He does not once refer to the histories of Hawks, and to Meade only in a footnote. A good example of his method is seen in his treatment of the subject of Quakers. Seeking to show that the Quakers received proper treatment in the Virginia of 1660 he freely uses the *Journal* of Thomas Story, an English Quaker who makes record of his kind entertainment by the governor and other prominent Virginians, but fails to mention the journals of George Fox and William Edmundson and Bishop's *New England Judged*, in all of which there is much about the Quakers of Virginia, while in the last named are accounts of the persecutions of Quakers, including the story of the barbarous whipping by public officers of "two respectable Quaker women, refugees from persecution in Massachusetts." Brydon says nothing of this, although account is taken of it not only by Hawks but also by P. A. Bruce in his *Institutional History of Virginia*, a work known to Dr. Brydon and highly praised by him, making it almost certain that while he knew the story of the whipping he omitted it. One has only to read and compare the accounts of the Quakers as given by Bruce and Brydon to be convinced of how partial is that of the latter.

Seemingly intent on showing that the Quakers deserved any harsh treatment they received in Virginia during the days of Governor Spotswood, the author rehearses the governor's dis-

credited stories of the great wickedness of the North Carolina Quakers in the Tuscarora War but makes no mention of the fact that the contemporary Governor Eden of North Carolina speaks of the loyalty and helpfulness of the Quakers in the war. This is told in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* a series which possibly Dr. Brydon did not consult.

Often in the course of his narrative the author has found it necessary to tell of an incident in which Virginia and her Church are seen in a sorry light. Then he has been ready with words of interpretation, extenuation, inference, deduction, and opinion. Very frequently his statements are introduced by such expressions as "one must infer," "this would seem," "the strong presumption is," "it is quite easy to understand," "quite possibly," and "one can imagine." At times also he writes at length to sustain his view that while the measures resorted to against Quakers, Puritans, and Cromwellites were severe, they were necessary if the cause of true religion was not to suffer harm. Virginia and her Church were always justified.

To read *Virginia's Mother Church,* however, is to recognize the work's immense value. It is the result of more than twenty years of devoted labor by an able, interested, zealous, and indefatigable scholar and historian. It makes available to the general reader in well ordered chapters and in an easily read narrative great treasures of information, some of it old, but much of it new and gathered by painstaking research through a prodigious number of documents never before used for such a purpose. The author is to be much praised for making his work a narrative of both the political and the religious, for the two are inseparable in real life and this close relationship should be regarded by writers of history.

In the volume there are twenty-two chapters. In the first nine is told the story of "Church and State under the Virginia Company, 1607-1624." All chapters are interesting, but perhaps the most interesting are those which tell of the spread of the settlements through the burroughs and plantations and the organization of the parishes. The thirteen remaining chapters tell of "The Church under the Stuarts." Among the most interesting of these are the two chapters on "James Blair, Commissary," in the first of which Blair's work in organizing William and Mary

College is told. The least interesting of all is the chapter on "Colonel Spotswood's Plan and Failure." The appendices are largely devoted to the various laws, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, of the period, and to rare documents relating to the life of the Church. The notes which are printed at the close of each chapter and the appendices have great historical interest.

George W. Paschal.

Wake Forest, N. C.

Hugh Davis and his Alabama Plantation. By Weymouth T. Jordan. (University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press. 1948. Pp. 177. $3.00.)

When the late U. B. Phillips completed his excellent studies of slavery and the plantation economy of the ante-bellum South, he fully realized that he was attempting a synthesis before the preliminary monographs had been written. Since then, a number of students of the ante-bellum South, utilizing a wealth of planters' diaries, papers, and plantation journals—sources that Phillips exploited to the limited extent that they were then available—have produced excellent monographs on slavery in several southern states and case studies of various plantations. To the growing list of such titles, Weymouth T. Jordan of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute now adds this study of a cotton planter of Perry County, Alabama, and his plantation, Beaver Bend, in the years 1848-1901.

Although the coverage extends from 1848 to 1901, the major portion of the contents treats the period 1848-1862 when Beaver Bend was under the active direction of Hugh Davis. The eight chapters include accounts of the rise of the plantation economy in the Alabama black-belt in the years following the War of 1812, plantation management, the overseer, the purchase and care of slaves, the management and work of slaves, the purchase of supplies and subsistence farming, production and sale of cotton, and the vicissitudes of Beaver Bend in the post-Civil War years and its final loss by the Davis family.

Using to good advantage the vast amount of material in the Davis papers and farm journals, the author writes interestingly, if at times in too much unnecessary detail, of Davis's operation of Beaver Bend in the 1850's. Particularly good is the treatment

of Davis's farming methods and his management of his Negro slaves. In most instances Jordan wisely does not generalize on the basis of Davis's experiences but on page 51 he makes the highly debatable point that "all in all, the position of the southern overseer was desirable neither from a social nor an economic standpoint." While perhaps true so far as social status is concerned, there is much evidence to indicate that the overseer's economic status in some parts of the South was relatively good. This reviewer was disappointed at the almost complete absence of information on two topics, the cost of producing cotton and the social and political life of Davis and his family. If, however, the sources provided no data on these subjects the author is not to be held accountable for their omission. Jordan's study is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on the plantation economy of the ante-bellum South. The book contains a useful bibliography and index.

J. Carlyle Sitterson.

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

Teaching Local History in Today's World. By George L. Oeste, editor. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Middle States Council for the Social Studies. 1948. Pp. x, 98. $1.00.)

By use of a good title, *Teaching Local History in Today's World,* the Middle States Council for the Social Studies has prepared a pertinent publication designed to increase interest in local history without prejudice to the need for an understanding of national and world affairs. A compilation of excellent papers by historians experienced in teaching local history and government, the bulletin presents concrete suggestions for applying the techniques of local research and study.

Without controversy, the writers support the contention that the logical sequence in social education demands that a student should *first learn and best learn* those factors and conditions prevalent in his immediate environment. Such reasoning adheres to that popular belief in educational psychology that people find satisfaction in studying whatever is emotionally near to them. In a similar view, the writers of these stimulating papers ad-

vance the notion that if a student is given the opportunity to study local history and attack local problems, he simultaneously gains a functional role in studying and solving national and world affairs.

In addition to protecting their interests in local history, the authors are very liberal in describing actual projects and units which have been undertaken in surveying community and state history in several of the eastern states. Particular emphasis is given to the possibilities of the Junior Historian Movement as an agency fully capable of creating within youth the desire to discover and preserve choice bits of local heritage.

In scope, the publication contains materials of interest to teachers and students at all levels—elementary, secondary, and college. Likewise, it treats local history as an inclusive area with political, social, technological, and economic implications.

Of special interest to North Carolina readers is the attention devoted to resource-use education. One chapter treats community relationships and proposes the process for identifying and using local resources with the ultimate objective of improving the quality of living in the community.

J. E. Miller.

State Department of Public Instruction,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Vol. XIII, The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1806. Edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1948. Pp. xi, 641. Preface, symbols, index. $3.50.)

With the appearance of volume XIII, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1806*, the State Department resumes publication of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, after the war-imposed curtailment of the enormous and historically significant project.

The series was conceived in 1931 when Dr. Clarence E. Carter was appointed editor of *The Territorial Papers*, and the first volume appeared three years later. Prior to the stopping of publication owing to the war, twelve volumes had appeared, covering the Old Northwest, the Southwest, Mississippi, Indiana, Orleans, and Michigan territories. The present volume, the first of three

which will contain selections of important documents pertaining to the Territory of Louisiana-Missouri from 1803 to 1821, covers the period from 1803 to 1806.

Volume XIII opens with the acquisition of the territory in 1803 and the subsequent transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States. There is a heavy proportion of the materials which pertain to the administration of the first territorial governor, General James Wilkinson, and the selection is justified because for the first and only time in American territorial history the civil and military administration was united in one administrator. The policy failed and its failure was evident before the removal of Wilkinson as governor.

The scope of the documents is wide and varied, as were the problems of a huge territory and its citizens. There are problems concerning land (perhaps the most important problem the Federal government had to deal with), relations with the new Americans, establishment and maintenance of custom houses, military posts, Indian agencies, roads, post offices, courts, and a workable financial system. The citizens of the territory, extremely varied in their nationalistic and economic backgrounds, constantly petitioned Congress, it was impossible to please them, and Congress constantly replied to their complaints, initiated relief, redressed grievances, and calmed those who were desirous of holding office.

The present volume maintains the same high standard of selection, editing, and general scholarship set by earlier volumes of the series. It is a worthy addition to one of the most important and significant publication projects in American historiography.

Edwin Adams Davis.

Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge, La.

The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848. By Charles S. Sydnor. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. 400. $5.00.)

Professor Sydnor's book is volume V of *The History Of The South* being published under the sponsorship of Louisiana State University and the Trustees of the Littlefield Fund for Southern History at the University of Texas. It deals with the years when

"Cotton Kingdom" was rising to dominance in the South, and when sectional consciousness was developing under prosperity and outside criticism. The book, of necessity, falls into two distinct parts. The first is largely descriptive and is an effort to depict the "internal life of the section in all its complex manifestations." The second division deals with the relations of the South to the rest of the nation.

The picture of the South that emerges from Sydnor's pages is balanced and fair, even though not exactly flattering. Farmer as well as planter receives his dues and the efforts to improve methods in agriculture are well described. The towns with their merchants, artisans, and professional groups are not neglected as is so often the case. The vexing problem of internal improvements is treated largely as a taxation problem with emphasis placed primarily on the difficulty of securing adequate transportation facilities where state appropriations were small and opposition to federal action strong. Backwardness along industrial lines and the hampering effects of slavery are admitted but attention is also directed to the efforts to diversify the economic effort. The financial story of the Lower South, on the other hand, would be much more satisfactory if understood as a normal western expression rather than a strictly southern one, and the whole story of southern marketing and the growing dependence on northern credit needs elaboration.

One of the best sections of the book is that dealing with local government. The spread of the county system from Virginia to the wider South is held responsibile for a situation in which the few at the top of the social-economic ladder ruled and extended their power upward into state and nation. It produced a real aristocracy, but it also led to a genuine democratic upsurge which rewrote constitution after constitution, broadened the franchise, and corrected evils in representation. That in turn must have had something to do with the wider drive for social reform in education, treatment of prisoners and the insane, and the ending of imprisonment for debt.

Sydnor's handling of social and cultural affairs is thoroughly orthodox. Elementary education was backward; colleges were somewhat better. The evangelical sects were strong; literary efforts were limited and soon turned definitely along regional

lines. Slavery was early under something of a cloud but was accepted and defended with ardor as cotton spread and profits rose.

The second part of Sydnor's volume, dealing with national relationships, begins with the panic of 1819 and runs through the Mexican War. The panic seems to have created in the South much distrust of Yankee ways and to have united the South and West against the National Bank. It formed the setting for the Missouri struggle in which slavery was attacked and Southern fears aroused. Some men thought that "behind the specious mask of humanity" there lay "some sinister design—inimical to the interests of the Southern states." Many saw it as a move to check the influence of the South in national affairs. It began the drawing of a line between the slave and free states which widened as John Marshall's decisions increased the central government's power and protective tariffs strengthened northern economy. John Taylor, and then John C. Calhoun, led the southern opposition and began to stress state rights as a remedy. The nullification controversy widened the gap, sharpened the weapons, but failed to produce complete southern unity. That came only when the attack on slavery began to broaden into an attack on the South as a section. Then came the full defense of slavery and the foolish belief that the Constitution alone could protect established interests.

The "vicissitudes of an agricultural economy," which included both "hard times" and a rapid falling behind the North in growth and prosperity, in urban development, and in railroad building, added the final push. The South went definitely onto the defensive and developed that strange complex which "inferiors" are wont to reveal of creating a false notion of superiority to hide an unacceptable truth.

This reviewer would put far less stress on the part which the events through nullification played in producing southern consciousness than has the author and much more on those occurring after 1840. The early events did reveal certain differences between interests and values in specific cases and places, but they did not stir the section as a whole either to consciousness or to unity. Furthermore, he is not so certain that "the affirmation of perfection" was the simple product of a realization of inferi-

ority. Few Americans anywhere felt that. It seems more reasonable to believe that southerners, seeing the confusion and lack of stability in northern life as it moved into the modern pattern, actually thought it inferior. The North under the industrial revolution had every reason to question all inherited social-economic relationships, while the South with a persisting agricultural life would most certainly hold to old values with honest conviction and certainty.

Avery Craven.

The University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.

Conservatism in Early American History. By Leonard Woods Labaree. (New York: New York University Press. 1948. Pp. 182. $3.75.)

"Conservatism," writes Professor Labree in his introduction to this volume of six lectures delivered at New York University in the spring of 1947, "is an attitude of mind that tends to promote resistance to change. It is not an absolute but a variable." He then proceeds to investigate the influences, so far as they can be historically studied, which, in his judgment, combined to form the conservative mind in America in the hundred years preceding the American Revolution. He finds them to be, in brief, high social position with commensurate political importance, wealth either in land or gained in trade, membership in a church which taught respect for tradition and authority as a moral duty, an education based upon traditional subjects and methods, and a belief in the British constitution as a perfect blending of the "monarchial, aristocratical and democratical forms of government." The presentation of the details of this social, economic, religious, and intellectual climate of eighteenth-century America, in so far as it tended to favor the development of a conservative point of view, is an enlightening counter-balance to the more usual emphasis upon the great social changes that characterized that century. The new, radically different, and dramatic changes have always attracted attention. Yet the continuity and stability in our civilization have been chiefly maintained by the conservatives and not by the radicals. Profes-

sor Labaree performs a great service in calling attention to this side of American history.

The author's specific aim in his final lecture is to explain the loyalists. On the whole, he presents them in a less attractive light than that which has been customary with the historical revisionists. Their background of interests and training only partly explains them. They were men who were naturally disposed to dislike change, they were cautious, slow to make up their minds, and pessimistic as to value of anything new. Professor Labaree, even while meeting his scholarly standard of keeping the historian's even balance, gives strong support, particularly in his concluding pages, to the thesis, too long the exclusive property of the super-patriot, who has maintained it belligerently, unintelligently, and without comprehension, that Americans need not apologize for the American Revolution.

In covering so long a period, and in dealing with so complicated a subject, no two persons would select the same details nor give the same emphasis to the factors selected. This reviewer would be grateful if Professor Labaree had developed in greater detail the connection, if any, between the opposition in New England to the "enthusiasm" of the Great Awakening and the conservatism characteristic of the loyalists. He wonders whether or not in matters of new scientific interests and of up-to-date (for the eighteenth century) educational training, conservatives of the loyalist brand were less advanced than the leaders on the American side. And he would have particularly enjoyed (as undoubtedly Professor Labaree's listeners would have, had time permitted) an additional lecture on the conservatives on the American side of the Revolution, men like James Bowdoin in Massachusetts, and their counterparts elsewhere, the men who gave the strength of stability and purpose and respectability to the colonial cause. Would the men of this type have been satisfied if the British social and political system had been flexible enough to give them room for office-holding and advancement? Was the suggestion made by an Englishman during the Revolution that one way of appeasing American leaders was to give them titles of nobility an utterly ridiculous thought? With more time and space, perhaps the lecturer might have developed the

external influences which forced peaceful, slow-thinking, conservatives—possibly the majority of Americans—finally to take a stand, some on one side, some on the other.

The volume is a suggestive study, clearly presented, on an important theme.

Robert E. Moody.

Boston University,
Boston, Mass.

The Great Rehearsal. The Story of the Making and Ratifying of the Constitution of the United States. By Carl Van Doren. (New York: The Viking Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 336. $3.75.)

"The Great Rehearsal" is an inept title because it is not descriptive of the contents of the book and it subjects the author to the possible charge of utilizing his account of a great event in American history for the propagandist purpose of promoting the United Nations. The Federal Convention, called to propose amendments to the Articles of Confederation, boldly wrote a new constitution creating a federal government with authority and power to deal with federal affairs. "And many citizens of many nations are now convinced that only by some similar alteration of the Charter of the United Nations can the United Nations develop from a league of states into a government capable of securing the peace and welfare of the world." The efforts of the supporters of the Federal Constitution "might be . . . a rehearsal for the federal governments of the future." The parallelism between the United States in 1787 and the United Nations in 1948 is exaggerated. Unlike the nations today, the thirteen American states in 1787 had the common bonds of similar language, religion, culture, moral concepts, and political institutions, the English common law, long experience in allegiance to one government, and experience with the republican form of government on both the state and federal levels.

The story of the Convention and its work covers 175 pages—a space inadequate for the complicated story of the successive stages in the evolution of the Constitution from the Virginia plan. The story deals chiefly with the nationalistic Virginia plan and the "Federal Compromise" between the large and small

states over representation in the bicameral Congress. Like the historians of the nineteenth century the author makes a whipping-boy of the Articles of Confederation instead of representing it as the first constitution of the United States, more significant for its strength and constructive record than for its defects and failures. The emphasis is upon personalities, particularly Washington and Franklin, though neither played a major role in the framing of the Constitution, rather than upon forces and conditions which help explain the movement for the Convention as well as the work of the Convention and the contest over ratification. Inadequate treatment is given to the important work of the Convention during the latter half of its session; to its revolutionary, extra-legal decisions; to the classes, interests, and areas which were not well represented; to the highly significant political and economic provisions upon which the conservative, aristocratic, well-to-do delegates were in harmony and agreement; and to the conflicts between northern and southern states, between the radical and conservative points of view respecting government and economics, and between the champions of local self-government and of nationalism.

The state ratification contests are hurriedly sketched in sixty-three pages with chief emphasis upon the Federalist side of the controversy and upon the contests in Pennsylvania, Massachusettts, South Carolina, and Virginia. By presenting the Federalists and their arguments in a highly favorable light and by failing to state adequately the case for the Anti-Federalists and using derogatory adjectives in describing them and their arguments, the author reveals a Federalist bias. It has long been established that neither side had a monopoly on virtue, education, intelligence, and patriotism. The political, social, economic and geographic cleavages produced by the ratification contest are not adequately analyzed. Impressed by the widely published discussions, the author concludes that "To live in that year was to get a political education." If so, why did only about 160,000 in a population of about 4,000,000 show sufficient interest to vote in the elections of delegates to the state ratifying conventions?

A final chapter of thirteen pages describing the Federalist processions and celebrations in Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New York has no substantial value or significance.

The work has no footnotes or bibliography, but frequent quotations indicate that it is based largely on the primary sources of the federal and state ratifying conventions. Most of the pertinent monographs are listed in "Sources and Acknowledgements" but the author does not accept the reinterpretation made by scholars during the past half-century. He asserts that the economic interpretation made by Charles A. Beard in 1913 "has since been overemphasized" and refers to some of the historians who have with great industry and realism presented new facts about forces and events which have somewhat modified the eulogistic, uncritical, hero-worshipping story of early lay historians as "Some later enemies or censurers of the Constitution."

The Federal Constitution has by evolution become an instrument of democratic government but the author seems to think it was conceived and written in the spirit of democracy. "The masters of the Convention had put their faith in the people and the people had justified it." It is difficult to reconcile this conclusion with the frequently expressed distrust of the people by the framers with their deliberate effort to plan a government which would be difficult for the mass of people to control, and with the meager popular vote for delegates favoring ratification.

The Great Rehearsal makes no scholarly contribution to the subject and the author does not add to his already respectable stature as a historian. The work in fact represents a reactionary swing toward the picture drawn by John Fiske in 1888 which has long since been seriously modified by the well-established findings of McLaughlin, Libby, Farrand, Beard, Nevins, Burnett, and Jensen.

But *The Great Rehearsal* was written for the general public rather than for historians, and as a Book-of-the-Month-Club selection it will reach a large reading public which, if not excited by following the serious arguments of the leaders, often expressed in their own words, will be pleased with the author's style, emphases, and interpretations which reinforce the deep reverence of the public for the fathers and their work, the Constitution of the United States.

A. R. Newsome.

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

The Papacy and European Diplomacy, 1869-1878. By Lillian Parker Wallace. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 349. $6.00.)

No history of nineteenth-century Europe which fails to take into consideration the important role played by the Papacy can be said to have grasped the significance of that fateful era. The author of this volume, in reflecting upon the dearth of books in English on the effects of papal dipolmacy, suggests that the highly controversial nature of the issues, as between Catholics and Protestants, has rendered this task a most difficult one. She regards her own contribution, therefore, as a distinct service insofar as it is a "simple recounting of facts."

The reviewer of such a book finds himself caught up into controversy in appraising not only the inevitable interpretation of facts as presented, but also the "weights" which are assigned to the facts. By far and large, however, this volume presents a fair and penetrating insight into the outstanding problems of the Papacy in the nineteenth century. If issue may be taken with the "weighting" of certain facts, the reason can easily be found in the controversial elements which not even the most impartial historian can avoid.

Following an introduction to the "Roman Question" and the attitude of Pope Pius IX towards Liberalism, the author proceeds to divide her material into nine chapters, as follows: I. The Triple Alliance, II. The Vatican Council, III. The Definition of Infallibility, IV. The Occupation of Rome, V. After the Council, VI. The Kulturkampf, VII. The Kulturkampf and International Affairs, VIII. Franco-Italian Relations, IX. The Last Days of Pius IX. A non-critical bibliography of primary sources and secondary works is added, with an index.

The two basic issues involving the Church, in which Pius IX was the chief protagonist during the entire period under discussion, were the temporal power of the Pope, in the matter of the Papal States, and the infallibility of the Pope, on the spiritual side, in matters of faith and morals. The first question was resolved in the breaching of the walls of Rome by the troops of Garibaldi; the second was settled in the definition by the Vatican Council. It is of supreme importance to note that the fall of Rome and the loss of the Papal States by the head of the Church

did not occur until the Vatican Council had determined upon the *Pastor Aeternus,* decree of personal infallibility of the Pope.

The author of this volume observes that the suspension of the Council, rendered necessary by the seizure of Rome, "meant that the minority bishops would have no opportunity to reopen the question of Infallibility nor to modify it. Their fight was definitely lost." Had the sequence of events been otherwise, however, it is probable that there would have been no Vatican Council. The prestige of the Papacy and indeed the solidarity of the Catholic Church today might have been much different.

The discussion of the process by which Infallibility was finally defined and decreed appears to this reviewer to be definitely weighted by the author's personal view of the doctrine. A full review is given to the activities and statements of the bishops, including Kenrick of St. Louis, who were opposed to the issuance of the decree, either because they were not in preliminary accord or because they felt the moment inopportune. The active proponents of the decree, on the other hand, are represented as rather shadowy puppets of the Pope exercising a devious strategy which somehow never reaches the light of day. In particular, the Jesuits are repeatedly represented as exercising a nefarious influence over the Pope. But documentation for this side is singularly lacking and unsatisfactory.

An overweighting of French Catholic sentiment for the restoration of the Temporal Power as a disturbing influence in the relations between France and Bismark may also be noted. Certainly the determination of the latter to build a strong, united Germany and to secure and retain Alsace-Lorraine was an equal, if not far greater, factor in the struggle between the two countries, further complicated by the vacillating policies of Napoleon III. This same sentiment is represented as having boomeranged against the Church within France by the anti-clerical laws of the Republic. But the emergence of anti-religious intellectualism, already deeply rooted in the country, and the political ineptitude of Napoleon III must not be discounted in this process.

Clericalism and "ultramontanism," which are frequently mentioned, but without a clear-cut definition, are likewise named as principal reasons for the Kulturkampf. "The desire on the part

of the German Catholics to intervene on behalf of the Pope to regain his lost possessions and the refusal of the German government to do so," it is stated, "created the Center party, and it was against the Center party that the Kulturkampf was originally waged." On the other hand, it is alleged that with the disappearance of the danger of a monarchist restoration in France, and with it clericalism, "one of Bismark's chief reasons for persistence in the Kulturkampf was thus rapidly ceasing to exist." The courageous resistance of the German bishops and Catholic laity, as well as international distaste for the whole dismal business, must also be given due credit for the failure of a "culture war" which Hitler tried to revive and for much the same real reasons as Bismark entertained.

With acute observation, the author asks "May not Pius IX, who certainly regarded himself as God's Vicar on earth, have been fighting against a force which would smother and stifle the spiritual independence of the Sovereign Pontiff?" The answer to that question, quite apart from the details of judgment exercised by the Pope in an era devoted to the worship of nationalism and natural science, holds the key, not only to the nineteeth century but also to the twentieth. In the undertones of this thought, and not merely in the simple recounting, and sometimes bunching, of facts, this book does credit to the scholarship of the author and recommends this book to every student of the nineteenth century.

James A. Magner.

The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* may be procured from the State Department of Archives and History at 50 cents per copy or $2 per volume, by writing Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Division of Publications, Box 1881, Raleigh, N. C. A limited number of complete files of the publication is still available.

Dr. John Tate Lanning of Duke University is on sabbatical leave to do research in the Spanish Archives. Dr. Lanning, who has completed the preliminary drafts on two books on the intellectual history of Spain in America, will give special attention to the Spanish Empire in America prior to the nineteenth century.

Mr. Marvin R. Farley of Eatonton, Georgia, has become an instructor in history at Western Carolina Teachers College. Mr. Farley holds the master's degree for the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Irby C. Nichols, Jr., of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, has become an instructor in history and political science at Catawba College. Mr. Nichols is filling the vacancy created by the resignation of Mr. F. K. Howard who resigned to rejoin the United States Army.

Mr. W. M. Brown has become a member of the staff of the Department of History, Elon College. Mr. Brown, formerly a member of the faculty of Washington and Lee University and the founder of Atlantic University, is filling the position left vacant by the resignation of Mr. C. W. Paskins.

World History, a high school text book by Doctor W. E. Caldwell and Mr. E. H. Merrill of the University of North Carolina, has just been published by Benjamin H. Sanborn and Company. The price is $3.95.

Dr. Joseph J. Mathews, professor of History at Emory University, will be visiting professor at the University of North Carolina during the first session of summer school.

Dr. Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina is on leave of absence for the winter quarter. He is visiting professor of history at Stanford University.

Mr. Horace W. Raper of the University of North Carolina has accepted a position as assistant professor of history at East Kentucky State Teachers College, Richmond, Kentucky.

The following members of the History Department of the University of North Carolina attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Washington, D. C. in December: Professors H. A. Bierck, Jr., W. E. Caldwell, James L. Godfred, Cecil Johnson, J. E. King, H. T. Lefler, A. R. Newsome, and C. H. Pegg.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Washington, D. C. in December.

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College appeared on the program of the American Historical Association held in Washington, D. C. in December. The subject of her paper was "The Whigs and the Liberal Pope, 1846-1850."

Dr. Richard Bardolph, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, is writing a series of articles on the agricultural revolution in the Middle West and is using Illinois as a case study. These articles will appear under the general title of "Illinois Agriculture in Transition, 1820-1870." Two have already appeared in *The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XLI, nos 3 and 4 (September and December, 1948).

Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History on February 19 talked to the Bloomsbury chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution on the early settlement and history of North Carolina.

A memorial honoring James B. White was unveiled on February 23 on the courthouse square at Whiteville. White was the co-founder of Columbus County and Whiteville was named in his honor. Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History and State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, presented the memorial which was accepted by Mr. Arthur W. Williamson, chairman of the board of county commissioners, on behalf of the county.

The late Richard R. Saunders of Reidsville wrote a history of the First Baptist Church of Reidsville entitled "Open Doors and Closed Windows," which has just been released. This book is illustrated with colored plates, photographs, and sketches, and contains 308 pages. It was printed by Seeman Printery, Inc., Durham, N. C.

Dr. Percy Powell of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress was awarded the Lincoln Diploma of Honor for the year 1948 by the Lincoln Memorial University. Dr. Powell graduated from the University of North Carolina and has been with the Library of Congress for many years. This diploma was awarded in recognition of work with the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the papers of Abraham Lincoln.

Dr. Karl Bode, professor of English at the University of Maryland, is writing a book entitled *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind.* Dr. Bode's study will include the cultural history and literary aspects of the lecture system in the United States, 1830-1860. Any person having information concerning the existence in his locality of a lyceum should communicate with Dr. Bode.

Dr. Harry Woodburn Chase of New York University has announced the receipt of a grant of $35,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation for a study of problems dealing with the preservation of business records. The project will be undertaken by the National Records Management Council. The grant, according to Dr. Cochran, president of the National Records Council, will be

used by the Council to provide more effective records management programs in business, to provide experienced counsel and training to that end, and to assist in the establishment of company archives. The council and the business school administration of New York University are offering new courses in records management and archives administration during the spring semester. The staff officers of the program recently appointed are: Dr. Emmett J. Leahy, executive director; Joseph P. Brennen, associate director; and Robert A. Shiff, records management consultant and assistant to the executive director.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians, members of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and interested persons held a joint meeting at Moore's Creek Battle Grounds on February 27. It was the 173rd anniversary of the Moore's Creek Battle in which patriots of the lower Cape Fear Valley defeated the Scotish Highlanders. The whigs were under the command of General Alexander Lillington, for whom the county seat of Harnett County was named. Mr. Clifton L. Moore, Solicitor of the Eighth Judicial District, presided at the meeting. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, head of the State Department of Archives and History, delivered an address, as did Mr. Paul Green of the University of North Carolina, Representative J. V. Whitfield of Pender County, Mr. Malcolm Fowler, president of the Society of County Historians, and Mr. George Patterson, an attorney of Burgaw. Miss Mattie Bloodworth, Pender County historian, was given high praise for her work in discovering and preserving the history of that county.

Miss Laura S. Worth of Asheboro during the first week of March made a display in the courthouse of historical documents and manuscripts illustrating the history of Randolph County. Many school children with their teachers visited these displays and studied them in an effort to become more familiar with the history of their county. March 8 marked the 170 anniversary of the establishment of Randolph County.

The North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution held their State Convention in Asheville March 2. Miss Virginia

Horne of Wadesboro was elected state regent succeeding Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern. Mrs. George Moland of Hendersonville was elected vice-regent and Mrs. Ruth Allen Lyons of Wadesboro was elected corresponding secretary. Mr. Brandon Hodges, state treasurer, made the principal address.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. J. C. Harrington is regional archeologist, National Park Service, involving field work and research at various historic sites including Fort Raleigh and Jamestown. His address is United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Region One, Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. Elisha P. Douglass is a graduate student in history at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Mr. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., is a Waddell Memorial Fellow in history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden is director of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Dr. George W. Paschal is an emeritus professor of Greek at Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

Mr. George Myers Stephens is editor and publisher of *The Southern Packet* and owner of the Stephens Press, Asheville, North Carolina.

Dr. Mary Callum Wiley is a retired teacher of English in the R. J. Reynolds High School. She writes a daily column for the Twin-City Sentinel of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Dr. Alice M. Baldwin is the former dean of the Woman's College and professor of history at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

Dr. Douglas L. Rights is pastor of the Moravian Church, Winston-Salem, and president of the Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton is in charge of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.