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AS THE TWIG IS BENT: THE FAMILY AND THE NORTH CAROLINA YEARS OF THOMAS HART BENTON, 1752-1801

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I

For the nearly forty years of his national political career, the name of Senator Thomas Hart Benton (1782-1858) was famous among Americans. His contemporaries thought him the peer of Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster,¹ and he commanded more admiration than a number of Presidents. Before he died, he wrote two bulky volumes about his work and his times. The national Democratic newspaper of his day said in an obituary that his doings were as familiar to the country as household words.² He deserved renown, and he had it.

Yet his origins were little known to his contemporaries, and they are less known today. He was born in central North Carolina—but what sort of people were his parents? What was their status in the community, and how did this influence the growing boy? What sort of up-bringing did he receive? What significant events marked his formative years? All these early influences which go so far to make a man have remained obscure, and his biographers have done little to clarify matters. They have either romanticized his early life, have so mixed fact and legend as to make the pattern unintelligible, or have glossed over it.³

¹ Compare W. V. N. Bay, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1878), 3-4; John Wentworth, *Congressional Reminiscences, Adams, Benton, Calhoun, Clay and Webster* (Chicago, 1882), 16; Daniel M. Grissom, "Personal Recollections of Distinguished Missourians," *Missouri Historical Review*, XVIII (January, 1924), 129.

² *Washington Daily Union*, April 11, 1858.

³ Theodore Roosevelt, *Thomas H. Benton* (Boston, 1899); William M. Meigs, *Life of Thomas Hart Benton* (Philadelphia, 1904); Joseph M. Rogers, *Thomas Hart Benton* (Philadelphia, 1905).

II

The cobblestones with which Lord Cornwallis had paved the muddy streets of Hillsborough, North Carolina, had been there less than a year when Thomas Hart Benton was born near that village. It was March 14, 1782,⁴ and there was already a dash of spring in the Piedmont air. The boy's parents were Jesse Benton, lawyer, and his Virginia-born wife, Ann Gooch Benton, whose husband always called her Nancy. The black-shocked, lusty infant with the over-sized head was the Bentons' third child.⁵ But he was the first son and his mother's favorite from the moment of his birth up to her death.

The house in which young Thomas was born lay on the right bank of the Eno River about three miles west of Hillsborough. Here the Bentons had a little plantation, 174 acres,⁶ which rose from the rushing, rock-choked stream and merged into the dark mass of the woods.⁷ All around were the undulating hills which marked the beginning of the Piedmont, and far to the west beyond the Occoneechee Mountains lay the great Blue Ridge itself. The Eno ran through a pleasant, fertile valley then, with great trees overhanging the stream and rhododendron dotting the landscape with pink and white flowers.⁸ The land was a rich red clay, with black soil in the bottoms.

The village itself was nearly thirty years old when Thomas was born. It was a thriving spot, which was the commercial center of the central region—named by Governor William Tryon after the Earl of Hillsborough. There were about 300 men, women, and children there, nearly a quarter of them Negro slaves.⁹ By Revolutionary times, it was the southwestern terminus of the long road that ran down from Boston, through Baltimore and Richmond.¹⁰

⁴ Thomas H. Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," in *Thirty Years View, or, A History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850* (New York, 1883), I, p. i.

⁵ Compare Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, April 3, 1786, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress, Washington.

⁶ Compare An Inventory of the Estate of Jesse Benton for the Year 1781, in Jesse Benton Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. In this document, the plot on the Eno is given a greater value—£1218—than other larger holdings, which suggests that it was improved, and thus the family homestead. Local tradition around Hillsboro, as outlined to me by Mr. E. M. Lynch, clerk of the superior court, also assigns this spot as the Thomas H. Benton birthplace. It seems unlikely that the Bentons owned or lived at Hart's Mill, across the river, earlier than the end of 1782 or the first part of 1783.

⁷ Alfred Waddell Moore, *Some Memories of My Life* (Raleigh, 1908), 8.

⁸ Francis Nash, *Hillsboro: Colonial and Revolutionary* (Raleigh, 1903), 5-6.

⁹ Nash, *Hillsboro*, 89.

¹⁰ James Truslow Adams, ed., *Atlas of American History* (New York, 1943), plate 55.

It was wonderful country, the North Carolina Piedmont, and the infant Benton "belonged" in it. His very name bespoke his roots in the life and tradition of the middle section. He was christened by his Episcopalian parents¹¹ after a leader in the community, his uncle Colonel Thomas Hart, gentleman, land speculator, and his mother's guardian and protector since her girlhood.¹² In addition his direct ancestors were prominent men in the central region, and the boy grew into manhood with the consciousness that his grandfather and his father too were men of mark in their own community.¹³

The grandfather, Samuel Benton, Esquire, had been an early settler in the Piedmont. He came, not up from the rich Tidewater plantation country to the east, but down from Virginia to the north, part of the current of vigorous English and Scotch-Irish settlers that swept into the province in the middle 1700s.¹⁴ He had the touch of Midas in him, and he worked steadily at the business of establishing a fortune and status for himself and his family.

By 1752 Samuel gloried in the office of justice of the peace for Granville County.¹⁵ This was an important post in a huge area which covered most of the then-central part of the province of North Carolina. Under the reign of King George the Second, the North Carolina colonial JPs were the little lords of the neighborhood. They not only judged minor cases at law, but they administered the affairs of the county, had a hand in setting tax rates, managed the roads, ferries, and the construction of public buildings, and indirectly dispensed lucrative patronage in the sheriffs' and court offices. A JP's job was a source of profit, and in addition the JPs were at the center of the then-ruling political squirearchy.¹⁶

To be sure, Samuel Benton's career was not an uninterrupted success story. A reappointment as justice in July, 1756, found

¹¹ Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.

¹² Benton, "Autobiographical Sketch," p. i.

¹³ Benton, *Thirty Years View*, I, 57, 77, 98, 118, ff.

¹⁴ Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New* (Chicago, 1941), II, 40.

¹⁵ William K. Boyd, "Some North Carolina Tracts of the Eighteenth Century," *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (January, 1926), 54.

¹⁶ Nannie May Tilley, "Political Disturbances in Colonial Granville County," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (October, 1941), 340, 342.

him in gaol, where he felt it necessary to refuse a job.¹⁷ His offense was, presumably, debt.¹⁸

But this mischance seemed merely to stiffen the man with greater determination, for by 1760 he was restored to his place as a justice of the peace. In addition, he was elected a member of the provincial assembly and was seated—even though that body thought the sheriff of Granville had come close to fraud when he summed up the returns.¹⁹ From that year on it was up, up, up for Samuel. Soon he was both clerk of superior court and register of deeds for Granville County,²⁰ jobs which paid wonderfully well and gave a man opportunities on the side. At the same time, he established himself as a landed gentleman on a large plantation in the western part of the county.²¹

In a few short years, Thomas Benton's grandfather was a powerful factor in the politics of colonial Granville, smiled on by the royal governor, active in the assembly, and boss of the courthouse ring.²²

In the legislature, assemblyman-clerk-register Samuel Benton's activity was largely in his own self-interest. This was nothing unusual, for the colonial legislators generally managed to turn their positions to advantage in land speculations or other business affairs. Samuel's great coup came in 1764, when he brought in a bill to divide Granville County and set up a new county seat in the part in which he lived. With a little log-rolling, he got the measure passed,²³ and a commission established to get the job done, with its head man turning out to be assemblyman Samuel Benton. The commission was given broad authority. It was to receive the proceeds of a special tax and was to contract with workmen to build a courthouse, prison, pillory, and stocks.²⁴ It promptly selected for the new town a plot called Oxford, which happened to belong to Commissioner Samuel Benton. At one neat stroke Samuel inflated the value of his land and assured himself sales to the county and to the horde of tradesmen, law-

¹⁷ William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, V, 591.

¹⁸ Compare George Sims, "An Address to the People of Granville County," June 6, 1765, *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (January, 1926), 62.

¹⁹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 343, 399, 405.

²⁰ Tilley, "Political Disturbances in Colonial Granville County," 342.

²¹ Will of Samuel Benton, February 18, 1770, proved April term, 1770, in Wills, 1746-1771, Granville County, North Carolina, Oxford.

²² Tilley, "Political Disturbances in Colonial Granville County," 353, 357.

²³ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1157-1158.

²⁴ Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXIII, 626, 627.

yers and officials who were bound to settle at the new court town.²⁵

Meanwhile he was making a good thing out of his posts as clerk of superior court and register of deeds. Everyone with legal business had to come to the new courthouse on Samuel Benton's estate, and once there they had to pay Samuel Benton a fee, usually large, to get their work done.²⁶

This sort of thing did not pass without protest. The angry, aggrieved common folk of the back country resented the excessive and irregular fees they were charged by the courthouse rings, they resented the overbearing conduct of the aristocracy of land and political pull, they resented the little deals their betters arranged among themselves. Soon a movement of revenge swept the central counties—"The Regulation."²⁷ Of Samuel Benton's fellow-assemblyman and friend Edmund Fanning of Orange County,²⁸ the Regulators sang—

When Fanning first to Orange came,
Both man and mare warn't worth five pounds,
As I've been often told.
But by his civil robberies
He's laced his coat with gold.

The charges against Thomas's grandfather were more specific. A Regulation spokesman noted that when he was taken out of debtor's prison, "or what was next door to it," and sent to the assembly, he was expected to be "a poor man's Burgess"—but in fact, all his acts there had been "for that dear self of his." As clerk Benton, he was little more than a "pick-pocket." For entering a bond on the "doquet," for "the work of one long minute," he charged whatever fee he pleased. He then added insult by offering the poor man before him a chance to pay by a month's labor on his Oxford plantation! He maneuvered in the assembly, he built the courthouse for Granville, he traded on his offices, all to bring grist to his own mill.²⁹

Before long the enraged Regulators took up clubs, sticks, and guns to enforce their demands for fair play. The new royal

²⁵ Tilley, "Political Disturbances in Colonial Granville County," 350.

²⁶ Sims, "Address to the People of Granville County," 63.

²⁷ Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 207-223.

²⁸ Compare Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 300, 326, 327.

²⁹ Sims, "Address to the People of Granville County," 62-65.

governor, William Tryon, called a council of war at Camp Hillsborough in September, 1768, to "keep the peace"—and among the officers present was one Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Benton. The council soon agreed on a plan. The Regulators must lay down their arms, pay their taxes, and deliver nine of their leaders to be dealt with according to law—whereupon pardon would follow for the rest.³⁰

This settled the matter for the moment³¹ and well-to-do men like Samuel, Edmund Fanning, and the rest could sleep again nights, though they never really rested until six of the Regulator leaders were hanged.

But he was not all land grabber and political jobber, assemblyman-clerk-colonel Samuel Benton Esquire. He had a moral sense, at least when it came to matters like "excessive and Deceitful Gaming," and he introduced a bill in the assembly to prevent such dastardly goings-on.³² And he was not only a man of property, he was a man of culture too. He had a library widely known as one of the best in the whole wide reach of Granville County,³³ and he paid at least a verbal tribute to learning when he named his plantation Oxford.³⁴

This was Thomas Benton's grandfather—"Gent.," a *stupor mundi* of local politics and personal aggrandizement, political boss, conservative, cultured, not too scrupulous, but moral as morality ran in the place and time, and above all able, sure, and successful.

By his wife Frances, Samuel Benton had three sons whom he named Jesse, Samuel Junior, and Augustine. When he died in 1770 he left his wife and his children a considerable estate, making Jesse, as the oldest, executor but leaving the bulk of land and slaves to young Samuel for the family's use. Jesse received a

³⁰ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 842.

³¹ Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 223.

³² Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 817.

³³ Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 522.

³⁴ His neighbors believed that Samuel Benton had been educated at Oxford, England, and certainly the name he gave his plantation lent credence to this idea. (Compare Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 522.) But a careful investigation of the records at Oxford fails to show that any Samuel Benton ever matriculated there, though a Joseph Benton and a Thomas Benton, sons of Samuel Benton of Kings Norton, County Worcester, England, did attend the University about 1720 (letter from William Reaves to writer, Oxford, July 22, 1948). In addition, the University Registry states that no Samuel Benton appears on the Registrar's books (letter from C. H. Paterson, Assistant Registrar, to writer, Oxford University, May 29, 1948). Anyone is welcome to speculate that Samuel of North Carolina was the grandson of Samuel of Kings Norton through either Joseph or Thomas—but it is only a possibility and no more.

special bequest of Samuel's case of pistols and ten pounds to buy a sword.³⁵

Old Samuel Benton had built well, and his family was secure and respected. If his son Jesse was not the father's equal in piling pound on pound, he was still no ne'er-do-well and was perhaps Samuel's superior at the early American game of piling acre on acre.

Shortly after his father's death, Jesse was at Hillsborough in Orange County, where he found a revived Regulator movement haunting the homes of the well-to-do. As a man of property and position, Jesse had no more sympathy with this protesting, democratic movement than his father had had, and he promptly signed up with an opposing group of "Redressors." The Regulation was subversive, according to the Redressors, and showed "a spirit of licentiousness sedition & Riot," abhorrent to all "true & faithful subjects of our Sovereign Lord King George the third." The Redressors included Edmund Fanning of the gold-laced coat, Thomas Hart, Thomas Henderson, and fifty-seven others.³⁶

Still the protestors were not cowed. They had practically taken over the Orange courthouse at the trial of their leaders under Judge Richard Henderson in September, and they had beaten up a number of their favorite enemies in Hillsborough including Thomas Hart.³⁷ No manifesto would subdue them, and they were not finally put down until Governor Tryon brought up troops at Alamance in 1771.³⁸

Though Jesse fought the Regulation, he was not an aggressive man, and he never tried to make as much of a public career as Samuel had done. When his father died, he inherited the post of register for Granville County,³⁹ which he worked for what it was worth at least a few years, while at the same time he managed to handle the clerkship of Surry County.⁴⁰ But he looked to his offices merely for a steady income, and turned in other directions to improve his position and that of his family. He was a lawyer, and an able one who worked steadily at his profession and took pride in it.⁴¹ His great field, though, was

³⁵ Will of Samuel Benton, February 18, 1770, in Wills, Granville County, North Carolina.

³⁶ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 273-274.

³⁷ Nash, *Hillsboro*, 15-16.

³⁸ Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 240-241.

³⁹ Tilley, "Political Disturbances in Colonial Granville County," 352.

⁴⁰ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 298.

⁴¹ Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.

speculating in land, particularly in the far-western part of the province in what later became Tennessee.

His first venture was as a partner in the Transylvania Company. Jesse put in what cash and talents he had, along with the Richard Henderson who had presided at the Regulator trial, Thomas Hart, Charles Robertson, and one Daniel Boone. The Transylvania was one of many land companies that appeared in the wake of colonial rule. These companies were designed to make fortunes for their leaders, but at the same time they played a big part in exploring the West, surveying the unknown Indian country beyond the mountains, and taking colonies of settlers into the new land. If the great patrons were not exactly pioneers themselves, they at least stood behind the "goers" who actually settled beyond the frontier.⁴²

The great exploit of the Transylvania Company was the Watauga Purchase. In 1775 a group including Jesse Benton set out from the Piedmont toward Sycamore Shoals, in the wild mountain country, on a stream whose waters flowed finally into the Tennessee and then down the Mississippi. No adventure-lover, Jesse went out of a determination to provide for his family. In the middle of March the travellers met O-con-os-to-ta, chief warrior and first representative of the Cherokee Nation, and other feathered and painted Indian chiefs. The necessary ceremonies were observed, Jesse Benton read a legal paper to the assembled warriors, and the Carolinians purchased for two thousand pounds, "lawful money of Great Britain," a vast, rich, untouched empire of fertile western land.⁴³ The tract included the whole of the Cumberland River Valley west of Cumberland Gap in what later became Tennessee, and about two-thirds of what became Kentucky.⁴⁴

At the end of 1775, Jesse Benton was in the West again—he had interests on the Green River in Kentucky as well as on the Cumberland.⁴⁵ He went with a company of Transylvanians through the winding narrows of the Cumberland Gap, and up Daniel Boone's Wilderness Road to the outpost of Boone's Station

⁴² Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 254, 270, ff.

⁴³ Indenture of the Watauga Purchase, March 19, 1775, Office of the Register of Washington County, Jonesboro, Tennessee.

⁴⁴ Compare Adams, ed., *Atlas of American History*, plate 60-61.

⁴⁵ Compare Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, June 20, 1784, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

on the Kentucky River. Just before Christmas a party went out to kill turkeys for the next day, but they never returned; the Indians fell upon them and scalped them. After the holiday Jesse Benton was sent out with fifteen men to scour the woods for Indians for thirty miles around.⁴⁶ Though each man was offered a bounty of five pounds for each Indian scalp he brought back, the rangers returned four days later convinced the marauders had run away to the north.⁴⁷

But Jesse preferred his home and his books to wandering in the West. A reserved, scholarly man, he particularly cherished his volumes in Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and English, ranging from Homer through Shakespeare and Cervantes to Madame de Sevigne,⁴⁸ and his library, like his father's, was one of the finest in the Piedmont.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, beginning with news of war at Lexington and Concord, a great revolution began its course through the seaboard colonies. In the wake of these stirring events, Jesse Benton managed to remain comparatively calm. No passion for liberty overwhelmed him when a Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, committee adopted resolutions against royal rule in May, 1775;⁵⁰ and for years Jesse sat the Revolution out, looking after his law business and looking after his land speculations. He was never quite a tory, though his conservative outlook⁵¹ inclined him in that direction.⁵² But he was no flaming patriot either, though his sympathies finally fell with the new American cause.⁵³

While the battle see-sawed in New York, New Jersey, and in the Carolinas, Jesse established his family. Sometime in the 1770s he married his friend Thomas Hart's niece, Ann Gooch of Virginia,⁵⁴ and by the end of the decade the couple had two

⁴⁶ Thomas H. Benton to (—?), Washington, January 9, 1854, Draper Correspondence, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

⁴⁷ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 382, 386.

⁴⁸ Jessie Benton Fremont, "Biographical Sketch of Senator Benton in Connection with Western Expansion," in John Charles Fremont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago, 1887), I, 2, 3.

⁴⁹ Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 573.

⁵⁰ Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, viii-xii, 295-298.

⁵¹ Compare Jessie Benton Fremont, "Senator Thomas H. Benton," in *The Independent*, LV (January 29, 1903), 241.

⁵² Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, March 22, 1783, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵³ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, "Enoe," September 29, 1781, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵⁴ Sarah S. Young, *Genealogical Narrative of the Hart Family in the United States* (Memphis, 1882), 4, 78.

daughters living whom they named Margaret or Peggy and Mary or Polly.⁵⁵

By 1780 it was getting harder and harder for a North Carolinian to stay outside the fight. In a final, doomed attempt to crush the rebellion, the British launched an attack at Charleston, and the fighting ranged north past Cowpens to Guilford Courthouse and into Hillsborough itself.⁵⁶ But when Lord Cornwallis marched into Hillsborough in February, 1781, and paved the streets so his artillery would not bog down,⁵⁷ Jesse Benton's chief concern was for his property. He was lucky enough to save everything from the troops, except 110 gallons of brandy, 60 pounds of brown sugar, and "some Juggs bottles and other Trifles which they plundered."⁵⁸

Finally, however, Thomas Benton's father was drawn into the struggle. He watched with growing concern what was happening, formed his opinions,⁵⁹ and in July, 1781, he was elected to the state assembly.⁶⁰

As an assemblyman, Jesse was one of five members of a committee named to raise a militia to support the patriot army.⁶¹ He served at a time when issues of paper money had created a terrifying inflation. Despite his interest in property values, he was one of a majority to vote against a bill which would have empowered juries to favor or protect creditors against debtors by allowing for depreciation on Continental and state paper and adjusting the amounts of debts accordingly.⁶² For his labors in the July session, at Wake Courthouse, Jesse received £2900—in debased paper currency.⁶³

This one month was the measure of Jesse Benton's service as an assemblyman. It was not a distinguished service, though Jesse worked with and became friendly with a young man named Nathaniel Macon,⁶⁴ who later became North Carolina's most respected statesman.

⁵⁵ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hillsborough, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵⁶ Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 346-467.

⁵⁷ Nash, *Hillsboro*, 50, 66, 83.

⁵⁸ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hillsborough, June 4, 1781, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵⁹ Compare Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, December 23, 1780, August 21, 1781, etc., in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁶⁰ Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 886-887.

⁶¹ Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 883.

⁶² Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 947.

⁶³ Clark, *State Records*, XIX, 392, and compare p. 395.

⁶⁴ Benton, *Thirty Years View*, I, 57.

All this time Jesse had been building his estate. A careful, businesslike man with a flair for detail, and a highly developed sense of property and position,⁶⁵ he could by the spring of 1781 take pride in owning the Eno plantation, valued at £1218, and some 1159 acres in other parts of the state, ten Negro slaves young and old, one black horse and one sorrel gelding, thirty head of cattle, and miscellaneous household property. He valued the whole estate at £9470, specie. But he was, like so many others of his time and place, land- and chattels-rich and money-poor—he could not recollect that he had in April, 1781, any money on hand.⁶⁶

By fall Jesse was finally active against the tories in the Piedmont. Ranging bands had been making life miserable for people from Wilmington to Hillsborough,⁶⁷ plundering property and kidnapping solid citizens who were patriots—and finally something had to be done. In September Jesse was one of a hundred men who went out with his friend, Colonel Thomas Taylor. The volunteers found the tory camp and called on General Butler, who brought his troops to the spot and defeated the tories totally at Linley's Mill.⁶⁸

This was Thomas Benton's father—quiet, conservative, with a strong sense of property, fastidious, cultured, reserved but interested in public affairs, and deeply devoted to his family and their future.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Compare letters of Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, 1780-1790, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁶⁶ An Inventory of the Estate of Jesse Benton for the Year 1781, in Jesse Benton Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁶⁷ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, "Enoe," August 21, 1781, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁶⁸ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, "Enoe," September 29, 1781, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁶⁹ The story has been widely circulated that Jesse Benton was the first of his line in America, and that he came over from England with Governor Tryon in 1765 and was his private secretary. Apparently this tale had its origins with Jesse's granddaughter and namesake (Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 1), and it is repeated in the standard biography (Meigs, *Benton*, 13-16), and parroted in the biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias. It is a delightful story—Meigs even gives us a picture of a myopic Jesse leaving cloistered student ways in England, driven by illness or poverty, to adventure into a rough frontier life which he never understood or assimilated. All this, despite the fact that Thomas Benton in his memoir makes several references to his paternal grandfather in North Carolina (Benton, *View*, I, 57, 77, 98, 118)! In his careful way, the chief biographer (Meigs, *Benton*, 16), observes these but opines that Benton was suffering from a slip of memory. None of the biographers bothered to check North Carolina records, though the main body of these records was available in published form at least by the time Meigs wrote.

The facts of Samuel's career and Jesse's descent are well established, and there is no doubt that Jesse was *not* the family founder in America. As to Jesse's having been Governor Tryon's secretary, the writer has found no reference to this in the North Carolina records, though other men are listed as secretaries; no reference appears to any such position in any of Jesse Benton's letters available today; and Thomas Benton nowhere notes that his father held such a post. Silence of the records is of course no proof that Jesse was not Governor Tryon's secretary, but on the other hand there is no proof that he *was*, either; on the whole, it seems extremely unlikely.

The girl Jesse Benton married came from a distinguished Virginia line, with an aristocratic tradition. The only child of James Gooch, younger brother of Sir William Gooch, royal governor of Virginia from 1727 to 1749,⁷⁰ and of Ann Hart, whose family had settled in America in 1690,⁷¹ Ann Gooch was born in Hanover County in central Virginia.⁷² A lovely brown-haired, bright-eyed lass, she was twenty-four when Thomas was born.⁷³ She adored her quiet, gentle husband and was devoted to her family, and her charming presence and stately beauty⁷⁴ clothed a character and determination upon which time after time that family depended.⁷⁵ She was a devout, practicing member of the Episcopal church, with a strong dislike for gaming, drinking, and smoking.⁷⁶ But if she was a manager and straightlaced, she was also a warm, delightful companion who shared her husband's love of reading, and Jesse always called her by her pet name Nancy rather than by the formal name Ann.⁷⁷

When she was a child, Ann Hart's parents died. She was reared thereafter by her uncle Thomas Hart, and she was in truth more Hart than Gooch. It was her uncle who brought her from Hanover County to North Carolina after 1760, when she was hardly old enough to talk, and it was her uncle who watched over her until she married Jesse.⁷⁸ This uncle was a prominent man in colonial North Carolina, and the infant Benton could be proud to bear his name. Not only was he a partner in the Transylvania Company, but he served as sheriff of Orange County in 1763, was the Orange delegate to the first North Carolina revolutionary convention in 1774,⁷⁹ and was a colonel in the Revolutionary Army.⁸⁰ His extensive business interests in land and in other property ramified throughout Orange County and beyond.⁸¹

These were the forebears of Thomas Hart Benton.

⁷⁰ Fremont, "Senator Thomas H. Benton," 241.

⁷¹ Young, *Genealogical Narrative*, 78.

⁷² Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.

⁷³ Compare burial records, Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis.

⁷⁴ Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3.

⁷⁵ Compare Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, September 25, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷⁶ "Remarks of Thomas H. Benton at the New England Celebration in New York," *Washington National Intelligencer*, December 25, 1856.

⁷⁷ Compare will of Jesse Benton, in Wills, Orange County, 1753-1819, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁷⁸ Young, *Genealogical Narrative*, 78.

⁷⁹ Nash, *Hillsboro*, 8, 38.

⁸⁰ Young, *Genealogical Narrative*, 5.

⁸¹ Compare letters of Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, 1780-1790, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

III

The Eno Valley was a pleasant place to raise a child, and the infant Thomas Benton flourished in the heady Piedmont air and the spring and summer sunshine. The boy's mother sang to him and nursed him. She was aided in the chores of tending the baby by Milly, a Negro girl of twelve who was in training as a house slave,⁸² and as the boy grew he could find a baby-hood companion in the slave Betsey who was born eighteen months before he was.⁸³ And little Thomas's big sisters Peggy and Polly were there to pet him and help teach him his first words.⁸⁴ But he was closest to his happy, capable mother,⁸⁵ who guided him through the little stages of growing up and took such pride in him always.⁸⁶

When Thomas was about six months old, his family moved across the Eno to a larger plantation called Hartford. This plot, with its 215 acres⁸⁷ and its grist mill, fulling mill, and oil mill beside the stream, had belonged to Thomas Hart and had been sold to Jesse Benton on a sort of installment basis. It had wide fields for farming, but neither the fields nor the mill produced much during the fall and winter of 1782-1783. It was a most fatal hard year, Jesse thought, without water to run the mills or bring up the crops,⁸⁸ and the Bentons were lucky to be all in health and to have enough grist from their stones to give the family bread.⁸⁹

Still, the family could enjoy the larger place and the fine plantation house. The frame building was surrounded by a grove of oaks, and there was a path to a bubbling spring in the rear of the house and the orchard beyond. Past that there was the dark mass of pines for a background.⁹⁰

By the time Thomas was a year old, hard times were really at hand. The crops were poor or lost altogether, and many families

⁸² Compare will of Jesse Benton, in Wills, Orange County, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁸³ Compare An Inventory of the Estate of Jesse Benton for 1781, Jesse Benton Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁸⁴ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸⁵ Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3.

⁸⁶ Compare Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.

⁸⁷ Jesse Benton's Taxable Property of 1788, Orange County Records, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁸⁸ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, December 4, 1782, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸⁹ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, March 22, 1783, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹⁰ Moore, *Some Memories of My Life*, 8.

had to go fifty or sixty miles for bread, while their debts mounted. Lawyer Benton was commissioned to collect moneys owed Thomas Hart, who had moved to Maryland, but he was indulging many small debtors because of the hard times. He wondered where he himself was to get the money to meet a payment on Hartford and make repairs to the mill and the house. For that year, at least, he was happy with his clerkship, which he thought was "the best Mill I own"—it brought him a steady return of £150 a year, specie, exclusive of bad fees.⁹¹

But the family did not despair. By the end of the summer, Hartford was bringing in an income, though Jesse had to sell some Negroes to make ends meet.⁹²

As he grew old enough to know he had a father as well as a mother, Thomas had to learn to accept the fact that Jesse was away from home sometimes. In addition to his extensive business looking after the holdings of Thomas Hart, his profession carried him around the county court circuit and to other courts in the Old North State.⁹³ But the boy had a constant companion in Nancy, and as the years passed there were younger brothers and sisters with whom he could play. Young Thomas learned to get along with a Jesse, Jr., with little Nancy, with young Samuel, and finally with Nathaniel and Susannah.⁹⁴ Under Nancy Ann's teaching the brothers and sisters grew into a close and affectionate group.⁹⁵

Once when Thomas was still a child, a young lawyer named Andrew Jackson stopped at Hartford, and stayed all night with the family⁹⁶—a tall, slender, graceful youth he was, with handsome steel blue eyes and a broadcloth coat and ruffled shirt.⁹⁷

When Thomas was four, and times were better, his father built a new residence for his wife and children. In the spring he moved his family again, together with the weaving house, to a high spot on Hartford with good clean soil for a yard and a

⁹¹ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, March 22, 1783, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹² Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, August 23, 1783, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹³ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, June 20, 1784, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹⁴ Young, *Genealogical Narrative*, 78.

⁹⁵ Compare Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, September 25, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress; Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 4; and Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.

⁹⁶ Benton, *Thirty Years View*, I, 736.

⁹⁷ Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (Garden City, 1940), 37.

garden. It was "the Pleasantest and most beautiful situation in Orange," with a delightful prospect including the range of mountains, his friend Colonel Alfred Moore's houses and half a dozen other plantations. There Jesse put in a new twenty-acre farm, which produced very well. He rented the old houses and stables to a tavern keeper, and planned to rent the plantation tanyard and store before fall.⁹⁸

Soon the boy was old enough to go about some with his mother and older sisters, or with one of the slaves. Visiting in the neighborhood, or in the village of Hillsborough itself, he could gaze at the elegantly dressed ladies and gentlemen of the Tidewater aristocracy who came to the Piedmont for the summer air,⁹⁹ or at the thriving local population of rough farmers or wide-ranging country children. He could listen to a tiny little lady near Hillsborough who entertained the neighbors by singing English or Scottish ballads, playing on a mandolin-like old English guitar with twelve strings.¹⁰⁰ At the family plantation itself, Thomas could learn fishing in a stream which was filled with good catches.¹⁰¹

But it was not all pastoral calm at Hartford. Gradually Jesse Benton's health was giving way to consumption,¹⁰² and he worried more and more about his debts and the insecurity of his wife and children. "Interest on a considerable sum is fatal to a small Estate," he lamented, "and the thought which frequently intrudes upon me, of the uncertainty of a Man's Days, and leaving a Family incapable of settling an incumbered estate, carries with it a Melancholy idea." To be sure, business was good. Still, a swarm of insects the Lord had sent as in the plagues of ancient Egypt, had destroyed wheat and rye crops, and rendered Jesse's "Manufactures" less profitable than they should have been.¹⁰³ And the master of Hartford did long for freedom from debt.

Meanwhile, Jesse was concerned about the education of his children. The accomplished Nancy taught Thomas at home as

⁹⁸ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹⁹ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁰⁰ Moore, *Some Memories of My Life*, 9.

¹⁰¹ Moore, *Some Memories of My Life*, 22.

¹⁰² Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3.

¹⁰³ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress. This is an extraordinary document, twenty pages long, crammed with information about the Benton family, the plantation, Thomas Hart's business affairs, Jesse's forebodings, the consumption in the area, and the events of Hillsborough and the countryside.

quickly as he was able to learn, and Jesse arranged with the Reverend Mr. Micklejohn, who had come from England as chaplain to Governor Tryon, to tutor the young lad.¹⁰⁴ But the Orange lawyer was not satisfied, and he busied himself supporting an academy called Science Hall which was struggling to get a start in Hillsborough. In 1784 he served as secretary-treasurer of the board of trustees. A few years later, when he was assaulted by one Colonel William Sheppard, he gave the £50 damages he won from this local firebrand to the academy.¹⁰⁵ But the school disappeared about 1790. The Benton children never profited from it.¹⁰⁶

How Jesse envied Nancy's uncle Thomas in Maryland, where he was able to educate his children in a manner agreeable to his own wishes. Such a thing could not be said of Hillsborough, though Jesse hoped it would soon be the case.¹⁰⁷

By the time Thomas was six or seven, his father was widely known as an attorney. He was sought out about this time by former Revolutionary soldiers, who had been induced to part with their land bounties for next to nothing during the hard times, and who now asked Jesse how they might get them back. Generally there was nothing the lawyer could do. The sight of the plain, defrauded men who came to the Hartford plantation to see his father, sometimes ragged, desperate men with worn wives and hungry children, deeply impressed the young boy. It was perhaps his first inkling that not everyone was so fortunate as he and his family.¹⁰⁸

At the same time attorney Jesse Benton was doing well for himself. A couple of months after Thomas was born he had been worried about the huge Cumberland claim—"a designing person,

¹⁰⁴ Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Francis Nash, "The History of Orange County," *North Carolina Booklet*, X (October, 1910), 108-113.

¹⁰⁶ Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 468. The statement has been made that Thomas Benton probably attended this school both before and after his father's death, in 1790 (Nash, "The History of Orange County," 113). But the school disappears from record in the year of Jesse's death, when Thomas was only eight (perhaps because of the death the year before of its mentor Zadoc Squires), and it seems unlikely that Thomas would have gone there. In addition, we know that Thomas did attend a grammar school run by Richard Stanford from New England (Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. ii), and there is no evidence known to the writer that Stanford was associated with Science Hall, and the standard history lists him separately (Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, II, 41). It seems likely that Jesse's probable hopes went unrealized. It should be noted that though Jesse mentions the school in a letter to Thomas Hart (Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress), he does not say in the preserved correspondence that Thomas is being sent to Science Hall.

¹⁰⁷ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁰⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 33 Congress, 2 Session, 998.

by the name of Person," was taking "great pains to destroy the Claim of Henderson and Company."¹⁰⁹ But nothing came of this threat. By the time Thomas was four, Jesse had somehow managed to enter and pay for nearly twenty thousand acres on the Cumberland waters—a move which he thought "a Capital stroke."¹¹⁰

Meanwhile, Jesse was watching interests in other sections—a plot of 6,250 acres in the Green River area of central Kentucky, and several thousand acres along the Powell Valley in the mountains just east of Cumberland Gap.¹¹¹

But most of Jesse's speculations were in that part of North Carolina west of the mountains which later became Tennessee. By 1788 he held claims which made him a land octopus of the top rank—the huge sum of 23,931 acres, or in all the equivalent of a county nearly twenty miles on each side. His claims included plots of 1,750 acres and 4,000 acres on the Chickasaw Bluffs of the Mississippi River in the section which later became Memphis, a 640 acre pre-emption on the Cumberland River, a plot of 15,875 acres which Jesse held as a partner of Memucan Hunt and Company on the headwaters of the Obion River near the Mississippi, and 1,666 acres held as part of a larger plot he had entered with Thomas Hart and Charles Porter. Because none of these claims had been surveyed, the Orange County court, Samuel Benton, Jr., clerk, found that the Hartford speculator would not have to pay taxes on them that year.¹¹²

At home the Bentons were well off in land too. Since Thomas's birth Jesse had managed to add sixty acres to "the Manor Plantation & Land called Hartford," and had managed to pick up about a thousand acres in other Piedmont plots in addition. By 1790 he was paying taxes on a total of 1,408 acres, one white poll (himself), and seven Negro slaves—the largest single landholding and slaveholding claimed that year in the Hillsborough district.¹¹³ In addition there were the horses in the stables, the mills, the

¹⁰⁹ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, May 10, 1782, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹⁰ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹¹ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, June 20, 1784, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹² A List of Jesse Benton's Taxable Property, 1788, in Orange County Records, 1788-1793, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹¹³ Clark, *State Records*, XXVI, 1312.

cattle, and the plantation utensils.¹¹⁴ When the Bentons went about the county they could do so confident that they were the equals of any family there.

The children thrived, and Jesse took great pride in Thomas and his sisters. They were all blessed with a good share of natural understanding, he thought—though certainly Polly had an uncommon share, being shrewd and witty and more attentive to learning than any child he ever knew. The two girls had been taught to read and to sew by their mother. The happy Nancy was like to become a fat woman, Jesse believed—and he too would soon be fat were he not engaged in so much business and exercise.¹¹⁵ It was a close family, where the children often added their regards to their parents' when the master of Hartford wrote their great uncle and benefactor Thomas.¹¹⁶

Moreover, good years had followed the bad ones that had plagued Orange about the time Thomas was born. When the boy was six, his father exulted that fine crops of wheat, corn, rye, oats, and tobacco were in the ground.¹¹⁷

The big subject of conversation at the end of the 1780's was the new Federal constitution which had been adopted at Philadelphia. The citizens of the Piedmont were generally against it, Jesse noted with concern—all except some who understood the business of government. But few of these from the upper part of the state could ever get into the state convention which was called to act on the new plan. It was the old problem again—those who had and those who had not. And Jesse was sure that the have-nots would never allow themselves to be cut off from the means of cheating their creditors with fraudulent paper currency and all “suchlike dishonorable advantages.”¹¹⁸

Nonetheless, Thomas Benton's uncle Samuel Benton *did* get to the North Carolina ratifying convention from Hillsborough, and of course voted with the 195 yeas to ratify the new Constitution and against the 77 delegates who opposed it.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Will of Jesse Benton, in Wills, Orange County, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹¹⁵ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹⁶ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, November 20, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹⁷ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, June 29, 1788, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹⁸ Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, June 29, 1788, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹⁹ Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 39, 49.

Soon after Samuel's return Jesse made another effort to extend his holdings beyond the mountains. He commissioned a surveyor, Issac Roberts, to run the 10,000 acres on the Wolf River at Chickasaw Bluff in which he was interested along with two friends named John Boles and John Ray. The surveyor was to move the tracts in case they conflicted with other better claims.¹²⁰ By the fall of 1790 Issac Roberts was back to tell Jesse that he had changed the location of the claims and run the lines as directed—and to give Jesse a receipt for the £20 current money he was paid for the work.¹²¹

This was Jesse Benton's last speculation, his last attempt to provide for his heirs. Before the cold Piedmont winter was out, before the year was over, Thomas Benton's father was dead¹²² of the consumption that had haunted him so long.¹²³

At his death Jesse Benton left his family an estate that was large, but at the same time heavily encumbered with debt. His first concern was for Nancy, who was to have the Meadow Place plantation on McGowen's Creek in Orange County to live on, and who was to have the three house slaves Jack, Milley, and Rose. In addition she was to have the horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and fowls, and all the household and kitchen furniture, the still, wagon, gear, and all the plantation utensils, and all the meat, corn, wheat, and forage on hand as well as £100 current money. Finally, she was to have the use of the rest of the slaves and all the profits from the rest of the property.

The children were left the slaves and most of the western lands. These were to be divided into equal lots, whenever one of the youngsters came of age or one of them was married—the division to be performed by a commission of freeholders in order to avoid dispute.

To pay his debts, Jesse authorized his executors to dispose of large chunks of his property. These executors, his wife Nancy and his friends Alfred Moore, William Watters, and Absalom Tatom, were to dispose of his law books, and the plantation and mills at Hartford, or such other lands in Orange County or on

¹²⁰ Memorandum by Jesse Benton, January 8, 1790, Jesse Benton Papers, Library of Congress.

¹²¹ Receipt, Issac Roberts to Jesse Benton, September 4, 1790, Jesse Benton Papers, Library of Congress.

¹²² *Fayetteville Gazette*, January 10, 1791.

¹²³ Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3.

the Mississippi as they might think fit. The executors were also enjoined to see that the children received an education, and that Jesse's sons were taught the English language as perfectly as might be found necessary. Finally, the executors were to collect any debts due the estate, and were to advance whatever was necessary to secure the titles to Jesse's precious western speculations.

The precisely drawn lawyer's will was witnessed by Jesse's brothers, Samuel and Augustine, and was proved in open court at Hillsborough in the August term of 1791.¹²⁴

IV

With Jesse gone, the young widow Benton now faced the problem of providing for her family and of planning Thomas's future. The pre-adolescent and adolescent years of Thomas Benton were years spent with his mother, years during which her dominant, moulding, forming influence made him what he was, years he was never to forget. The eight-year-old Thomas and the thirty-two-year-old Nancy were close, and his memories of their early association passed in his middle life into family traditions.¹²⁵

Young Thomas always remembered his first sight of his mother after his father's death. For nearly a year and a half after Jesse died, Nancy Benton was ill, weak, and despondent, suffering physically as well as emotionally under her affliction,¹²⁶ and she was not allowed to see her children. But at last they were taken to her room—and when little Thomas Benton saw his mother he was struck with awe and terror. In place of the young, gay companion of thirty-two he had known, with health and animation lighting her fine blue eyes, there was a thin, white-faced, and white-haired woman who seemed already old. As Thomas hesitatingly went toward her, fighting back tears, Nancy took

¹²⁴ Will of Jesse Benton, October 21, 1790, in Wills, Orange County, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹²⁵ In fact, very nearly all that is known about Thomas Benton's early life is through family traditions and reminiscences. *In this section only, these materials have been broadly used here in order to reconstruct something like an adequate account.* But the reminiscences have not been used uncritically; they have been checked against such documents as are available, against one another, and against logical developments which may be inferred from documents. Stories which do not stand this testing have been rejected. Where the stories are Thomas Benton's own, there is an added probability about them, for comparing Thomas Benton's memoirs with the record when possible shows that he had a remarkable memory, allowing here and there for some exaggeration but not fabrication. Many of Jessie Benton Fremont's reminiscences are stories her father told her and she set down.

¹²⁶ Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 25, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress,

his hand in hers and put it on the hand of his baby sister. He was the eldest son, she said, and the head of the family now, since his father's death—the eight-year-old boy must help her in caring for the others.

When the children were taken from their mother's presence, Thomas broke away from the rest and burst from the house. He ran to a grove of trees nearby, and there with cries and tears he made war on himself trying to accept the ghost he had just seen, in place of his own, plump, bright, vigorous mother.¹²⁷ But he could not calm himself. He was moody the rest of the week, and his great vitality, deep and strong affection, and boyish but powerful mind would not let him accept what he had seen. Finally, as he was coming back from chapel the next Sunday, the chaplain took him by the hand and led him again to the grove of trees. Here he read the boy a verse from a Greek text of the Sermon on the Mount—"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted." The man and the boy remained in the grove until the chaplain was sure Thomas understood the words he read, and until the passionate lad was able to reconcile himself to what had happened and could not be changed.¹²⁸

Even before she had recovered her health, Nancy Benton was hard at work planning for the future of her many children. Her first task was the swarm of debt her husband had left—debt to Thomas Hart, debt to William Cain and Company in Hillsborough, debt to other creditors in Orange County.¹²⁹ It was a serious problem, Jesse's indebtedness. Some of Jesse's friends were amazed at how deeply involved he had become, though they knew he had an "expensive family" to keep.¹³⁰ What was a young widow to do, with eight children to be brought up in accord with their status in the community?

Always a resolute person, Nancy's new position seemed to give her an added strength. She would do the job, she determined, and she set about managing the estate in a businesslike fashion. She put herself in bond to her Uncle Thomas Hart, and thus paid

¹²⁷ Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3.

¹²⁸ Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 4.

¹²⁹ Will of Jesse Benton, in Wills, Orange County, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹³⁰ John Umstead to Thomas Hart, October 24, 1791, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

off the more pressing creditors in the neighborhood.¹³¹ She rented the mills at Hartford immediately, for a year's rent was something to her helpless family. She set about finding a purchaser for the Orchard Plantation—a purchaser who could offer her a definite sum in good, hard specie. At all events, she was determined to supply the children with books, and paper, and such other things as they really stood in need of. And she was determined to realize enough from Jesse's far-flung but not-so-liquid investments to keep her family from moving west of the mountains. She would rather live in the beautiful Eno Valley than in any other place she knew of anywhere.¹³²

The problem was finally solved with further aid from Thomas Hart. When a large part of Jesse Benton's estate was put up for sale in February, 1792, Uncle Thomas arranged with Nancy to have his agent buy the property to hold it in trust for her and the children.¹³³ For this Nancy was grateful, but she made it clear to Uncle Thomas that she would have everything that was coming to her and her children under the terms of the agreement. She worked at the business of managing an estate, looking over deeds, checking accounts and writing business letters in her strong clear hand.¹³⁴ With another long-term bond to Thomas Hart executed in August, 1792, she could at last feel that she and her family were comparatively secure once more.¹³⁵

Four years after her husband's death, when Thomas was twelve, Nancy paid the family taxes in the District of Hillsborough on 1,140 acres of land and six slaves.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Bond of Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, October 26, 1791, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹³² Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 25, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹³³ John Umstead to Thomas Hart, October 24, 1791, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹³⁴ Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, September 25, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹³⁵ Bond of Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hillsborough, August 12, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

¹³⁶ List of Taxable Property, Orange County, 1752-1798, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. A good deal of nonsense has been written about the economic status of Thomas Benton's family before and after his father's death. One of his biographers, with a romantic notion of the alleged equalitarian nature of the Piedmont in 1780-1790, places the Bentons "on the frontier, where caste was, and is, almost unknown," and thereby assumes that the Bentons were poor like everyone else (Roosevelt, *Benton*, 21). Another actually feared that after Jesse's death, his family faced "grinding poverty" (Meigs, *Benton*, 17). Neither of these writers went to tax records, wills, or other documents to find out what the structure of society at the place and time really was, and what the Bentons' place was in it. Clearly, though they were sometimes "land poor," the Bentons were in the upper economic group in Orange County, and among the "best people" or "quality." If Nancy had her troubles after Jesse died, it was not because she faced starvation but simply because she believed it her duty to go on maintaining an "expensive family" in the way to which they were all accustomed.

But, as Thomas recalled it in later years, his mother had time for less worldly things too. In particular she was interested in the education of her children, and as a woman of reading and observation¹³⁷ she was determined that they should have all the learning she could give. There was Thomas—at ten a vigorous, black-haired, restless, inquiring lad with a very large head set on his tall, sturdy body—ripe, Nancy thought, for the training that would make him a man of culture and a lawyer like her departed husband.¹³⁸ She began her teaching by leading Thomas to the big folio editions of the British state trials in Jesse's library.¹³⁹ She read the narrative portions to the lad, and then encouraged him to go on to pick up all he could.¹⁴⁰

The plan worked—soon the boy was hard at it. Under his mother's guidance Thomas ranged into the scriptures also, and into Plutarch's Lives and British history in general—at an age when other boys were absorbed in Robinson Crusoe and Robin Hood.¹⁴¹

What began as reading went on to precepts. If the boy took such a dislike to Sir Edward Coke because of his treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh that he was never in later life able to quote the jurist, he nonetheless determined at the age of ten to become the lawyer his mother wanted him to be.¹⁴² Soon he revealed a strong imagination. He mourned at the fate of Russell, Sydney, Lady Alice Lyle, and Raleigh, and he was much older before he realized that they belonged to another country and another time. With these tales, encouraged by Nancy, he imbibed a Whig passion for liberty and hatred of tyranny. It was strong stuff for a lad. How young Thomas loathed the king, how he grieved at the fate of those carried off at the royal behest to the dungeon, to the court, to the scaffold, to be half-hung and cut down half-alive, belly ripped open and bowels torn out—and the property confiscated to the crown.¹⁴³

If this reading was a little remote from Hillsborough, 1794,

¹³⁷ Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.

¹³⁸ "Remarks of Thomas H. Benton at the New England Celebration in New York," Washington *National Intelligencer*, December 25, 1856.

¹³⁹ Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.

¹⁴⁰ Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 4.

¹⁴¹ "Remarks of Thomas H. Benton at the New England Celebration in New York," *National Intelligencer*, December 25, 1856.

¹⁴² "Remarks of Thomas H. Benton at the New England Celebration in New York," *National Intelligencer*, December 25, 1856.

¹⁴³ *Register of Debates*, 21 Congress, 1 session, 113.

that was hardly a drawback. His mother's training laid in Thomas the foundation of a classical and historical education, a love of heavy, solid books, and a feeling, if somewhat abstract, still a feeling, for human liberty. Nor did Nancy stop there. She was a genuinely pious woman, and she cultivated the moral and religious education of her children, leading them to the path of righteousness according to the Episcopal Church of which she was a communicant. She stressed the major virtues of the scriptures, and the minor ones too, and bent the children to her mold.¹⁴⁴ The minor virtues included renouncing a number of vices common to the time. Nancy warned Thomas against tobacco, and he never touched it; she asked him not to game in cards, and he never gamed; she admonished him against hard drinking, and he never took hard liquor in his life.¹⁴⁵

But life was not all great folios and moral lessons. An adolescent boy, Nancy knew, needed the outdoor life that the Eno Valley so wonderfully offered, and Thomas had horses, dogs, and a gun to carry when he went into the pine woods to hunt the plentiful small game. Each of the brothers had his own dog to train, though for a time they had to share one gray horse among them, which they led a troubled existence. As the years went by, Thomas and his younger brothers learned every hill, every part of the woods, and every stream in the region.¹⁴⁶

Before long Thomas was at school in Hillsborough. Riding in from the plantation, he could stable the horse and wander about the streets of the little town, dotted with brick houses among the predominant frame and stone dwellings.¹⁴⁷ His school was kept by Richard Stanford, a young New England immigrant, who later served many years in Congress and was for a time the friend of John Randolph and Nathaniel Macon.¹⁴⁸

By the time he was sixteen, in 1798, the young man had his first contact with politics. In the last days of George Washington's presidency, the old general had recalled James Monroe, his minister to France, in some disgrace. On his return, Monroe had retaliated with a hundred-page pamphlet attacking the

¹⁴⁴ Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.

¹⁴⁵ "Remarks of Thomas H. Benton at the New England Celebration in New York," *National Intelligencer*, December 25, 1856.

¹⁴⁶ Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 4.

¹⁴⁷ Nash, *Orange County*, 80.

¹⁴⁸ Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. ii.

President and his administration for deserting the republican cause. The pamphlet found its way to Hillsborough. Young Thomas read it and was immediately incensed at Washington and sympathetic to Monroe. He went into every company he found, declaiming with the fury of a little *sans-culotte* against the base ingratitude of the ex-President, and passionately extolling the disgraced minister. Surely, Washington had sold himself to the king.¹⁴⁹

V

Shortly after Christmas, in 1798, Thomas Benton took his horse from the stable and set out to ride the twelve-odd miles to the town of Chapel Hill. The sixteen-year-old boy was going to college, at the University of North Carolina.¹⁵⁰ He had learned what he could from his mother's teaching, his father's library, and the school kept by Richard Stanford—it was time now for the best education the Old North State offered.¹⁵¹ The lad could look forward to his college years as he rode through the deep, green pine woods. The university, which had opened four years before, already had a reputation which had drawn to it the sons of the best families of the aristocratic Tidewater as well as a few fortunate youths from the Piedmont. The inviting campus, with its sweetgums and dogwoods adding a touch of russet and gold to the forest green, was already a center of pride to educated North Carolinians.¹⁵²

When Thomas arrived, he was placed in the yellow-brick East Building. This two-story structure, with its small porches at either door, contained the dormitory quarters in which students lived four to a room, sleeping on beds rented from townsfolk.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Article signed Oldcastle [Benton], *Nashville Impartial Review and Cumberland Repository*, July 14, 1808.

¹⁵⁰ The story has been widely reprinted that Thomas Benton studied law under St. George Tucker at the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Just when he might have fitted this interlude into his life it is hard to say, and in any case an inquiry to officials at the college elicits the reply that his name does not appear on their books and that there is not even a local tradition to the effect that he studied there—and "tradition through the centuries has usually laid claim to the education of every prominent man who stepped in the city limits of Williamsburg" (letter from Robert L. Bidwell to writer, Williamsburg, April 6, 1948). Apparently just another example of the apocrypha that gather about any great name.

¹⁵¹ Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," pp. i, ii.

¹⁵² Compare Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1907), I, 35, 61.

¹⁵³ Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 60.

Young Thomas was settled with Fleming Saunders, William Cherry of Tidewater Bertie County, and Marmaduke Baker.¹⁵⁴

There were only two-score students at the college. The curriculum to which Thomas was subjected was limited, with a strong classical bias—Latin introduction, Virgil's *Eclogues*, the Greek Testament, Telemachus, Cicero, and later, algebra, astronomy, DeLolme on the English constitution, Horace, trigonometry, Millot's *Elements of History*, Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, and Blair's *Lectures*. A dozen students matriculated with Thomas Benton in the freshman course that began in January, 1799. Out of this dozen, only three were to graduate, the rest falling by the way when they got mixed up in pranks or brawls, when they failed to get their lessons, or when they found themselves unable to meet expenses.¹⁵⁵

The diet in the dining room was no more generous than that of the classroom. Breakfast included one warm roll and butter, one loaf of wheat or corn flour, and coffee, tea, or chocolate, while at dinner Thomas could choose on various days between bacon and greens, beef and turnips, fresh meats, or fowl, topped off with pudding or tarts and corn-bread. Supper was limited to "the necessary quantity of bread or biscuit," with coffee, tea or milk.¹⁵⁶

On February 5, 1799, young Benton was elected to the Philanthropic Society.¹⁵⁷ Every student at that time belonged to one of two societies, the "Phi" or Philanthropic Society or the "Di" or Dialectic Society, literary clubs with regular Thursday night meetings which included reading aloud, declamation, and the delivery of original compositions. These groups through their "*Censors Morum*" were largely responsible for college discipline, and to be dropped from the Phi or Di was tantamount to being expelled from the University itself.¹⁵⁸

Before long Thomas was involved in a first-class brawl. There was a grammar school on the same grounds with the college, and when Benton undertook to reprove a grammar boy named John

¹⁵⁴ Faculty Records, 1799-1814, manuscript, at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. For permission to use these valuable documents, which have not previously been searched for the Benton story by anyone except University officials, I am deeply indebted to Chancellor R. B. House and Dr. R. D. W. Connor.

¹⁵⁵ Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 168-169, 194-195.

¹⁵⁶ Battle *History of the University of North Carolina*, I-51.

¹⁵⁷ Manuscript note, n. d., Miscellaneous Philanthropic Society Papers, University of North Carolina.

¹⁵⁸ Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 72-74.

Lytle for conduct unbecoming a small child, John's older brother Archibald Lytle called Thomas a "damned rascal."¹⁵⁹ This did not sit well with the scion of Samuel and Jesse Benton, Esquires, Colonel Thomas Hart, and James Gooch and Nancy Gooch. The vigorous, burly, black-haired boy challenged Archibald to a fight. When Lytle refused because it was against the rules, Thomas stood in a doorway and taunted him. Come on, he cried, and take your whipping! Be a man, he jeered, and fight for what you have said.¹⁶⁰

An argument followed, and Lytle called Benton a liar. Promptly, young Thomas drew a pistol, loaded, powder in the pan. With this, Archibald got a pistol of his own, also loaded and ready, but by the time he returned to the scene Benton had been deprived of his weapon by a professor. This was the end of the affair. Later, at an airing before the faculty, the sixteen-year-old Thomas said he had not intended to kill Archibald but only to wound him under the shoulder.¹⁶¹

Meanwhile, Thomas was absorbed in the daily round of life at the college. He made friends, among them a little, retiring youngster named John Duncan Toomer, who long remembered the big lad as a kind companion and able protector.¹⁶² But Thomas did not go about, did not spend money in the town the way his roommates Saunders, Baker, and Cherry did. They thought him parsimonious, and noted his lack of ready cash,¹⁶³ and apparently Thomas was in fact not receiving money from home as regularly as some other boys were.¹⁶⁴

The days passed, and the nights, until one evening Thomas found himself alone in his room. That night he went to his trunk, and took out his key, opened the chest, picked up a purse of money Fleming Saunders had asked him to keep safe for him—and took from it nine dollars. The week drew to a close, and nothing happened. But then, one morning, Saunders asked

¹⁵⁹ Statements at an Investigation of the Faculty of the University, Faculty Records, 1799-1814, University of North Carolina.

¹⁶⁰ Statements at an Investigation of the Faculty of the University, Faculty Records, 1799-1814, University of North Carolina.

¹⁶¹ Statement of Thomas H. Benton in Faculty Records, 1799-1814, University of North Carolina.

¹⁶² H———, "About Thomas H. Benton," *Charlotte Democrat*, October 1, 1880, clipping at the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. For referring me to this item I am indebted to Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina.

¹⁶³ Statement of Fleming Saunders, Marmaduke Baker, and William Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

¹⁶⁴ H———, "About Thomas H. Benton," *Charlotte Democrat*, October 1, 1880.

Benton for his purse, and immediately suspected that it was lighter and exclaimed that some of his money was gone. When Saunders looked into his purse, he exclaimed that he was sure some money was missing. Struggling to master his uneasiness, Thomas expressed his surprise—but nothing came of the business, and Thomas Benton's roommates put it all down to bad memory on Saunders' part.¹⁶⁵

It was so easy. On March 8 William Cherry found that his pocketbook had been taken from his coat during the night, with eight dollars in it, and a little later Marmaduke Baker missed eighteen dollars and a shilling. By this time, Thomas's roommates were suspicious. In his wallet Cherry had had a new Federal one-dollar note which he believed was the only one of its kind in the village, and when they learned of Cherry's loss Baker and Saunders went to the merchants and tavern keepers in town and asked them to watch for this note. Soon Hugh Nunn, a clerk in Scott's store, reported that he had seen this note in Thomas Benton's possession and that young Benton would not part with it even in exchange for specie. About this time also, the roommates noticed that Thomas stayed up later than they did and that he always tied on his neck-handkerchief carefully before he went to bed, as though he were hiding something there.¹⁶⁶

Just two days after Thomas Benton's seventeenth birthday, his roommates went to President Caldwell with their story. With Dr. Caldwell, they arranged a trap—Saunders stayed up late that night, almost until midnight after Benton was asleep, when he searched Benton's purse and found Cherry's bill there. The next morning Saunders suggested a breakfast in the country—"If anyone can eat ten eggs and drink five dishes of coffee, I will pay for the breakfast."¹⁶⁷ As the group walked out in the pine woods, Benton stayed ahead of the rest, until finally his roommates called him back and told him of their suspicions.

¹⁶⁵ Statement of Fleming Saunders, Marmaduke Baker, and William Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina. The entire story of Thomas Benton's stealing from his roommates is set out in great detail in this statement, which was signed by the roommates in the presence of the University faculty.

¹⁶⁶ Statement of Fleming Saunders, Marmaduke Baker, and William Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

¹⁶⁷ Statement of Saunders, Baker, and Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

They must search him, they said, and they must search his pocketbook.¹⁶⁸

At first Benton refused. The roommates thought they saw him move something from one pocket to another, and insisted on a search, and when young Thomas at last consented, they found Cherry's bill loose in his pocket. Pressed, Benton confessed taking Cherry's money. He had intended to replace it, he said, and he had not taken more, he insisted. But finally he admitted having taken nine dollars from Saunders, eighteen dollars and a shilling from Baker, and seven dollars from Cherry.¹⁶⁹

It was, Thomas knew, the end of his days at the University. Discovered and exposed as a petty sneak thief, he would be sent down to Hillsborough in disgrace, to face his stern, upright mother and his family. If it had been only one incident . . . if he had been able to replace the money he took . . . if he could only live the last few weeks over. . . . But it had all been too easy, one incident had led to another, and now the disgrace was there, with no way out of it. The boy was dejected, broken.¹⁷⁰ Finally, on March 19, 1799, Thomas Benton, freshman, of Hillsborough, was expelled from the Philanthropic Society by a unanimous vote.¹⁷¹

Two days later, the lad was home at Hartford, only to be faced there with another accusation. On March 21, 1799, young Thomas was called to the door to find his former roommates Fleming Saunders and Marmaduke Baker, with one Thomas King, in the yard waiting for him. They had just ridden down from Chapel Hill. In the plantation house yard, King asked Benton if he had stolen some money from him, also. He had missed some, and had not known whom to suspect until he had heard of Benton's confessing to other thefts, but now he believed

¹⁶⁸ Statement of Saunders, Baker, and Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

¹⁶⁹ Statement of Saunders, Baker, and Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

¹⁷⁰ Compare H———, "About Thomas H. Benton," *Charlotte Democrat*, October 1, 1880.

¹⁷¹ Manuscript note, n. d., Miscellaneous Philanthropic Society Papers, University of North Carolina. A memoir long after the fact gives an extenuating account of Thomas Benton's motives (H———, "About Thomas H. Benton," *Charlotte Democrat*, October 1, 1880).

According to this story, little John Duncan Toomer noticed one day that his friend from Hillsborough was depressed, and finally ventured to ask young Benton the cause.

"Have you not heard?" Thomas cried.

"No," the boy replied, "I have not."

Whereupon Thomas told his friend Toomer his story. He had needed money to pay some college dues, and he didn't have it; every day he expected money from home, but the days passed and it didn't come. Then he took some money from one of his roommates, expecting to return it before its absence would be discovered. But he had been suspected, and charged, and had confessed; and now he knew he would be expelled and sent down to his home.

that Benton had opened his trunk and taken his money too. Dispirited again, Thomas admitted that he *had* stolen from King. He had had a key made which exactly fitted the lock to King's trunk, and had used this to open the chest and take the money.¹⁷²

The young Benton's measure of bitterness was full.

The Bentons stayed the rest of that year and the next in North Carolina. But more and more, Nancy Benton was convinced that she could do better for herself and her family on the lands Jesse Benton had secured in the Cumberland River Valley in the new State of Tennessee to the west.¹⁷³ By 1801 she had settled her family on the frontier.

VI

What Thomas Hart Benton was to become as an adult, was very largely determined by his North Carolina boyhood.

Some of the makings of his political career he learned directly from his mother in Hillsborough. From her he got the stern sense of duty which led him to the politics he espoused, and from her he acquired habits of intense industry, his regard for learning and the facts, facts, facts, and his Puritan code of conduct.

Again, his interest in the law he got as a boy. If he would not in any case have followed his father's example, he was certainly impelled to do so by his mother's urgings and by her promptings of his early reading in the British folios. This, and the readings he did in ancient and English biography and history in his father's library at Hillsborough, certainly bent him toward the public life he finally undertook. In Benton's day even more

¹⁷² Statement of Thomas King, September 1, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

The facts of this whole lamentable story have remained, except to a few privileged persons, obscure for 150 years. The latest history of North Carolina notes that Benton was expelled from the University for a "youthful prank" (Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 381), and the University's historian attributes the story, carefully omitting Benton's name, entirely to the political passions that flared at the time (Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 194), while Benton in his only essay in autobiography fails to record it and notes merely that he did not finish a course of study at Chapel Hill—"his mother removing to Tennessee" (Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," pp. ii), and H——— and Ehrhart (see below) had only a part of the facts.

The chief Benton biographer says that a trick was played on Benton when he was a youth—some money was hidden by some cousins with whom he was staying, in Benton's cravat, and the next morning one of the boys put his hand in his pocket and searched, and the money was of course found on Benton, and so on. This innocent caper, according to this account, gave rise to the countless stories which followed Benton in later life of his having been caught stealing as a youth (Meigs, *Benton*, 53). The authority given for this tale is Rebecca Hart, one of the cousins supposedly present at the time.

This is a pretty tale, but it sounds tailored to cover up the fact. There can be no doubt that Benton *did* steal the money—his roommates may have disliked him, and the Faculty Records contain only their statements and that of King, but to put the whole thing down as a hoax requires too many improbable assumptions and too much credulity in general.

¹⁷³ Compare John Umstead to Thomas Hart, August 7, 1800, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

than now, lawyers took to politics as naturally as the western settlers did to the land, and a man brought up with Thomas Benton's training was almost bound to make at least a try at a public career.

Again, the two traumatic experiences in Thomas Benton's North Carolina life must be noted.

One of these came when the boy saw his mother after Jesse Benton's death. Years later he recalled the scene in which his bereaved mother propelled him, at the age of eight, into the position of *paterfamilias*, and said in effect that he must take his father's place in her life. This certainly gave the lad an unusually intense extra motivation to emulate his father, and finally to win supreme favor in his mother's eyes by becoming a greater success than his father had been. To a boy already endowed with a sharp mind, a vigorous will, and strong drives, his relations with his mother certainly supplied an extra something bound to produce an extraordinary result.

Next, there was his expulsion from the University under circumstances which added humiliation to humiliation. This vivid, searing experience must have redoubled Thomas's determination to vindicate himself in his mother's view, and also to prove himself to the whole world. He must have a great career, must achieve a high place. His honor was compromised—and he was later excessively touchy about his honor, even for a gentleman of the early 1800's, and he was always scrupulously, compulsively careful about matters of honesty in his public life. He was denied a university education—and he was as a man extraordinarily proud of his self-acquired learning, and showed it off at every opportunity.¹⁷⁴

To be sure, his background was a strange one for a radical democrat who became an opponent of slavery. The descendant of a self-seeking grandfather and a conservative father, he was born to the privileges and assumptions of a well-to-do family

¹⁷⁴ The story of Thomas Benton's thefts at the University of North Carolina followed him for the rest of his days. One of his Missouri acquaintances noted that various stories were told why he did not graduate (*Bay, Bench and Bar of Missouri*, 2); the national Democratic magazine in a biography in 1837 thought it necessary to deny "the slanders utterly false and base" about his early youth (*United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, I [October-December, 1837], 89); and a Virginia gentleman reading Benton's book in 1855 recalled that the story had been whispered about him all his adult life ("Extracts from the Diary of Edmund Ruffin," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXIII [July, 1914], 33). Though the story would not down, it seems doubtful that this was the thing which kept the man from running for the Presidency.

which was involved in great speculations. What is more, his family took slave-owning for granted. Finally, they were of the "quality" or aristocracy in the social stratification of the Piedmont, and Thomas was brought up to expect the things young gentlemen of quality expected everywhere from their inferiors. It took some new experiences beyond Hillsborough and a deal of intellectual travail before Thomas Benton reached the political views he finally adopted.

But the *drive* was there from childhood.

Tradition at Chapel Hill tells an interesting story of Thomas Benton's departure from the University. This story is perhaps psychologically if not literally true. It pictures the young Benton ready to mount his horse in front of the East Building, to make the weary ride home to face his mother and family. Many students had gathered to see him off, and as he pulled himself into the saddle his fellow scholars jeered at him. According to the story, the lad finally turned on his tormentors, suddenly hard, suddenly refusing to bear such humiliation.

"I am leaving here now," he is said to have shouted above the uproar, "but damn you, you will hear from me again."¹⁷⁵

If the story is accepted, it is certainly clear that the boy who was born in North Carolina and was later a leader among the great men of his day, exerted himself to keep his word.

¹⁷⁵ George Ehrhardt, "Expelled from North Carolina University on Theft Charge, Boy Becomes U. S. Senator," *Raleigh News and Observer*, February 5, 1928. This article was called to the writer's attention by Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton of Chapel Hill, N. C.

A LETTER FROM THE MUSES: THE PUBLICATION
AND CRITICAL RECEPTION OF JAMES M. LEGARÉ'S
"ORTA-UNDIS, AND OTHER POEMS" (1848)

By CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

I

Thomas Powell, as the novelist Charles Dickens would have been delighted to testify, was an embezzler and forger in particular and a complete scoundrel in general.¹ But in the New York City of 1849 this Englishman—a whole ocean away from England—was identified as a jovial man-about-town, creator of that recent literary success, *The Living Authors of England*, a crony of newspaper and magazine editors, and altogether (from the viewpoint of, say, an ambitious and still struggling American writer) a person to cultivate. Such a viewpoint was held by the twenty-six-year-old South Carolina poet, James Mathewes Legaré. From Aiken, on November 16th, 1849, Legaré mailed Powell a lengthy screed cram-full of literary opinions and comment. He had done so, said the poet, to tell Powell how much he admired his *Living Authors*, to advise him that "I have a letter of introduction to present from one of the Muses," and to assure him that the present, accompanying epistle was "written with the single end of begging your acceptance of the small vol (of my poems) I will forward by the same mail."²

This small volume—102 pages in length and containing 30 pieces of verse—was *Orta-Undis* ["Sprung from Water"], and *Other Poems*. By February, 1848,³ the book was off the presses

¹ See Wilfred Partington, "Should a Biographer Tell?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXX (August, 1947), 56-63. This Dickens authority presents new data on the Dickens-Powell agitation, which resulted in Dickens' completely exposing Powell's perfidy in England, but apparently had little effect on the hackwriter's popularity in this country.

² Legaré's letter, in the Griswold Collection of the Boston Public Library, was published for the first time in the present writer's "Poet, Painter and Inventor: Some Letters by James Mathewes Legaré, 1823-1859," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (July, 1944), 218-220. In this article, which also contains a summary of the poet's career, a printer's garble erroneously states (217, n. 4) that the Powell letter had previously appeared in R. W. Griswold, *Correspondence*, ed. W. M. Griswold (Cambridge, Mass., 1898).

³ Cost-books of Ticknor & Fields, in manuscript at the Houghton Library, Harvard University. The writer is indebted to Miss Carolyn Jakeman, of the Library, for forwarding him a typescript copy of the Legaré entry, and to Professor Warren S. Tryon, of Boston University, for glossing it, in advance of its publication in his and William Charvat's edition of *The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields and Their Predecessors, 1832-1858* (New York: The Bibliographical Society of America, 1949), 114. Without knowledge of the Charvat-Tryon project, the present writer had come upon the Legaré items in the Ticknor & Fields cost- and letter-books independently, and he is most grateful to Professor Tryon for the benefit of his editorial explanations of the publishing data (Tryon to the writer, February 20, 1948).

of the Boston firm of William D. Ticknor & Co., and by late May of the same year had been distributed to book-sellers. Like all publishing ventures, however, great or small, the act of appearance in print had been preceded by a period of private trial and error, hopes and fears, on the part of the author, comparable in length to that proportion of an iceberg which lies below the surface—about eight-ninths. Of *Orta-Undis* and its author, another and later Charleston writer, Ludwig Lewisohn, has remarked: "There remains of him, then, no memorial, save those few verses. But by virtue of them his place in American letters will, in time, be perfectly secure."⁴ It seems to the present writer that this time has come. *Orta-Undis* is one of the better volumes of poetry to have appeared in the ante-bellum South—an appearance the more notable since it occurred at a stage in the history of our literary productivity when the reviewer of a contemporary collection of verses could seriously declare of the book in question: "It will be found a beautiful ornament for the centre table."⁵ *Orta-Undis*, as a printer's effort, would not have beautified anybody's centre table. Its contents, however, boast their own beauty, of a sort more perduring than parlor furniture; and therefore a review of its history seems appropriate, particularly when we are able to chart the extent of its pre-publicational phase rather fully by the use of letters here reproduced, either wholly or in part, for the first time. Before this is done, a few new facts about the author will be pertinent.

Legaré, who was born in Charleston on November 26, 1823, probably did not receive his literary tendencies wholly as a gift of nature but in part as an inheritance from his father. John D. Legaré (1799-1860), who was to outlive his elder son by almost a year,⁶ was the librarian of the Agricultural Society of

⁴ Ludwig Lewisohn, "James Matthew [sic] Legaré," *Library of Southern Literature*, (Atlanta, Ga.: Martin & Hoyt, 1929), VII, 3191. Lewisohn has reprinted the following poems from *Orta-Undis*: "The Reaper," "To a Lily," "Tallulah," "On the Death of a Kinsman," "To Anne," "Flowers in Ashes," "Haw-Blossoms," "Ahab-Mohammed." For an earlier estimate of Legaré by Lewisohn, see below, p. 438, n. 58. Lewisohn's own background, quite different from Legaré's, may be read in his autobiography, *Upstream: An American Chronicle* (New York: The Modern Library, 1926).

⁵ A religious weekly, *The Boston Recorder*, is briefly noting, in its issue for Friday, August 25, 1848 (XXXIII, 134), the Rev. James G. Lyons' *Christian Songs*.

⁶ Identical notices, for the issues of Monday, March 12, 1860, appeared in *The Charleston Daily Courier* (2, col. 4) and in *The Charleston Mercury* (2, col. 3): "OBITUARY. Departed this life, in Aiken, March 9, 1860, John D. Legaré, formerly of Charleston, S. C." Under the Register of Burials in the *Parish Register* (p. 383) of St. Thaddeus Church, Aiken, for March 10, 1860, it is noted that John D. Legaré, aged sixty-one, was buried in the churchyard near his son, J. M. Legaré (Rev. Charles M. Seymour, Jr., Rector, St. Thaddeus Church, to the writer, January 18, 1947).

South Carolina for the years 1828-1830;⁷ and after the Society had established its publication, *The Southern Agriculturist*, he was, without much doubt, identical with the J. D. Legaré who edited it from 1828 till 1834 and for a second time (as *The Southern Cabinet*) in 1840. There is even less doubt that it was the future poet's father who, in June, 1834, opened the Grey Sulphur Springs in Giles County, Virginia,⁸ a spa of which the Philadelphia publisher and book-seller, Philip H. Nicklin, much approved.⁹ While we have little data on the early life of John D. Legaré, the career of his son is by now fairly well charted. After attending the Grammar and English schools, and the college, of the College of Charleston until 1842, the youth completed his formal education by journeying up to Baltimore, where he spent a little over a year—from March, 1842, through July, 1843¹⁰—at St. Mary's College, now St. Mary's University and Seminary, a Roman Catholic institution which admitted pupils of all faiths. The records reveal that Legaré studied the ancient

⁷ For these data the writer is much indebted to W. Allan Moore, Jr., of Charleston, a Legaré descendant, a genealogist, and a member of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina. Mr. Moore has most generously furnished the writer with pertinent transcripts of the MS. *Minutes* of the Society, which are extant for the period 1825-1860 (Moore to the writer, May 16, 1948). See also Moore's genealogical chart accompanying the article, "Early Generations of the Legaré Family in South Carolina," *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, no. 46 (1941), 72-81. The writer's indebtedness also extends to Mrs. W. Allan Moore, Jr.

⁸ See [John D. Legaré], *Account of the Medical Properties of the Grey Sulphur Springs Virginia* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1836). An eighteen-page advertising brochure, which includes, *inter-alia*, a testimonial letter to Legaré from the physician and poet, Samuel Henry Dickson, dated February 11, 1836 (15-16). Dickson taught at the Medical College of South Carolina, and the brochure cites (p. 2) an article by the professor of chemistry at the Medical College of South Carolina, Charles Upham Shepard, "Chemical Examination of the Water of the Gray [*sic*] Sulphur Springs of Virginia," in Benjamin Silliman's *The American Journal of Science and Arts*, XXX (July, 1836), 100-109. The article is dated Charleston, January 19, 1836. In August, 1836, Dickson was at the Springs, and his approbatory estimate of the waters may be found in his article, "The Grey Sulphur Springs of Virginia," in the Charleston periodical, *The Southern Literary Journal*, n. s. I (May 1837), 272-276. Legaré's own *Account* was reprinted nearly in full in the Appendix (V.) to the 2nd edition of Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia* (Woodstock, Va.: John Gatewood, 1850), 298-308, and reappears in the 3rd ed. (Woodstock: W. N. Grabill, 1902), 349-360, and in the 4th ed., edited by Oren F. Morton (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1925), 340-351.

⁹ "Peregrine Prolix" [Philip H. Nicklin], *Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs . . .* (Philadelphia, Pa.: H. S. Tanner, 1835), 55-56. Nicklin, who arrived at Grey Sulphur on September 10, 1834, notes: "This is a new establishment, grown up by magic since the first of June last. It belongs to John D. Legaré, Esq. of South Carolina, a gentleman of established literary talent, who by his great enterprise and good taste, has made this lovely wilderness blossom like the rose . . ."

When Martin Van Buren made the Springs tour in the summer of 1838, Legaré entertained him and his group at Grey Sulphur—"a well conducted establishment in general"—by having the Presidential party sit down "to a sumptuous dinner on the 6th [September], prepared especially for the occasion . . ." (letter signed by "A Visitor," and published under title, "President Van Buren—The Springs," *Richmond Enquirer*, Friday, Sept. 28, 1838, 2, cols. 1-2).

¹⁰ In his meticulously maintained diary, the Very Reverend Louis R. Deluol, S. S., third president of St. Mary's (1829-1849), wrote as follows, on March 12, 1842: "Mr. James Legaré fils de John Legaré de Charleston est entre au College comme ecolier." A manuscript cash-book, labelled "1834-1852 St. Mary's College" (p. 128), tots up the various charges in the account of J. D. Legaré, beginning March 12, 1842, and concluding July 19, 1843. Similarly, a manuscript volume, labelled "Cash Book 1835-1855 St. Mary's College" (n. p.), lists under its receipts for July 19, 1843, the "Legaré final bill." All manuscripts pertaining to Legaré's career at St. Mary's repose in the vault at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, where they were generously made available to the writer by the Rev. William J. O'Shea, archivist, and the late Rev. Philip J. Blanc, dean of St. Mary's and librarian.

and modern languages, as well as mathematics and chemistry;¹¹ and at the commencement held July 18, 1843, though he did not graduate, he received an honorary certificate, and won premiums in the individual subjects of rhetoric, natural history, astronomy, Spanish, German, and painting in oil—interests in most of which can be readily traced in the poet's later work. (It is noteworthy that, whereas Legaré was awarded triple premiums in German—for diligence, composition, and memory—and double premiums in Spanish—for diligence and composition—he earned nothing at all in English studies.)¹² By July 24, via the steam-packet *Gladiator*, Legaré was back in Charleston.¹³ There he took up the study of law, for an indeterminate period, in the offices of James L. Petigru. Probably from disinclination, as well as for reasons of health, he did not continue in this field, and eventually centered his career round the writing of both fiction and verse, with a liberal admixture of interest in textiles and mechanical invention.

Presumably the poet's initial attempt to have his verses collected between the boards of a single volume occurred in the spring of 1845. Up to that time it is probable that Legaré had not yet succumbed to the disease, tuberculosis, which apparently first attacked him in 1847 and forced his removal to the healthier upland climate of Aiken. On May 6th, 1845, however, we find him in the city of his birth, addressing a prominent fellow resident, the novelist, poet, and editor, William Gilmore Simms. Apparently Simms had agreed to peruse Legaré's manuscript volume of verses, for—after enclosing a prose sketch and a poem

¹¹ MS. volume, labelled "Student Class Notes, 1841-1850." Classes in which Legaré's name appears as a member were those in Greek and Latin; French, Spanish, and German; chemistry and mathematics.

¹² "St. Mary's College, Baltimore," *Baltimore Sun*, Friday, July 21, 1843 (2, cols. 4-5). The other recipients of honorary certificates were Richard Pritchard and Edmund B. Marmillion, of New Orleans; George Lucas, of Baltimore; and J. Andrew White, of North Carolina. A condensed version of this account, consisting of a brief notice of Legaré's honors, appears under title, "Commencement of St. Mary's College, Baltimore," *The Charleston Courier*, Monday, July 24, 1843, (2, col. 5), wherein we learn that another Charlestonian, Robert de Laumant, had received the degree of master of arts.

The manuscript "Book of Degrees St. Mary's College," under entry for the commencement of July 18, 1843, significantly omits any mention of Legaré in its listing of the six students who received the A.B. degree, as does the newspaper account of the ceremony, "Annual Commencement at St. Mary's College," *Baltimore Sun*, July 19, 1843 (2, col. 3). These data are offered in order to refute a misstatement by Joseph John Legaré, in a letter of reply to W. G. Simms in 1859 (see below, n. 59), to the effect that his elder brother had "graduated" from St. Mary's.

¹³ Shipping notice in *The Charleston Courier*, July 24, 1843 (2, col. 7). The vessel arrived from Wilmington, N. C., with the following passengers: D. Upman, F. Hillegar, H. C. Hyde, A. Head, J. M. Legaré, W. C. Moore,

he wished to contribute to Simms' *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine*—the younger man concludes his epistle with this paragraph:

I owe you an apology for not having sent to you the manuscript vol you were so kind as to propose to overlook; the cause of my having failed to do so, was an opportunity which suddenly offered of sending it to Mr Audubon¹⁴ to submit to the publishers, which I embraced at once as I did not know when so good a one would soon occur.

Whether Simms ever saw *Orta-Undis* in its manuscript state we do not know. That he esteemed the younger poet's work is known, however, not only by his inclusion of a Legaré poem in his miscellany, *The Charleston Book* (1845),¹⁵ but by the fact that, on the outside of Legaré's letter to him, there is written, presumably in Simms' script: "a young writer of considerable talent."¹⁶

Just what "Mr Audubon" accomplished for Legaré with the publishers we can not say. Apparently not much, for two weeks after the Simms missive we find the young poet addressing the letter that follows to a prominent Philadelphia publishing house, presumably the same as that with which Audubon had influence.

¹⁴ Quite possibly this man was the celebrated Franco-American naturalist, John James Audubon (1785-1851), whose familiarity with Charleston began at least as early as 1831, when he first met the Reverend John Bachman (1790-1874), amateur naturalist and Lutheran pastor of St. John's Church, Charleston. Audubon's sons married Bachman's daughters, and the correspondence of the two men is voluminous. Some of it is published in [C. L. Bachman], *John Bachman, D.D., LL.D., Ph.D.* (Charleston, S. C.: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1888), a volume which also reveals (200) that Bachman "contributed largely to the editorial columns of the *Southern Agriculturist*" from 1835 to 1840, and hence probably knew J. D. Legaré personally. That Audubon knew of J. D. Legaré and his magazine is evidenced in a letter the naturalist wrote from Charleston, May 4, 1840, to his son, Victor: "I have instituted a third agent here, named A. E. Miller No 46 East Bay . . . he is the Agent of Mr Legaree [sic] whose periodical is taken by a great number of Gents from this City and neighbourhood." See Howard Corning, ed., *Letters of John James Audubon, 1826-1840* (Boston: The Club of Odd Volumes, 1930), II, 267.

The publishing firm which "Mr Audubon" knew may well have been Carey & Hart, which in 1835 had reprinted volume I of Audubon's *Ornithological Biography*, the text of his famous *Birds of America* (1827-1838). See Francis H. Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist: A History of His Life and Time* (New York: D. Appleton, 1917), II, 403. By the period of J. M. Legaré's letter to Simms, Audubon was residing at his estate, "Minnie's Land," on upper Manhattan Island, New York City. Legaré himself had just returned to Charleston from Savannah, the preceding April 25, via the steam-packet *Gen. Clinch*. See "Passengers," *The Charleston Courier*, April 25, 1845 (2, col. 4).

¹⁵ See below, p. 422, n. 19. After Legaré's death, Simms wrote to J. D. Legaré for factual data for a proposed sketch of the young poet. See my "Poet, Painter, and Inventor," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (July, 1944), 231, n. 76.

¹⁶ Original in Special Collections, Columbia University Library, to which I am indebted for permission to quote from the manuscript. A negative photostat of the letter is now at the Duke University Library, and typescript copies are in possession of Prof. Jay B. Hubbell, Duke University, and the present writer. For originally guiding me to the letter, I am grateful to Dr. J. Albert Robbins, Duke University, who has cited the document in his "History of Graham's Magazine," 1947 (unpublished doctoral dissertation on file at the University of Pennsylvania library).

LEGARÉ TO CAREY AND HART, PUBLISHERS¹⁷ (1 page)

Charleston. May 19. 1845

Gentlemen.

I submit the inclosed manuscript to your inspection, in order that you may judge whether you will find my offer worthy your attention. My proposal is simply that you accept the volume, and publish it at your own cost, and consequently, risk: To any profit resulting I am indifferent, as my desire is chiefly to thus obtain an acceptable offering to the sister, (an only one) to whom I have dedicated the work.¹⁸ A few of the articles have been published in magazines, before. The title (I need not mention) is merely "*Belonging to the muse of verse*" (*Erato.*). In regard to the sale of the volume, I think I may assure you, that it will meet with a ready sale here at the South where my friends are numerous; Of the North, you can best decide for yourselves. I believe it would be better to place the verses to 'my sister' before the uninteresting DuSaye.¹⁹

Awaiting your answer, I remain, gentlemen, very
Respectfully yours

JM Legaré

For whatever reason, Carey & Hart did not issue Legaré's little volume. (In passing, we might note that the title of the book, as finally published, was only a very slight improvement on that originally suggested by the poet, who, fortunately for bibliographers, also decided to lend his proper name to *Orta-Undis*,

¹⁷ Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library (erroneously declared to be in the Griswold Collection, Boston Public Library, in my "Poet, Painter and Inventor," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI [July, 1944], 217, n. 10, where the letter here published in full is cited and partially quoted). After the division in 1829 of Mathew Carey's original publishing firm, one of his sons, Edward L. Carey, set up in business with Abraham Hart (Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey, Editor, Author and Publisher: A Study of American Literary Development*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1912, vii, n. 2). The Historical Society of Pennsylvania informs me that the Carey & Hart record books, 1830-1886, contain no further correspondence about Legaré (R. N. Williams, director, to the writer, March 3, 1948). For a different approach from Bradsher's to one of America's important early publishers, readers are referred to Kenneth W. Rowe, *Mathew Carey: A Study in American Economic Development* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933).

¹⁸ The verses entitled, "To My Very Dear Sister" [Frances Doughty Legaré, 1826-1897], formed the second poem in *Orta-Undis* (3-4), which was, however, dedicated to the author's wife, as follows: "To Her/Whose Virtues and Earnest Affection Are the Pride and/Happiness of My Life;/To the 'Sweetest Rose of Georgia,'/I Dedicate This Little Volume." The poem, "To the 'Sweetest Rose of Georgia,'" did not appear in *Orta-Undis* but in *The Literary World*, III (May 6, 1848), 266. Other verses directly reflecting the poet's love of his wife are: "To Anne," *Orta-Undis*, 65-68; "A Song for 'The Rose,'" *Southern Literary Gazette*, I (September 9, 1848), 137; "The Trouvere's Rose," *Southern Literary Gazette*, I (January 20, 1849), 281; "A Husband to a Wife," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI (January 1850), 6-7.

¹⁹ "Du Saye. A Legend of the Congaree," which has all the earmarks of an early school-boy effort and was wisely not retained by the poet in *Orta-Undis*, appeared in *The Charleston Book: A Miscellany in Prose and Verse* (Charleston, S. C.: Samuel Hart, Sr., 1845), 189-199, anonymously edited by the poet and novelist William Gilmore Simms, one of whose romances had been *The Kinsmen: or, The Black Riders of the Congaree* (Philadelphia, 1841, 2 v.). "Du Saye" is a verse example of that interest in the American Revolution in general and the campaigns of General Francis Marion in particular which reappeared in Legaré's prose sketch, "A Revolutionary Incident," *Southern Literary Gazette* I (September 23, 1848), 154.

rather than use the fairly common *nom-de-plume* of "Erato.") Legaré's next recorded endeavor toward getting his verses into print took the form of a trip to New York, where in due course he was to become acquainted with the Clark brothers of *The Knickerbocker Magazine* and the Duyckinck brothers of *The Literary World*. There, under the present writing, we find him at a period I tentatively suggest as the autumn of 1846. Mention of his projected volume comes incidentally, in a brief note to the Reverend Rufus Wilmot Griswold. That gentleman's brow is, nowadays, crowned with a garland of henbane because of his outstanding disservices to the poet Poe. One modern critic, for example, refers to Griswold as that "literary pack-rat";²⁰ and the phrase is certainly, in part, deserved. On the other hand, a biographer reminds us that "an almost unfailing characteristic of his was his kindness, generosity, and courtesy toward those he liked. He delighted to assist the unknown to become known."²¹ Whether the Reverend gentleman liked Legaré must remain a moot point, but as an active anthologizer and an individual prominent in literary circles, his attraction for the relatively "unknown" South Carolinian is as understandable as Thomas Powell's was to be. Richard Henry Stoddard has termed Griswold, for his day, "the chief herdsman of our Parnassian fold,"²² and by 1856 Legaré's cultivation of the herdsman had borne fruit, since publication that year of the seventeenth edition of Griswold's celebrated anthology, *The Poets and Poetry of America* (first ed., 1842), revealed two of the Charlestonian's efforts rounded up in its coral.²³ But we are, at this point, some years prior to that date, and the poet is addressing the anthologizer, from New York, as follows:

²⁰ Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1940), 98.

²¹ Jacob L. Neu, "Rufus Wilmot Griswold," *The University of Texas Bulletin*, October 8, 1925 (Studies in English, no. 5), 161. A full-length biography of Griswold has at last appeared in the work of Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold: Poe's Literary Executor* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1943).

²² Richard Henry Stoddard, *Recollections, Personal and Literary*, ed. Ripley Hitchcock (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1903), 58.

²³ Rufus W. Griswold, ed., *The Poets and Poetry of America*, 17th Edition (Philadelphia, Pa.: Parry & McMillan, 1856), 577-578. Also in the edition issued at New York under the supervision of Richard Henry Stoddard (N. Y.: James Miller, 1873, 577-578). A brief paragraph of approbatory comment precedes the editor's selection of two poems by Legaré: "Thanatokallos" (Greek for "Beauty in Death"), which had originally appeared in *The Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXXIV (September 1849), 204-206—and which was reprinted in full by editor Paul Hamilton Hayne in the obituary on Legaré appearing in *Russell's Magazine* at Charleston, S. C., V (July 1859), 370-372—and "Maize in Tassel," which had been published first in *The Literary World* at New York, III (May 13, 1848), 287, and secondly, less than a week later, in the *Charleston Mercury*, May 18, 1848 (2, col. 1). Since these two poems, neither of which had appeared in *Orta-Undis*, are among Legaré's best, Griswold's taste was good; but his prefatory paragraph of criticism is so similar to the review of *Orta-Undis* in *The Literary World* (see below, p. 430, n. 44) as to suggest that Griswold had

LEGARÉ TO RUFUS WILMONT GRISWOLD (1815-1857)²⁴

(1 page)

NYork [Autumn, 1846]

My dear Sir

Your note, conveying me a disappointment, reached me in Aiken, but I delayed replying, in the hope of doing so from your more immediate neighborhood. It is rather late in season, to visit NYork, but I have found the difficulty common I suppose to all authors when the surprising complacence with which most of us begin, has given place to more earnestness and better ambition,—that of reducing a MS vol to a shape less likely to afflict the writer with selfcontempt and contrition upon its appearance in print; and after all, it is with only a third of this book completed, that I propose waiting upon a publisher.

I need scarcely say there are few things I anticipate with so much pleasure, as a personal acquaintance with yourself.²⁵

Believe me sincerely and respectfully
yours

J. M. Legaré

Revd R. W. Griswold

But with the New York firm Legaré likewise met with no success. His objective was only obtained, at last, farther north still, in the literary capital of the country, Boston. There, by November, 1847, the printers, Thurston Torry & Co., were at work on *Orta-Undis* for the publishing house of William D. Ticknor. Five hundred copies were printed, to cost Ticknor 20c

lifted his conclusions bodily from those of the weekly. It should be noted in passing that the Legaré selections by Griswold probably first appeared in the 16th Edition of *Poets and Poetry* (Philadelphia, 1855), which was the last revised by Griswold before his death and was appreciably expanded over the earlier editions (see Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold*, 243-244). I have not, however, been able to consult a copy of the 16th Edition.

Likewise in 1856 the brothers Duyckinck, in the first edition of their rival anthology to Griswold's, the *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York: Scribner's, 1856, II, 720), reprinted "Amy," with the remark that *Orta-Undis* possessed "delicacy of sentiment and a certain scholastic refinement." An earlier version of "Amy" had appeared in the gift annual, *The Opal: A Pure Gift for the Holydays*, ed. John Keese (New York: J. C. Riker, 1847), 189-190. It may have been indirectly owing to Griswold that "Amy" appeared therein, since Griswold had himself inaugurated the *Opal* series in 1844; and the 1847 editor, Keese, a New York bookseller and auctioneer, was a personal friend of Griswold's (see Joy Bayless, *op. cit.*, 33, 83). The New York Public Library copy of the *Catalogue of the Entire Private Library of the Late Rufus W. Griswold* (New York, May 1859) reveals that Griswold did not possess a copy of *Orta-Undis*.

²⁴ Griswold Collection, Boston Public Library (first cited, and partially quoted, in my "Poet, Painter, and Inventor," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI [July, 1944], 217). As of the suggested date of this letter, Griswold himself was resident in Philadelphia. Honor C. McCusker began a bibliography of Griswold's MS. correspondence in the Boston Public Library, where the great bulk of it reposes, and has completed the H's in the list of recipients of Griswold's letters. See McCusker, "The Correspondence of Rufus Wilmot Griswold," *More Books: The Bulletin of the Boston Public Library*, XVI (March-June, 1941), 105-116, 152-156, 180-196, 286-289, and XVIII (February, September, 1943), 67-68, 322-333.

²⁵ A MS. letter in the Griswold Collection, dated May 31, [1846], from Legaré at Aiken, S. C., to Griswold indicates that Legaré has not yet made Griswold's acquaintance in person. The letter is published in full in *Passages from the Correspondence and Other Papers of Rufus W. Griswold*, ed. W. M. Griswold (Cambridge, Mass.: W. M. Griswold, 1898), 230. The epistle was written by Legaré upon belatedly hearing of Griswold's five-month sojourn in Charleston (December 1845-May 1846), of which city Griswold's second wife, the Jewess Charlotte Myers, was a native. It is perhaps worth noting that the second Mrs. Griswold's Charleston attorney was the one-time legal mentor of Legaré, J. L. Petigru.

apiece and to retail at 50c; and a 10% commission account was risked by the author, not the publisher. In due course a clerk wrote, at the bottom of a page in the Ticknor cost-books: "Pub. Feby 1848 for J. M. Legare of Augusta."²⁶ Legaré's wife, Anne, who outlived him by three years, was a native of Augusta, Ga.²⁷ A few months later the poet was presumably back at Aiken, where the firm sent him the following letter:

WILLIAM D. TICKNOR & CO. TO LEGARÉ²⁸ (1 page)

Boston May 5 1848

J. M. Legare Esq

Dear Sir

In compliance with your request of Apl 14 we have caused to be ship'd to Mr. John Russell Charleston S. C. 150 cops of "Orta Und etc" to Mr. Chs. E. Grenville of Augusta Ga. 150 cops Do—²⁹ the first sent direct to Charleston, the last, care of Brigham & Kelly, Savannah,³⁰ to be forwd. also, a good supply shew Bills. We have written them that you will give instructions in relation to their distribution to other booksellers.

We have requested them to pay over the proceeds of sale direct to you, as this will probably be the most convenient for all parties. We hope they will find a ready sale. We have advertized the vol. quite extensively,³¹ but as yet have not had much call for it.

Yours Very Truly

W D Ticknor & Co

Aiken
S. C.

²⁶ These data are furnished by courtesy of Professor Warren S. Tryon (see p. 417, n. 3, above).

²⁷ An obituary notice in the *Charleston Daily Courier*, Tuesday, January 21, 1862 (2, col. 5), reads as follows: "Departed this life, on Saturday, January 18, 1862, Mrs. Annie Legaré, relict of J. M. Legaré, late of Aiken, S. C. She was beloved in life; in death lamented." The MS. "Parish Register" of St. Thaddeus Episcopal Church, Aiken, lists Mrs. Legaré's burial as having occurred January 19, and also reveals that she had been a communicant on October 6, 1850. (Her name is here spelled "Anna.") The same source tells us that the poet himself was a communicant on September 2, 1848, and that he was confirmed on June 29 of the same year (data provided by Charles M. Seymour, Jr., letter to the writer, January 18, 1947).

²⁸ Original document, here published for the first time, is in the MS. "Letter Books of Ticknor and Fields, Domestic," I (May 5, 1848), 6-7. Houghton Library, Harvard University. For forwarding me photostats of both this and the letter cited in n. 32, below, I am indebted to Miss Carolyn Jakeman. (Photocopies of both letters are now in the Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.)

²⁹ The celebrated Charleston book-seller, John Russell, of 256 King St., is too well-known for comment here. He was the publisher of *Russell's Magazine*, and went out of business in October 1859, the year of Legaré's death. He advertised *Orta-Undis* in an announcement of "Recent Publications," *The Charleston Mercury*, June 8, 1848 (3, col. 4).

Charles E. Grenville was an Augusta book-seller and publisher of *Grenville's Georgia and South Carolina Almanac*. A typical advertisement by him is that in the *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, June 2, 1848 (1, col. 2). He also advertised in *The Charleston Mercury*. Grenville's competitor was George A. Oates & Co., of Broad St., which store was utilized by Legaré in the spring of 1848 as a pick-up point for the manuscript of a literary project which he wished his acquaintance and patron, former governor James Hammond of South Carolina, to call for and examine. Legaré's letter, dated Aiken, September 6 [1848], is cited in my "Poet, Painter and Inventor," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (July 1944), 229.

³⁰ Brigham & Kelly was a Savannah firm of commission merchants and shipping agents, and was the local representative of the Protection Insurance Co., of Hartford, Conn. (courtesy of Lilla M. Hawes, Georgia Historical Society, to the writer, March 25, 1948).

³¹ If they did, the advertising must have taken the form of display posters ("Shew Bills")

With 150 copies going to each of the Southern cities, perhaps Ticknor retained all the remaining 200 for sale at Boston. If so, the result was not impressive. A year later the firm advised its author:

TICKNOR & CO. TO LEGARÉ³² (1 page)

Boston, May 19, 49

J. M. Legare Esq

Dear Sir,

Your fav. of 7th inst came duly to hand—Annexed herewith we have your statement of a/c sales &c of your Poems. We regret not having been able to sell more here, but can assure you it has not been for want of proper effort on our part. But poetry is always a very uncertain article in the market. We hope you have good accounts of those sent to Charleston & Augusta.

The Amt due you as for a/c. is \$23.59 for wh. your Dft. at sight will be duly honored.

YRS Truly
W. D. Ticknor & Co

Aiken So. Ca.

Probably the poet, despite his confident assurance to Carey & Hart in 1845, came to realize that the "accounts," at least in his home town of Charleston, were far from good. Though Ludwig Lewisohn, writing in 1903, could declare that *Orta-Undis* was "to be met with quite frequently,"³³ the present-day state historian of South Carolina, Alexander S. Salley, Jr., recalls that what eventuated was that many copies of the little volume had found their way to the second-hand bookstore of John O'Mara, at 78 Queen Street, who went out of business about 1900. At that time, Mr. Salley states, the store "had at least a hundred [copies of *Orta-Undis*] that had never been used."³⁴ He adds that the "second hand book dealers, the late Prof. Snowden³⁵ and I had a great time with what he [O'Mara] left behind. As each of us

or pamphlet throw-aways, for Boston newspaper columns are quite close-mouthed about *Orta-Undis*. The book firm of James Munroe & Co., at 134 Washington St., opposite School St., ran an advertisement in the *Daily Evening Traveller* for April 18, 1848 (1, col. 2), stating it had received for sale the following: ". . . Legare's Poems, 16mo/ The Princess, by Tennyson, 16mo/ Evangeline, by Longfellow, 16mo . . ." A similar advertisement, likewise entitled "Recent Publications," was placed by the same firm in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* for April 24 (3, col. 4).

³² Original document, here published for the first time, is in the MS. "Letter Books of Ticknor and Fields, Domestic," I (May 19, 1849), 447. Houghton Library, Harvard University Library. For permission to publish both this and the letter cited in n. 28, above, I am indebted to Harvard University Library.

³³ Lewisohn, "J. M. Legare," in his series, "The Books We Have Made," *The Sunday News and Courier*, Charleston, August 16, 1903 (20, cols. 4-5).

³⁴ A. S. Salley, Jr., to the writer (July 2, 1947).

³⁵ Yates Snowden (1858-1933), professor of history at the University of South Carolina from 1905 till his death.

got a copy of *Orta-Undis* before he died, the second hand book dealers got the Legarés that were left."³⁶ Today *Orta-Undis* is a rather rare volume. The present writer has ascertained that fourteen libraries possess one or more copies; and while the disposition is spread rather evenly up and down the Atlantic seaboard, and has extended even to the British Museum in London, it is significant that public collections in the Atlanta-Augusta area do not, on the record, contain a copy.³⁷ From the standpoint of sales, therefore, Legaré was justified in referring to *Orta-Undis*, in his letter to Powell, as "my unlucky bit of Latinity."

II

Legaré was not justified, however, in telling Powell that, "With the exception of scarce three poems I am ashamed of the contents already," for the contemporary critical response, which the poet deprecatingly described as lenient, was more favorable than that. Nine reviews and five brief notices of the volume have been uncovered, ranging in time from April, 1848, to October, 1849, and occurring in cities up and down the Atlantic seaboard from Boston to Charleston and over at New Orleans. Of the number only two could be termed unfavorable. Both of these appeared in Boston publications. Writing in *The Christian Examiner*, the Harvard student, William Henry Hurlbut, waited until September before discussing *Orta-Undis* in a tone that was slighting but not wholly condemnatory:

This is a collection of sufficiently graceful and musical verses, by a young Carolinian, a kinsman of the late Hugh S. Legaré.

³⁶ Salley to the writer (July 7, 1947).

³⁷ The Union Catalog at Emory University does not list *Orta-Undis* (Robert North, Jr., reference Librarian, Emory University Library, to the writer, February 27, 1948). The Union Catalog at the Library of Congress lists the following institutions as possessing copies: (1) American Antiquarian Society, (2) Library of Congress, (3) Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgway), (4) University of Pennsylvania Library, (5) University of South Carolina Library. In addition, the present writer has ascertained through correspondence that copies are in the following institutions: (6) the British Museum; (7) Charleston Library Society, three copies, all in the Joseph J. Legaré Collection (the poet's younger brother), bequeathed to the Society in 1902 by Mrs. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, to whom Joseph Legaré had left his books; (8) The College of Charleston, given to its library in 1900 by the Chrestomatic Literary Society, to which college group it had been presented by Dr. Henry M. Bruns, professor of ancient languages, 1871-1899; (9) Duke University Library; (10) Harvard University Library, two copies, one presented to the Library in 1853 by Professor Francis Bowen, the other from the library of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and given to Harvard in 1893 (copy contains two Longfellow signatures, one dated 1848); (11) Henry E. Huntington Library, (12) New York Public Library (the fly-leaf of this copy is inscribed: "Presented to Edwin Richard[s?], by the Author—To Miss Carrie Crumpton by ER." Library officials could not identify Richard. Paul North Rice, Chief of Reference, to the writer, February 25, 1948); (13) Bieber Poetry Collection, University of Texas Library; (14) Yale University Library; (15) College of the Holy Cross Library, Worcester.

Its most remarkable peculiarity is, that it takes its title from a Latin poem, in a monkish measure, given at the end of the book. There is, apparently, no especial reason why the verses should have been published, neither is there any objection to their being read now that they are. They are, in fact, very ephemeral productions; but the writer shows an active and thoughtful mind, and is evidently too sensible a person to have staked his fortunes on this single cast.³⁸

The *Boston Daily Advertiser* had, in a brief notice, also remarked the poet's relationship to his distinguished cousin,³⁹ while the *Evening Transcript* delivered itself of the following:

From Ticknor & Co. we have a dainty looking volume entitled "Orta Undis, and other Poems" by J. M. Legaré. In glancing it through we are reminded at every page of Tennyson, Leigh Hunt and Longfellow, who would seem to have been the writer's favorite models, though now and then, we find something that calls to mind a passage from Herrick, Herbert and other quaint writers. Mr. Legaré's is a remarkably composite style. His fancy seems to be constantly led into imitative affectations by a too suggestive memory. His book gives tokens of scholarship, a genial love of natural beauty and a true sense of the poetical in sentiment if not in expression.⁴⁰

The *Boston Daily Times*, on the other hand, sang quite a different tune. Though its notice was only half so long as that of the *Transcript*, it was twice as enthusiastic. Indeed, two works of a much more popular appeal—T. S. Arthur's *Love in a Cottage* and Henry W. Herbert's *Pierre the Partizan: A Tale of the Mexican Marches*—were merely cited, while of *Orta-Undis* the paper had this to say:

This is a valuable collection of Poems by J. M. Legaré. . . . The character of the poetry is high, and the sentiment pure, sweet,

³⁸ *The Christian Examiner*, XLV (September 1848), 306. The review, signed "H—t," is identified as that of W. H. Hurlbut (1827-1895) in William Cushing, *Index to the Christian Examiner, Volumes 1-87, 1824-1869* (Boston: J. S. Cushing, 1879), p. 66. Hurlbut, who was later to become editor-in-chief of *The New York World*, was himself a native of Charleston, S. C., and at the time of his review of *Orta-Undis* was studying at the Harvard Divinity School. (For most of these data I am much indebted to Miss Frances Pedigo, of Chapel Hill, N. C., who is preparing an exhaustive study of the literary criticism in *The Examiner*.)

³⁹ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 17, 1848 (2, col. 3). The Attorney General, and acting Secretary of State, of the United States, Hugh Swinton Legaré, died at Boston, June 20, 1843. A biography is that by Linda Rhea, *Hugh Swinton Legaré: A Charleston Intellectual* (Chapel, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1934). J. M. Legaré's elegy, "On the Death of a Kinsman" (*Orta-Undis*, 63-64), is dated June 21, at which time its author was concluding his year of study at St. Mary's College, Baltimore, and may be found conveniently reprinted in Edd W. Parks, ed., *Southern Poets* (American Book Co., 1936), 93-99, together with "To a Lily," "Haw-Blossoms," "Flowers in Ashes," and "The Reaper."

⁴⁰ *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 13, 1848 (2, col. 2). The volume was also cited in "New Publications Received," *The North American Review*, LXVII (July, 1848), 263, where it is described as 12mo.

and elevated. The volume contains some of the rarest gems that we have ever witnessed.⁴¹

Though the winds of criticism had blown rather coolly on the young poet at Boston, as we move south toward New York City the atmosphere becomes distinctly balmier. That popular monthly, *The Knickerbocker Magazine*, gave only a few sentences to *Orta-Undis*, but they were warming indeed:

Mr. Legaré is a true poet . . . who reflects honor upon the literature of the South. He does not obtrude his claims upon the public, nor consider himself as *the* "Southern author," par excellence; but he does far better; he writes such poetry as "*The Reaper*,"

which "The Old Knick" then proceeded to quote in full.⁴² The weekly *Literary World*, edited by the brothers Duyckinck and Charles Fenno Hoffman—a journal that was to publish four of Legaré's poems in 1848 and 1849, and a publication of which the poet himself was highly commendatory—was almost equally favorable in its estimate. It employed the appearance of *Orta-Undis* as an excuse to castigate the widely popular taste for spurious, sentimental, so-called love poetry, in contrast to which the sincerity of Legaré's lyricism was held up for approval. "We want," asserted the reviewer, "a Burns of our own in this country. A hearty, masculine, truthful poet of the affections. Tennyson-ism and Haynes Bailey-ism [*sic*],⁴³ either of them well enough in itself, make a bad graft upon our native stock of Sentiment," a sentiment both pseudo-emotional and pseudo-intellectual, "the spawn of egotism vivified upon a German novel." On the contrary, a Burns would sing the nation manly, bracing verses. "And meanwhile, many will accept with pleasure the

⁴¹ *Boston Daily Times*, April 14, 1848 (2, col. 5).

⁴² *The Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXXII (August, 1848), 179. Reviewing an issue of *The Southern Literary Gazette* in its July number, the *Knickerbocker* had declared: "The 'Gazette' bids fair to do much toward extending the literature of the South. We hope often to hear through its columns from Mr. Legaré and Mr. [Henry Rootes] Jackson. Both these gentlemen are true poets. Their verse is quite a refreshing exception to the 'words, words' which have passed for 'poetry' and which were at one time 'indigenous voluminously' from certain prolific sources in that region" (*Knickerbocker*, XXXII [July, 1848], 85). Jackson who became an army general in the War with Mexico, was a journalist on the editorial staff of the *Savannah Daily Georgian*, and a native of Athens. In 1849 he was made a judge of the eastern circuit of Georgia, and a year later he published his *Tallulah, and Other Poems* (Savannah, Ga.: John M. Cooper, 1850), the title poem of which celebrates the same well-known Tallulah Falls in White County, western Georgia, which are also the subject of Legaré's "Tallulah" (*Orta-Undis*, 59-62). Jackson's best-known poem, "The Red Old Hills of Georgia," appeared in *Tallulah*.

⁴³ Thomas Haynes Bayly (1797-1839) was a prolific English versifier much reprinted in America.

not unhealthy and graceful Sapphics of our young countrymen like Legaré." The critic felt that "'Love' and 'Nature' are the favorite themes of Mr. Legaré, whose graceful mind appears to be braced with a pervading religious feeling." He then quoted all but the first two stanzas of "Loquitur Diana" ("Diana Speaks"), and concluded: "We find in other of Mr. Legaré's verses, a spirit of chivalrous feeling and manly tenderness which gives promise of something very delightful from his pen, when its vigor shall be more matured."⁴⁴

The elegantly got up and much admired *Holden's Dollar Magazine*, in its brief review, had some of the casualness of tone that was to mark the words of *The Christian Examiner*, yet *Holden's* was more decided in its favorable augury for Legaré's future. Moreover, it quoted five stanzas from "Loquitur Diana." "The distinguishing qualities of Mr. Legaré's poetry," declared this periodical,

are chasteness of sentiment, classical tone, and correctness. It is such poetry as a well educated young man, of good habits and good talents might write; but it does not contain those flashes of genius in the shape of original turns of thought which at once impress the reader with the presence of a new and true poet. There is certainly nothing in Mr. Legaré's poetry to cause one to think he is not a poet, but then there is nothing to induce the belief that he is. We must wait for his next volume, before we can judge accurately of his powers, but the presumption is that he will more than sustain the good impression which he has created in this his first volume.⁴⁵

At Richmond, editor John R. Thompson's *Southern Literary Messenger*, which during the years 1847-1856 was to publish eight of Legaré's verses, gave *Orta-Undis* the lead article in its book-review section for the June issue.⁴⁶ The *Messenger* echoed *The Literary World* in seeing Legaré under two guises, as a nature poet and as a poet of love; and the appearance of the volume in the same season with Henry Longfellow's *Evangeline*

⁴⁴ *The Literary World*, III (May 13, 1848), 283-284.

⁴⁵ *Holden's Dollar Magazine*, I (June, 1848), 375-376.

⁴⁶ "Notices of New Works," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIV (June 1848), 388-389. Eight years later the *Messenger's* esteem for Legaré had grown. Commenting on the recent publication of William J. Grayson's propaganda verse, *The Hireling and the Slave*, the magazine asserted that its appearance only added to the refutation the South was giving the North in the latter's claim that belles-lettres could not flourish coevally with slavery, a claim which Northern critics were making "in the face of Legaré, Wilde, Pinkney, Poe, Tucker, Simms, Meek, the Cookes, Miss Hawes—indeed of a host of the most popular and successful essayists, novelists and poets that the country has produced" (*SLM*, XXIII [August, 1856], 155).

prompted the reviewer to a nationalistic plea for the practice of greater literary patriotism in this country. "We want," said he, "no epics of a conventional world, no madrigals of moonshine. The literature of America should be marked by a distinctive home feeling" Instead, our poets unperceptively write rimes about foreign skies, when those in the United States are just as blue. "The same stars are set in the heavens that the Chaldeans saw," the reviewer reminded his readers, and continued:

These reflections have been suggested by the modest little volume before us. We are glad to recognize in Mr. Legaré a true worshipper of nature, a genuine poet of the South, whose healthy and graceful verses reflect the very features of her landscapes. In every descriptive poem we have an exquisite little picture, radiant with all the hues of the Southern sky.

As a good example, he quoted "The Reaper," and four stanzas from "A May Morn" (lines 1-8, 17-24) which he thought "highly consonant to nature."

On the young author as a love poet, the reviewer had this to say:

Mr. Legaré is no mean poet of the affections. He does not indeed embalm in anapaests the heartless sentimentalism of an artificial society, nor does he, with senseless egotism, lay bare his own heart to our gaze, but he sings of those delights and regrets which have . . . set apart forever the love-songs of Burns.

Since "we regard the poems in the present volume, rather as affording promise of what Mr. Legaré *will* do, than as enduring evidences of his power," the critic decided not to quote any verses to prove the thesis. He then made a few minor criticisms—of an obscurity here, a needless inversion there—and in conclusion declared: "We shall look with great interest to his literary efforts, feeling assured that he will yet achieve something of permanent fame for himself and Southern Literature."

Down in South Carolina, the poet's home town produced two reactions to his book, both favorable. Sandwiching its comment between two notices of equal length—one on the expansion of the Camden Branch railroad, the other on the establishment of military hospitals at Pass Christian by the admired General Twigs—*The Charleston Mercury* had this to say of *Orta-Undis*:

We are indebted to the author for a copy of the above work, and have perused his modest little offering with great satisfaction. There is in it much genuine poetry, and we take pleasure in commending it to our friends as a book abounding in fine sentiment and strongly marked with the inspiration of the muse.⁴⁷

The *Southern Quarterly Review*, one of the better Southern magazines, gave a one-paragraph outline of *Orta-Undis* in a discussion of recent verse which is eminently judicial in tone. Though the magazine commented on the slenderness of his volume, Legaré fared well:

He has evidently not seated himself to his task; not deliberately taken up his pen; but merely caught up the overflow of his fancy and preserved it as a proof, or promise, of what might issue from the proper unsealing of his fountains. And there is considerable promise. The poems before us are full of instances of rare felicity of phrase, happy turns of thought, analogies equally sweet and curious, and fine moralities that crown the verse, at its close, with a sudden surprise and beauty. His fancy is very delicate; his command of language considerable; and his tastes find provocation to life and utterance, from the casual encounter with wood, lake or forest scene.

As a good example of these generalizations, the *Review* quoted "The Reaper" in full.⁴⁸

In Georgia, three periodicals, from as many cities, responded to the appearance of *Orta-Undis*. Most significant of the three were the comments in the *Southern Literary Gazette*, at Athens, presumably by its editor, William C. Richards, who in 1848-49 was to accept a prose sketch and four poems by Legaré. Because a volume of good Southern verse was so rare, said the reviewer, "it was with kind and thankful feelings toward the author that we opened his little volume and glanced eagerly over its dainty pages." What he found did not wholly please him, however, and he pointed this out in strictures which contrast interestingly with the opinion of the *Southern Quarterly Review*: "Mr. Legaré's poetry is marked by a studied quaintness— amounting to a positive affectation, to which we are disposed to object We discover them in the structure of his stanzas—in the frequent

⁴⁷ *The Charleston Mercury*, June 3, 1848 (2, col. 2). For a full treatment of this newspaper, see Granville T. Prior, "A History of the Charleston Mercury, 1822-1852," doctoral dissertation in history (unpublished), Harvard University Library, 1947.

⁴⁸ "Recent American Poets," *Southern Quarterly Review*, XVI (October 1849), 228-229.

inversions of his style—in numerous obscurities of sense—and, we add moreover, in occasional departures from the established laws of verse-making.” Nevertheless, the critic felt that Legaré’s tone “is lofty yet tender,” and that his verses have “a grace and delicacy about them, which cannot fail to charm the reader.” The volume “contains true poetry—the indigenous growth of our own sunny land.” Quite in opposition to the *Boston Evening Transcript*, this periodical found that

Mr. Legaré’s poetry has certainly the charm and merit of originality. He is no servile imitator; and in despite of a few mannerisms, he writes well and worthily. We hope he will attempt higher themes than those which have hitherto engrossed his verse. His muse should soar—for it is not in rustic haunts and shady nooks that she will find her truest inspiration.⁴⁹

Of the poems, “Haw-Blossoms,” “A May Morn,” and “The Reaper” were preferred; and the editor reminded his readers that he had already published the last-named in his *Southern Eclectic*.⁵⁰

Across the State in Augusta, Mrs. Legaré’s home town, the *Daily Constitutionalist* noted that the volume, “though of modest exterior, is of fair and neat typography.” The negative portion of this review echoed the *Evening Transcript* rather clearly: “The style of the author is peculiar, and not above criticism. It is not free from a stiffness which may be the fruit of an effort to adopt a style from others We have fancied that we could trace imitations of the quaintnesses of Longfellow, and of Poe, which added nothing to the intrinsic beauties of our author’s conceptions. But we take no pleasure in seeking blemishes upon gems of pure and beautiful thought,” because the *Constitutionalist* felt Legaré’s verses proved him possessed “of talents and cultivation of a superior order.” It noted that the poet was “imbued with a deep love of nature,” and quoted lines 38-54 from “Ornithologoi” (“Bird Voices”), which “may not inaptly picture his inner-self.” The review concluded with a full printing of “Flowers in Ashes,” preceded by this valedictory:

⁴⁹ *Southern Literary Gazette*, I (August 26, 1848), 127. Three months later, Richards, in advising a Charleston minor poet, Augustin Louis Taveau (1828-1886), not to forward poems for possible sale in the Athens area, declared that he did so “on account of the want of interest in & taste for such brochures in this place. Of Legaré’s Poems & of ‘Poems by a Charlestonian’ we can make no sale at all—I am ashamed to say all this of Athens but so it is.” Richards to Taveau, Athens, December 15th, 1848 (Taveau Papers, Duke University Library).

⁵⁰ For this period, no such publication is listed in Bertram H. Flanders, *Early Georgia*

. . . we would most heartily use the language of cheering and encouragement. We would say to the author, speed on, "*Sic iter ad astra.*" With your natural endowments, ripe scholarship and refined tastes, if life and health be spared thee, the goal may yet be won.⁵¹

Tuberculosis, which had struck at the poet once already—the preceding summer in Augusta—would spare him his life and health for eleven more years. This summer of 1848 it would be just as well if he were spared the sight of the *Savannah Daily Georgian's* comment on his book. The editor, having on his desk a few of the new volumes that had just come in to John M. Cooper, a local bookseller, ticketed *Orta-Undis* as follows:

A modest volume of fugitive pieces, printed on better paper and with better type than such pieces generally are. Some leisure hour we will glance over them.⁵²

To a former fellow student at the College of Charleston, James D. B. DeBow, now become an influential Southern publisher, Legaré sent a copy of *Orta-Undis*. In his own *Review*, currently located at New Orleans, the editor commented on the gift volume as follows:

Many of the pieces have much merit, and they are all characterized by a true poetic fervor and tenderness. We knew the author in more youthful times; and it was our fortune to share the instructions of a common *alma mater*. He had even then begun to assume position.

DeBow then quoted in its entirety "On the Death of a Kinsman"—the poet's tribute to Hugh Swinton Legaré—"which we have always thought very fine."⁵³

Magazines: Literary Periodicals to 1865 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1944). *The Southern Eclectic*, edited by J. H. Fitten at Augusta, Ga., ran in the years 1853-1854.

⁵¹ *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, June 2, 1848 (2, col. 4). The writer is much indebted to N. A. Cleveland, the newspaper librarian of the University of Texas Library, for a typescript copy of the *Constitutionalist* review (Cleveland to the writer, March 9, 1848).

⁵² *Savannah Daily Georgian*, June 5, 1848. Cooper ran advertisements of *Orta-Undis* for some weeks in the *Georgian* (information courtesy of Mrs. Lilla M. Hawes, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, to the writer, March 12, 1948) and for a few days in the rival *Savannah Daily Republican*, June 7, 1848 (1, col. 4), in company with notices of the complete installments of Dickens' new novel, *Dombey and Son*, and Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights*.

⁵³ *DeBow's Review*, VI (August 1848), 159-160. Two years later Legaré, under the guise of reviewing and condensing a recent travel book in Spanish, wrote an adventure romance of Guatemala for DeBow: "Suppositious Reviews," *DeBow's Review*, IX (August, October 1850), 158-164, 392-397, and X (January-March 1851), 13-20, 162-165, 257-265. For a useful sketch, see Ottis C. Skipper, "J. D. B. DeBow, the Man," *Journal of Southern History*, X (November, 1944), 404-423. Skipper, who went through the DeBow papers thoroughly, reports that to the best of his knowledge they contain no Legaré correspondence (O. C. Skipper, department of history, Mississippi State College for Women, to the writer, April 23, 1948). Inquiry of the Duke University Library, where some of the DeBow papers now repose, brings a negative answer as to Legaré items.

III

If we summarize the contemporary critical opinion of *Orta-Undis*, what do we find? About as typical a mixture of dicta as might be expected (critics are human). Four writers declared that Legaré was obviously a nature poet. One said that this was not so. Two reviewers labelled him an imitative writer. One denied it. Two found Legaré a love poet, while two more murmured about obscurities of meaning. The implication behind nearly all the reviews was favorable, but five critics also pointed out that the poet was, thus far, only trying his wing. To soar to pride of place in the literary firmament he must write again, and write better. This was undeniably so, for a single title to a poet's credit is scarcely sufficient to establish his name. Moreover, it is unfortunately true that critical favor does not guarantee popular favor, especially in the field of verse; and, as we have seen, the sales of *Orta-Undis* could not have been pleasing to the author. While it is a pity, therefore, that Legaré did not collect his subsequent magazine contributions into a second volume, it is, corollary-wise, a testimonial to his artistry that *Orta-Undis* alone has carried his reputation down through an even one hundred and one years. For as Lewisohn points out, "Only a pretty thorough reading of Legaré's Carolinian contemporaries can serve to reveal the full measure of his difference from them."⁵⁴ During the poet's lifetime, at least three anthologists—Simms at Charleston in 1845, Griswold and the Duyckincks at New York City in 1856—had been aware of this difference. After the turn of the century,⁵⁵ other students of Southern verse have become increasingly aware of it.

With the advent of the new century in 1900 came the publication of Edmund C. Stedman's *American Anthology*, containing three Legaré poems: "Ahab-Mohammed," "To a Lily," "Amy."⁵⁶ One year later Weber's *Selections from the Southern Poets* seemed to echo the Stedman taste with its inclusion of "Ahab-Moham-

⁵⁴ Ludwig Lewisohn, "James Matthew [sic] Legare," *Library of Southern Literature*, VII, 3191. See above, p. 418, n. 4.

⁵⁵ In 1892 "To a Lily" was reprinted in *A Library of American Literature*, ed. Edmund C. Stedman and Ellen M. Hutchinson (New York: Charles L. Webster), VIII, 149-150. There is no critical comment, but a brief biographical summary (XI, 514) gives the publication date of *Orta-Undis* as 1847 [sic], and commits other errors.

⁵⁶ Stedman, ed., "James Matthew [sic] Legare," *An American Anthology, 1787-1900* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1900), 266-267. Brief biographical notes on p. 806 repeat the 1847 error for *Orta-Undis*, and others.

med" and "To a Lily" once more.⁵⁷ In 1903, at Charleston, the poet's reputation underwent a tiny local renaissance that was both critical and biographical. In August of that year Ludwig Lewisohn gave *Orta-Undis* a sympathetic and perceptive appraisal, during which he declared that Legaré "appears to me to have been the most considerable poet, with the exception of Timrod and Hayne, that South Carolina can show."⁵⁸ The following November A. S. Salley, Jr., published a brief but valuable factual sketch, including the transcript of a letter of condolence to Legaré's father by the novelist, William Gilmore Simms, on the occasion of the poet's death.⁵⁹ In 1905 William Peterfield Trent, the well-known Southern scholar resident at New York, reprinted "to a Lily" and "Haw-Blossoms" in his *Southern Writers*, with the comment:

This little book, although it contains scarcely a single poem that is satisfactory as a whole, and although it shows that Legaré had probably felt the influence of Tennyson, gives clear proof that the young poet was a true artist and lover of nature. In careful technique Legaré was superior to most if not all of his Southern predecessors save Poe . . .⁶⁰

Giving a few lines of comment to the poet in *A History of Southern Literature* (1906), Carl Holliday asserted that the best-known of his titles were "To a Lily" and "Ahab-Mohammed."⁶¹ The present writer would award second place both to the latter poem and to "The Reaper,"⁶² despite the fact that in 1908 the

⁵⁷ William L. Weber, ed., *Selections from the Southern Poets* (New York: Macmillan, 1901), 115-118. Biographical notes in the Introduction (xxxviii) are copied from the Stedman-Hutchinson *Library* and hence repeat the 1847 error for *Orta-Undis*. Weber taught English at Lewry College, in Georgia, and designed his volume as a Freshman poetry textbook.

⁵⁸ Lewisohn, "J. M. Legaré," in his critical series, "The Books We Have Made," Charleston, S. C., *Sunday News and Courier*, August 16, 1903 (20, cols. 4-5).

⁵⁹ A. S. Salley, Jr., "James Mathewes Legaré," Historical Department, Charleston *Sunday News and Courier*, November 1, 1903 (1, cols. 3-5). The Simms letter is dated Charleston, July 24, 1859. Salley also reprints an undated reply by the poet's brother, Joseph John Legaré, on behalf of his father, John D. Legaré, who was suffering from an incapacitating eye infection at the time. An obituary notice on Joseph J. Legaré in the *Sunday News and Courier* for December 8, 1901 (8, col. 5), reveals that funeral services were held that afternoon at 1 P.M. at 039 Meeting St., interment in Magnolia Cemetery. Joseph's death occurred on December 6.

⁶⁰ W. P. Trent, ed., "James Matthews [sic] Legaré," *Southern Writers* (New York: Macmillan, 1905), 291-292.

⁶¹ Carl Holliday, *A History of Southern Literature* (New York and Washington, D. C.: Neale Publishing Company, 1906), 219-220. In Holliday's *Three Centuries of Southern Poetry (1607-1907)*, Nashville and Dallas: Publishing House of M. E. Church, South, 1908, 130-132, he reprints "Ahab-Mohammed" and "To a Lily," noting of the latter (247): "With its dainty conceits and delicate phrasing, this poem serves as another good example of the lighter poetry of the South." The author compares it to E. C. Pinkney's "A Health" (1824) and P. P. Cooke's "Florence Vane" (1840). Holliday gets Legaré middle name correct but ascribes *Orta-Undis* to 1847.

⁶² On the basis of my researches to date, admittedly inconclusive, I cite the five following titles as Legaré's most frequently reprinted (wholly or in part) poems: "To a Lily," 12 times; "The Reaper" and "Ahab-Mohammed," 6 each; "Haw-Blossoms," 5; "On the Death

editor of a volume of verses for young people decided that "Ahab-Mohammed" belonged among the *Poems Children Love*.⁶³ In 1909 the president of Wofford College, contributing an article on verse to *The South in the Building of the Nation*, quoted the first paragraph of "To a Lily" as characteristic of Legaré's work and declared that its author, together with certain other minor writers, deserved only "passing notice. As with the rest, there is wanting with him the swift, sure utterance of the genuine lyric mood, and one feels that the poetry is made, not inspired." (Notwithstanding this derogation, a full-page likeness of Legaré is also published.⁶⁴) In 1910 George A. Wauchope included no less than seven of Legaré's efforts in *The Writers of South Carolina*,⁶⁵ yet only one year later another anthologist could confess of Legaré: "I have been able to collect very few facts about his life."⁶⁶ With 1929, however, there came a second resurgence of interest in the poet, when three separate critics found his name worthy of remembrance. We have already noted Ludwig Lewisohn's tribute in the *Library of Southern Literature*.⁶⁷ Now, too, Alfred Kreyemborg—himself a poet—went on record, in *Our Singing Strength*, with the statement that *Orta-Undis* contained "some exquisite writing doubtless inherited from the French." This commentator felt that Paul Hamilton Hayne "gave the larger performance and Legaré the better promise,"⁶⁸ and reprinted "To a Lilly" in his *Lyric America* (1930).⁶⁹ The best was yet to be, however, when—still in 1929—the first and third stanzas of "To a Lily" won admission to a jam-packed but widely celebrated Hall of Fame: Nathan Haskell Dole decided that the verses were

of a Kinsman," 4. Parks is probably in error when he declares (*Southern Poets*, p. civ) that "Ahab-Mohammed" is Legaré's most widely reprinted poem.

⁶³ Penrhyn W. Coussens, ed., "James Matthews [sic] Legaré," *Poems Children Love* (New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 1908), 279-280. No critical comment.

⁶⁴ Henry N. Snyder, "Characteristics of Southern Poetry from the Beginning to 1865," *The South in the Building of the Nation*, VII (Richmond, Va.: The Southern Historical Publication Society, [1909]), 17. Portrait facing page 18. This is a reproduction of the Capewell and Kimmel engraving which had originally appeared in *The Knickerbocker Gallery: A Testimonial to the Editor of the Knickerbocker Magazine from its Contributors* (New York: Samuel Hueston, 1855), facing 347. The engraving prefaces Legaré's contribution to the *Gallery*, his prose tale, "The Loves of Mary Jones" (347-371). The volume was compiled by Rufus W. Griswold.

⁶⁵ Wauchope, *The Writers of South Carolina* (Columbia, S. C.: State Publishing Company, 1910), 249-258. Reprinted are "The Reaper," "To a Lily," "Tallulah," "On the Death of a Kinsman," "To Anne," "Flowers in Ashes," "Haw-Blossoms."

⁶⁶ Henry J. Stockard, *A Study in Southern Poetry* (New York and Washington, D. C.: Neale Publishing Company, 1911), 119-122. Reprinted are "To a Lily," "Ahab-Mohammed," and "Amy."

⁶⁷ See above, p. 418, n. 4.

⁶⁸ Kreyemborg, *Our Singing Strength: An Outline of American Poetry (1620-1930)* (New York: Coward, McCann, 1929), 159.

⁶⁹ Kreyemborg, ed., *Lyric America . . . 1630-1930* (New York: Coward, McCann, 1930), 141. Reprinted in the 2nd revised ed., New York, 1941.

well enough known to be permitted a small niche in the tenth edition of Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*.⁷⁰ Dole's selection has been retained in both the eleventh and twelfth editions (1938, 1948 respectively) ; and their co-editor, Miss Louella D. Everett, tells why :

In 1934 or 1935 when I began work on the eleventh edition of Bartlett, I left in the "To a Lily" stanzas—you'll smile at my "woman's reason"—because John Bennett, the Charleston, S. C., author, lives on Legaré Street, and I wanted to keep Legaré's memory green.⁷¹

That the poet's memory is not sufficiently green, but, rather, lingers in the sere and yellow leaf is suggested by the fact that an otherwise careful modern scholar, on adding "Haw-Blossoms" to his anthology of romantic writing in 1933, can still misspell Legaré's middle name and err on the publication date of *Orta-Undis*.⁷²

No, despite a tenuous but persistent professional appreciation, Legaré's verse is worthy of a wider audience. Such an audience it has not yet had. "This complete neglect," as Edd W. Parks observed in 1936, "is all the more remarkable when the quality of his work is considered."⁷³ If a more general reader interest in the quality of that work is at all revived by the present article, its author will have fulfilled his aim.

⁷⁰ N. H. Dole, ed., "James Matthews [sic] Legare," *Familiar Quotations*, tenth edition (Boston: Little, Brown, 1929), 755-756.

⁷¹ Miss Everett to the writer, August 26, 1948. Miss Everett, to whom I am also indebted for calling my attention to the existence of the Coussens anthology (p. 437, n. 63 above), is convinced that Dole did not go back to *Orta-Undis* for "To a Lilly," but drew the verses from Stedman's *American Anthology* (1900), which Dole was using heavily for certain portions of his edition of the Bartlett.

⁷² Tremaine McDowell, ed., "James Matthews [sic] Legare," *The Romantic Triumph: American Literature from 1830 to 1860* (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 704. Brief biographical comments occur on page 740, where the publication date of *Orta-Undis* is given as 1847.

⁷³ Parks, ed., *Southern Poets*, 93. See above, p. 428, n. 39.

CAREER OF A FLAG

By THOMAS E. BLADES and JOHN W. WIKE

Consigned to the relatively dim obscurity of the files of the Department of the Army in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., is an old flag, unseen and little known. This flag of twenty-eight stars and thirteen stripes, faded and begrimed by use and the ruthless passage of time, has a most unusual and interesting history.

Loosely wired to its broken and bullet-scared staff is a small tarnished silver shield upon which is inscribed the following:

THIS FLAG was borne by Company G, 12th Infantry composed of North Carolinians commanded by Captain C. R. Jones during the War with Mexico. In the hands of Lieut. E. Cantwell it was the first to wave over the Fort at the National Bridge. Presented to the WILMINGTON LIGHT INFANTRY By Capt. Jones 22nd Feb. 1857.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war with Mexico a regiment was authorized to be organized under the Act of February 11, 1847.¹

The regiment, which was designated the Twelfth United States Infantry,² was to become a part of the regular line for and during the period of the war, and was to be recruited in the States of Missouri, Texas, Arkansas, North Carolina and South Carolina.³

Charles R. Jones, a resident of Fayetteville, North Carolina, who had been one of the original leaders in organizing and recruiting Company C, First Regiment North Carolina Volunteers, was commissioned a first lieutenant in the Regular Army⁴ and assigned to Company G, of the Twelfth Infantry.

He set up his recruiting headquarters in Fayetteville and soon had his company well filled. When the company was fully organ-

¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, IX, 123.

² Paragraph 9, General Orders Number 8, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C., dated March 4, 1847.

³ Paragraph 9, General Orders Number 8, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C., dated March 4, 1847.

⁴ Document 176 M, Adjutant General's Office, 1847.

ized and prepared to leave a brief ceremony was held in which Lieutenant Jones was presented a sword by the members of the Independent Rifle Company of Fayetteville, one of the oldest military organizations in the United States. The gracious ladies of the town presented each member of the new company with a Bible. Prior to this, these generous ladies had presented a flag to the first company of volunteers organized there for the Mexican War of which Lieutenant Jones had been an officer.⁵ Upon the disbanding of this organization the flag came into the possession of Jones and was used by him at his recruiting headquarters.⁶ This standard was destined to become the battle flag of the Twelfth Infantry and a history of this flag is also a history of the activities of Company G.

The new company left Fayetteville in May, 1847, and arrived at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, on the twenty-ninth.⁷ It sailed from Fort Moultrie on June 20 and arrived at Vera Cruz on the same day of the following month.⁸ After being assigned to Major Folliot T. Lally's command it began a dangerous and difficult march into enemy country to join General Scott. It is alleged that this was the only flag which was displayed by that command during the entire campaign from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico.⁹

"Puente de la Nacional" (the National Bridge) was the first place this untried company and unchristened battle flag were to receive their real baptism of fire and the flag was to begin a very interesting career. The American forces under Major Lally, Ninth Infantry, numbered but 1,000 men, most of whom were raw recruits, against an enemy variously estimated from 1,800 to 3,000 men under Padre Jourante.¹⁰

On the morning of August 12, 1847, this small command broke up its encampment at "Passo de los Vegas"¹¹ and started for the National Bridge where it was expected contact with Jourante's guerrilleros would be made. At about eleven o'clock the American Forces came in sight of the bridge. Immediately the sixty-

⁵ *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.

⁶ Document 1134, Adjutant General's Office, 1879.

⁷ Document 402 W, Adjutant General Office, 1847.

⁸ Return of Company G, 12th Infantry, July, 1847.

⁹ *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.

¹⁰ Letter from Charles R. Jones to Edward Cantwell, March 23, 1848, enclosing a brief sketch of the Battle of National Bridge, filed with document 1134, Adjutant General's Office, 1879.

¹¹ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

four baggage wagons with the command were doubled up on the road and the men were ordered to prepare for action. At first only a few enemy stragglers were seen, but when reconnoitering parties were sent out they soon brought back information that the enemy had thrown up a strong barricade across the farthest extremity of the bridge. The heights on the opposite side of the river which the bridge crossed were occupied by a large body of the foe firmly entrenched behind fortified positions which effectually commanded the bridge.¹²

On the right of the road the enemy had occupied a high hill which also commanded the bridge and it appeared to be impossible to attack because of a deep ravine which ran between the American forces and the guerrilleros.¹³

On the left side the guerrilleros had also occupied a small fort on a hill about 300 feet above the level of the road and this, too, commanded the bridge. In a small town on the other side lurked a body of some 300 enemy lancers.¹⁴

No alternative was left the gallant command but to attempt to fight its way over the bridge in a frontal attack; accordingly, about half past one in the afternoon the artillery consisting of two brass six-pounders commanded by Lieutenant H. B. Sears, Second Artillery, was ordered forward to a position on the bridge with Lieutenant Wilkins' Company, Fifteenth Infantry, as advance guard.¹⁵ At the same time Captain W. I. Clarke's Company I, Twelfth Infantry, and Lieutenant Loring's Company of Eleventh Infantry moved forward under cover of the artillery to engage the enemy.¹⁶ Jones, now a captain, commanding Company G, was ordered to take a position in front of the supply train to defend it against a possible attack.¹⁷

The column of infantry advanced to the bridge and passed the heights on the right of the road without being fired upon, but the moment the artillery reached the bridge the enemy opened up from all positions with a devastating fire.¹⁸ Within thirty minutes there was not a man standing at the artillery with the exception of Lieutenant Sears, who, miraculously, remained unhurt.

¹² Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

¹³ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

¹⁴ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

¹⁵ Major Lally's report of operations of his command on the march from Vera Cruz to Jalapa, document 373 L, Adjutant General's Office, 1847.

¹⁶ Major Lally's report, document 373 L, Adjutant General's Office, 1847.

¹⁷ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

¹⁸ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

Meanwhile action had become general. The advancing infantry, after holding out over an hour against this murderous fire, was forced to retire leaving the two pieces of artillery remaining on the bridge and in grave danger of being captured.¹⁹

The enemy, encouraged by the repulse of the United States troops, raised the black flag on one of the forts signifying that no quarter would be given.²⁰ At this crucial time the supply train was attacked in the rear and center and a demonstration was made at its head but the Mexicans were repulsed by Captain Jones and his alert company with considerable casualties among the enemy forces.²¹

Lieutenant Sears appealed to Captain Jones for assistance in bringing off at least one gun from the bridge and Lieutenant Edward Cantwell of Company G volunteered to make a try at it.²² Because of the extremely heavy fire being delivered by the Mexicans only one non-commissioned officer of Company G volunteered to go with him²³ and it was necessary to order twelve other enlisted men to assist in the suicidal attempt.²⁴

The small detachment accompanied by Lieutenant Sears descended to the bridge and brought off one of the guns with the loss of one man wounded; however, George D. Twiggs, who, expecting a commission, was on his way to join General Scott as aide de camp,²⁵ and two or three others who had joined the party at the bridge, were killed.²⁶ Cantwell again made a brave dash to the bridge and brought off the body of Twiggs. Later a detachment of Mounted Volunteers under Lieutenant Walters managed to secure the other gun and a vigorous bombardment of the enemy positions was commenced.²⁷

At the first signs of enemy withdrawal Captain C. C. Hornsby, Company K, Twelfth Infantry, was ordered to take possession of

¹⁹ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

²⁰ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

²¹ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

²² Jones's letter to Cantwell, March 23, 1848, is used as authority for saying Cantwell was the officer who volunteered. Lieutenant Sears in his report of this operation (document 373 L, Adjutant General's Office, 1847, enclosure no. 2) gives credit to Captain Clarke of Company I, Twelfth Infantry. However, as Captain Jones was the officer appealed to for assistance it is more probable that he would know the correct name of the officer who did volunteer.

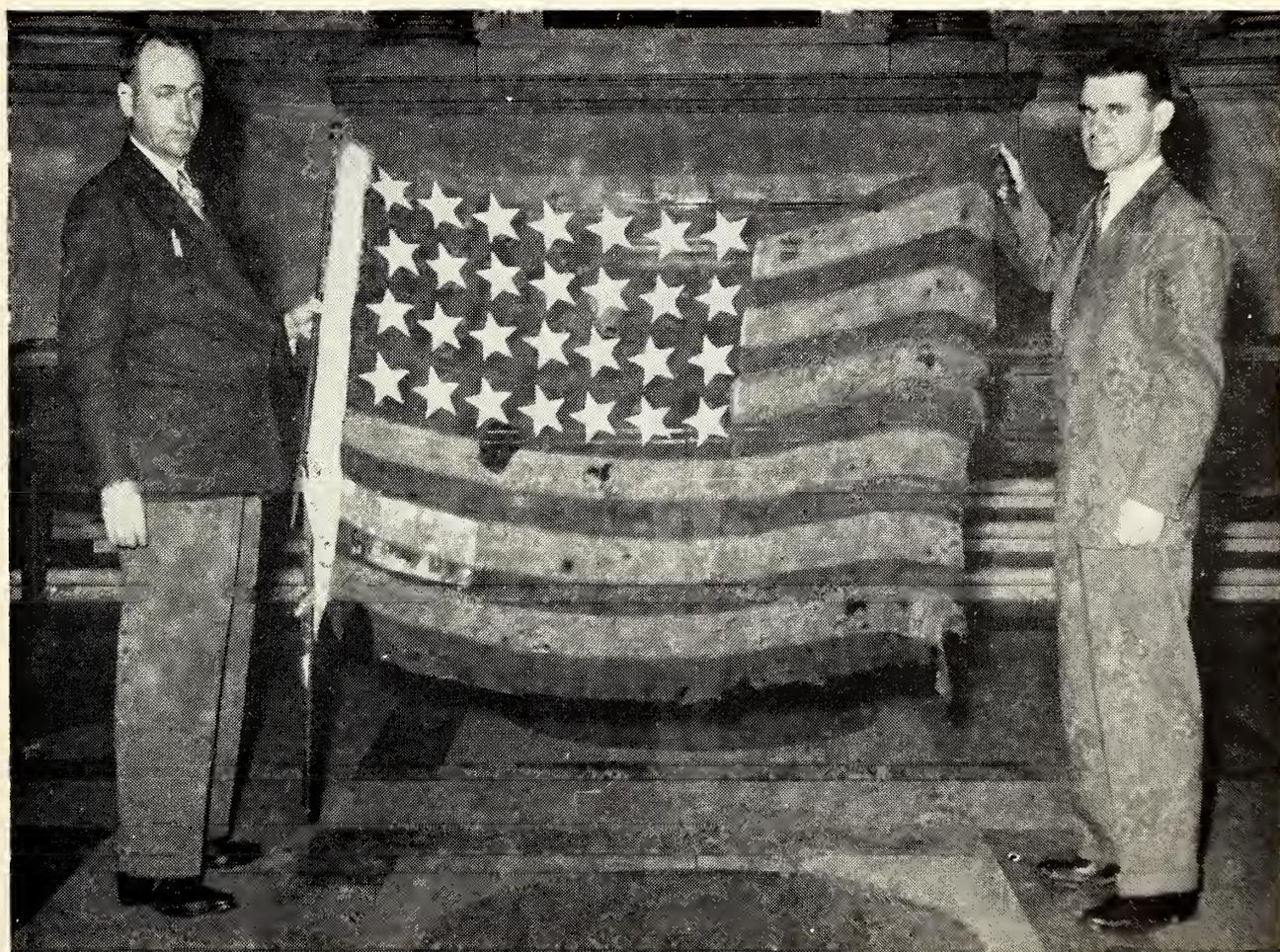
²³ According to Captain Jones's letter to Cantwell of March 23, 1848, this non-commissioned officer was Corporal Lucius Moore.

²⁴ Jones to Cantwell, dated March 23, 1848.

²⁵ Major Lally's report, document 373 L, Adjutant General's Office, 1847.

²⁶ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

²⁷ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.



FLAG OF COMPANY G, 12TH INFANTRY, THE FIRST TO WAVE OVER THE ENEMY STRONGHOLD AT THE NATIONAL BRIDGE, WAR WITH MEXICO. PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES EXHIBITION HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 16, 1946.



the fort on the left of the American forces.²⁸ The company immediately advanced accompanied by Lieutenant Cantwell who bore in his hands the "Stars and Stripes" which had been presented by the ladies of Fayetteville.²⁹ When the charging troops reached the enemy fort, four of Cantwell's comrades raised him in their arms³⁰ to the top of the breastworks where he stood waving the colors.

More of the men of Cantwell's command joined him, and the Mexicans, expecting a general assault, beat a hasty retreat.

The enemy strong hold had been taken with the loss of one officer and ten enlisted men killed or mortally wounded and four officers and thirty-six enlisted men wounded.³¹

The standard held by Cantwell was adopted by Major Lally's command and waved defiantly, tho bullet torn, in engagements of the Twelfth Infantry at Cerro Gordo, Las Animas and Jalapa, Huamantla, Atlixco, and other skirmishes and engagements.

When the command reported to General Winfield S. Scott at the City of Mexico, Captain Jones claimed the flag as the property of Company G and it was returned to him to remain with the company until the end of hostilities.³² Captain Jones retained possession of this historic prize after the company was mustered out at Camp Carrollton, Louisiana, on July 24, 1848.³³

On February 25, 1857,³⁴ Jones, now a general of militia of Iredell County, North Carolina, presented the colors to the Wilmington Light Infantry Company which had been organized on May 20, 1853,³⁵ with the brave Cantwell as its first captain.

In 1859, upon the request of Cantwell, the Wilmington Light Infantry by unanimous resolution presented the banner "to the keeping of him [Cantwell] who first raised it victoriously in defense of his country."³⁶

²⁸ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

²⁹ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

³⁰ In a letter to the *Wilmington Herald* dated March 7, 1857, James Banks informed the newspaper that B. A. Howell and Malcolm McNeil of Cumberland and two others were the comrades who raised Cantwell to the top of the enemy breastworks. (Document 1134, Adjutant General's Office, 1879). On March 4, 1857, B. A. Howell had also written the *Wilmington Herald* and informed them he remembered the Bibles the ladies of Fayetteville had given the company and also the march on the National Road and the Battle of National Bridge.

³¹ Lally's report, document 373 L, Adjutant General's Office, 1847.

³² *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.

³³ Muster roll of Company G, Twelfth Infantry, July 24, 1848.

³⁴ *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.

³⁵ *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.

³⁶ John R. Sanders, chairman, Wilmington Light Infantry, to Cantwell, January 14, 1859. (Document 1134, Adjutant General's Office, 1879.)

At the beginning of the Civil War, Cantwell, who later became a lieutenant colonel in the Confederate States Army,³⁷ wishing to preserve this priceless memento of the Twelfth Infantry, buried the flag for safekeeping upon an island in the Cape Fear River.³⁸ In 1863, when Wilmington was re-occupied by United States troops, a party of soldiers searching for hidden treasure discovered the flag and presented it to the fire company of that city who later returned it to Cantwell.³⁹

Prior to the burial of the standard, Cantwell's brother, John L. Cantwell, a colonel of the Fifty-first North Carolina Troops, Confederate States Army, had taken the staff off the flag and placed the colors of his regiment upon it and these had been captured by the Union forces in Virginia.⁴⁰

In 1875 Colonel Cantwell, who had been a member of the "Rowan Rifle Guard," sent his son Fred to Charlotte to carry this battle-scarred flag at the head of their command in the procession in honor of the Centennial Celebration of American Liberty. The flag "attracted considerable attention throughout the day."⁴¹

On February 22, 1879, Cantwell delivered the flag to the National Association of Mexican Veterans at Baltimore, Maryland, during its Sixth Annual Reunion.⁴² It was unanimously resolved that the flag be tendered to the War Department on behalf of the survivors of the Mexican War to be preserved among the battle flags of the nation.⁴³ Accordingly, General Denver, president of the association, three days later placed the flag and shield in the hands of the Secretary of War.

The shield became detached from the flag and was returned to the Wilmington Light Infantry by the Adjutant General of the Army under the mistaken impression that it had been picked up on the battlefield.⁴⁴ As a result of a brief exchange of correspondence with the War Department, a former captain of the Wilmington Light Infantry,⁴⁵ and Cantwell, the shield was re-

³⁷ Twelfth Regiment, North Carolina Infantry, and Fifty-ninth Regiment, North Carolina Volunteers, Confederate States Army.

³⁸ Document 797, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.

³⁹ Document 797, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.

⁴⁰ Document 3,800, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.

⁴¹ *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.

⁴² Document 797, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.

⁴³ Document 797, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.

⁴⁴ Document 3424, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.

⁴⁵ William L. DeRosset who had been present when the flag was originally presented to the Wilmington Light Infantry by Jones.

turned on June 17, 1887,⁴⁶ and again was attached to the staffless flag.

In June, 1887, Cantwell informed the War Department of the whereabouts of the staff,⁴⁷ and after a long search, that, too, was found among the captured Confederate flags on file in the War Department and returned to its original use, completing the honorable career of a flag that, in 1848, bore nine shot holes.⁴⁸ And the flag and staff, along with many other historical items, was transferred to the National Archives, where it remains today.

⁴⁶ Document 3,585, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.

⁴⁷ Document 3,800, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.

⁴⁸ Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

PRINCE BERNHARD'S TRAVELS IN THE
CAROLINAS, DECEMBER, 1825¹

Translated and Edited by
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Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, commonly referred to as Prince Bernhard (1792-1862) was the second son of the Grand Duke Karl August, famous through his friendship with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. As a second son Bernhard was destined for a military career. In the turbulent times of the Napoleonic wars he showed personal courage and military efficiency. He fought first with the Rheinbund on the side of Napoleon, but during the Russian campaign his parents sent him on an educational tour of France and Italy. He returned to take part in the final struggle against Napoleon, however, and entered into the service of the army of the Netherlands.²

From childhood on the prince had dreamed of seeing the New World, and in 1825 his ambitions were realized when, after obtaining leave of absence from the army of the Netherlands, he set out on his travels to North America. He was well prepared for this experience through careful study and a three months' stay in England, Ireland, and Scotland. He even toyed with the thought of settling permanently in one of these countries, his idea being that "there is nobody happier than a private citizen with sufficient means." He at first hoped to include Mexico in his American voyage, but the difficulties of arrangement did not make this plan feasible. He landed in Boston on July 26. After an excursion westward and northward to Niagara, Montreal, and Quebec, he travelled southward with stops in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Charlottesville, Virginia, where he was the guest of Thomas Jefferson.³ From Norfolk he began the journey into the Carolinas (which is described in this study),

¹ An excerpt from Heinrich Luden, editor, *Reise, Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826* (Weimar, 1828), I, 306-317.

² R. Starkloff, *Das Leben des Herzogs Bernhard von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach* (Gotha, 1865-1866), *passim*.

³ This part of the *Reise* has been translated by Francis H. Heller, *Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1948), VII (1946-1947), 29-35.

Georgia (Augusta and Macon), and the territory of the Creek Indians; then he went on to New Orleans, whence he took a boat to St. Louis. He made a point of visiting New Harmony, Indiana, where he found the experimental settlement of Robert Owen, interesting enough to add its constitution in an appendix of the diary of his tour. He then went on through Louisville to Cincinnati and out into the "interior" of Ohio⁴ and then by Pittsburgh back into Pennsylvania and on to New York, from whence he sailed in June, 1826.⁵

While on his tour Prince Bernhard kept a day-by-day diary which was not intended for publication but for the pleasure of his friends and relatives. The widespread interest that the journal aroused surprised him very much. Many prominent people, eager to get hold of one of the few copies in longhand, urged him to make the diary more generally available in book form. The idea was later justified by the more than 800 subscriptions for the book. The Grand Duke Karl August, the father of the prince, wanted two reliable scholars,⁶ geologists as well as historians, to undertake the editorship under the instruction of his friend Goethe, who had written an Italian diary which had been a phenomenal success. Goethe, as shown by numerous letters and notations in his diary, had read the prince's journal

⁴ The duke's visit to Kentucky and Ohio has been described by George H. Blake. "The Visit of Duke Bernard of Sachsen-Weimar to Kentucky and Ohio," in a paper given at the University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, March 31-April 2, 1949.

⁵ The contemporary accounts of the duke's visit show the keen interest with which his journey was followed. Western papers and journals described his reception. (George H. Blake refers to some of these in his study.) The *American Quarterly Review* (September and December 1828, Philadelphia) gave an extensive biographical sketch and a very fine tribute to the duke upon the appearance of his *Reise*. The *Southern Review* (February, 1829) was not quite so enthusiastic, perhaps because the duke had not been very complimentary to the hotels and some of the buildings of Columbia. The writer of the *Southern Review* thought that the duke "passed through North Carolina too rapidly to do anything like justice to the many remarkable things which that state has to boast of," and he undertook to correct some of the errors which the duke had made in regard to South Carolina. He enumerated the following:

- "1. It [Columbia] contains instead of four hundred inhabitants almost as many thousand [The author of the *Review*, however, must have based his criticism on the English translation, as the German *Reise* gives the correct number of inhabitants as well as the correct spelling of the name of the president of the Senate, mentioned in no. 4 below].
- "2. Judge DeSaussures' father was not a native of Lausanne, nor uncle of the celebrated naturalist. It was his grandfather, we believe, who emigrated to this country from Geneva.
- "3. Colonel Blanding is not the step-son, but his son-in-law [The critic must refer to the translation again, as the *Reise* has Schwieger-sohn (son-in-law)].
- "4. The name of the president of the Senate is not Johns, but I'On.
- "5. Mr. Herbemont never was professor of Botany of South Carolina College, nor is there any such professorship known there . . . His Highness also does great injustices to the motives of the Professor of Astronomy, who neglected to introduce him into the Observatory, as well as the College Library, which contains [for this country] a very good and choice collection of books, particularly, a very complete series of Greek and Roman classics of the very best editions." (See below, p. 485, n. 36.)

⁶ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Saemmtliche Werke* (Weimar, 1887-1919), part IV, vol. XLI, "Lesarten," 375.

very carefully and was himself deeply interested in the young American republic. But he finally refused the editorship in a very kindly letter, stating that he did not know enough and was not well enough prepared to instruct others in the matter.⁷ Prince Bernhard then chose a friend of his, Professor Heinrich Luden, a professor of history and a member of the Landstände of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, to edit the journal. In the preface Luden mentions three changes which he made in the manuscript. He put the day-by-day diary into chapters and provided chapter headings; simplified the spelling; and omitted notes and remarks of purely personal interest to the author or his family. Otherwise it appears as the prince wrote it. The book was published in 1828 under the title, *Reise Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Bernard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825-1826*. In the same year a translation was published in Philadelphia by Carey, Lea & Carey under the title, *Travels through North America during the Years 1825 and 1826*. The translator, who remains unknown, corrected some obvious errors of the author, but his attempt to give a literal translation was so cumbersome that the reading is difficult and tedious. The translation given below has been made, of course, from the German edition.

Prince Bernhard also travelled widely in Russia and the Near East. In 1848 he became commander-in-chief of the colonial army of the Netherlands in Java. In addition to his "Reisetagebuch" he published *Précis de la Campagne de Java en 1811* (Haag, 1834). Goethe himself has left some interesting descriptive bits about the prince. In a letter to the Grand Duke he appraised the newly arrived diary and said of the prince: "The traveller appears to have a well balanced personality, all his character traits are in harmony with each other, and those who do not know him would be kept guessing [as to his character]. We see a man of the world who is welcome everywhere, a well educated and proven officer, a man who is interested in the affairs and institutions of State, but who is equally at ease at dinners and dances, and not unimpressed by lovely women. At public occasions he shows himself as a good speaker, in social conversation he is entertaining; he is liberal minded without forgetting his manners; conscious of his dignity, but using the

⁷ Goethe to Karl August (November 27, 1826), in Goethe, *Saemmtliche Werke*, part IV, vol. XLI, 239.



SECTION FROM THE MAP IN THE REISE: "VEREINIGTE STAATEN VON NORD-AMERICA," 1828. [449]

advantages of his rank to make his life fuller as well as easier. Nevertheless he does not shun any discomforts but on his oftentimes tedious journey he uses every chance acquaintance to enrich his own life and knowledge."⁸ Goethe expressed a very favorable opinion of the prince and his travels in many other letters and finally summed up his estimates in a poem written on the occasion of the official welcome to the prince by the Masonic Lodge. This poem,⁹ which also expresses Goethe's wholehearted admiration of the New World, has been put to music by Friedrich Zelter.

DIARY

I had intended to spend another day [in Norfolk] in order to visit the Navy yard at Gosport, about a mile from Norfolk; Mr. Meyau¹⁰ wanted to accompany me there. The innkeeper, who wished to capitalize on my presence as much as possible, had announced in the newspaper that today [December 2, 1825] he would serve a dinner in which soup, roast venison, and wild duck would be the attractions. However, the fates had decided that I would not enjoy any of these delicacies. To my disgust, I was informed that the *Mail stage*,¹¹ the only satisfactory conveyance to the South, and especially to *Fayetteville* [North Carolina] left *Norfolk* only on Tuesdays and Fridays; therefore, if we did not leave within an hour, we would have to wait until Tuesday. This did not fit into my plans, and since there was no private conveyance available, I had my luggage packed helter-skelter, took leave of the friendly Mr. *Meyau* and left around half past ten on the *Mail stage* which makes connection with the steamboat from *Baltimore*.

We rode sixty-eight miles to Murfreesborough [North Carolina], which we reached that night about eleven o'clock. First [after leaving Norfolk] we crossed over two inlets on very long wooden bridges; and then we passed through Portsmouth [Virginia], a small village by the Navy Yard, where I saw the battleship *Delaware* and a frigate *Macedonia*, which had been taken from the English, both seemed to be in ordinary [constant service], but I did not have time to visit this certainly very interesting establishment. We had no sooner left this place than we came into a forest through which we drove all day. This region is swampy throughout, and is called the *Dismal Swamp*¹² through which leads a sandy road. The forest is very dense, and con-

⁸ Goethe to Karl August (July 20, 1826), in Goethe, *Sacmmtliche Werke*, part IV, vol. XLI, 92.

⁹ *Dem aus Amerika Glücklich Bereichert Wiederkehrenden*, . . . Goethe, *Sacmmtliche Werke*, Part I, vol. IV, 309 ff.

¹⁰ Merjau was the French consul at Norfolk, *Reise*, 303.

¹¹ Italicized words in the translation are repeated from the *Reise*.

¹² This description of the Dismal Swamp is very similar to that given by Frederick Law Olmstead, *A Journey in the Scaboard Slave States in the Years 1853-1854* (New York, 1904), I, 166-169.

sists of oaks, among which I noticed the *live* [live] oak,* cypress,

* Immergrüne Eiche.

cedars, pines, and in swampy places a number of evergreen trees and bushes, the so-called Portuguese laurel, and tall hollies; here and there we also found magnolia trees, and large climbing vines, mostly the Virginia Creeper. The great variety of the vegetation must present a pretty picture in the summertime. I heard, however, that then people are bothered very much by mosquitoes and flies, and that it is said that there are also many snakes in the swamp. They say too that many bears inhabit the swamp but that they never attack anyone. By noon, we reached *Suffolk* [Virginia], twenty-eight miles from *Norfolk*, a little village of wooden houses in the midst of the forest. Wheat bread became scarcer and in its place we were offered a kind of cake made from corn. On the other side we came to a field of growing cotton, the first I had seen.

As night came we passed the border, leaving the State of *Virginia*, and entering the State of *North Carolina*. We crossed both the rivers *Nottaway* and *Meherrin* on rather narrow and bad ferries, which in the darkness of the night appeared very dangerous. The lights and lamps seemed to become few and far between here; for the lighting of the few houses which we passed, consisted only of pine knots. We took several with us to enable us to see. The gloomy, rainy night made the journey very unpleasant. In *Murfreesborough* we stopped at a very mediocre inn, where I immediately went to bed for a short rest, as I was very tired.

On December 3 we started early, around two o'clock in the morning, in a terrible downpour of rain which continued the whole day without any letup, and drove seventy-five miles to an isolated inn called Emerson's tavern. The landscape remained the same as it was the day before: a dense forest especially in the frequent swampy places offered a very pretty variety of evergreen trees and shrubs. Some spots we found somewhat cultivated. This was the case on the plantations where corn and cotton were grown. On such plantations all the buildings are of wood, the house of the owner, with a *piazza*, stands in the center while to the right and left are the log cabins of the Negro slaves, as well as the sheds for the corn and the cotton. The horses stand in very airy wooden stables, while cattle and hogs remain, during the whole winter in pastures enclosed in *worm fences* [zigzag rail].¹³ Only the cattle to be fattened are kept in barns. On several plantations we saw the so-called *cotton gins* or *Baumwollennmühlen* in which by a cylindrical comb the seeds are removed from the cotton. These mills are driven either by water power or by horses. After the cotton has been separated from the seeds it is thrown into a large box [press], shaken, pressed, and packed. A sack [piece of bagging] is put in the

¹³ Olmstead also speaks of "zig-zag fences" in Virginia (*Journey*, I, 84).

box to hold the cotton when it is packed. The lid of the box is moveable and works with a screw, which with the aid of two horses packs the cotton down. When the cotton has been packed the lid is removed and the *Leinwand*¹⁴ [bale cloth or bagging] is folded together and small ropes [ties] are wound around the bale which, on the average, weighs 300 pounds. This work is very laborious and only two bales can be made in a day. If only *Brahmah's Waterpress*¹⁵ could be used instead of this cumbersome machine, it would surely save much time, expense, and labor. The "grobe Leinwand" which is used to bag the cotton is made in England.

We crossed the *Roanoke* River on a pretty bad ferry. The banks of this stream are truly picturesque and with their southern vegetation much resemble a park. In the little village of *Tarborough*, which is situated on the *Tar River*, we had the midday meal at a very good inn. We had crossed this river on a ferry and its beautiful banks had delighted us. Our quarters for the night—we reached there about eight in the evening—were on an isolated plantation; the house was built entirely of wood, only the chimney being of bricks. It was somewhat transparent. We were given the attic room in which to sleep, and through the cracks in the floor we could see the room beneath. If a fire should break out in such a house, nothing could be saved. Only this morning we had passed the smoking ruins of a schoolhouse which had burned down in an hour. Nothing but the brick chimney was left standing. The log cabins of the Negro slaves are especially transparent and at night when lighted with some "*Kienspahn*" [pine knots] they offer an odd spectacle to the passerby. The road all along had been sandy; in the frequent swampy places it was cut by a causeway which had given us some nasty jolts in our mail coach. The little town of *Tarborough* where we had our midday meal is said to have 800 inhabitants; it is regularly built, with broad streets, but contains only wooden houses. I saw only two brick houses. If there had been more brick buildings, I would have likened this friendly place to a Dutch village.

The following morning we left our airy night quarters around three o'clock and proceeded toward *Fayetteville*, eighty-six miles distance. Through the entire day we passed through thick woods without reaching a single village, only isolated plantations surrounded by corn and cotton fields. For several days I had been noticing birds which were new to me, especially large falcons called *Buzzards*. It is contrary to law to shoot them, since they feed on carrion, and thus contribute their part to the sanitation of the region. We crossed the *Neuse*, a fairly broad river, on a narrow and poor ferry. There are many evergreen trees and

¹⁴ "Leinwand" is the word for linen cloth. It is quite possible that linen was actually used since much of this material was imported from England where a tax was placed on cotton goods.

¹⁵ Joseph Brahmah was able to construct a successful hand-operated press (about 1796), which is still used in small industries.

shrubs on the banks of these rivers. The oaks here are not very high, but of great variety; thirty-seven different kinds are counted. There were fewer chestnuts and nut trees; we learned that they are found only in the mountainous sections. Not far from *Fayetteville*, which we reached about nine o'clock in the evening, we crossed the *Cape Fear River* on a long covered bridge, built on a suspension framework [a swinging bridge] of which I had seen a very good model in the *Patent Office* in *Washington*. I had intended to remain here in *Fayetteville*, a flourishing place of about 4,000 inhabitants, a day, for I was very tired from the highly fatiguing journey and I also wanted to see the place. I learned however, that it would be three days before I would have an opportunity to go to *Charleston* where I intended to go next, if I did not take the *Mailstage* in the early morning of the following day, so I made up my mind to continue my journey early the next morning.

However another difficulty arose: the direct *Mailstage* to *Charleston* is drawn by two horses only, and could not take my baggage, while there is a four-horse *Mail* [stage] via *Columbia* in *South Carolina*. Though I thus was driving on a right angle route while the two-horse *Mailstage* remained on the hypotenuse, I decided to take the former.

At three o'clock in the morning of December 5 we left *Fayetteville*, and drove 57 miles to *Cheraw* in the State of *South Carolina*. We reached this place at about seven o'clock in the evening. In *Fayetteville* a new traveller had joined us, a Mr. Davis from *Columbia*, a young, very well educated gentleman. The weather was pretty cold but it did not rain. Again we went through forest, on a very sandy road. We did not see much that was of interest, except the vegetation. The farther south we came, the more new plants we saw: for example Jasmine, and a tree that I had not known before, *Pride of China* (*Melia aze darach*),¹⁶ which is found mainly around the houses, and also gum trees. We crossed several rivers; the most remarkable of them were the Little and the Great *Pedee* this side of *Cheraw*. In this place I met the Commodores *Bainbridge* and *Warrington*, and Capt. *Biddle*.¹⁷ These gentlemen had been to *Pensacola* in order to decide on a suitable place for a navy base in the Mexican gulf which is gaining in importance more and more for the United States. From *Pensacola* they had returned by boat to *Savannah* from where they were returning to *Washington* by land. Commodore *Warrington*, however, will return to the Mexican Gulf, where he is in command of the station. I was very glad to make their acquaintance, and spent the evening with them.

¹⁶ Commonly called chinaberry or umbrella tree.

¹⁷ The duke seems to have encountered three noted American Navy Officers here. All had won distinction in earlier wars, either the quasi-war with France or the War of 1812. Commodores William Bainbridge and Lewis Warrington, and Captain James Biddle, who was also designated commodore in 1826, were greatly revered in the United States. *Dictionary of American Biography* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York), I (1928), 504-507; II (1929), 240-241; XIX (1936), 492-493.

We left *Cheraw* at three o'clock in the morning of December 6 and went to *Camden*, 68 miles distant. We drove constantly through thick woods. There had been a heavy frost in the night, and it was still rather cold in the early hours of the morning, but the higher the sun rose, the warmer it became, and we had as beautiful a day as in spring. From the intensive blue color of the sky we learned that we were progressing deeper into the South. We did not see any new trees except larger magnolias of different varieties. Our meals plainly showed that we were in a region where rice was grown. The principal rivers were the *Black Creek* and two branches of *Lynch's Creek*. I liked the region around these rivers very much because of its beautiful evergreen vegetation. The road was sandy, and we proceeded only very slowly. We had our breakfast and our dinner in clapboard houses, which stand on brick piles [or which are built on brick pillars] so that there is a constant airdraft under the houses which are so flimsily and loosely built as to allow the daylight in on all sides. In the openings which they call windows there are neither frames nor windowpanes but only shutters. Considering the need for glass and the abundance of pines and sand this region ought to offer a good opportunity to establish a glass factory. Toward eight o'clock in the evening we reached *Camden*, a good little town, where we found nice lodgings. The nights were very light; for some time already I had been seeing completely new star constellations, while the familiar ones were slowly disappearing.

On December 7 we started again at three in the morning in the bitter cold, and drove only 35 miles to *Columbia*. The road was the same as the days before; but the region became more hilly, the sand more yellow and mixed with clay. We crossed the *Wateree* River on a narrow ferry, but only under many difficulties. We had reached the river before dawn. The driver blew his horn* several times, but we had to wait for the ferry

* This is a tin horn of two to three feet in length which produces miserable sounds that can be heard however at a great distance. It is fastened by two leather strips on the outside of the coach.

for nearly half an hour. It finally arrived, managed by two Negroes. The coach had hardly been embarked when we met with another disaster. We had run onto a bank, and the Negroes had to work more than half an hour to get us afloat again. At last we reached the other side of the river; the Negroes were however so clumsy that it took them more than a quarter of an hour to bring the ferry into a position where the coach could be driven out on the land. We reached *Columbia* towards one o'clock at noontime, and took our quarters at *Clarks hotel*, a large but mediocre house. We got only small rooms, because just at this time the *Legislature* convened in this capital of *South Carolina*, and all houses were filled to overflowing. The city which

was founded only 40 years ago has 4,000 inhabitants. It has a pretty location on a hill, below the confluence of the *Saluda* and the *Broad River* which from here on is called the *Congaree*. It is built after a very regular plan, containing many brick houses; the streets, crossing each other in a right angle, are a hundred feet wide, and though not paved, are furnished with wide sidewalks of bricks and rows of *Pride of China* trees. Some of the private homes are surrounded by gardens, and I saw many evergreen trees, usually laurel, and some rather high *yucca gloriosa* which here are called *palmettos*.¹⁸ I found several well stocked shops in *Columbia* which seems to be quite a lively town. In the dining room, where many of the deputies were eating, I made the acquaintance of a Mr. *Washington* from *Charleston* to whom I had an introduction from *Baltimore*. He in turn introduced me to several members of the Legislature. *Manning*,¹⁹ the governor of the state, sent me his compliments and an invitation for the evening through his military aide, Mr. *Butler*.²⁰ Mr. *Washington*, a distant relative of the President, a son of a colonel²¹ of the cavalry who had made a name for himself in the American Revolution, took me towards evening to a Judge *Desaussure*,²² one of the most distinguished gentlemen of this city and of the state also; I had been recommended to him, and I found him a very dignified old gentleman. The father of Mr. *Desaussure* was born in *Lausanne* in *Switzerland*, and was a cousin of the famous scientist²³ of the same name. I met many gentlemen who had dined at his [Judge *Desaussure*'s] house, and among them I also made the acquaintance of the governor, a really fine man. After these gentlemen had left, Mr. *Desaussure* took me to one of his sons-in-law, Colonel *Blanding*,²⁴ a civil engineer who is famous for his great knowledge. I was quite shocked that so many gentlemen had the habit of chewing tobacco in spite of the evil smell and even in the company of ladies. I found a big party with many ladies. There I met two professors of the *College, Hen-*

¹⁸ The author, who was not familiar with these trees, confused two different species, the *yucca gloriosa* with the *setacea*, commonly called palmetto.

¹⁹ Richard Irvine Manning was governor of South Carolina from 1824 to 1826, and later (1834) became their Unionist Congressman. John S. Van Deusen, "Richard Irvine Manning," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII (1943), 251.

²⁰ Probably Andrew Pickens Butler.

²¹ Colonel William Washington who distinguished himself at the battle of Eutaw Springs. It was at this battle that General Nathaniel Greene, assisted by the "Swamp Foxes," Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, and Andrew Pickens, drove Lord Rawdon's forces to the coast. David Duncan Wallace, *The History of South Carolina* (New York, 1934), II, 290-291; Jennings B. Sanders, *Early American History* (New York, 1938), 550.

²² Chancellor Henry William DeSaussure. Judge John Belton O'Neall says that the chancellor aided in the establishment of the South Carolina College. *Proceedings of the Centennial Celebration of the South Carolina College, 1805-1905* (Columbia, 1905), 154. See also David Kohn and Bess Glenn, *Internal Improvements in South Carolina, 1817-1828* (Washington, D. C., 1938), 559.

²³ Horace Benedict de Saussure (1740-1799), Swiss physicist and Alpine traveller.

²⁴ Abram Blanding was born in Massachusetts and attended Brown University. One of his instructors, Dr. Jonathan Maxey, who later became the first president of the South Carolina College, was probably responsible for Blanding's removal to South Carolina in 1797. Blanding married Mary Carolina DeSaussure. The waterworks were constructed as a private venture by Blanding and then were sold to the town for about one-third of the original cost. Blanding was a lawyer, a banker, and an engineer. He became superintendent of public works in Columbia in 1823. Kohn and Glenn, *Internal Improvements in South Carolina*, 599.

ry²⁵ and Nott;²⁶ the former speaks German and French and translated Niebuhr's Roman History into English. The latter had studied in England and France, had stayed a while in *Ghent*, and married a lady from *Brussels*. From Mr. *Blanding's* party we drove to the governor's, where we found a big party gathered for a ball. They were dancing square dances only, in the fashion of the tedious German quadrille; the music was furnished by Negroes. The governor, who in this state is elected for a term of two years, and his wife played the hosts very graciously; he introduced me to all the ladies and gentlemen. I made the interesting acquaintance of a Frenchman, Mr. *Herbemont*,²⁷ who had lived in the U.S.A. more than 40 years; he had formerly been a professor of botany at the *College* here, but was now living on his private income. The party stayed together until midnight.

The next morning Mr. *Desaussure* and Mr. *Herbemont* came to take me around and show me the few objects of interest in the city. We looked at the waterworks which provide water for the whole city. A basin or rather a reservoir had been dug into which several branches [springs] are drained. A steam engine of twelve horse-power is pumping the water out of the reservoir up into the city which lies 130 feet above it. Here the water is being distributed into several pipes which run in the middle of the streets throughout the city. At different places there are openings which are tightened with screws, to be opened in case of fire. This construction is an invention of Mr. *Blanding*.

We then went to the State House.²⁸ This is a large wooden building which in a couple of years will probably be replaced by a stone building. In one of the halls the 40 senators were gathered under the president, a Mr. *I'On*;²⁹ in another one under their speaker Mr. *O'Neil*³⁰ were 120 representatives. The rooms are very simple. The senators as well as the representatives are sitting in a half circle, with the speaker on a slightly raised platform in the centre. The discussion in both houses was of little interest and I did not stay very long. In the senate room I found two mediocre paintings done by an artist from *Charleston*,³¹ one showed the battle of *Eutan* [Eutaw Springs?] under General

²⁵ Robert Henry became professor of moral philosophy and logic in 1818. He was elected president of the College in 1842 and was professor of Greek literature from 1845 to 1846. M. La Borde, *History of the South Carolina College* (Charleston, 1847), 527.

²⁶ Henry Junius Nott was a graduate of the South Carolina College, with which he was associated for thirteen years. In December, 1824, he was elected professor of elements of criticism, logic, and the philosophies of language. He was also a contributor to the *Southern Review* and was thought remarkable for his knowledge of law. He travelled extensively and studied in France and Holland. He and his wife, who was French, were lost when the *Home* sank off the coast of North Carolina. John Belton O'Neill, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1859), II, 512-513.

²⁷ Nicholas Herbemont. La Borde lists him as a tutor of French language at the College, 1807-1818. *History of the College of South Carolina*, 528. See above, p. 476, n. 5.

²⁸ This was a temporary building. The capitol was burned when Sherman burned Columbia.

²⁹ Jacob Bond I'On.

³⁰ John Belton O'Neill was speaker of the house of representatives, 1824-1826, and was for forty years a trustee of the South Carolina College. He was a judge, a recognized agriculturist, and a prominent Baptist layman. *Cyclopedia of Eminent Men of the Carolinas of the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1892), 122, 140-141.

³¹ Mr. A. S. Salley, state historian of South Carolina, is of the opinion that these were the work of John Blake White who painted a number of historical pictures, including "The Rescue" and "The Unfurling of the American Flag." These were probably burned when the State House was burned in 1865. A. S. Salley to Alice B. Keith, Columbia, April 6, 1949.

Green [Nathanael Greene] in the Revolutionary War, the other the defense of the lines of *New Orleans* under General *Jackson*. In a few days they [the legislators] are going to debate a very interesting problem; the question is whether the government of the United States has the right to build canals and roads in the states! The reasonable people understand that the government must have the power to do so, but the shortsighted people deny the federal government this right because of a certain jealousy among the states. This state jealousy seems to be gaining too much ground. The state of *South Carolina* wanted to build a road from *Charleston* west to *Tennessee*. This road would have to run a few miles through *North Carolina*. Under the pretense that the road would not be of sufficient advantage to *North Carolina* this state not only refuses to aid in the building of the road, but will not permit the other two states to have this part of the road built at their own expense. The real reason is said to be that they do not want *South Carolina* to enjoy any advantages from this road.

From the State House we went to *Columbia College*, a university, however one without the departments of medicine or theology. There are six professors. The president is Dr. *Cooper*³² whom I met last summer in *Boston*, and who on his return trip fell ill in *Richmond*. The students number 120. They live in two large buildings which face each other. The house of the president stands between them, with the professors' houses on the two sides. We called on the professor of natural sciences, a Mr. *Vanuxem*.³³ He showed us the mineral collection of the *College*. A collection of the minerals of the state of *South Carolina* which Mr. *Vanuxem* started last summer proved to be more interesting. It contained several beautiful turmalines, smaragds, pyrites, which contained gold, a new kind of mineral, called *Columbian*,³⁴ asbestos, and various primary rocks. There also was gold from *North Carolina*, which had been discovered about six years ago. In *Cheraw* I had been on the point of making a trip to these gold mines, but this excursion would have cost me a couple of days. I was told that the gold is found in a kind of mud, that is dried and thereafter sifted so that the gold remains in the sieve. They are expecting some miners from Germany, and after their arrival they are going to start the gold mining

³² Thomas Cooper was born in Westminster, England. After coming to America in 1794, he taught at Dickinson College in Pennsylvania and at the University of Virginia. He received a one-year appointment to succeed E. D. Smith, professor of chemistry, at the South Carolina College, December 3, 1819. He became temporary president of the College the following year and then was made president, a position which he held until 1834, when he was removed because of his radical views. He has been called "a materialist in philosophy, a Unitarian in theology, and a revolutionist in political theory." *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 414-416; M. La Borde, *History of the College of South Carolina*, 527; E. L. Green, *A History of the University of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1916), 31.

³³ Lardner Vanuxen was professor of geology and mineralogy from 1821 to 1827. He is said to have suggested the first mineralogical survey of the state. After leaving the College he was invited by Governor Marcy of New York to take part in the geological survey of that state. He is said to have been the first "to recognize that the whole *alluvial tertiary*, and *cretaceous* formations of this country had been confounded by McClure under the name of "alluvium." LaBorde, *History of the College of South Carolina*, 122, 140-141.

³⁴ Columbium or niobium, "a metallic chemical element which has as yet found little application in the arts." It was first observed in a New England mineral in 1801 by Charles Hatchett. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

on a regular basis. Up to now the shareholders are said to have averaged \$20.00 per week. I also saw the library, which however is not very strong, nor does it contain anything worth mentioning. On this occasion I met a Mr. *Elliot*³⁵ who has written a "Flora of the State of South Carolina," and who greatly praised the botanical treasures of this state. There was a little observatory, but it was locked: perhaps they did not want to show it to me, because it had too few instruments.³⁶

In Mr. *Herbemont's* garden we saw some very interesting plants and trees: magnolias and gardenias; pomegranate and other fruit trees, which he had grafted on each other in a very special way; date palms and fig trees raised from seeds; and quite a number of evergreen laurels.

A mile outside the city a canal, three miles long, had been dug along the left side of the *Congaree River* in order to avoid some little waterfalls—*rapids*. This canal has four locks, and the difference of the water level between the upper and lower locks amounts to thirty-six feet. Two of the locks are built of granite which is quarried near the canal. They had to blast several stone boulders to make a way for the canal. The other two locks are made of bricks, and the masonry seemed to be well done. They were just building a bridge over the *Congaree* for the road to *Augusta*. It is made of wood, but it is going to rest on 8 stone pillars. These pillars of granite are erected without the help of lime or cement.³⁷

Not far from the bridge are several large cotton fields which belong to the rich Taylor family.³⁸ On one of those cotton fields the cotton was just harvested by fifty-eight Negroes of both sexes. They remove the cotton with their fingers from the bolls, careful that no dry leaves should hang on, put it in bags which are hanging around their necks, and at last pour it into the baskets. These Negroes made a very disagreeable impression on me, especially since some of the women asked Mr. *Herbemont* for chewing tobacco. We noticed also very beautiful oak trees and pines of which all the woods which we had passed in the last few days are full. The pines have extremely long needles. Especially the young saplings look very pretty. Their pine needles are more than a foot long, and the saplings look like the tufts of horsehair on the chakos of the Prussian grenadiers. A long mosslike plant, Spanish beard, hangs down from the trees. These plants are collected, laid in water, where the gray hull rots away;

³⁵ He apparently has reference to Stephen Elliott, 1771-1830, who was born in Beaufort, served in the State senate for four years, was president of the Bank of the State of South Carolina for eighteen years, and was the co-founder of *Southern Review*. He is best known for his studies of South Carolina fauna and flora. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI (1943), 99.

³⁶ Green seems to agree with the duke. In his description of the observatory, he says: "It had a good astronomical circle; but there was such meager equipment that visitors were not often shown the interior." *History of the University of South Carolina*, 162.

³⁷ Because these would have to be imported with great cost from the Northern states.

³⁸ This was probably Colonel Thomas Taylor, one of the first settlers of Columbia. He was still living, although past eighty, at the time of the duke's visit. He is listed among the "eminent men of Richland (County)," Robert Mills, *Statistics of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1826), 699 n; "A Columbia Scrapbook, 1701-1842" (in the Library of the University of South Carolina, Columbia), 55.

the black fiber which then appears and which resembles horse-hair, is used to fill mattresses and is also exported to Europe for this purpose. Finally we saw several aromatic and medicinal herbs, for example *Monarda penidata* which is supposed to help prevent kidney stones.

The *Lunatic Asylum* of Columbia lies outside the city on an open place. A porch with six columns adorns the main building in which one finds the apartments of the overseer, the offices and the so called "*state rooms*" for the well-to-do patients. The main building has a three-story wing on each side, where the insane have their rooms. Each wing stands to the main building in an angle of more than ninety degrees, and with increasing financial income, several more wings are to be added in the same manner, so that the finished building will make an octagon. A little tower on the main building offers a very broad view. But as far as one can see there is nothing but woods. Judging from the plan for the whole institution, the sick people will find much comfort here: good rooms, gardens and balconies, and the whole surrounded by high walls.

They are building a Catholic chapel in Gothic style in *Columbia*. Since the subscription has not been sufficient, they have started a lottery to cover the deficit; next to this half finished chapel stands a theatre which also has been left unfinished because of lack of funds.

We had a very nice dinner party at Professor Henry's. There I noticed the queer custom that the ladies sit together at one corner of the table. However, I put a stop to that old custom and sat down among the ladies: and the food tasted none the worse for it.

One evening I spent at a ball which the rich Mr. *Taylor* gave on his plantation. There I found a large and very splendid company. The music, however, was something very unusual; for the two Negroes who had played very well at the governor's two days before, were drunk, and therefore unable to play for the occasion. The whole orchestra consisted of two violins and a tambourine. One man beat the tambourine with a terrible energy and the other two literally scratched their violins, while one of them called the dance figures, imitating all movements with his body. The whole thing was great fun. By the way, I was struck by the great simplicity of the house. Besides the hall, I saw three other rooms; there were only the whitened walls, and no curtains on the windows.

BOOK REVIEWS

Forsyth, a County on the March. By Adelaide L. Fries, Mary Callum Wiley, Douglas L. Rights, Harvey Dinkins, Charles E. Siewers, Flora Ann Lee. Sketches by Joe King. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949. Pp. vii, 248. \$3.50.)

The people of Forsyth County have a handsome volume to commemorate their county's centennial. The University of North Carolina Press has given the book an attractive format with large, clear type, almost completely free of error. The colorful jacket with its historical panorama of Forsyth County should boost sales in the bookstores. The local artist who designed the jacket has also contributed an illustrated map for the end-pages and sketches for each of the chapters.

The sketches, unfortunately, promise a more dramatic narrative than is here unfolded. The writing often sinks to the conventional local-history level. Several of the chapters, for instance, suffer from a strictly chronological arrangement. Catalogs of names and events, too seldom relieved by a lively incident, fail to give a coherent story of the development of Forsyth County. Although authentic sources for human interest stories are hard to find, tantalizing references to "a clever little book" (p. 149) and to "one of the most thrilling voyage diaries extant" (p. 46) arouse a regret that these could not have been quoted.

The non-Forsythian thus comes away from the book unrewarded. He would have appreciated some attempt to relate local developments to changes in the rest of the country, giving him the history of the nation in miniature which all good local history should be. He would like to have seen more attention paid to Salem College and the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, the two Winston-Salem institutions with which he is most familiar.

It is unfair, however, to complain of a failure to meet this critic's Utopian demand that local history be a dramatic, integrated narrative, making the reader see the people who built the community and feel the spirit which inspired them. Until such local histories are written, *Forsyth* will do very well. In fact, the chapter on "Rural Forsyth" might well be a model for

local historians. With its full compendium of names and dates, the book will be read in Forsyth County for many years to come.

Marvin W. Schlegel.

Longwood College,
Farmville, Virginia.

George Washington. A Biography. Volumes I and II, Young Washington. By Douglas Southall Freeman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. Pp. xxvi, 549; vi, 464. \$15.00.)

It is an important event in American historiography when the distinguished biographer of Lee embarks upon a six-volume life of Washington. The first two volumes, which Freeman has subtitled "Young Washington," give much space to background material in eighteenth-century Virginia and cover the first twenty-seven years of Washington's life to his resignation as Virginia colonel at the end of 1758 after more than four and a half years of military service against the French and the Indians. The third volume will extend through the seige of Boston, the fourth to the end of the Revolution in 1783, and the fifth and sixth to his death in 1799. The entire work, scheduled for completion in 1952, will be the most voluminous study of Washington and promises to be the definitive biography.

With the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation and competent research assistants, Freeman has met the most exacting standards of the professional historian by his relentless search of all known sources of printed and manuscript materials for facts and by his ample documentation in thousands of footnotes and in appendices and illustrative documents several of which are presented for the first time. Rigid devotion to fact made the author cautious in statement when the facts were not conclusive and led him to devote an appendix to "Myths and Traditions of Washington."

Indicative of the thoroughness of research and exhaustive treatment is the fact that the two volumes under review cover a shorter period than the first volume of the biography by Rupert Hughes.

Because of the inadequacy of secondary writings on eighteenth-century Virginia and the important relation of the environment to an understanding of Washington, the author includes in the

first volume much and sometimes dull biographical and genealogical data about Washington's neighbors, an eighty-page appendix which for the first time presents the detailed and complicated history of the Fairfax grant of the Northern Neck of Virginia and a monographic chapter of 117 pages on the social, economic, political, and cultural life of "Virginia During the Youth of Washington." This background material involved extensive labor and is valuable, but it is questionable whether to the reader it clarifies or obscures Washington. It gives to "Young Washington" the flavor of the old-fashioned "life-and-times" type of biography. It is true that the profusion of background material will not loom so large in the completed work as in the first two volumes, and that Freeman's superior literary style and organization minimize the dullness of the work.

Freeman's microscopic research has brought to light some new facts regarding Washington's birthplace, education, ancestry, love affairs, and personality. His birthplace was an humble abode. His mother became a chronic complainer, requested and readily forgot financial help of her sons, and was a poor manager. The traditional picture of the Spartan "mother of Washington" distorts the realities. Though "dutiful" to her, Washington did not love her and was careful to stay away from her as much as he could. Freeman finds no evidence that the traditional "one Hobby" was Washington's first teacher or that Thomas Fairfax was his mentor. The strongest influences in Washington's youth were his half brother Lawrence, his neighbor Colonel William Fairfax, and Governor Dinwiddie who gave him his first military opportunity. His youthful opportunities—service with Lord Fairfax's surveying party, the mission to Fort Le Boeuf, and service with Braddock—resulted from his intelligent action in volunteering his services.

Freeman presents Washington as a serious, hard-driving, ambitious young man determined to achieve success and influence by the acquisition of honor, eminence, military distinction, and wealth in the form of extensive land holdings. Washington was ambitious, sensitive as to pay, rank, and recognition, contentious, lacking in warmth of personality, and in many respects an unlikable young man. He knew the road to personal success and

followed it relentlessly. There is little prophesy of the patriot and statesman.

The final chapter "The Man and His Training at Twenty-seven" is a superb summary and evaluation of the character of Washington and of the principal lessons and deficiencies of his military training.

The key to Washington's youth was ambition. "His was the quenchless ambition of an ordered mind. Ambition was Washington through 1758; Washington was a synonym for ambition. . . . He had willingness to work ceaselessly in order to get what he wanted. As his ambition broadened, it compassed four things—wealth, 'honor,' eminence and military distinction. All these might be stated in terms of the infinitive of ambition, which is to excel. So relentless was his ambition that it never burned out in enthusiasm or wasted itself in rash adventure. It was ambition that calculated every move coldly in terms of risk and gain and with a curious combination of self-consciousness and lack of it" (II, 388-389).

A. R. Newsome.

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

Florida's Flagler. By Sidney Walter Martin. (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1949. Pp. xi, 280. \$4.00.)

This book is the only full-length biography of Henry Morrison Flagler, Florida railroad builder and developer. As such, it bridges an obvious gap in the writings on Florida history.

After devoting four chapters to Flagler's early life and the Standard Oil Company, in which he amassed the fortune that made possible his Florida activities, Dr. Martin tells in detail the story of the building of the Florida East Coast Railway and the chain of palatial hotels that dotted it from St. Augustine to Miami. As one reads, the feeling grows that the title might better have read, "Flagler's Florida." The narrative develops an interesting picture of the Florida resorts and their society at the turn of the century, which Flagler did so much to create, but nowhere does Flagler himself emerge as a real person. This is not entirely Dr. Martin's fault, for it is evident that he had to rely mainly on scanty—often fragmentary—material.

The uneven nature of the author's material is also reflected in the disproportionate amount of space which is given to comparatively trivial matters. The description of Flagler's Palm Beach mansion, Whithall, is given five and one-half pages, while only four and one-half pages are devoted to the activities of the Model Land Company, which, in the author's own words, "probably contributed as much to the building of Florida's east coast as the railroad or the hotel corporations" (p. 243).

The portion of the book that will be read with most curiosity is the chapter dealing with Flagler's divorce from his hopelessly insane second wife, Alice Shourds Flagler, and his December-and-June third marriage to Mary Lily Kenan. The most important section consists of the brief chapter of sixteen pages devoted to the Flagler System. Had Dr. Martin seen fit to expand his treatment of the ramifications of the Flagler System and its effect on the economy of the East Coast, his study would probably have been of more lasting value to serious students of modern Florida.

Dorothy Dodd.

Florida State Library,
Tallahassee, Fla.

The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson. By Roy Bird Cook. Third Edition, Revised. (Charleston: Charleston Printing Company, 1948. Pp. 198. \$2.00.)

This is a revised edition of Mr. Cook's earlier work on the family and childhood of Jackson. Although it covers the whole life of Jackson, there is no attempt to present a full-length biography. Instead the emphasis is on the family background and early life of the great soldier. The author has gone to great effort to examine local newspapers, pamphlets, county and family records, and tombstones to verify or clear up minor details; and in evaluating this material he has revealed an objectivity that is commendable.

This edition is an enlargement and an improvement of the earlier ones which were published in 1924 and 1925. Mr. Cook has added anecdotes and facts about Jackson's boyhood and his schooling. Some of the additions, such as the correction of marriage and death dates and the spelling of the names of members of the Jackson family, may be of minor historical importance, but

they are evidences of greater accuracy. The author has added a good deal of information about the Neale family, which will be of particular interest to the genealogist. He has also included copies of all the known portraits of Jackson and brief histories of these portraits.

The most significant additions for the historian are the letters which are here published for the first time. Some of these are designed to prove that Jackson's appointment to West Point came as a result of the influence of the Jackson family, rather than as a result of Jackson's walking 300 miles to Richmond to beg for the appointment. The author shows that Jackson was not only able to pay for his trip to West Point, but that he had the backing of many respected citizens of his section of the state.

Other letters deal with Jackson's life at West Point, his life at Virginia Military Institute, his efforts to influence a friend to vote for his cousin for judge, his views on secession in February, 1861, his observations on the first battle of Manassas, and his wife's account of his death. It is a significant collection of letters which the author has in his possession.

Although this book was not written by a professional historian, it is in keeping with good scholarship. The historian and the genealogist will find it a valuable treatise.

Henry T. Shanks.

Birmingham-Southern College,
Birmingham, Ala.

Exploring the South. By Rupert B. Vance, John E. Ivey, Jr., and Marjorie N. Bond. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949. Pp. 404. \$3.50.)

This book is packed with drama. Not only does it unfold the development of a region with clarity and with an artistic sense of perspective, but each chapter of the book, such as that on textiles, contains an element of suspense. You wonder from one section of the book to the next just where this will lead and what will have to be done, and a host of other questions arise that any down-to-earth account stimulates. This is aided greatly by the skillful use of incidents.

Some idea of the contents of the book can be gained from the headings of the major divisions: I. Point of View, II. Man and

Land, III. Using Resources in Agriculture, IV. Using Other Natural Resources, V. Using Resources in Manufacturing, VI. Building a Better South. There are twenty-three chapters. Such historical background as the book contains is found as part of the story of each chapter. For example, chapter X deals with livestock, and has the following topics: The Place of Livestock in the Region, Livestock in the Old South, Livestock in Grass Country, A Crop to Fit the Land, Livestock in Tree Country Today.

The book is written for the junior high school student with whom it will find an enthusiastic reception. But mother and father, uncle and aunt, will find themselves picking it up and refusing to put it down. Many facts which the average person either takes for granted or never even knew are contained in the volume.

Exploring the South represents an interesting example of cooperation among Southern educators who served as an advisory committee and arranged to have parts of the manuscript tried out in a few Southern schools. This may have been one reason why the book keeps fairly close to dead center in its interpretation of Southern problems and does not attempt to crusade for any particular cause or program. Its tone is positive but not belligerently so.

One of the most crucial problems of the South, that of race accommodation, is handled by indirection. Race relations are not treated as such, but all through the book one realizes that the authors are aware of the problem. An understanding of the issues involved might have been pointed out more explicitly by the insertion of one or two cases of what certain Southern communities have done to better race relations by achieving more equal educational opportunity, better housing, a higher wage level, and the like for the disadvantaged of both races. Likewise, the matter of unionization of workers and its possible social effects receives scant mention. In other words, this is not a book on social problems but rather a delineation of the region and a description of its human and natural resources. This information is basic and must be mastered before one moves too far into the area of problem-solving.

Anyone interested in considering this book for classroom use will be delighted with its teachability. Charts and pictures tell a story almost by themselves and greatly enliven the well-written text. At the end of each chapter the student will find excellent suggestions for further study. These follow no rigid pattern but are adapted to the contents of the chapter just concluded and are frequently phrased in the language of exploration. An important feature is a section at the end entitled *References for Aids to Learning* which contains a selected bibliography, addresses of organizations and firms ready to supply study materials, film titles, and addresses of film agencies. There are also *Selected References for the Teacher*.

This book will fill an important need since it puts in readily available form and in clear, simple language the type of material which heretofore has been available only from many different sources and publications. Anyone reading it will really feel that he has been on a fascinating trip of exploration under competent and entertaining guides.

Irwin T. Sanders.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

The Story of Tobacco in America. By Joseph C. Robert. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. Pp. x, 296, xxiv. \$5.00.)

American Tobacco and Central European Policy: Early Nineteenth Century. By Sister Mary Anthonita Hess. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948. Pp. ix, 199. \$2.25.)

Both books are devoted to the subject of tobacco, with the treatment running somewhat parallel until about 1812. Here they diverge. Professor Robert's book develops into a lively and fresh synthesis of the tobacco industry in America, whereas Sister Hess with more restraint and documentation points up the role of tobacco in early nineteenth century American diplomacy in Central Europe.

Professor Robert, a recognized authority on tobacco, in unfolding the story of "that bewitching vegetable," has been singularly successful in describing the processes of manufacture and sale. He has also, with a flair for the dramatic, succeeded admirably in revealing the effects of tobacco on the political, eco-

nomic, and social life of the American people. One will seek in vain for a more arresting account of American tobacco habits through the years, of the crusade against tobacco, and of "The Cigarette Age" when the large producers of cigarettes competed for first place.

The Story of Tobacco in America is not, however, well-balanced. A scant dozen pages are devoted to the cultivation and harvest of the weed by tobacco farmers. Only the barest details are revealed. The tobacco harvest in the Bright Leaf Belt, lasting some five or six weeks, involved not only a weekly disruption of family and community life but was also significant because it expedited the depletion of the forest to provide wood for curing. There is, besides, no adequate explanation of the encroachment of the Bright Leaf Tobacco Belt on the Cotton Kingdom since World War I.

Despite these limitations, the book, written in a facile and animated style, will appeal to the general reader, and the reader general or otherwise will be amply rewarded by perusing its pages.

Sister Mary Anthonita Hess' monograph, prepared as a doctoral dissertation at The Catholic University of America, is a meritorious work of research in a rather obscure corner of American diplomacy. After exploring all the devious channels of diplomacy for extending the sale of American tobacco in Central Europe, the author concludes that the only positive result obtained was the laying of foundations for further and more fruitful diplomatic intercourse with Prussia, Austria, and Sardinia. The value of the monograph is enhanced by the inclusion of numerous statistical tables as appendices.

Rosser H. Taylor.

Western Carolina Teachers College,
Cullowhee, N. C.

A Short History of the American People. By Frank Lawrence Owsley, Oliver Perry Chitwood, and H. C. Nixon. Volume II. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1948. Pp. xxi, 811. \$4.75.)

This is the second and concluding volume of a text designed for college freshmen and sophomores. It conforms to the same general pattern as that of the first volume and covers the social,

political, and economic development of the United States from the end of the Civil War through 1947. Its thirty-seven chapters are appropriately grouped in seven parts: (1) The Era of Reconstruction; (2) Social and Economic Trends, 1865-1914; (3) From the Bloody Shirt to Real Issues; (4) Adventures in Imperialism and World Politics; (5) The Progressive Era; (6) From Intervention to Isolation; and (7) The Crisis of World War II.

On the whole the method of arrangement and treatment is conventional, along lines usually adopted in standard works of this sort. Social and economic developments within a given period are described chronologically, followed by a political narrative covering the same period. Emphasis is placed upon significant trends without attempting to relate all the important events in American history, thus allowing a greater elaboration of pertinent matter than would otherwise have been the case. Frequent cross references serve to keep the student oriented and aware of the correlation existing with regard to various social, economic, and political forces. The style is clear and direct and is well suited for the type of student for whose needs the book is intended. Marginal headings are supplied for the student's convenience. Numerous illustrations, both photographs and line drawings, lend attractiveness to the format, as do maps and charts, including full color maps on the end pages showing territorial growth of the United States to 1860 and the United States today.

While it is perhaps expecting too much to look for a book without errors, this one has more than are necessary, especially in a text that should serve to aid the teacher in impressing upon students the need for restrained and accurate statement. To suggest that "the nearest approach in recent years to the situation in the South [in 1865] could have been found in Poland, Russia, Greece, and Jugoslavia during the Second World War" (p. 5), is an excursion into rhetoric that lacks justification. The same might also be said of the statement that "about half the white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five had been killed or badly wounded" during the Civil War (p. 6). The student will be confused to find in one paragraph that the second Re-

construction Act was passed on April 23 and in the next paragraph that it was (correctly) on March 23 (p. 41). Other slips, doubtless the result of careless editing and proof reading, include "Cousins" for Cousin in the play Lincoln was attending when shot (p. 14); "payments" for pavements built in the District of Columbia by "Boss" Shepherd (p. 78); "Kuklas" for Kuklos in describing the origin of the name Ku Klux Klan (p. 102); U. S. *vs.* "E. R. Knight" for E. C. Knight (p. 259); General "George C." for George S. Patton (p. 685 and index); and, most amazing from three Southern historians, "James" Southall Freeman as the author of *R. E. Lee*.

James W. Patton.

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

The Army Air Forces in World War II. Volume I. Plans and Early Operations, January 1939 to August 1942. Edited by Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. xxxi, 788. \$5.00.)

Beginning with the saga of a few Signal Corps officers in 1917-18 over the battlefields of France and ending with the first raid on Festung Europa by our mature Air Force of World War II, authors Wesley Frank Craven of New York University and James Lea Cate of the University of Chicago reveal the causes and results of the growing pains suffered by the greatest military striking potential the world has ever known. The Air Force, like a child with an overactive pituitary, grew into a clumsy giant overnight with the outbreak of World War II, but this junior member of the military establishment, prior to the outbreak of war, was like a taut spider web stretched over all the territory flying an American flag. The United States was represented with Air Power but the strength was not there.

By using the historical reports of combat units, personal files of officers in the Army Air Force during the war, and official Air Force documents, Craven and Cate have loosely tied together in four parts the early heritage of the Army Air Force; the preparations of the Army Air Force prior to World War II; the tactical demands made upon this force by the people and the military establishment; and, finally, the preparations of the Army

Air Force for its air war against Germany. These phases are discussed with none of the Billy Mitchell "I-told-you-so," but with the matter-of-factness of *mene, mene, tekel upharsin*. Such a history could also have been done with the Army or Navy.

Prior to World War II the Army Air Corps was fighting with the Army and the Navy as to what its primary mission should be, and all three were in complete disagreement. With the advent of war the tactical and strategic necessities involved made it mandatory that there be complete revision in policy. The Air Force was called upon to defend the Western Hemisphere, develop a world-wide transport command, supply the losing forces in the Philippine Islands and the Dutch East Indies, maintain commitments to China, and establish bases in Australia, Greenland, Iceland, and Alaska. Beginning with a few Army Air Force generals, the American Aircraft industry, and certain civilian technicians, the Army Air Force was galvanized into a rapidly modernized striking unit that struck for the first time as an American combat command at Rouen-Sotteville on August 17, 1942.

The authors have tried to present factually an objective picture of the Army Air Force over this period of time, but in view of the present possibilities of Air Power and the possible demands that may be made upon it in the future, its development contrasts greatly today with the development twenty years ago. Students of military history will be greatly pleased with the information gathered together in this volume.

Robert S. Milner, *Captain*.

United States Air Force,
Biggs Field,
El Paso, Texas.

Legends of Baptist Hollow. By Bill McIlwain and Walt Friedenber. Introduction by Hubert M. Poteat. (Wake Forest, North Carolina: Delta Publishing Company, 1949. Pp. 67. \$1.00. Paper bound.)

The thin line between legend and history is well illustrated in this little volume. If all the occurrences told of here did not actually happen as related, then history is the poorer. Fortunately, one can believe that they did; and when the monumental story of Wake Forest College is finally written, events and people such

as those narrated in this unpretentious book will contribute more to its spiritual history than the most complete set of names, dates, and statistical data. The six chapters tell of the pyromaniac who was never caught, the student who ate fried cat as the result of a bet, the abandoned liquor of a bootlegger's wrecked automobile, the plight of the student-editor who wrote about the "real life" of the less fortunate country folk, the slug-fest between the students and the entertainers from the last circus to visit the community, and, best of all, "Doctor" Tom, the colored janitor with a flair for stupendous malapropisms.

These are all good stories, and Wake Forest graduates will doubtless discern much actual history behind the "legends." To this reviewer, however, it seems rather unfortunate that the two young authors felt it necessary to resort to an undistinguished dialecticism to tell their tales. The stories are good enough to stand alone without the questionable embellishment of laborious slang.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

Guide to the Records in the National Archives. The National Archives Publication no. 43-13. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. xvi, 684.)

This book is an outline or guide to the more than 800,000 cubic feet of public records deposited in The National Archives through June 30, 1947. Of necessity it is general in scope and is designed to suggest to the research student the types of information which can be found in the records. It is a conspectus not a catalog of the records. While the bulk of the materials summarized are manuscript records, there are included also large numbers of maps, motion picture films, still pictures, and sound-recording units. This *Guide* completely supersedes its predecessor, *The Guide to the Material in the National Archives* (Washington, 1940), and is supplemented by a quarterly publication, *National Archives Accessions*, which lists in short form all current accessions of materials.

The descriptions of the records are arranged by "record groups," the unit of records control adopted in 1944, in the nu-

merical order of the transfer of the records to the National Archives. A "record group" is a body of records, generally of a bureau or other agency, which has been brought together largely because of provenance and convenience of control. The descriptions are written with painstaking accuracy and conciseness. Each contains an outline of the administrative history, functions, and organization of the agency which has produced the records. Such background knowledge has proved to be one of the greatest aids for any understanding of the records themselves which are characterized as to type, quantity, and chronological span. For many "record groups" useful bibliographical references on the records or to their producing agencies are listed. Often these references include important inventories, indices, finding lists, and the like which were compiled in the offices of the original agency or in the National Archives.

A well-written introduction explains the nature, scope, and limitations of the *Guide* and outlines the aims, functions, and services of the National Archives. Information on the regulations and restrictions governing the use of records is found in the appendices. A classified list of the "record groups" offers an approach to the materials which is based on the hierarchical organization of the government, while a subject and name approach is available through an excellent analytical index.

E. G. Roberts.

Duke University Library,
Durham, N. C.

Michigan and the Cleveland Era, Sketches of University of Michigan Staff Members and Alumni Who Served the Cleveland Administrations, 1885-89, 1893-97. Edited by Earl D. Babst and Lewis G. Vander Velde. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948, Pp. 372. Photographs. \$2.50.)

Michigan and the Cleveland Era is in reality not a study of the state of Michigan during the two administrations of Grover Cleveland, but it is, as the sub-title indicates, a collection of biographies of University of Michigan alumni and staff members who held elective or appointive offices during those years.

In a state which has been predominantly Republican the Democratic party was usually the "out" party. From 1872 until 1932,

a period during which there were sixteen presidential elections, the state of Michigan polled a Republican vote except in 1896 (Populist) and 1912 (Progressive). There were few opportunities for Democrats to rise to high office in the land. The Cleveland administration gave such a rare opportunity.

To many readers several of the biographies will be familiar. James Burrill Angell, J. Sterling Morton, Don M. Dickinson, Henry T. Thurber, and Edwin F. Uhl achieved national prominence. Seven of the thirteen men about whom the book was written were lawyers whose careers led into the federal judiciary or the national legislature.

There can be little doubt but that the part Don M. Dickinson played as a member of the Democratic national committee had a great deal to do with the calling of Michigan alumni into office. Dickinson acted as patronage dispenser for the party and Michigan men were among the recipients. As Postmaster General Dickinson filled the same place that James A. Farley would take under Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

For the most part these men enacted important roles. James B. Angell served as minister plenipotentiary to China and acted as chairman of the treaty commission concerned with the delicate question of Chinese immigration. He was later appointed to the Canadian Fisheries Commission. Thomas M. Cooley became the first chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Cooley authored *Constitutional Limitations*, long considered an authoritative work on constitutional law. Don M. Dickinson served as senior counsel in the Bering Sea arbitration. As Solicitor General, Lawrence Maxwell was associated with the important *United States v. E. C. Knight Company* case. Alfred Noble, a civil engineer, served on the Isthmian Canal Commission and as a consulting engineer in the construction of the Panama Canal. Henry T. Thurber, a law firm partner of Dickinson, was offered and accepted the position as private secretary to Cleveland during his second term of office. Edwin F. Uhl decided the Misiones boundary dispute between Brazil and Argentina.

The last two chapters of the book list all alumni of the university who were either members of Congress or who held federal judgeships. The book is closed with biographical sketches of the contributing authors.

Correspondence, diaries, newspapers, and magazines form a part of the source material for the biographies. The overall impression given is that the book was primarily intended to reach alumni of the university and general readers particularly interested in the university and the state. Footnoting is not extensive and there is no bibliography.

H. O. Spencer.

Mishowaka Public Library,
Mishowaka, Michigan.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Miss Bernice Draper of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has been promoted from associate professor of history to professor of history.

Miss Vera Sargent of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has been promoted from associate professor of history to professor of history.

Mr. Richard Griffin of Louisburg College has been elected assistant professor of social science at Atlantic Christian College for the year 1949-50.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe of Wake Forest College has been promoted from assistant professor of history to associate professor of history.

Mr. C. D. Yearns of Wake Forest College has been promoted from instructor in history to assistant professor of history.

Mr. O. F. Connelly, Jr., for the past year teaching fellow in history at Wake Forest College, is teaching at Campbell College for the year 1949-50.

Mr. James A. Hawkins, last year a teaching fellow in history at Wake Forest College, is teaching history in Greensboro High School for the year 1949-50.

Mr. J. A. McGeachy of Davidson College taught history in the summer school at Southwest University, Memphis, Tennessee.

On August 31 Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College lectured before the National Academy of the Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C., on the subject "The Constitution and the Bill of Rights." Law enforcement officers from many parts of the United States attend this school.

The State Department of Archives and History has recently received a copy of *The Story of Ocracoke* by Alice K. Rondthaler, cover by J. O. Fitzgerald, and illustrations by Lulu J. Holder. (Ocracoke, N. C.: Channel Press, 1949, Pp. 6), and *Thomas Dixon, North Carolina's Most Colorful Character of His Generation*, by Lee B. Weathers. (Shelby, N. C.: Shelby Daily Star, 1949. Illustrations. Pp. 16, 25¢).

During the week beginning July 4 Watauga County celebrated its centennial. On July 7 Senator Frank P. Graham delivered the principal address which was made on the day set aside for giving special recognition to Dr. B. B. Dougherty, president of Appalachian State Teachers College, who for fifty years has been a leading educator in western North Carolina. Dr. D. J. Whitener, assisted by Stanley A. Harris and Commissioner of Agriculture L. Y. Ballentine, was chairman of the educational program. Others appearing on the program were: Johnston J. Hayes, Judge of the Federal Court of the Middle District of North Carolina; and D. Hiden Ramsey, editor of the *Asheville-Citizen Times*. A fried chicken luncheon was served at which time Judge Wilson Warlick acted as toastmaster. Among those who appeared on the program briefly were: R. Gregg Cherry, former governor of North Carolina; Gurney P. Hood, commissioner of banks; Clyde A. Erwin, superintendent of public instruction; B. C. Brock, state senator; Gordon Winkler and Leroy Martin.

The State Department of Archives and History cooperated with Watauga County Library in supplying photocopies of maps and official documents dealing with the history of Watauga County which celebrated its centennial during July. An interesting display was made in the Library building.

On July 4 Senator Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina, delivered the principal address at the formal opening of the museum at the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. Judge E. Earle Revis introduced Senator Graham. Mr. Paul W. Schenck presided at the meeting

and Raleigh Taylor, superintendent of the park, made the announcements about the museum and the exhibits.

The committee of awards of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, composed of Mrs. C. H. Shipp, vice president, of Durham; Mrs. W. L. Johnson of LaGrange; Mrs. J. W. Keel of Rocky Mount; and Mrs. Quentin Gregory, president, of Halifax, has announced the following awards: The Abel A. Shuford Scholarship, University of North Carolina, to Jane Spivey Lassiter, Weldon; James J. Pettigrew Scholarship, East Carolina Teachers College, to Geraldine Lancaster, Pinetops; Adeline Claypoole Bernard Scholarship, Flora Macdonald College, to Margaret Cashwell, Hope Mills; Cadia Barbee Welborn Scholarship, High Point College, to Ianthia Gerringer, Gibsonville; P. H. Hanes Scholarship, Brevard College, to Jewell Sentelle, Pisgah Forest; Col. Simon H. Rogers Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Ann Hamilton Hall, Charlotte, N. C.; Orin Randolph Smith Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Lucille Hassell, Hendersonville; James A. Metz Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Ruth English Sevier, Asheville; Emaline J. Pigott Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Peggy Ann Silliken, New Bern; Samuel McDowell Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Eva Kate Moore, Roxboro; Margaret Burgwyn Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Elizabeth Bynum, Winston-Salem; Elvira Worth Moffitt Scholarship, to Jane Long Thompson, Graham; Mathew W. Ransom Scholarship, University of North Carolina, to Robert Hampton Elmore, Roxboro; General Robert Ransom Scholarship, N. C. State College, to William Leo Nail; Kate Clements Ellis Scholarship, Mars Hill College, to Harold Newman, Raleigh; Zebulon B. Vance Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Jean Satterwaite, Weldon; Holt Wallace Children of the Confederacy Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Betty Jean Teague, Sanford; and Mrs. William M. Passley Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Nancy Blanton, Kernersville.

On June 2 Dr. Christopher Crittenden spoke in Raleigh before the Daughters of Colonial Wars on the subject "The State Department of Archives and History and its functions."

On June 28 Mr. William S. Powell of the State Department of Archives and History spoke before the Rotary Club in Salisbury on the historical marker program conducted by the Department in cooperation with the Department of Conservation and Development and the State Highway and Public Works Commission.

The State Department of Archives and History in cooperation with the Department of Conservation and Development and the State Highway and Public Works Commission has erected a highway marker to O. Max Gardner, former governor of North Carolina and Ambassador to the Court of Saint James's. The marker stands at the birthplace of Governor Gardner and within 300 yards of his grave.

The Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission held its organizational meeting in Goldsboro on August 29. The Commission had been appointed previously by Governor Scott under authority of an act passed by the 1949 General Assembly which authorized the Commission to raise funds and restore "Fremont," the Wayne County birthplace of Aycock, North Carolina's educational governor. Dr. D. J. Rose of Goldsboro was elected chairman of the Commission, Mrs. Paul Borden of Goldsboro, vice chairman; Mrs. Gertrude Weil of Goldsboro, secretary; and Mrs. Estelle T. Smith of Raleigh, treasurer. The officers of the Commission, together with Mr. R. O. Dail of Goldsboro, Col. Hugh Dorch of Goldsboro, and Mr. Henry Belk, of Goldsboro comprise the Executive Committee.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, on July 13 spoke before the Junior Chamber of Commerce at New Bern on "Tyron's Palace and its Restoration." Dr. Crittenden was introduced by Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History.

On June 19 the North Carolina Society of County Historians made a tour of Pittsboro (Chatham County) and its vicinity. The group was led by Mr. Malcolm Fowler, president of the Society, and Mr. W. B. Morgan, editor of the *Chatham Record*, acted as guide. The group, composed of persons from Lee, Orange, Richmond, Anson, Cumberland, Wake, Harnett, Franklin, Moore, and Durham counties, visited the Masonic Temple erected in 1833; Pittsboro's oldest dwelling, the Patrick Saint Lawrence house erected in 1787; Pittsboro Academy, chartered in 1786; the old Chatham courthouse; the George Lucas home, the original of which was built in 1786 but is now torn down; the Gideon Alston house situated between Pittsboro and Siler City, a portion of which was built in 1760; the birthplace of Charles Manly, governor of North Carolina, 1848-1850; the Kelvin home, built in the early 1800's and now owned by Daniel L. Bell; the birthplace of James Iredell Waddell, one of the heroes of the Confederate Navy; the Saint Bartholomew Episcopal Church, built in 1833; and the home of Henry A. London, which was built by Dr. Isaac Hall in the early 1800's.

On August 28 the North Carolina Society of County Historians made a partial tour of the City of Raleigh. Due to the rain the tour was concluded shortly after noon. The group visited the State Department of Archives and History, the John Haywood house, Christ Church Rectory, and the State Capitol. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, told the group briefly about the program of the Department, while Mr. W. F. Burton explained the functions of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, Mr. D. L. Corbitt talked about the Division of Publications, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan told about the Division of Museums, and Mr. William S. Powell explained the highway marker program. Mrs. Jordan addressed the group on the John Haywood house, Mr. Corbitt told some of the facts about the Capitol, Mr. Powell told about the Christ Church Rectory, and Mr. Charles M. Heck explained the importance and significance of the city cemetery in the history of Raleigh. Mr. Heck highlighted his talk by pointing out the wealth and importance of families buried there. The staff of the State Department of Archives and History, Mr. Willis G. Briggs, and

Mr. Charles M. Heck then entertained the group at a picnic luncheon, served indoors because of the rain. Those attending the tour were from Hertford, Northampton, Bertie, Franklin, Wake, Davidson, Anson, and Lee counties and from Detroit, Michigan.

On August 28 the Union Presbyterian Church at Vass celebrated its 152nd anniversary with a homecoming. Rev. Charles Rowan of Indian Trail delivered the sermon and John W. Carrington of Washington delivered an historical address. Dr. F. L. Knight of Sanford also delivered an address.

On August 26 the Moore's Creek Battleground Association celebrated its fiftieth anniversary by having a program and serving a picnic lunch. Senator Frank P. Graham and Dr. Christopher Crittenden delivered historical addresses. Others appearing on the program were: J. V. Whitfield of Pender County, E. A. Hammel, representing the National Park Service, A. William Clark, representing Governor W. Kerr Scott, and David L. Lucas, representing the Moore's Creek Battleground Association. Rev. P. L. Clark gave the invocation and Clifton L. Moore presided.

Mr. David Johnson, Jr., a high school student of Hendersonville, has published an article "The History of the Civil War in Henderson County," in the *Times-News*, Hendersonville, N. C.

The Commission for a Memorial to the Three North Carolina Presidents has published the addresses and papers in connection with the unveiling on Capitol Square in Raleigh, October 19, 1948, of the monument to these presidents. This volume is bound in cloth, contains 61 pages, and is illustrated. Copies for libraries and interested individuals may be procured by addressing an application to D. L. Corbitt, Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., who received his Ph. D. degree at the University of North Carolina in August, has accepted a position in the department of history at North State Teachers College, Denton, Texas.

Mr. F. Watts Ashly of Emory Junior College, Valdosta, Georgia, and William Lee Green of Missouri School of Mines at Rolla, Missouri, taught history at the second term of summer school at Western Carolina Teachers College, Cullowhee, North Carolina.

The Church in the Wilderness: North Carolina Quakerism as Seen by Visitors, by Henry Calberg, has been published by North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Copies are available at 25¢ per copy from Miss Annie B. Benbow, R.F.D. No. 7, Greensboro, N. C.

On August 4 Dr. Adelaide L. Fries, Archivist of the Moravian Church, Southern Province, lectured before the 252nd session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting on the subject "Parallel Lines in Piedmont North Carolina Moravian and Quaker History." This lecture will be published.

Dr. Algie I. Newlin, who for the past two and one-half years has been serving as head of the Friends Center in Geneva, Switzerland, has returned to Guilford College.

Miss Mary Frances Gyles, who received the Ph. D. degree from the University of North Carolina in August, has accepted a position in the department of social science, Memphis State College, Memphis, Tennessee.

Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University was visiting professor of history at the University of North Carolina for the second summer session.

Mr. L. L. Bernard, a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has accepted a position at the John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Robert S. Lambert, a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has accepted a position at Clemson College, Clemson, S. C.

The following students who during the summer received the M. A. degree in history from the University of North Carolina have accepted positions as indicated: Mr. Luther N. Byrd will teach at Elon College; Mr. Carrington Gretter will teach at Louisburg College; Mr. Ernest H. Hooper will teach at LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn; Mr. Frank W. Ryan will teach at the College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.; and Mr. James W. Wall will teach at the Piedmont Junior High School, Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. Spencer B. King, Jr., a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has published *Selective Service in North Carolina*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949).

Mr. Robert A. Lively, a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has published *The South in Action: A Sectional Crusade against Freight Rate Discrimination*. (James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949).

A survey of the records of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina is being made by Mr. William S. Powell of the State Department of Archives and History. He will be grateful for information about the records of those churches which are inactive and about records which are now in private hands. In addition he also seeks information about the official and private papers of the bishops and other clergy of the Church in this state.

The Library of Congress has announced the acquisition of the Orville and Wilbur Wright papers which have recently been given to the Library by the Orville Wright estate. These papers are invaluable in the study of the development of aviation and include a description by Orville Wright of the Kitty Hawk flights

of 1903; diaries and notebooks dealing with scientific experiments carried out by the brothers from 1901 to 1920; and professional, scientific, and personal correspondence extending from 1881 to 1948. They may be consulted only by written permission of the executives of the estate.

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