

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XX

APRIL, 1943

NUMBER 2

LEONIDAS LAFAYETTE POLK AND THE NORTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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PART I

THE GENESIS OF THE DEPARTMENT

North Carolina during the Reconstruction years was poor—desperately poor. Amid the political, economic, social, and spiritual turmoil of the time, it seemed utterly impossible that the state would ever recover its old-time stability and prosperity. Even when the rest of the South was beginning to evidence signs of revival, poverty remained the rule in North Carolina.

The destruction wrought by four years of war, the most obvious cause of economic distress between 1865 and 1877, was staggering to comprehend. Homes, barns, fences, crops, warehouses, stores, shops, railroads, and public property were damaged or destroyed, and farm animals were seized. Most of the men who returned to repair and rebuild were weary and disillusioned if not crippled or sick. And so many of the state's finest citizens—young men, always the hope of the future—did not return at all.

The war left North Carolina with few banking facilities and practically no capital. Investments in stocks and bonds had generally become worthless. The repudiation of the state's war debt liquidated the banks and wiped out many private fortunes. Money was scarce, interest rates were high, and debts simply went unpaid. Taxes, county as well as state, were as burdensome as they had ever been during the war. The federal tax of ten per cent on state banknotes effectively prevented the revival of the prostrate state banks. Because of the amount of capital it prescribed for the establishment of a national bank, the act of 1863 was of little assistance. National banks, moreover, were forbidden to lend money on the only security which the South had to offer—

land. In the whole state of North Carolina during the period there were only six banks, all of them national, with a combined capital of less than \$1,000,000.

A succession of poor crops in the disorganized years immediately following the war was accompanied by an inevitable decline in agricultural prices. Production and prices of all crops, with the exception of cotton and oats, fell off sharply. The high federal tax on cotton seemed bad enough; but between 1866 and 1869 the state property tax was increased ten-fold, and so many farmers were forced to sell that land became a drug on the market. Land values of course depreciated tremendously, and thousands of acres were sold for taxes at pitifully low prices. Perplexing also since emancipation was the two-sided problem of securing dependable Negro laborers and dependable white employers. To the native white majority the great question of "Negro rule" in politics presented itself.¹

In kind and degree, the adversities of North Carolina differed little from those of the other Southern states. War and Reconstruction wreaked the same havoc on them all. They all felt that they had the same heavy cross to bear. Soon it became apparent that fundamental changes in the South's society and economy would result from the new conditions. With the disruption of the old order, a marked leveling of the various social classes took place. The old plantation system gave way to the new tenant system, with its rent, its credit, its crop liens, and its small supply merchants. Owing to the practice of decades and to the high prices just after the war, cotton was still the one big money crop, and the raising of home-grown food supplies was still neglected.²

By the 'seventies the darkest days of the post-war period had passed, and the South, like a convalescent, began slowly to improve. In spite of defeat and despair, poverty and ruin, bitterness and suffering, distinct indications of hope and progress brightened the Southern skies. The native white majority, represented by Conservatives and Democrats, was beginning to break the grip of the "carpetbaggers," "scalawags," and Negroes. Agriculture had become better organized and more productive.

¹ J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *North Carolina since 1860 (History of North Carolina, Vol. III)*, ch. ix; Robert D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth*, II, 355-358; Robert Somers, *Southern States since the War* (New York, 1871), pp. 30-31; George Campbell, *White and Black: the Outcome of a Visit to the United States* (New York, 1879), p. 298.

² Holland Thompson, "The Civil War and Social and Economic Changes," *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals*, CLIII (Jan., 1931), 11-20; Matthew B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry: an Essay in American Economic History* (New York, 1897), ch. iv; Solon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement . . .*, pp 5-7.

The development of manufacturing was a hopeful trend. There were even encouraging signs of a cultural and educational revival. The picture of the 'seventies is not so black as it has usually been painted. North Carolina's recovery lagged behind that of the South as a whole, yet even in North Carolina evidences of progress could be seen: towns were growing, more money was in circulation, and the lot of the small farmer was some better. Fairly good cotton land, for instance, could be had in 1878 for five to twelve dollars an acre.³ Census reports at the beginning and end of the decade reveal a 30.6 per cent increase in the state's population, and a 26.9 per cent increase in the number of North Carolinians gainfully employed.⁴

The labor problem created by the Negro's transition from slavery to freedom was a momentous one to all classes. The groups most immediately concerned—former masters, former slaves, and the poorer whites—were greatly disturbed by it, and there existed a considerable feeling of mutual distrust.⁵ Regarding the capability and the reliability of Negroes many white farmers were scornful and pessimistic. But a brave new agricultural monthly, established in the "black belt" of eastern North Carolina in the midst of Reconstruction, analyzed the matter with enlightened reserve:⁶

A new era has dawned upon us agriculturally as well as politically. The slave of yesterday is the freeman of today; a citizen by the laws of the country and the consent of the Southern people. It behooves us, then, to accept the present condition of things, to turn to our use and profit, if possible, the result of a revolution, the most noted of this century. We must recognize the colored laborer in his new light and rights, deal fairly and honorably with him, elevate him in the human scale, and make him an honest Christian tiller of the soil. We must adapt our planting operations to the new order of things.

We were once rich and proud in a system of contented laborers; we are at present poor and proud with a system of discontented and unreliable laborers. . . .

What must be done to bring about the desired reconstruction?

In the first place, we must conform to the new order of things, and no longer look back to the "flesh pots" of slavery, for this will in no wise advance our prosperity . . . we must learn to respect our former slaves as freedmen, and deal with them as honestly in all our transactions as if they were white.

³ Allan Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878*, pp. 1-30, 357-364; M. B. Hillyard, *The New South: a Description of the Southern States*, pp. 5-57; Charles Nordhoff, *The Cotton States in . . . 1875* (New York, 1876), pp. 99-100.

⁴ *United States Census of 1870*, I, 3-5, 8, 675; 1880, I, 3, 712.

⁵ Charles H. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925*, ch. v, *passim*.

⁶ *Tarboro Reconstructed Farmer*, I (May, 1869), 18, 19.

The writer went on to advise less dependence upon Negro menials and more dependence upon ourselves; less idling and more hard work by everybody.

No one denied that the handicaps of the emancipated slave were formidable indeed. Few denied that his conduct after the war was much better than had been expected. Notwithstanding his genuine progress, however, the conviction was general that more efficient, more dependable laborers were badly needed.

The great immigration campaign began only a few years after the war. In 1869 was incorporated the North Carolina Land Company, an organization composed of "a number of intelligent, enterprising and respectable gentlemen of the States of New York and North Carolina" whose purposes were to aid in the transportation and location of Northerners or Europeans who would immigrate to North Carolina, to advise those who wished to invest money in the state, and to sell any kind of land that might be needed. They asserted that since the end of the "rebellion" the inducements of the Southern states were "vastly superior" to those of the Northwestern states and territories, and that substantial settlers were "everywhere hailed with joy." To advertise North Carolina the company printed and distributed a 136-page *Guide to Capitalists and Emigrants*. The publication detailed, county by county, the geography, population, resources, and advantages of the state, and included extolling letters on these subjects by such prominent natives as William B. Rodman, W. E. Pell, Thomas L. Clingman, Jonathan Worth, D. M. Barringer, W. W. Holden, W. C. Kerr, and R. S. Mason. In recognition of the company's activities, the General Assembly made its president, George Little, state Commissioner of Immigration (without salary).

Bannister, Cowan and Company, supported by the names of Zebulon Vance, Thomas Bragg, W. A. Graham, and Asa Biggs of North Carolina, Horatio Seymour of New York, and J. Drexel of Philadelphia, was a similar organization founded in 1869. Within four years the legislature had also incorporated the Railroad Immigration Association of North Carolina and the North Carolina Immigration Society. The aim of the former was to secure the co-operation of the various railroads of the state in attracting new settlers, in reducing fares for *bona fide* immigrants, and in sharing the profits of immigrant travel and shipping. Impetus came from the other side, too. An agency in Birmingham, England, urged North Carolina officials to adver-

tise to the fullest in Great Britain. In 1875 the new state Board of Immigration, Statistics, and Agriculture, in the pages of a booklet quite like that of the North Carolina Land Company, issued again a plea for "the hardy, the intelligent and moral of every land to till these grounds, to occupy these vacant places." North Carolina's endeavors to reinvigorate itself with new energy, new skill, and new capital found close parallels in the other Southern states.⁷

Still, the wave of immigration would not roll. Only a disappointing trickle of newcomers had entered the state by the middle 'seventies, and they were faring none too well. Many of them, in fact, had been shamefully swindled by land companies. The government officials, business men, editors, and railroad owners who were the strongest backers of immigration became greatly puzzled and increasingly apprehensive. Good land was certainly cheap enough and rich natural resources were merely awaiting development; yet few able, energetic settlers came. To many thoughtful North Carolinians there seemed to be grave danger that without outside assistance even a partial recovery of the state would be long delayed.⁸

One of those deeply concerned over the immigration question as it affected the future of the commonwealth was Leonidas LaFayette Polk. Thirty-eight years old, he was a farmer, merchant, and editor of Polkton in his native Anson County. He had attended Davidson College one year, had served with two regiments during the war, and had been a member of the legislatures of 1860 and 1864 and the constitutional convention of 1865. Polk had observed the efforts of the land companies, the railroads, and the immigration societies, and had noted their failure. He agreed with them as to the practical necessity of new people and more capital, but upon the methods of getting these he matured some novel ideas of his own. Principally in a letter to the *State Agricultural Journal*, organ of the Grange, and in a series of five articles in his own weekly *Ansonian*, he laid his interesting and well-received argument before the public in 1875 and 1876.⁹

⁷ North Carolina Land Company, *Guide to Capitalists and Emigrants* (Raleigh, 1869); *North Carolina Public Laws, 1870-71*, pp. 171-172 (ch. 110), 343-347 (ch. 219); *N. C. Private Laws, 1873-74*, pp. 276-277 (ch. 5); *N. C. Public Documents, 1874-75*, no. 22; Hugh T. Lefler, ed., *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries* (Chapel Hill, 1934), pp. 361-363; N. C. Board of Immigration, Statistics, and Agriculture, *North Carolina . . .* (Raleigh, 1875-76); Nordhoff, *Cotton States*, pp. 23, 97; Bert J. Loewenberg, "Efforts of the South to Encourage Immigration, 1865-1900," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXIII (1934), 363-385.

⁸ Campbell, *White and Black*, p. 293; Edward King, *The Great South: a Record of Journeys . . .* (Hartford, 1875), p. 468.

⁹ Polkton *Ansonian*, May 7, 1874, June 23, Oct. 20, 1875, April 5-May 3, Sept. 6, Nov. 29, Dec. 6, 1876; Raleigh *State Agricultural Journal*, Sept. 1, 8, 1875; Wadesboro *Pee Dee Herald*, Sept. 8, 1875; Wadesboro *North Carolina Argus*, Oct. 28, 1875.

Since Polk was destined to be a leading figure in the establishment of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture, and its first Commissioner, it will be worth while to present his views on immigration, and on crop diversification as well. Both were questions of considerable importance to an agricultural state.

Like most men of his race and class, Polk was unwilling to commit the agricultural future of North Carolina to the Negro. It was his opinion that the "negro experiment" had failed badly. We could not hope, he asserted, to develop our state's magnificent resources or to establish crop diversification with the Negro as a share tenant. The problems connected with emancipation and Reconstruction, however, persuaded the Negro to work only on the share system, and then pretty much in his own way. "Guided, directed and controlled by the intelligent white man," said Polk, "he has no equal in the world, as a field laborer. But under the wild delusions with which emancipation staggers and beclouds his feeble mind, he assumes that with his freedom, came the foresight and capacity to manage farms, as well as governments." In this light, we could only wonder why he did no worse. "The question with us," Polk went on, "is not so much the final issue of an experiment . . . affecting the negro race . . . as [it is] to ascertain some method by which we may escape the ruin, which threatens to engulf all the material interests of our State and section." At this the "demagogical howl of 'Equality'" would doubtless be raised — notwithstanding our stated belief that Southern whites would be the firmest defenders of equality before the law—but it was a duty to our own race and to the state as a whole to take this attitude.

For the material development of North Carolina and the South we had to have thrifty, ambitious, and hard-working white immigrants from Europe and the North. Why didn't they come? Polk thought that "The laboring white man, throughout the Northern States and Europe has been educated to believe that in the South, labor was and is regarded as degrading [and] that a man who was compelled to labor, thereby forfeited his claims to respectability, and was ignored as a component of Southern society." The white laborer's mind was thus prejudiced; he feared that he would be forced to live on equal terms with former slaves, that he would be looked upon as no better than a Negro. Also, before the war the slave-supported South, for obvious reasons, made no real effort to attract immigration. At the same time the alluring Northwest, with the support of the federal gov-

ernment and the press, drew the stream of white laborers in that direction.

Soon, however, the picture changed. Negro labor was no longer profitable. Land was actually a burden to those who owned it. The land companies proved to be unsatisfactory and in many cases corrupt. North Carolina's resources were advertised, but not enough prospective settlers saw the literature; and the inducements offered were in no tangible form. This, coupled with the fact that the state's enormous debt tended to frighten away working capital, may explain why there was no large immigration. The General Assembly, "composed for the most part of non-landholders and politicians," offered little hope. The handbook prepared by the Board of Immigration, Statistics, and Agriculture, which we read "with peculiar interest and pleasure," seemed to be a "life like and attractive" presentation. Yet it did not bring immigrants to North Carolina. How, then, could this be done?

It was the obligation of the landowners themselves, stated Polk. It was up to them to adopt a liberal policy that would attract permanent settlers and would "banish their apprehensions of social and political ostracism." Owners should immediately register their land with an agent who would persuade immigrants to buy and to settle. Each owner should reserve the amount of land he actually needed, then divide the remainder into lots of, say, twenty-five acres each. Let the agent be given full power of attorney to sell, and to investigate all would-be purchasers. The new citizens might bring with them their own artisans, and their ministers, school teachers, and family physicians. They should be cordially received by the white people of the state, and protected against "forced social contact with the negro." If this were done, in ten years values would be enhanced, land now almost worthless would be sold, and the whole community would benefit from the influx of new blood and new energy.

Such a wonder could be worked if the landowning farmers of North Carolina would but co-operate; such co-operation could best be secured through their membership in that worthy agricultural order, the Patrons of Husbandry, or Grange. "The first essential step in this great undertaking," Polk declared, "is for the State Grange at its next meeting, to establish, at some central point in the State, PERMANENT HEAD QUARTERS and in connection therewith a PATRON'S STATE MUSEUM." That would

“give to the Order tone, character and dignity,” and would “commend our Grange to the confidence and respect of the people of every class. . . .” The town of Greensboro, for example, would gladly erect and furnish a suitable structure. This building ought to be two stories in height: the lower floor to house the museum, the upper to be used as a meeting hall and library. The offices of the state organization’s secretary and treasurer would also be there. All over the state subordinate granges could collect and send specimens of their products to the museum, where they would then be carefully arranged by counties. The various counties and granges might compete with one another in preparing the best exhibits. Perhaps the railroads would agree to ship the specimens free.

A display of this kind would be of great educational value to natives as well as immigrants. And this much, it should be emphasized, could be done without spending a hundred dollars of the Grange’s money. The salaries of the secretary and the treasurer should be raised, however. One of these men should be designated state agent for the sale of lands, and to each subordinate grange he should send forms on which the members would enter the amount of land they have to offer, together with a full description, their terms of sale, and the like. With the museum and this information centrally located, it should be an easy matter to advertise North Carolina and its resources.

These were Polk’s views on immigration. The kind of people he most desired, of course, were those who would diversify the economic life of the commonwealth; those who would help develop manufacturing, mining, lumbering, and improved agriculture. To settle our vacant lands, he said, “. . . we want a class who can grow something besides cotton . . . we want them to cover our hills and plains with their vines, fruits, flowers, vegetables, Corn, Wheat, Oats, Rye, Barley, Clover and all the grasses . . . we want fine horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep.” None the less, the diversification of agriculture was a duty which devolved chiefly and squarely upon the native farmer, and Polk knew this.

He never forgot a picture that met his trained eye on the way to Gettysburg in 1863. Of the Valley of Virginia, he wrote at that time: “There is one attractive charm inseparable from, & peculiar to, this section. The lands when once brought into cultivation are not turned out to wash into deep gullies or to grow up in old field pines, but there is a rich, uniform, covering of green verdure all through summer. If not sown or planted,

the whole earth as far as you can see, is hidden by a carpetting [*sic*] of clover & grass, which grows luxuriantly upon the highest knobs. . . . The finest stock, especially cattle, I ever saw. Everyone has his milk house, through which pours, in abundance, the clear water that gushes from the heart of the mountain above, as cold, almost, as ice. . . ." That was the work of the native farmer.¹⁰

"Brother farmer," began Polk's leading article in the first issue of his *Ansonian*, "light your pipe, and be seated. We want a plain, little talk with you." The subject was "Bread and Meat vs. Cotton." In 1873, said he, the South produced four million bales of cotton, which at an average price of twelve cents a pound brought the growers \$240,000,000. "What has become of the bulk of that large sum? It has gone to pay for almost every single implement used on these cotton farms, from an axe handle to a wagon—it has gone to pay for mules and horses from the Central States—it has gone to pay for hay, corn, flour and bacon from the Western and Northern States." Suppose the \$240,000,000 had been received for only two million bales at twenty-four cents a pound. That would have meant half the land in other crops, and a vast saving to the farmers. "The difference," stressed the editor, "is that what you make on your farms *will then belong to you*. Millions of dollars worth of cotton is mortgaged annually to commission merchants, for supplies, before even a seed is planted." The policy the South should adopt to relieve itself of dependence upon other sections is simply this: raise its own bread and meat. So long as the South followed the ruinous practice of "all cotton," its struggle for better times would be in vain.

Again and again Polk returned to this theme, reiterating the sound arguments against the one-crop system and the financial and psychological benefits of diversification. "Don't," he warned, "leave North Carolina, and go to Texas or Arkansas to grow rich raising cotton. If by producing ten bales here, you lose money, you will lose more if you produce one hundred there. Don't look to any other source than the ground for help. Go to that for bread and meat, make it at home, live at home, if you would rid yourself of hard times."

A well-to-do neighbor of his illustrated the truth in the gospel of diversification. Because he raised his supplies at home,

¹⁰L. L. Polk to Mrs. Polk, June 20, 1863. All manuscripts cited are in a private collection in the possession of Miss Leonita Denmark, of Raleigh, unless otherwise noted.

this farmer had bought only thirty-five bushels of corn in forty-five years, and had produced but two bales of cotton in his life. Another man came to Polk about a money matter one day. "Col.," said he, "that little debt I owe you is the only one I have fallen behind on, since I have been keeping house." "Well," Polk answered, "I presume then, you raise your own bread and meat?" "Yes, I always try to do that." "Of course, he is not often troubled with debt," Polk remarked to the readers of his paper. With the approach of spring in 1877, Polk asked: "Farmers are you preparing to plant a full crop of cotton, that will cost you 14 cents per pound and for which you will receive, perhaps, 10 cents, and will you rely on buying corn at \$1.25 per bushel, that you ought to produce at 60 cents? And will you still complain of hard times?"¹¹

He offered this homely illustration of the two types of farmer:

The man who buys his supplies, of course, has to give a mortgage. He buys all along through the spring and summer on that mortgage, labors in nothing but his cotton patch, and in the fall he brings his cotton to market, drives his cart up to the yard of the man to whom it is mortgaged and rolls the cotton out. He then walks into the counting room and remarks to the cotton buyer: "I have a bag of cotton out here, what are you going to allow me for it?" He is compelled to take whatever price is allowed him. On the other hand, here is the man who raises his own supplies, and what cotton he makes is extra. He gives no mortgage, and always pay cash for what he buys. When he drives his load of cotton to town he stops in the street and says: "Say, come out here, examine this cotton and tell me what you are paying for it." "Well," says the buyer, "cotton is a little dull today." "It don't make any difference," says the independent farmer, "if you don't give me my price you can't get it; I am able to hold it." And if they can't agree on a price the independent farmer hauls his cotton around to a warehouse and stores it. This is the difference between the man who raises his supplies and the man who buys them.¹²

"Every table in North Carolina," declared Polk, "should be supplied with bread, bacon, beef, mutton, fish, molasses, cheese, rice, butter, milk, wine, fruits and vegetables, produced in North Carolina. North Carolinians should drive North Carolina mules and horses, to plows, buggies, carriages and wagons made in North Carolina. North Carolina cotton should be spun and wove in North Carolina. Every man, woman and child in North Carolina should wear in winter shoes and clothing made of

¹¹ *Ansonian*, April 16, 1874, April 12, May 24, 1876, March 7, 1877; N. C. Department of Agriculture, *Report on the General Condition of the Agricultural Interests of North Carolina* (March, 1878), p. 6.

¹² *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 8, 1881.

North Carolina leather and North Carolina wool. North Carolina farms should be cultivated with North Carolina implements and fertilized with North Carolina lime and marl.”¹³

The economic and social conditions of the 'seventies caused many North Carolina farmers to look with great favor upon the activities of the Grange. The organization was conceived by Oliver Hudson Kelley, a clerk in the Agricultural Bureau at Washington, following a three months' fact-finding journey through the South early in 1866. Struck by the poverty and conservatism of Southern agriculture, Kelley, who was a Mason, concluded that a nation-wide secret order of farmers would go a long way toward furthering the economic reconstruction of the South and advancing rural interests all over the nation. His idea gradually took hold. When that first great wave of *post-bellum* agrarian discontent reached its height between 1872 and 1874, the number of granges and Grange members increased with tremendous rapidity.¹⁴

The fundamental reasons for agrarian unrest throughout the country—the decline in the value of farm products, the corrupt practices of the railroads, the prosperity of merchants and manufacturers at the expense of farmers, the iniquities of high finance, and the disturbing political and social conditions of Reconstruction—applied in varying degree to North Carolina. Several thousand Tar Heel farmers, like most farmers traditionally individualistic, came to believe that, in order to better their status and to make themselves heard, they would have to organize. “The great principle of co-operation,” said Dr. Columbus Mills, first Master of the State Grange, “is essentially the practical thought of the times. No question is more important to the Grange welfare and none so little understood. Our duty is to study it, discuss it, and learn it.”¹⁵ The Grange motto pointed the way: “In essentials, unity—in non-essentials, liberty—in all things, charity.”

North Carolina's first subordinate grange seems to have been organized in Guilford County in the spring of 1873 by Colonel D. Wyatt Aiken of South Carolina. The first annual meeting of the state body was held early in 1874, and a year later, on February 20, 1875, the organization was incorporated by the legislature as the “North Carolina State Grange of Patrons of

¹³ N. C. Dept. of Agr., *Monthly Crop Reports* (July, 1877), pp. 4-5.

¹⁴ Buck, *Granger Movement*, pp. 9-79, and *The Agrarian Crusade*, chs. i-v; Edward Wiest, *Agricultural Organization in the United States*, chs. xvi-xvii; Nevins, *Emergence of Modern America*, ch. vi.

¹⁵ N. C. State Grange, *Proceedings*, 1875, p. 7.

Husbandry." So rapid was the growth of the Grange in North Carolina that by the time of its incorporation it had already reached what proved to be its maximum strength — approximately 500 lodges and 15,000 members. Only in South Carolina and Georgia among Southern states had the order made greater headway. After 1875, however, the Granger movement suffered a marked decline. "Natural reasons," the farmer's disappointment in the lack of tangible gains, the power of the middleman and the vested interests, the failure of the Grange co-operatives, and business depression, all contributed to the loss of membership and influence, and to the ultimate collapse.¹⁶

Nevertheless, the Grange left behind it a number of substantial benefits. By increasing the social intercourse of isolated farm families, it was able to promote a greater spirit of tolerance among persons of different political parties and religious denominations. For the tiller of the soil himself, the organization provided a kind of business training that was invaluable.¹⁷ Though the idea of agricultural co-operation did not come to full flower until some ten years later, in the 'seventies it had at least germinated. In North Carolina and the South the political influence of the Grange was not nearly so strong as it was in the West, but in the social and economic fields the results of the Granger movement were indeed salutary.

The considerable amount of business activity in which the North Carolina State Grange engaged was responsible for some rather varied experiences. To the farmer's advantage, the organization arranged to obtain fertilizers at reduced prices, and to supervise the establishment of a Patrons' Mutual Aid Society. The state body also joined the Direct Trade Union, a co-operative founded to aid all Southern grangers, but saw the enterprise fail. Local co-operative stores and associations, however, formed on the Rochdale plan—the plan of dividing profits among members in proportion to their purchases—were reported to be successful in North Carolina. In the effort to make the farmer's dollar go as far as possible, the Grange, besides supporting the co-operatives, would sometimes endorse certain commercial firms. One of these was Farley and Company of New York, which North Carolina and Mississippi made their Grange agent. In spite of the fact that O. H. Kelley and others had recommended

¹⁶ Raleigh *Observer*, Feb. 4, 1877; *Private Laws, 1874-75*, pp. 524-525 (ch. 76); *State Grange. Proceedings, 1875*, pp. 11-12, 13; *1876*, pp. 9-10, 15; D. A. Montgomery to Polk, Dec. 14, 1879.

¹⁷ *State Grange. Proceedings, 1876*, p. 16.

the firm, it was discovered to be entirely fraudulent. Yet the North Carolina State Grange reimbursed its members for their losses, and presented claims to the National Grange at its annual session of 1875; the national body, however, did no more than resolve to exercise strict care in the future. After the Farley episode it was natural for members of the Grange to lose confidence in the order and especially in its national officers. This painful experience was undoubtedly one factor in the decline of the Grange in North Carolina.¹⁸

That the Grange was deeply conscious of certain social responsibilities even during its declining years is a significant fact. It was one organization that early appreciated the state's great need of popular education. Captain Sydenham B. Alexander of Charlotte, Master of the order in 1878, declared: "The most distressing sign of the times is the lack of interest taken by the agricultural and mechanical classes in educating their children. . . . Let us awake from our lethargy. The Grange must foster education. . . . North Carolina can only prosper in proportion as her agricultural and mechanical classes are educated."¹⁹ Heeding his words, the State Grange recommended that primary and even high schools be established and supported by county and local granges whenever possible. A number of these did exist in North Carolina; for example, in the Northampton County village of Potecasi a Professor Picot conducted a flourishing grange high school of some sixty scholars.²⁰ For the enlightenment of adults, Captain Alexander urged the subordinate granges to form libraries and subscribe to agricultural newspapers, which many of them did. In addition to these formal efforts, it was obvious that the business meetings and sociables of the Grange were of considerable educational value. As one paper said: "Many an old clod hopper, 'rude of speech' has found out that he could talk, rise to a point of order, and venture a few remarks. This is education. Many an uncouth country boy, and coy lassies have learnt something of the social graces and amenities of life. And this too is education."²¹

Although he sympathized fully with their aims, Polk did not at first join the Patrons. In the summer of 1875, however, he became a member of Pond Mill Grange, No. 471, three miles

¹⁸ Buck, *Granger Movement*, pp. 252-253, 257, 265, 273; North Carolina Grange Papers, 1873-1875, Duke University Library.

¹⁹ State Grange, *Proceedings, 1878*, p. 7.

²⁰ Buck, *Granger Movement*, p. 291; R. I. Beale to Polk, March 1, 1880.

²¹ Raleigh *Farmer and Mechanic*, Feb. 21, 1878.

from Polkton. In due time he was its Master, and rapidly rose to positions of Grange leadership in the county, district, and state. He started a "Grange Department" in his newspaper, and was often a featured speaker at Grange picnics and other functions. "Leonidas is always *thar* when there's any *grangeing* to be done!" said Ed Liles, an editor neighbor.²²

At his first state meeting in 1876, Polk was a member of the committee on the order of business, and, as a result of his constructive interest in the problem, was made chairman of the committee on labor and immigration. Here he presented, in the form of a resolution, his cherished plan: the establishment of permanent headquarters for the State Grange, with a Patrons' State Museum and a Land Registry Office connected therewith. He also offered a resolution concerning the better organization of the Grange in North Carolina. At this meeting Polk was appointed Deputy Organizer for the Fifth District, which comprised the counties of Harnett, Cumberland, Moore, Richmond, Montgomery, Anson, Union, and Stanly.²³

It was the duty of deputies to organize and encourage subordinate granges, and to furnish information respecting them to the state officers. For organizing a lodge a deputy received \$10.00, and for visiting one already established \$5.00; the sums were paid by the individual granges out of their collected dues. As Deputy of the Fifth District (and also as Lecturer of the Anson County Grange), Polk traveled all over south central North Carolina in the cause of agricultural organization. His Stanly County itinerary for the week of October 16-21, 1876, provides a good sample. It included successive days of "grangeing" at Stony Hill Church, Bethel Church, Prospect, Bodenheimer's Store, Locust Level, and Big Lick—names redolent of that Piedmont countryside. In addition, Polk became a member of the State Grange executive committee for two years. His membership in the Grange continued for some time longer, but on account of more important activities he resigned from the committee in 1879 and gave up his close connection with the organization.²⁴

The climax of the Grange's career in North Carolina, and a cause to which Polk devoted himself thoroughly, was the establishment of the State Department of Agriculture. As early as

²² *Ansonian*, June 4, Nov. 5, 1874, and 1875-77, *passim*; *Pee Dee Herald*, Jan. 26, 1876.

²³ *State Grange, Proceedings, 1876*, pp. 17-20, 25-26, 44-45.

²⁴ *Ansonian*, Sept. 27, 1876, and *passim*; *Potecasi Roanoke Patron* supplement, Jan. 16, 1882.

1860 Governor John W. Ellis, in his message to the General Assembly, had recommended "the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, with the power to divide the State into agricultural districts, and to make suitable provisions for the giving of instruction in this branch of science." War was approaching then, however, and the project was passed over in the excitement. At the height of the immigration campaign after the war, the legislature in 1874 did set up, as an appendage to the Secretary of State's office, a Bureau of Immigration, Statistics, and Agriculture. But this agency paid only perfunctory attention to agriculture, and farm leaders were far from satisfied.

Through the Grange they resolved to do something about it. At the state meeting in March, 1875, James R. Thigpen, who had been an editor of the progressive *Reconstructed Farmer* of Tarboro, asserted that "there ought to be a Department of Agriculture, as in Georgia and many other States and countries less exclusively agricultural than North Carolina." A few months later Thigpen and Colonel Thomas M. Holt discussed the matter before a "Cotton States Agricultural Congress" in Raleigh. Holt was not only a well known cotton manufacturer, but was president of the North Carolina Agricultural Society as well. In September the State Grange presented a memorial to the constitutional convention then in session. Under the leadership of W. F. Strowd, of Chatham, and G. Z. French, of New Hanover, an ordinance to amend the state constitution so as to require the General Assembly to establish a Department of Agriculture passed overwhelmingly in response to the clear need of the farmers.²⁵

When Governor Vance took office in January, 1877, he called the attention of the legislature to this provision in the constitution of 1875. Vance had no definite plan of his own in mind, but he spoke of the importance and desirability of a Department of Agriculture, and recommended that the members soon create one.

As the lawmakers sat during January and February the Grange, the State Agricultural Society, and the State University all intensified their activity in behalf of the new department. Kemp P. Battle, president of the University, called a joint meeting of representatives from these three to discuss in some detail "the best means to accomplish the good desired for the farming

²⁵ *Public Documents, 1860-61*, no. , 1, p. 15; *Public Laws, 1873-74*, pp. 214-215 (ch. 135); *State Grange, Proceedings, 1875*, pp. 21-22; *State Agricultural Journal*, July 17, 1875; Constitutional Convention of 1875, *Journal*, pp. 96 (Sept. 20), 104 (Sept. 21), 192 (Oct. 4); *Ansonian*, Jan. 31, 1877; *Observer*, April 11, 1877.

community." The emphasis was placed upon the regulation of commercial fertilizers, and particularly upon the establishment of an agricultural experiment station at Chapel Hill. The leaders of the group—Professor W. C. Kerr, State Geologist, Dr. Columbus Mills, Master of the Grange, General R. F. Hoke, Battle, and Polk, who was a vice-president of the Agricultural Society as well as a member high in the councils of the Grange—were appointed a committee "to mature the details of the proposition" and to lay it before the legislature.²⁶

More important, however, was the annual meeting of the Grange. Over one hundred members, a tenth of them women, gathered in Goldsboro convinced that this session was the most vital ever held by the order. In the approving presence of visiting committees from the State Agricultural Society and the General Assembly itself, they enthusiastically adopted the report of their own "committee on the establishment of the agricultural department." The committee report recommended that a Department of Agriculture be located at the state capital; that the Geological Survey become a bureau therein; that a Bureau of Immigration, Land Agency, and Statistics be created; that an experiment station, connected with the department and with the University, be erected at Chapel Hill; that a Board of Fish Commissioners be appointed; that the legislature make a liberal appropriation for the department's support; that a license tax of not less than \$1,000 be assessed upon each brand of fertilizer sold in the state; and that rigid dog laws and fence laws be passed for the benefit of the counties that desired them. Wary of possible political control of the proposed agency, the Grange "respectfully but most earnestly" suggested that the management of the department be entrusted "strictly to agriculturists."²⁷

This committee report was essentially the handiwork of Polk, who had been one of the first men in the state after the war to agitate the establishment of a Department of Agriculture. He advocated his plan before the Goldsboro meeting after first submitting it to Vance and winning the governor's approval. Now the Grange endorsed Polk's ideas fully, and charged him as chairman of a committee to present the plan to the General Assembly. This he did in the Yarborough House, Raleigh, at a large meeting presided over by Representative Montford Mc-

²⁶ *Pub. Docs.*, 1876-77, no. 25, pp. 3-6, and nos. 28, 29; *Ansonian*, Jan. 17, 1877; R. B. Saunders to Polk, Jan. 25, 1877; Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 136-140.

²⁷ *Observer*, Feb. 7-9, 1877; MS. report of committee.

Gehee. The important people present, including Governor Vance and other distinguished citizens, received the proposition most favorably.²⁸

The bill to establish a Department of Agriculture was introduced by Senator W. C. Troy, of Cumberland, who guided its legislative career. As an able joint committee of Senate and House began consideration of the bill, Polk was summoned to aid in framing it, as were Kerr, Battle, Vance, Attorney-General Thomas S. Kenan, and others. Various plans were proposed at the conferences, but that of the Grange was followed for the most part, and Troy and Polk were appointed a subcommittee to make the final draft. The legislative committee then recommended Senate Bill 668 for passage, believing that the creation of the Department, "in the promotion of the great farming interests, is paramount to all other questions now before the General Assembly."

Both houses of the predominantly Democratic legislature appeared to be sympathetic. Yet some strong opposition was inevitable. Professor Kerr feared that North Carolina was "not ready, by a generation or two, for this sort of thing"; that "the great aim of a large no. of the members is (& has been in the past too), to see that not a dollar is spent for anything. . . ." Polk, however, declared that he was more hopeful for the future of the state than he had been at any time since the war. His optimism seemed justified. The Senate, whose fifty members included seventeen farmers and five more part-time farmers, passed the bill by a vote of twenty-nine to twelve, and the House concurred, forty-eight to twenty-nine.²⁹

At several stages the struggle had been quite difficult, but the efforts of Senators Troy and Holt and Representatives McGehee and Roberts helped greatly in pushing the bill through. After it was all over, Troy wrote Polk, who had returned to Polkton: "I have at last gotten our bill through, but it has been a great deal of trouble. . . . The Senate ran over me rough shod in adopting House amendments— I afterwards by hard fight got it reconsidered and struck out two amendment[s] that were very objectionable—& today I got through a supplemental bill changing another amendment they put in. So it is now a law. . . ." The

²⁸ Raleigh *North Carolina Farmer* extra, Feb. 19, 1883; *Ansonian*, Feb. 14, 1877.

²⁹ *N. C. Senate Journal, 1876-77*, pp. 229 (Jan. 19), 487 (Feb. 20), 517 (Feb. 22), 584-586 (Feb. 27); *N. C. House Journal, 1876-77*, pp. 642 (Feb. 28), 747-751 (March 6); *Farmer and Mechanic*, Aug. 22, 1878; W. C. Kerr to Polk, Jan. 20, 1877; *Ansonian*, Feb. 21, 1877; telegram, W. C. Troy to Polk, Feb. 23, 1877.

Raleigh *Observer* believed this to be "the only instance in the history of the State in which the farmers, as a body, have come before the Legislature for aid and protection. . . ." The paper added that the lawmakers deserved credit for promptly giving the farmers all that they had asked for, "though not exactly in the shape proposed by them."³⁰

The act "to establish a Department of Agriculture, Immigration and Statistics, and for the Encouragement of Sheep Husbandry" provided that a seven-man Board of Agriculture should exercise general control and supervision. The board consisted of the governor as *ex-officio* chairman, the state geologist, the president of the University of North Carolina, the master of the State Grange, the president of the State Agricultural Society, and two agriculturists appointed by the others. The working head of the department, however, responsible to the board, was the Commissioner, who had to be an agriculturist. Ideally, said the *Observer*, he should be "an experienced, practical farmer, of liberal education, of indomitable energy, and [with a] thorough knowledge of agricultural chemistry."³¹

In view of his labors in behalf of the new agency, his plans for the agricultural future of the state, and his confidence in his own abilities, it is not surprising that Polk wanted the job, or that most of his associates wanted him to have it. He was certainly the first man in line. But the politics of the legislature, as well as the preferences of the board, had to be taken into consideration. Ed Liles, who had won his state senate seat by a margin of six votes over Polk, wrote Polk: "Your friends, Holt, Kerr, Austin, *Scarborough* and (if you'll believe it) myself are working quietly, but I think effectively for you. Yesterday I had to contradict a report, circulated around here, that you are neither now—nor ever were a *farmer*. You may readily surmise where it originated. Holt says you ought to be here and Kerr was about to telegram [*sic*] you to come; but we concluded it was hardly necessary."³²

Shortly after the department bill became law, the Board of Agriculture met to organize. Vance, the Governor, Kerr, the State Geologist, Battle, president of the University, Alexander, Master of the Grange, and Holt, president of the Agricultural

³⁰ W. C. Troy to Polk, March 8, 1877; *Observer*, March 11, 1877; *Ansonian*, March 21, 1877; Peter M. Wilson, *Southern Exposure*, p. 107.

³¹ *Pub. Laws, 1876-77*, pp. 506-516 (ch. 274), 562 (ch. 291); *Observer*, Feb. 27, 1877.

³² Edward R. Liles to Polk, March 9, 1877; Thomas S. Ashe to Polk, Jan. 31, 1877; Thomas H. Robinson to Polk, March 5, 1877. C. Austin was a member of the House from Union County; John Scarborough was State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Society, first appointed the two agriculturists required. They were Captain James R. Thigpen, of Edgecombe County, and Major Jonathan Evans (a friend of Senator Troy), of Cumberland County. The full board then convened. Most of the members were Polk's close friends, and to a man, apparently, they favored him. They elected North Carolina's first Commissioner of Agriculture on April 2, 1877.

Three weeks before his fortieth birthday, Polk got the job.

[To be concluded]

LITERATURE AND HISTORY: A COMPARISON AND A CONTRAST*

By Hubert A. Royster

When the founders of the State Literary and Historical Association gave it a name there must have been something more than chance that prompted them to place the word "literary" before that of "historical." The report of the preliminary conference held in Raleigh, September 18, 1900, announced as the Association's "chief purposes:"

"First. To promote the reading habit among the people of North Carolina.

"Second. To stimulate the production of literature in our State.

"Third. To collect and preserve historical material."

Just before the first annual meeting there appeared a newspaper article by W. J. Peele, in which he stressed "creative work in literature as well as historical research" and "the inculcation of a literary spirit among our own people." He asked, "Is there real literary vitality in North Carolina, or the seeds of it?" and he wondered "how far and how fast a State Literary Association would evolve a remedy."

The constitution of our Association, adopted October 23, 1900, included these aims and added further objects to be attained as time went on. As stated in order, they were: "the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum . . . the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina, and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation." Standing committees were appointed to achieve these worthy ends. Throughout its texture has run the deep-dyed thread of its recommendation for "plans and contests to promote and encourage the production of literature."

Now after forty-two years of continuous existence the Association may felicitate itself upon the accomplishment of its primary aims and resolve to carry on the spirit of its founders. I think we can answer affirmatively the questions proposed in the beginning. There *is* "real literary vitality in North Carolina,"

* Presidential address delivered at the forty-second annual meeting of The State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, December 2, 1942.

the "seeds of it" have sprouted, and they are alive and on their way to maturity. The Association *has* "evolved a remedy" for our woeful want of literature at the advent of this century and the burden rests upon us to prove "how far and how fast" we may proceed with the cure.

Without disparaging for one moment any of the objects proposed by our far-seeing founders and with no intention of diminishing the interest in our historical efforts, I venture to offer as the subject of my address, "Literature and History: A Comparison and a Contrast." I shall discuss the relationship between literature and history; point out, if I can, the differences in endowment required for the one and for the other; and inquire into the possible compatibility of these two domains of culture. There is a common ground on which the literary historian and the historical man of letters may meet. In view of the emphasis the organizers of the Association gave to "the inculcation of a literary spirit," and their constant assignment of the premier position to "creative work in literature," our program this year has been built on the principle of first things first, paying deference largely to the literary rather than to the historical aspect. At all events my hope is that the title of the Association justifies the topic of the address.

There are both profit and pleasure in contemplating events of former days, whether they be related to myth, tradition, unrecorded time, or authentic history, remote or recent. Derived from the Greek word *istoria*, meaning "a learning or knowing by inquiry and the knowledge so obtained," history is not merely an academic pastime; it is a useful adjuvant to life itself. No matter in what occupation a man may be engaged, unless he knows something of what has gone before him, he values very little what is going on around him, and can hardly visualize what may come to him.

But discrimination must be used in applying knowledge of the past to the realization of the present and a vision of the future. Satisfaction may come from hearkening to the old refrains: (1) that history repeats itself and (2) that we can judge the future only by the past. But are these sayings literally true? Much more delightful it is to believe that history betters itself, for we fain would hope that the conditions of yesterday are not good enough for the people of tomorrow. Moreover, if we are to judge the things of the future only from what has already happened, we shall more or less be living in the past and erecting

our ideals upon bare experience. On the other hand, should we become fully pleased with the present, we shall likely have no desire for improvement.

A wholesome definition of history is that attributed to Dionysius. "History," he said, "is philosophy teaching by example." Dryden expressed a similar idea when he referred to the study of history as "the most pleasant school of wisdom." And Lamartine elaborated the thought: "The impartiality of history is not that of the mirror, which merely reflects objects but of the judge who sees, listens and decides." A modern Frenchman, Anatole France, believed that "history is an art and should be written with imagination." But these latter opinions do not coincide with Dr. Johnson's dictum, that "all the coloring, all the philosophy of history is conjecture." Nor are they in line with the newer conception of history as a comprehensive chronicle of the past.

Many are the cynical sayings concerning history by the great and the near great. They are not to be taken too seriously. Most of them are the outpourings of those who attempted to make successful history and failed. Foremost among them are: The unfortunate Robert Walpole, who called "all history . . . a lie"; Frederick the Great, who, when he directed his secretary to read history to him, would say, "Bring me my liar"; Napoleon Bonaparte, asking, "What is history but a fable agreed upon?" and yet leaving this last instruction to the King of Rome: "Let my son often read and reflect on history, this is the only true philosophy"; Alexander Dumas, asserting that "truth is very liable to be left-handed in history"; and even the great Gibbon, concluding that "history is little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind"; worst of all, the violent Voltaire snapping: "Many historians take pleasure in putting into the mouths of Princes what they have neither said or ought to have said." And finally did not one of our eminent industrialists actually testify that "history is bunk?"

While I lean toward the philosophic, and consider it always in dealing with historical subjects, I must not pose before you as an historian. Somehow I have never acquired the historic afflatus. As taught in my school days history appeared to be an account of dynasties, kings, statecraft, and wars, with an endless array of dates and periods. But, as history is largely biography, my interest has centered of late years upon those who have made history—or unmade it—and I have found solace in studying the

lives both of the virtuous and of the vicious, who have had their day in this planetary panorama of ours. Such is the privilege of those who have passed the dangerous age of middle life.

Happily the historian of the present school regards his profession as a "branch of science which is occupied with ascertaining and recording the facts of the past," dealing "with the development of human affairs as a whole, or with some special phase of human activity, as in political history, ecclesiastical history, etc." The perfection of his art, grafted upon his scientific attitude, will cause him to be "exact, sincere, and impartial, free from passion, unbiased by interest, fear, resentment or affection; and faithful to the truth, which is the mother of history, the preserver of great actions, the enemy of oblivion, the witness of the past, the director of the future." We are seeing this come to pass before our very eyes. Already we realize the meditation of J. R. Seeley, expressed a half-century ago: "History is not, as it was once regarded, merely a liberal pursuit in which men found wholesome food for the imagination and sympathies; but now is a department of serious scientific investigation. We study it in the hope of giving new precision, definiteness and solidity to the principles of political science."

Here, then, is the code of modern historical perception. It seeks to put down accurately what has happened, to stick closely to so-called facts, to comment, if at all, without bias, and above all to gather and record "source material." Such aspirations demand an infinite capacity for research and proper exposition of the findings. (This brings to mind a quip of Wilson Mizner's: "If you steal from one author, it's plagiarism; if you steal from many, it's research.") But what matters to the historian, if he is accused of marring his discourse with too much documentary evidence? Or of keeping his readers on the jump with a voluminous bibliography? Or of befuddling his text with abundant footnotes? Must he sacrifice his scientific accuracy and his fulsome devotion to facts simply for the sake of making his product readable? The answer of many who enjoy "the most pleasant school of wisdom," might be voted in the affirmative. They may even agree with a writer in *The Century*, who felt that "we do not so much want history explained after the manner of science as we want it portrayed and interpreted after the manner of literature."

Literature in its liberal meaning comprises the use of language for the expression of thought, chiefly the communication

of ideas, facts, or emotions by means of books or other forms of printing. Specifically the body of literature includes certain types of writing, more or less of permanent and universal form, such as poetry, romance, history, and essays. A distinction has been attempted to exclude scientific works, in that they are written expressly to impart knowledge. Such a separation can no longer be maintained; for there is a scientific literature, as well as a literature of science. Literature embraces all learning, letters, scholarship, erudition, and culture, no matter to what department of knowledge it may be applied.

There is, of course, a profession of literature, consisting of those who write for their livelihood. But literature is equally the property of those who read, no less than of those who write. Its quality is not to be regarded as wholly academic, a designation directed in a scornful sense toward the classical and cultural aspects of literature. The term "light literature" has been used to mean "books or writings such as can be understood and enjoyed without much mental exertion—intended primarily for entertainment, relaxation or amusement, applied most frequently to fiction." There is also "polite literature," or belles-letters, a phrase which has all but passed out of use. Of late the market has been surfeited with the "how" books, which purport to furnish instruction in the doing of things, artistic, mechanical, and manipulative. Collections of sermons, verses, and plays come from the press in increasing number. During these troublous times we see appearing rapidly tome after tome dealing with biography, actions in war, propagandic subjects, and government matters. Altogether every one of these types of writing constitutes literature, for there are many sorts of authors, a multiplicity of materials, and a wide variety of readers. Literature reflects life.

But, protests Birrell, "What in the name of the Bodleian has the general public got to do with literature?" In his delightful essay, "Mere Literature," Woodrow Wilson quoted this ejaculation of Birrell and rejoined: "Unfortunately, it has a great deal to do with it," what with our "complacently forcing the general public into our universities" and "arranging that all its sons shall be instructed how they may themselves master and teach our literature." Mr. Wilson further remarked that it has been believed you had only to heed the suggestions of the pedagogues "in order to know how to impart Burke or Browning, Dryden or Swift." Moreover, he pleaded for the endurance of "mere lit-

erature" on the ground that it is "not an expression of form, but an expression of spirit"; that it may not "belong in . . . plans of universal instruction," offering "embarrassments to pedagogic method," that "it is not pervious to research" and "is too wayward to be brought under the discipline of exposition." I think we all can concur in these thoughtful expressions, coming from one who was a master both of literary construction and of historical interpretation. He might be taken to task by some for his comment that the writings "of the greatest historians . . . are all dipped deep in the colors of the life they expound." But no one can gainsay that learning is as essential for the writing of history as for the production of literature, and that they both have need of scholarship. As Wilson stated, "Literature can do without exact scholarship, or any scholarship at all, though it may impoverish itself thereby, but scholarship cannot do without literature."

The art of reading, no less than the talent of writing, is a part of the literary scene. Those who create literature in any phase, whether they be amateurs or professionals, must depend upon readers, even upon those who read as they run. Here the despised "general public" steps in and the admonition of Roger Ascham should engage our attention: "He that will write well in any tongue must follow this counsel of Aristotle, to speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do; and so should every man understand him, and the judgment of wise men allow him." It will be admitted, no doubt, that by and large we North Carolinians have not been noted for our reading habits. Through the years we have gloried in listening to political debates, grand orations, great sermons—and in these we have excelled. The printed page has not generally allured us. But the tide is turning. Thanks to those interested in the preservation of our history and more recently to library activities, both local and state-wide, we are beginning to learn from books and to become more liberal-minded in our reading. This improvement applies with equal force to the value of history and the appreciation of literature. History has its lessons only for those who can read them. If "experience is the best teacher," it is also true that many of us are poor pupils. We often fail to follow her precepts. Another epigram might be more to the point: "experience is the teacher of fools." In the words of Allan Nevins, "what seemed wisdom to our fathers is often folly to us." This may be either accepting or rejecting with a vengeance the oracular statement that we

can judge the future only by the past. But unless we read what our fathers wrote, how can we compare their folly with our wisdom?

We think our fathers fools so wise we grow;
Our wiser sons, no doubt, will think us so.

And how shall we gain the requisite knowledge of the past unless we are enticed into reading its story through records written in the spirit of true literature?

Literary ability would seem to be needful for the writing of history. It is not too much to say that we long for something more than bare facts. It was Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, I believe, who said, "some people are always slinging facts at me." The word fact means a thing that has been done or made or has happened; and it has an entirely different significance, as applied to science, to law or to history. Too often what is put down as a fact is merely an opinion, a conclusion, or something that has been said. A reviewer of Mr. Hilaire Belloc's latest book,¹ speaks of the author: "As an historian or biographer one must remember that his attitude is always partisan and that, while he may not twist the facts to suit his purpose, he can so arrange and color those facts as to be mightily persuasive." Recently Dr. Curtis D. MacDougall has published a book on "Hoaxes" in which he records some four hundred examples of how "human events and thoughts seem to have determined as much by what is untrue as by what is true," and tells not only why but how "perversion of the truth has succeeded down through the ages." With substantiated proof he shows that "throughout history, mobs have formed and become hysterical; governments have fallen; reputations have been made and destroyed; international relations have been strained, and wars have been fought, all as a result of hoaxes which were exposed too late." My diagnosis is that here *historia* becomes *hysteria*. To his credit, Nevins (quoting him again) believes that "as a branch of literature history demands passports of talent from all entrants" and thinks "diligence and accuracy are too often synonymous with plodding dullness." His intimation is that there are more historical artisans than artists. At the same time he contends that "history differs from pure literature in being closely interconnected, not only with the spirit of the time, but with the whole body of the social sciences." He refers to history as "a dissection of the social structure." Apol-

¹ *Elizabeth, Creature of Circumstances.*

ogetically I might remark that, so far, the social sciences are more social than scientific.

Undoubtedly history is a department of letters, "as deathless as the writings of the great poets and philosophers." Two thousand years ago Lucian was saying: "You cannot find a man but is writing history; nay, every one you meet is a Thucydides, a Herodotus, a Xenophon." This has been especially the case following great wars or world convulsions. We had our H. G. Wells, and out of the present crisis will certainly emerge an abundance of commentaries, containing too much and written too soon. Some one has said that "history's present competitor is the journalistic cult," devoted to the discussion of current issues rather than of the remote or even the immediate past. Over production is the besetting sin of this particular craft. Would it not be wise to wait for history to become history before attempting to write it? No wonder the "general public" has been turning to romances and stories of adventure for relief. Distorted truth is really stranger than fiction.

I agree with many authorities who assert that "in its era of ascendancy history was highly literary in character." They point to Macaulay, Carlyle, Froude, and Prescott, masters of style, whose "literary gifts amounted to genius," and admit that in the past sixty years there has appeared "no British or American historian of equally sustained literary power." "But," says one modern biographer, "it may be argued that the subjects and methods of these writers had much to do with their literary excellence"; and further, "this was the wonder age in history, and its special rapture can never be regained." He explains that "political history is the easiest to write and to read, because of its simplicity, but social and economic elements of history are complex, not so well understood . . . and generally written by pedantic and unfinished authors. Up to the twentieth century it was easy to combine instruction with entertainment." Now society, not the state, is uppermost and, so Nevins says, that kind of history is "harder to write and harder to read." If one prefers "the quieter side of history," there are scholarly volumes on "cultural development, intellectual and spiritual topics, social morals, statistical data, rural life, or most of all the story of some central individual—a living history." To complete the picture, the literary as well as the scientific historian might relish the philosophic utterance of a character in one of Michael Arlen's novels: "The seed of every event is sown by a hoary predecessor.

We cannot lift a finger which does not twitch an invisible string attached to an event in the future. That is, no doubt, what physicists mean when they state that the past, the present and the future are really co-existent and live together as a party of three in the house of time. And a damned uncomfortable party it is."

A prevalent asseveration has been going the rounds in our state for many years. A former president of this Association, himself a distinguished historian, who has done much to remove the stigma of the declaration, gave voice to it as follows: "It is a very trite saying that North Carolina has always made history but never written it; but like many sayings equally trite, it is true." Without controverting the justice of this claim or doubting its entity, it may be pertinent to attempt an explanation. Have we been too lazy, or indifferent, or modest to put down the history we have made? Or are we satisfied with the observation of Metternich, that "the men who make history have not time to write it?" May not the lapse lie deeper? In those regions where history has been written as well as made, there existed a wide-spread interest in literature, a personal appreciation and cultivation of the arts of writing and reading. It is freely conceded that in some localities certain events have been exaggerated as of too high historical importance and played up by fanciful and imaginative literary productions. But unless there exist the literary capacity and industry to write history, its lessons would be lost to posterity. The lack of letters, not the deficiency of deeds, is our stumbling block. The roots of the imperfection are to be found growing from the earliest times in the failure of individuals and communities to be versed in literary achievement. The thought is well expressed by Bacon: "If I might control the literature of the household, I would guarantee the well-being of the . . . state." And, if we substitute the word "state" for "country" in Carlyle's pronouncement, it would read as follows: "A state which has no . . . literature, or literature too insignificant to force its way abroad, must always be, to its neighbors at least, in every important spiritual respect, an unknown and unestimated state." The remedy? We have only to hark back to the constitution of this Association to find the therapeutic agent: "the inculcation of the literary spirit among our own people." The prognosis? Let us refer again to the paper read by our former president, whose statement furnished the basis for this paragraph, and quote his encouraging words. Concerning literary and historical progress in North Carolina he

said: "Today her people are beginning to awake to a consciousness of the importance of possessing some record of her past."

In this discussion of literature and history I have tried to avoid confusion of aims and standards. Just as "literary forms show constant changes of mode and temper," so "history has altered from a romantic to a realistic mood." I am in accord with "the true historian" who believes he must "collect facts, select facts, combine facts." There will be differences in methods and styles. But I insist that the narrative should never be neglected. I am inclined to adopt the conception of history as portrayed by Mr. Augustine Birrell, that distinguished British man of letters. "The natural definition of history," he writes, "surely is the story of man upon earth, and the historian is he who tells us any chapter or fragment of that story, . . . the stream of narrative flowing swiftly, as it does, over the jagged rocks of human destiny must often be turbulent and tossed; it is, therefore, all the more the duty of every good citizen to keep it as undefiled as possible, and to do what in him lies to prevent peripatetic philosophers on the banks from throwing their theories into it, either dead ones to decay, or living ones to drown; . . . let us at all events secure our narrative first—sermons and philosophy the day after." To this I am emboldened to add, the security of the narrative can be preserved only by gifted writers.

Integration supplies the desirable solution. Together literature and history are joint manifestations of learning and culture. "Sound specimens" of both the old and the new ideas of history are not far apart. So I believe that the former "standards of brilliant narrative" (actually good literature) will be combined with the "new standards of scientific breadth" to yield the best fruit of the twin talents.

SOUTHERN REFUGEE LIFE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Mary Elizabeth Massey

PART II

As the refugees traveled into distant sections of the South, they were frequently the recipients of much kindness. The same hospitality that had been characteristic of the South in antebellum days prevailed in many homes during the war. Even small houses were opened, food and clothing were shared, and everything was divided in order that the refugees might see a more cheerful setting for their days to come. On the eve of Appomattox, when all seemed lost and desperation was at its height among the refugees, those who had homes still shared them with others. Eliza Frances Andrews of Georgia wrote the following: "In these days when everybody is living from hand to mouth and half the world is refugeeing, most people who are fortunate enough to possess homes have very heterogeneous households."¹⁷⁵

Refugees recorded hundreds of examples of true Southern hospitality in all the Southern states. Virginia, the Old Dominion, received the homeless with the kindness and generosity so characteristic of her people. When the Fredericksburg refugees flocked into Richmond in November, 1862, "the benevolent and patriotic citizens" of the capital received their more fortunate brethren with open arms.¹⁷⁶ In the eastern section of Virginia a refugee, given the name of "Mother Brown" by her hostess, wandered into the home of Mrs. T. H. Goodnight with two children and remained there for months. She found Mrs. Goodnight's home a "free-for-all refugee station."¹⁷⁷ In Ashland houses showed a "marvelous degree of elasticity; a small house accommodating any number who may apply. Pallets were spread on the floor, every sofa and couch was sheeted for visitors whom they had never seen before."¹⁷⁸ Food as well as shelter was shared by those who frequently could not afford to divide. Mrs. Fannie Gaines Tinsley, a refugee, received a meal from a woman in such dire straits that she did not know from where her next food was coming.¹⁷⁹ Mrs. Cornelia McDonald had kind, unselfish neighbors in Lexington, Virginia, who sent her "a turkey . . .

¹⁷⁵ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 133.

¹⁷⁶ Jones, *Diary*, I, 195.

¹⁷⁷ Mrs. T. H. Goodnight, "War Recollections," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XLIII (1935), 356.

¹⁷⁸ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 402.

¹⁷⁹ Tinsley, "Mrs. Tinsley's War Recollections," p. 402.

cakes and oysters"¹⁸⁰ on Christmas, 1864. When Richmond finally fell in April, 1865, its Southern neighbor, Danville, heard the story and made "preparations to receive and take care of as many refugees as possible." When the citizens of the capital poured into Danville, the doors of the latter city "were wide open; an old Virginia welcome met the refugees, and they were housed as comfortably as possible."¹⁸¹

North Carolinians, too, showed their willingness to aid the homeless Southerners. When J. B. Jones realized that he could no longer support his family in Richmond, he consented for them to accept the hospitality of a friend in New Bern.¹⁸² Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew met with much kindness and generosity from friends and strangers while en route from eastern North Carolina to Hillsboro. She spent one night as the guest of a certain Spruill in Plymouth, and was graciously received, despite the fact that her host himself was on the eve of departure for safer climes.¹⁸³ Continuing her journey inland, Mrs. Pettigrew continued to find the people very hospitable. She spent several days with strangers near Raleigh. The host insisted that she remain because of the inclement weather.¹⁸⁴ Peter Houghton, a North Carolina plantation owner of means and importance, wrote to William S. Pettigrew on March 16, 1863, as follows:

I have heard that your sister and yourself have been in Winston, exiles from your homes. I shall be very much pleased if both of you would come down and spend some time with me. If you will write me and let me know when you can come, I will send my carriage for you.¹⁸⁵

Mrs. D. Giraud Wright found "kind friends" in South Carolina who were so receptive that she remained in their home for several weeks.¹⁸⁶ A refugee, traveling from Columbia into the rural area to the north of that city, arrived at the home of a friend in the early morning hours. Along the way many strangers had joined the refugee in his flight, and all were given a hearty welcome by his friend.¹⁸⁷ After the invasion of General Sherman and his army, and after the burning of Columbia, the citizens of that town "who still possessed homes, offered shelter

¹⁸⁰ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 245.

¹⁸¹ Averill, "The Evacuation of the City of Richmond," p. 268.

¹⁸² Jones, *Diary*, I, 56.

¹⁸³ Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew to Minnie North, February 14, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

¹⁸⁴ Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew to Louise Pettigrew, Feb. 24, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

¹⁸⁵ Peter Houghton to William S. Pettigrew, March 16, 1863, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

¹⁸⁶ Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, p. 202.

¹⁸⁷ Conrad, *The Destruction of Columbia, S. C.*, p. 28.

to their less fortunate neighbors, freely sharing with them the scanty flour and cruse of oil."¹⁸⁸

Mary Gay, a refugee, was received "with open arms" in Griswoldville, Georgia, by Rev. Dr. John S. Wilson and family.¹⁸⁹ From Macon General Joseph E. Johnston "received a very flattering letter . . . offering him a house for as long a period as he desired it."¹⁹⁰ The refugees from Savannah found abundant hospitality in rural Georgia in 1864 and 1865.¹⁹¹

Alabama kept alive the tradition of open doors and open arms. In that state refugees received a warm and hearty welcome. An Alabama journalist, fleeing across the state, spent every night as a guest at some plantation. He did not find it necessary to resort to hotels or inns for shelter. Each night, also, he found that he was only one of the many refugees received by his host or hostess.¹⁹²

Colonel Thomas Dabney of Mississippi was especially noted for his hospitality. He felt that he was more fortunate than many people in having a comfortable home and fine food. Feeling keenly the plight of the refugees from his own and neighboring states in 1862, he "inserted in one of the Vicksburg papers an invitation to any and all citizens" to seek refuge at "Burleigh," his plantation home.¹⁹³

Refugees who went into Tennessee were "received with every mark of kindness and hospitality."¹⁹⁴ Both Confederate and Unionist refugees sought safety in that state, and the popularity of Nashville and Knoxville as centers of refuge indicate that fugitives were treated both generously and sympathetically.

There were exceptions to the general rule of hospitality in the South during the war as well as in peace. Refugees sometimes came into contact with the less hospitable of the Southern people. In Virginia, where hospitality seemed so very general, refugees were not always welcome. Cornelia McDonald spent some time with other refugees in Lynchburg, but "they began to perceive that people were not as kindly disposed to refugees as they were in other places, and even displayed their disapproval when wanderers occupied their pews in church."¹⁹⁵ In Virginia,

¹⁸⁸ Milling, "Illium In Flames," p. 212.

¹⁸⁹ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 185.

¹⁹⁰ Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, p. 188.

¹⁹¹ Andrews, *Women of the South*, p. 298.

¹⁹² James W. Clay to Clement C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, Clay Papers, Duke University Library.

¹⁹³ Smedes, *Memorials*, p. 200.

¹⁹⁴ Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*, I, 241.

¹⁹⁵ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 93. "One Sunday in the Rev. Mr. Kimble's church a party of these refugees had settled themselves when the pastor rose and said that the Congregation were incommoded by having their seats occupied by strangers, and that for the future, the refugees would find seats in the gallery."

too, Mrs. Roger A. Pryor found a farmer's wife very rude to her. The latter's husband had invited Mrs. Pryor to spend the night with them, but his wife was not so kindly disposed.¹⁹⁶ Mrs. J. W. B. McGuire recorded that rural areas of Virginia were much more hospitable toward refugees than were the cities.¹⁹⁷ South Carolina also had citizens who did not receive the refugees hospitably. When the people of Charleston and the Low Country began to come into Columbia, one resident of the latter city remarked, "The Charleston refugees are so full of airs, there is no sympathy here for them."¹⁹⁸

The Unionists were recipients of much sympathy and aid from the North. When these people fled into the border cities or into Federal lines, "efforts were made . . . to aid them. In northern cities large contributions of money or clothing were made for their relief."¹⁹⁹ Refugee homes were maintained on the borders and Unionists were always welcome.²⁰⁰

Pecuniary assistance was frequently given by the more fortunate Southerners to the refugees. Funds were established in this way and with this money many homeless were assisted. Such an accumulation was turned over to the clergy in Virginia in 1863, to be used for the benefit of the refugees.²⁰¹ Industrious refugees could usually find some sort of government work, the remuneration from which would help to take care of part of the daily expenses.²⁰²

The refugees came into contact with all kinds of people, who in turn possessed all types of dispositions. More often than not, the fugitives found acquaintances and even strangers, from whom they requested aid, friendly, sympathetic, and hospitable; but sometimes they had the misfortune to meet with the people who were unsympathetic, selfish, and rude to them.

The hospitality found in most sections of the South helped to ease the mental anguish caused by the war, but the economic suffering of the refugees was unbelievably severe. Food, clothing, and shelter were practically forgotten terms to many and every diary and memoir of the fugitives stresses the dearth of even the bare necessities of life.

¹⁹⁶ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 187.

¹⁹⁷ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 173.

¹⁹⁸ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 191.

¹⁹⁹ Brockett and Vaughan, *Women's Work*, p. 710.

²⁰⁰ Brockett and Vaughan, *Women's Work*, p. 715. At Nashville, a Refugee Relief Society was established, under the management of Mrs. Mary R. Fogg, and established a refugee's home which was aided by the Western Sanitary Commission, the Philadelphia ladies, and other associations.

²⁰¹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 204.

²⁰² McGuire, *Diary*, p. 205.

The scarcity of food during the Civil War forced the refugees to eat many things that would never have been considered edible in more prosperous peace times. Mule meat, stale bread, wild herbs, and muddy water were items in the menus of many refugees. Even these things, unappetizing as they were, became unobtainable in sufficient quantities to supply the actual wants of the people. Late in 1864 a Richmond refugee wrote wistfully that two meals a day had "become the universal system" among the homeless citizens of the Confederacy.²⁰³ Even in the lower South, far from the main stage of war, "self-denial in all things" became the general practice of the civilian population.²⁰⁴

Some portions of the Confederacy were untouched by the invaders early in the war and famine was not actually experienced there; but the refugees in these more fortunate localities frequently mistook mere scarcity for actual starvation. Their diaries and letters are frequently filled with remarks as bitter and caustic as are those of their less fortunate friends. Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew wrote to her husband complaining that she had had only "a dish of pudding . . . a plate of cornbread, one of biscuit, some butter small in quantity and poor in quality," milk, and coffee for her breakfast.²⁰⁵ She fared sumptuously, however, compared to the non-combatants in Northern Virginia who, at the same time, were trying to make a pound of meat serve nine people.²⁰⁶

Hard times in the first and second years of the war gave way to real suffering in 1863 and to actual starvation rations before the war was over. The conditions in Vicksburg, Mississippi, were probably as bad as in any other town in the Confederacy. Coffee, tea, and other luxuries had disappeared by 1863, and the refugees felt that they fared sumptuously if they had bacon to go with their limited diet of corn bread. But conditions continued to grow worse. Soon the people were reduced to such dire want that they gladly partook of the soldiers' fare of mule meat.²⁰⁷ When the city was besieged by the Federals, one mother killed and made soup of a pet jay bird to feed her starving child.²⁰⁸ The people ate their unpalatable food "without the

²⁰³ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 324.

²⁰⁴ Beers, *Memories*, p. 54.

²⁰⁵ Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew to Charles L. Pettigrew, May 23, 1862. Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

²⁰⁶ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 198.

²⁰⁷ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 116.

²⁰⁸ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 137.

slightest relish," but only that they might "sustain life."²⁰⁹ In fact, one refugee wrote that the only luxury the coarse food had to offer was warmth.²¹⁰ Drink as well as food became a major problem to the Vicksburg refugees. Pure water was not always available, and the people were forced to drink the water of the muddy Mississippi River.²¹¹ Even had food and drink been plentiful the refugees would have found it difficult to prepare their meals, so continuous was the shelling of the city. Many of the refugees preferred the safety of the caves to the danger of foraging for and preparing food.²¹²

There was widespread complaint of the lack of proper and sufficient food in South Carolina in 1863, and there is no doubt but that there was dire want and suffering. Some of the South Carolina refugees at this time were among the people who confused improper and insufficient food with famine. While some refugees complained of want, others wrote of hog killing with its accompanying back-bone, spare-ribs, and sausage.²¹³ Such food might have been a monotonous diet, but it was nevertheless a plentiful one.

As 1864 dawned, things went from bad to worse over the Confederacy. Where there had been some meat, there was now nothing but beans, water, and bread. And so scarce were these things that only two meals were available in many households.²¹⁴ Late in 1864 the family of Mrs. Cornelia McDonald had nothing but bread, for a freeze had ruined their vegetable garden.²¹⁵ During these trying times Mrs. McDonald often went all day with only one roll to eat and only water to drink.²¹⁶ All the Virginia refugees, however, were not starving, for, at the same time that Mrs. McDonald's family was reduced to bread only, some of her neighbors had apples;²¹⁷ and Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, in Petersburg, had a variable diet of peas, sorghum, bread, and tea.²¹⁸

The brightest spot in this life of want was the cheerfulness with which most of the refugees carried their burdens, despite their frequent hunger. When the people of Vicksburg lived on mule meat they were cheerful and attempted to forget their

²⁰⁹ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 100.

²¹⁰ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 61.

²¹¹ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 103.

²¹² Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 60.

²¹³ Holmes, *The Burckmeyer Letters*, p. 240.

²¹⁴ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 245.

²¹⁵ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 232.

²¹⁶ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 24.

²¹⁷ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 225.

²¹⁸ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 204.

troubles.²¹⁹ Many of those who suffered most expressed disgust for the "croakers" in the community.²²⁰

With the scarcity of food came inevitable high prices, which seemed even higher than they actually were because of the depreciated Confederate money. Speculation was general and tended to boost prices even higher.²²¹ The steady rise in the price of food greatly reduced the purchasing power of the refugees. Prices were much higher in some parts of the Confederacy than in others. In 1863 meal sold for sixteen dollars per bushel in Richmond,²²² while in central Georgia a year later it sold for only ten dollars.²²³ In the fall of 1864 flour sold for a dollar and a quarter per pound in Richmond,²²⁴ but it brought only fifty cents per pound in central Georgia.²²⁵ Prices of other commodities differed as much as those of meal and flour. Prices of nearly all foodstuffs were exceedingly high. Oranges sold for five dollars apiece in Richmond in 1863;²²⁶ potatoes twelve dollars per bushel; pork two dollars and fifty cents per pound; and tea five dollars per pound.²²⁷ In central Georgia corn sold for ten dollars per bushel, butter four dollars per pound, and syrup five dollars per gallon.²²⁸

During the winter of 1864-1865 food grew exceedingly scarce and prices took a sharp turn upward. At that time coffee sold in the Shenandoah Valley for eight dollars per pound, and, according to Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, a soldier's ration consisted of only eight grains per day.²²⁹ Many of the wealthiest families were forced to forego turkey for their Christmas dinner in 1864, for the price of turkeys ranged from fifty dollars to one hundred dollars each.²³⁰ Mrs. McGuire gave her family roast beef for Christmas dinner,²³¹ while Mrs. Pryor gave hers corned beef.²³²

During the Civil War some non-combatants managed to keep their cupboards fairly well stocked and were usually willing to divide with their less fortunate friends. One Vicksburg woman sent apples, ham, and vegetables to a refugee neighbor.²³³ Coun-

²¹⁹ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 100.

²²⁰ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 197.

²²¹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 203.

²²² McGuire, *Diary*, p. 203.

²²³ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 226.

²²⁴ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 258.

²²⁵ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 226.

²²⁶ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 263.

²²⁷ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 247.

²²⁸ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 226.

²²⁹ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 209.

²³⁰ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 232.

²³¹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 324.

²³² Pryor, *Reminiscences of a Long Life*, p. 318.

²³³ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 105.

try relatives of Richmond refugees sent them "Irish and sweet potatoes, cabbages, butter, sausages, chives and a ham."²³⁴ Even refugees showed a marked willingness to divide their meager and scanty stock of food with soldiers and non-combatant friends.²³⁵ Strangers, too, acted the "Good Samaritan" to their brethren who were homeless and hungry. Mrs. Chesnut received "fowls . . . sausages, butter, bread, eggs and preserves" from a woman she had never seen.²³⁶

In spite of general want some fugitives fared on fine food and drink. Some had their regular afternoon tea with the tables neatly set and holding innumerable delicacies;²³⁷ others dined and wined sumptuously on food that could have been classed as excellent "for any time."²³⁸ Some refugee children had candy and cakes and adults sipped egg-nog on Christmas, even in 1864. They were, of course, the favored few and a very small percentage of the refugee population.

The problem of clothing was almost as grave for the refugees as that of food. For the first year and a half the citizens of the Confederacy wore their old clothes and suffered little from lack of clothing. By 1863, however, the war, together with the blockade, brought such a scarcity of materials that the refugees found it nearly impossible to secure sufficient clothing to protect them from the cold. In March of that year, the homeless who were temporarily domiciled in Ashland, Virginia, were excited and thrilled over the opportunity of buying some dress materials and useful articles of clothing from a lady who was the recipient of a carload of goods from Europe and the North.²³⁹ Here, however, as in the purchasing of food, many refugees had their hands tied because of the high cost of the clothing. In the spring of 1863 bleached cotton, worth only twelve and a half cents prior to 1861, brought three dollars and fifty cents per yard.²⁴⁰ Calico sold for from two dollars and fifty cents to four dollars per yard in Richmond.²⁴¹ Stockings cost six dollars a pair and handkerchiefs five dollars apiece.²⁴²

In 1864 the prices on clothing approached an all-time high.

²³⁴ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 247.

²³⁵ Pryor, *Reminiscences*, p. 319. Mrs. Pryor and her family gave their meagre Christmas dinner to some passing soldiers in 1864; she wrote that her sons "liked the pleasure they gave more than they would have enjoyed the dinner."

²³⁶ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 361

²³⁷ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 255.

²³⁸ Walter L. Fleming, "Home Life In Alabama During the Civil War," *Publications of the Southern History Association*, VIII (1904), 96.

²³⁹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 201.

²⁴⁰ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 205.

²⁴¹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 235.

²⁴² McGuire, *Diary*, p. 242.

Shoes cost from twenty-five to one hundred and fifty dollars per pair,²⁴³ linen twenty-two dollars per yard, cotton thread five dollars per spool,²⁴⁴ and calico dresses two hundred dollars each.²⁴⁵ Mrs. Jefferson Davis might be able to pay five hundred dollars for a calico dress and one thousand dollars for a lawn dress but the majority of the refugees found it impossible to pay such prices.²⁴⁶ Clothing was not available at any price²⁴⁷ to some people and they were forced to patch and mend if their bodies were to be covered.²⁴⁸ New materials simply could not be acquired by most refugee households and odd substitutions were derived.²⁴⁹ So little new materials and clothing could be had that only one drygoods store was kept open in Newnan, Georgia; and so high were the prices that few ladies could patronize it during the last eighteen months of the war.²⁵⁰

The Confederate women used great ingenuity in devising substitutes and in making clothing during the war. Mrs. Cornelia McDonald unraveled the red fringe from her window curtains, wound it on spools, combined it with some white and black thread, and made plaid material enough for several dresses.²⁵¹ Straw or palmetto was utilized in making hats, that were in turn decorated with cockades and ribbons denoting the state or city of the wearer.²⁵² Mrs. Roger A. Pryor demonstrated her originality by making shoes for her baby from an old carpet and lining them with flannel.²⁵³ Ticking from mattresses was woven into materials that could be used for dresses and suits,²⁵⁴ and corset stays were made by army blacksmiths.²⁵⁵

The refugees were greatly aided in getting clothing by their more fortunate friends. Special prices on materials were often made to refugees;²⁵⁶ and wool for making cloth²⁵⁷ and cast off clothing of all sorts²⁵⁸ was frequently sent the homeless wanderers by their more fortunate relatives. One refugee confessed that she was "ever and anon assisted in that way."²⁵⁹ Southern

²⁴³ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 258.

²⁴⁴ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 292.

²⁴⁵ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 232.

²⁴⁶ Avary, *Dixie After the War*, p. 248.

²⁴⁷ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 100.

²⁴⁸ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 199.

²⁴⁹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 200.

²⁵⁰ Beers, *Memories*, p. 116.

²⁵¹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 235.

²⁵² Beers, *Memories*, p. 117.

²⁵³ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 229.

²⁵⁴ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 229.

²⁵⁵ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 229.

²⁵⁶ Jones, *Diary*, II, 99.

²⁵⁷ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 224.

²⁵⁸ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 186.

²⁵⁹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 186.

Unionists were sometimes kind, considerate, and helpful to Confederate refugees and supplied them with much needed clothing. A Unionist cobbler made five pairs of shoes for the children of Mrs. McDonald and extended her credit until she should be able to pay.²⁶⁰

Refugee families sometimes resorted to exchange among themselves in order to clothe the group. Mrs. McDonald had a considerable amount of material for dresses, but none for suits; her neighbor was in the reverse situation; so they exchanged their surplus and each had cloth enough to supply her wants.²⁶¹ Such clothes were not always the most becoming, but they served the purpose.²⁶²

The problem of housing, like that of food and clothing, became more acute as the war continued and strange indeed were some of the places called "home" by the refugees. Mere hovels commanded outrageous prices, and many places which could be realized only in the dreariest imaginations were rented as living quarters to the refugees. Mrs. Cornelia McDonald's first refugee home was a "staring white house without a shutter . . . not a tree or bush was near, but there was woodpile in front and a dreary garden behind. . . . Whenever it rained, the water poured from the hillside and made a pool all around the house, which with rain coming in at the door made it unbearable."²⁶³ A bit more fortunate was an Alabama refugee whose father built her a cottage near his own home. He wanted her near him during the war, for her husband was in the army and he feared for her safety and comfort.²⁶⁴

Refugees who had comfortable houses or parts of houses considered themselves fortunate, indeed. Mrs. McGuire seemed perfectly content to share with five other families an eight-room house in Ashland, Virginia. Because these people were refugees and unable to do better, everyone "determined to take everything cheerfully."²⁶⁵ Mrs. Susan Dabney Smedes and her family had a four-room cottage in Macon, Georgia. It was much too small

²⁶⁰ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 195.

²⁶¹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 226.

²⁶² McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 224.

²⁶³ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 193.

²⁶⁴ Parthenia Antoinette Hague, *A Blockaded Family: Life In Alabama During the Civil War*, p. 143.

²⁶⁵ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 168. Hoping to avoid any conflict the members of the household agreed that "each member has her own place, and her own duties to perform; the young married ladies of the establishment are by common consent to have the house keeping troubles; their husbands are to be masters with the onerous duties of caterers, treasurers, etc. The old ladies have promised to give out sage advice and experience when it is desired. The girls will assist their sisters with their nimble fingers in case of emergency; and the clerical gentlemen are to have their own way and do their own work without let or hindrance. All that is required of them is that they shall be household chaplains and that Mr. . . . shall have service every Sunday at the neglected village church. With these discreet regulations, we confidentially expect a most pleasant, harmonious establishment."

for her family, but she felt that she was fortunate in having even that large a refugee home.²⁶⁶ Perhaps Mrs. Smedes felt more critical than she would otherwise have done because her refugee neighbor Louise Wigfall had for a home a three-story, white-columned mansion which faced a beautiful valley.²⁶⁷

Many homeless Southerners made their homes in inns and hotels. Mrs. Cornelia McDonald spent part of her life as a refugee in a third-floor hotel room that was equipped "with poor furniture and was altogether uncomfortable." The place was crowded, but she could get no better accommodations.²⁶⁸ Some hotels in even worse condition than this Virginia one were used by the refugees. Such was the one in Milledgeville, Georgia, in which Eliza Frances Andrews and her party rented a room.

On entering it their hearts sank, accustomed as . . . they were to war-time fare. There was no . . . wash basin, pitcher, nor towels, and the walls on each side of the beds were black with tobacco spit. The fireplace was a dump heap that was enough to turn the stomach of a pig, and over the mantle some former occupant had inscribed this caution: "one bed has lice in it, the other fleas and both bugs; chimney smokes. Better change."²⁶⁹

Some refugees, however, found comfortable quarters in hotels. Such a lucky person was Mrs. James Chesnut, who had a "clean, comfortable . . . airy . . . cozy" room in a North Carolina hotel.²⁷⁰

Some of the more prosperous refugees bought entire hotels for themselves and their families to refugee in. A gentlemen of Cuthbert, Georgia, purchased a large, comfortable hotel in that town;²⁷¹ and a Greenville, South Carolina, family purchased the largest hotel in that town as a place of refuge.²⁷²

Every available room in some hotels were turned into living quarters for refugees. In Ashland, Virginia, one family occupied the ballroom of the local hotel, which was partitioned into rooms each divided from the other by red damask curtains.²⁷³

Southerners fleeing from the Union armies often found shelter in underground cellars. Charles Campbell, the historian,

²⁶⁶ Smedes, *Hemorials*, p. 215.

²⁶⁷ Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, p. 186.

²⁶⁸ McDonald, *A Diary*, pp. 183, 188. Mrs. McDonald described a hotel in Amherst Court House, Virginia, as follows: "We found quite an imposing entrance, carved wooden pillars and some other traces of old time elegance. A long hall at least twenty feet wide ran through the house and several passages branched from that. In the first room we entered, all the windows were out and the frames broken to pieces. In the next, the floor had sunk nearly a foot and a half, and the walls streamed with water, from rain the day before. Another had a large hole in the ceiling and the hearth fallen in. It was such a place of desolation that I did not wonder that no rent was asked."

²⁶⁹ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 163.

²⁷⁰ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 348.

²⁷¹ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 132.

²⁷² Holmes, *The Burckmeyer Letters*, p. 179.

²⁷³ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 205.

lived in a cellar in Petersburg. He "cleared out" the rubbish, spread rugs on the floor, and furnished it with lounges and chairs, thus making of it a fairly comfortable home.²⁷⁴ Another refugee, accustomed to every luxury in Fredericksburg, Virginia, was forced to seek refuge in a dark, damp cellar in Richmond.²⁷⁵

Many bizarre and unusual places were converted into homes when necessity commanded it. Necessity did command such when Columbia, South Carolina, was burned. In that city many people found refuge in the "neighboring forests, some in the State Hospital for the Insane, some in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary and others in the few houses of worship that remained."²⁷⁶ Some sought safety in parks, "others fled to the open ground without the city; numbers sought refuge in graveyards. Isolated and unburned dwellings were crowded to excess with fugitives."²⁷⁷

Railway box-cars became very popular as homes for refugees. Not only might they be side-tracked and serve as stationary homes, but they might also be placed on the track and moved to some other place if safety demanded it.

Many prominent refugees lived in box-cars, but one very prominent family from Chattanooga, Tennessee, lived in one in Decatur, Georgia, and created quite a sensation among their friends.²⁷⁸ Factories, country cabins, stables,²⁷⁹ and tents²⁸⁰ were used as homes, but no more picturesque place can be imagined than the cave homes in Vicksburg. Here "every family had its cave"²⁸¹ and on every side one "could see, thickly strewn among the earthly cliffs, the never to be lost caves—large caves and little caves—some cut out substantially roomy and comfortable, with braces and props throughout—many only large enough for one man to take refuge in standing; again at a low place in the earth was a seat for a passerby in case of danger."²⁸² Caves in this Mississippi town were not only "plainly . . . a necessity," but also "the fashion—the rage."²⁸³ These popular modes of shelter

²⁷⁴ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 201.

²⁷⁵ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 172.

²⁷⁶ Milling, "Ilium in Flames," p. 182. "The homeless hundreds who sought protection in the grounds of the insane asylum were received most courteously by Dr. Parker, the superintendent . . . but . . . some of the inmates escaped" and mingled with the crowd and "the keepers had extreme difficulty in identifying their charges, so wild and disheveled did the refugees appear."

²⁷⁷ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 449. Mayor Gibbs said that the Saturday after the Columbia fire, "two hundred women and children were in one house."

²⁷⁸ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 135.

²⁷⁹ Harry Gilmor, *Four Years in the Saddle*, p. 123.

²⁸⁰ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 453; Hart, *Recollections*, p. 150; McGuire, *Diary*, p. 304.

²⁸¹ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 357.

²⁸² Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 94.

²⁸³ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 56.

were usually built "to face directly away from the river."²⁸⁴ While usually inconvenient in many respects, they were not always uncomfortable. One refugee told J. T. Trowbridge that her cave was "very large and quite comfortable." It had a large entrance, plank floors, berths, and a kitchen, all well lighted.²⁸⁵ Another refugee said that her cave quarters were close but she was "more comfortable than . . . she expected . . . she could have been under the earth."²⁸⁶ The Vicksburg caves were the best known, but underground places of refuge existed elsewhere in the Confederacy, although not in such large numbers as in the Mississippi River town.²⁸⁷

In spite of the utilization of such unusual places for homes, living quarters continued to be at a premium in the Confederacy. For a week in February, 1862, Mrs. McGuire walked the streets of Richmond searching for a room in which to live. She finally found one which was "small but comfortable."²⁸⁸

In other cities, too, there was a scarcity of shelter. A group of Georgia refugees spent the night on a depot platform in a small town in South Carolina, because there were no vacant rooms to accommodate them.²⁸⁹ There was such a dearth of rooms and housing facilities in Charlotte, North Carolina, in February, 1865, that the search for shelter by the refugees was "lamentable."²⁹⁰ Homeless women with little children wandered through the streets day and night, ever on the lookout for a place where they might rest.

The scarcity of shelter brought with it its twin sister, high rents. In southern North Carolina in 1864-1865 hotel lodging cost about sixty dollars per day plus five dollars for fire.²⁹¹ In Richmond in 1861 small rooms rented for sixty dollars per month plus part of the heating bill,²⁹² but the rent steadily

²⁸⁴ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 72.

²⁸⁵ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 357.

²⁸⁶ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 61.

²⁸⁷ Beers, *Memories*, p. 166.

²⁸⁸ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 88. The following are excerpts from her diary: Feb. 6. "Spent this day in walking from one boarding house to another and have returned fatigued and hopeless. I do not believe there is a vacant spot in the city. A friend who considers herself nicely fixed is in an uncarpeted room and so furnished that, besides her trunk, she has only her wash stand drawer in which to deposit her goods and chattels; and yet she amuses herself at it, and seems never to regret her handsomely furnished chamber at Alexandria."

7th. Walking all day with no better success. 'No vacant room' is the universal answer. I returned at dinner time, wearied in mind and body . . .

8th Call on Monday.

Monday night on finding a room, that is twenty dollars more than the usual price, and three dollars less than our whole salary per month . . . I walked up the already lighted streets of my native city, feeling forlorn and houseless . . .

13th. Notwithstanding the rain this morning, I renewed my pursuit after lodgings . . . To my surprise Mrs. L. said we could get a room; it is small, but comfortable."

²⁸⁹ Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, p. 202.

²⁹⁰ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 229.

²⁹¹ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 348.

²⁹² McGuire, *Diary*, p. 240.

mounted and such rooms rented for one hundred and ten dollars per month in 1865.²⁹³ Even in Vicksburg, where crude caves dotted the landscape, housing facilities in underground hovels were scarce and expensive. A charge of from thirty to fifty dollars was made to dig one of these caves, and there were no heating or lighting facilities in most of them.²⁹⁴

Most places of refuge were simply, if not meagerly, furnished. Mrs. Cornelia McDonald "had beds and carpets . . . but not tables or chairs" in her refugee home in Lexington, Virginia, in 1863. She, her family, and her guests sat on boxes and ate off a huge chest which she had brought from Winchester, Virginia.²⁹⁵ A few months later this same refugee was the proud recipient of a pine table, which she placed in the center of her living room, covering it with a red cloth. As time went on she added an old rug and some gay curtains to make the room fairly cheerful, but still simple.²⁹⁶ In the one room occupied by Mrs. Roger A. Pryor and her family in Petersburg, Virginia, there were two or three wooden chairs, a bed, and a small table, but curtains and rugs were noticeably missing.²⁹⁷ Mrs. McGuire knew of only one refugee in Richmond who was fortunate enough to be surrounded by home comforts and furnishings;²⁹⁸ nowhere in refugee homes in the capital were carpets to be found.²⁹⁹

Light, fuel, and numerous articles, formerly available, were scarce and expensive and frequently not to be had at any price. Mrs. McDonald could not even furnish her servant such necessities.³⁰⁰ The Confederate candle, an ingenious invention, was frequently used to give light. Wood was chiefly used for fuel, when it could be had, and anything that would burn was used when wood could not be had.³⁰¹

Pen, paper, and ink for correspondence were often unobtainable. When they could be had, they were often of such poor quality that "one dreaded the task of an epistle, however short."³⁰² One refugee diarist, unable to buy notebooks or writing paper

²⁹³ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 307.

²⁹⁴ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 72.

²⁹⁵ McDonald, *Diary*, p. 193.

²⁹⁶ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 195.

²⁹⁷ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 194.

²⁹⁸ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 201.

²⁹⁹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 243.

³⁰⁰ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 255.

³⁰¹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 225. In describing the Confederate candle, Mrs. McDonald said, "no one but the most affluent used any other, and I felt myself fortunate in having one by which I could sit at night and read or sew. I often wondered how my eyes stood the ordeal. It was made of a small cord, or candlewick, drawn through a pan of melted beeswax and tallow. The cord was about six yards long and was repeatedly drawn through until it was so thickly coated as to be as large as one's little finger."

³⁰² Mrs. Clara D. McLean, "Return of a Refugee," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XIII (1885), 503.

after July, 1863, continued to keep her diary on wrapping paper until the bitter end.³⁰³ Medicines of all kinds were practically unknown to the refugees. When they could be bought the prices were generally so high that most of the homeless wanderers could not afford them. "Quinine was \$400 an ounce, when it could be had at all."³⁰⁴ Women devised a mixture "of native herbs and roots" as a substitute for this much needed drug.³⁰⁵

Money was probably the scarcest article among the refugees. Even the Confederate money, which was getting more and more worthless as the war moved on, was not to be had in sufficient quantities by most of the refugees. When Mrs. Cornelia McDonald went to Lexington, Virginia, in 1863, she had only one dollar in her purse.³⁰⁶ She, like Mrs. McGuire and many others, knew what it was to be without a cent, but some of their more fortunate comrades had money enough to feel fairly secure. Mrs. Roger A. Pryor had a "belt of gold" and received \$100 in exchange for one dollar in gold in 1865.³⁰⁷ Thomas Dabney was another of the more fortunate wealthy refugees; he offered a reward of twenty dollars to anyone finding his daughter's cat.³⁰⁸

Many refugees who complained bitterly of their condition during the war would not do without servants. Thomas Dabney carried his servants from Mississippi to Georgia and back.³⁰⁹ While actually suffering from lack of common necessities, Mrs. Cornelia McDonald kept a maid³¹⁰ and pitied her friends who had none.³¹¹ Even the refugees who lived in the Vicksburg caves had servants,³¹² and Fannie Beers had a personal maid at her beck and call at all times.³¹³

Most of the refugee women faced the necessity of earning a livelihood sufficient to support themselves and their families. When necessity demanded it, the women proved to be as brave as the soldiers who served on the battlefield. Many refugee women found work in the government offices at Richmond.³¹⁴ In 1863 "one vacancy in a Government office would bring a hundred

³⁰³ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 225.

³⁰⁴ Avary, *Dixie After the War*, p. 17.

³⁰⁵ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 186.

³⁰⁶ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 188.

³⁰⁷ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 209.

³⁰⁸ Smedes, *Memorials*, p. 221. Col. Dabney said "It is no joke. I offer it in earnest. My daughter is a refugee and has little enough to amuse her and shall not lose a kitten if I can help it."

³⁰⁹ Smedes, *Memorials*, p. 221.

³¹⁰ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 255.

³¹¹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 232.

³¹² Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 61.

³¹³ Beers, *Memories*, p. 45.

³¹⁴ B. W. Arnolds, "Virginia Women and the Civil War," *Publications of the Southern History Association*, II (1898), 269.

applications from women" who were in need of assistance.³¹⁵ Government jobs were difficult to obtain and the applicant was frequently forced to wait six, eight, or even twelve months to get a job which paid only \$125 a month in Confederate notes.³¹⁶ One would find in these offices, however, women of all ages from many of the war-ridden states.³¹⁷ Many refugee women found employment in other havens of refuge. Some taught school,³¹⁸ others made and sold soap,³¹⁹ and many found remuneration in sewing.³²⁰ Many Southern refugee women sold their jewels and antiques when all other resources were exhausted.³²¹

Children and the men who did not go to war, lent their assistance in procuring a livelihood. Some of the children cut wood and ran errands.³²² Many men were forced into lowly tasks in order to get two meals a day and a roof over their heads.³²³ Many heads of families worked in the government offices in Richmond as did the women.³²⁴

Civil war refugees suffered much from want. In this respect they probably knew their worst suffering, for every one of the homeless wanderers lacked the food, clothing, and shelter to which they were accustomed in times of peace and prosperity. The members of the upper class of the South frequently lived as poorly as the lowliest poor white; comparatively the "aristocrat" suffered more than the "commoner."

Such economic conditions as these, surrounding the refugees, in turn affected their social life. As a result of this and other forces, the normal social relations of the Southern refugees was completely disrupted. Community life was broken up and members of the same family were often separated. Schools were generally closed, church services were often suspended, and the regular channels of social intercourse were broken. The war also caused people to take a more serious attitude toward life and some of them frowned on the idea of parties and amusements while the Confederacy was struggling for its very existence. The loss of friends and loved ones, the struggle against want and suffering, and the fear of what the future might bring dampened

³¹⁵ B. W. Arnold, "Virginia Women and the Civil War," p. 269.

³¹⁶ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 244.

³¹⁷ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 250.

³¹⁸ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 246.

³¹⁹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 205.

³²⁰ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 237.

³²¹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 196, 254. Mrs. McDonald sold a set of china to pay for her lodging and a set of onyx jewelry to pay for some wood.

³²² McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 247.

³²³ Holmes, *The Burckmeyer Letters*, p. 46.

³²⁴ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 184.

the enthusiasm and ardor of the Southern people for the dance and other forms of social entertainment. Refugees, like many other Southerners, however, found surcease from the sorrows and hardships of wartime in pleasant associations with loved ones and friends, and in social exchange with casual acquaintances. The poverty and distress of the refugees naturally caused a diminution of the more formal social entertainments but the refugees found satisfaction in the simpler and quieter forms of social life.

The church had been one of the most important centers of social life of the rural, agricultural Southern people, and the refugees found church services one of the chief avenues of social exchange during the war. Not only did they attend the church services for spiritual guidance but also that they might see their friends, exchange social pleasantries and local gossip, and hear the news of the war. The refugees would frequently worship with whomever they could find, regardless of their faith, but they often managed to collect a sufficient number of the same denomination to have regular services. There were sufficient refugees of the Episcopalian faith in Ashland, Virginia, in the war to warrant regular church services of that denomination for the first time in the history of the village.³²⁵ Although their little group was small in the early years of the conflict, their numbers had increased so greatly by the end of the war that a sizeable congregation was worshipping on the April Sunday when Jefferson Davis, attending church only twelve miles to the South, received from General Lee the news of the broken Confederate lines. A week later refugees over the South met in churches and substitutes for churches, ignorant of the fact that General Robert E. Lee was meeting General U. S. Grant in surrender. It was on that April 9, 1865, that Eliza Frances Andrews and her refugee friends, as well as thousands more over the Confederacy, worshipped in a small abandoned schoolhouse in Georgia.³²⁶ From the early years of the war to the end, mother, sisters, sweet-hearts, and wives sought the sanctity of the church in prayer for their sons, brothers, lovers, husbands, and the Cause for which they were suffering.

Just as the refugees had gone to church and religious gatherings to worship, reap any news that might be abroad and see their friends, so many hundreds more who could not get to the

³²⁵ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 205.

³²⁶ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 137.

church services enjoyed the news that visitors could give them over cups of poor tea, or across the front porch bannisters, and fence rails. All of this was a definitely mild form of social life, but it was inexpensive and therefore often indulged in by refugees. Old friends were frequently found and new friends were often made, who "proved themselves helpful and serviceable in times of need."³²⁷ Mrs. Cornelia McDonald, whose life was so full of misfortune and bitterness, recorded the happiness of many evenings which would often "be quite gay with the pleasant little group of friends, gathered in the parlour" of her refugee home. It was in this small, poorly furnished house in Lexington, Virginia, that Mrs. McDonald "received many distinguished visitors from military as well as social life."³²⁸ It is recorded that refugees frequently enlivened the communities into which they fled. A Richmond diarist admitted in the fall of 1862 that the society of the capital had "been greatly improved by refugees from Fredericksburg."³²⁹ Athens, Georgia, threw open its college buildings and homes to the refugees during the war and made welcome all homeless wanderers. The citizens of this hospitable Georgia town planned parties, picnics, and all kinds of social gatherings for the refugees in order that fugitives might forget their troubles and enjoy life.³³⁰ Whenever Susan Dabney Smedes stopped for a day in a town while she was en route from Mississippi to Georgia, she would often leave her box-car home and "call on friends."³³¹ Her refugee neighbor in Macon, Georgia, Eliza Frances Andrews, spent most of her morning hours "making calls" and she frequently met old friends which resulted in happy hours spent recalling bygone days.³³²

Whenever admission into social circles was refused the refugees, they managed to enjoy a simple, quiet social life with the members of their own unfortunate group. The refugees who gathered in Lynchburg, Virginia, during the war were not considered worthy of attention by the "elite" population of that city, but the homeless wanderers found happiness and satisfaction in "refugee society" and "wanted nothing more."³³³

Hardships and frequent isolation of the refugees tended to strengthen family ties and to deepen appreciation of each other.

³²⁷ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 193.

³²⁸ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 200.

³²⁹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 204.

³³⁰ Augustus Longstreet Hull, *Annals of Athens, Georgia, 1801-1901*, p. 261.

³³¹ Smedes, *Memorials*, p. 222.

³³² Andrews, *Journal*, p. 74.

³³³ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 133.

The family of Colonel Thomas Dabney, refugeeing in Georgia, experienced some happy times that were never forgotten in the years following the war. The father and sisters enjoyed each other's jokes, stories, and escapades, and felt no need for other persons to make their lives complete.³³⁴ The despondent Mrs. Cornelia McDonald was cheered by the laughter and chatter of her children. "The gayety would become contagious" and she would frequently become "merry with them."³³⁵

Refugees found reading not only a pleasure but a means of passing leisure time and a form of social exchange. Groups of refugees often spent long evenings together listening to one of their number read or each taking turns at the reading. As the fugitives sat in dimly lighted rooms they frequently forgot their present troubles in listening to or reading about the knights of old and the romances of bygone days. They sometimes managed to get a newspaper containing the latest war news, but most often containing news of many weeks past. This was always a moment of tenseness and excitement as refugees listened quietly but nervously to the reader of the news from the battlefield and capital.³³⁶ In some few refugee homes the papers came with regularity and the men, women, and children made a habit of hearing and reading the news at definite times.³³⁷ That there was a dearth of reading material among the refugees may have been true in many cases, but it was not always the rule, for one Tennessee refugee in a few weeks read *The Marble Faun*, *Cricket on the Hearth*, and *Great Expectations* with much enjoyment and pleasure to herself and to her companions who discussed the books together.

Story-telling, too, was a way of passing the dragging time. Whenever groups of refugees met, they told stories and often forgot their sorrows and discomforts. When fathers and sons came home on furlough, they entertained their friends and acquaintances with anecdotes and tales of camp life.³³⁸ Refugees frequently exchanged stories among themselves and some of these accounts were heart-rending and sad, while others were humorous and gay. All had something to tell and all were anxious to hear each other's tales.³³⁹

³³⁴ Smedes, *Memorials*, p. 222.

³³⁵ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 199.

³³⁶ George W. Cable (ed.), "The War Diary of a Union Woman in the South," *Century Magazine*, XXXVIII (1889), 945.

³³⁷ Cable, "The War Diary," p. 945. It is interesting to note that the man to whom the author read was particularly fond of the *Memphis Appeal*, which had moved from town to town so much he called it the "Moving Appeal."

³³⁸ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 199.

³³⁹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 191.

The refugee women were often too poor and too busy to indulge in any form of social entertainment. They could and did, however, frequently get together in groups and talk as they worked. In Vicksburg, "by dim and flickering lamps the . . . women mended, patched and darned," their ragged clothes in their dark cave hideouts.³⁴⁰ In contrast to these, however, were the more fortunate refugees who could and did enjoy evenings at the theatre when the fighting was fiercest. In small towns of the lower South, as well as in the capital of the Confederacy, men and women who were fugitives from their homes were entertained at the theatre by both home talent and importations from abroad.³⁴¹

Despite the fact that food was often scarce and that prices were high, entertaining at dinner formed a major diversion for the refugees. The fare might have been simple and unappetizing, but many happy hours were spent around the table. In September, 1862, Colonel Thomas Dabney "greatly enjoyed a dinner he gave for General John C. Breckinridge and a brilliant party of officers and friends."³⁴² A few months later the host had turned into a guest, and, as a refugee in Montgomery, Alabama, he dined with other refugee friends and enjoyed "some extra fine music afterwards."³⁴³ Eliza Frances Andrews and her family were refugees in central Georgia in January, 1865; and their cupboard was not bulging with food but they found sufficient nourishment of a coarse variety to feed refugee friends from Mississippi.³⁴⁴ Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew complained frequently in letters to her husband that she was very tired of a monotonous diet, yet she and some of her friends enjoyed picnics on the nearby hills surrounding Hillsboro, North Carolina.³⁴⁵ Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, while a refugee at Petersburg, played hostess to General D. H. Hill, Pierre Soule, and General James Longstreet at tea. She records the incident as follows:

I had a little bread and a little tea, the latter served in a yellow pitcher without a handle. Mrs. Meade hearing of my necessity sent me a small piece of bacon. . . . When we assembled around the table, I lifted my hot pitcher by means of a napkin, and offered my tea pure and simple, allowing the guests to use their discretion in regards to a spoonful or two of dark brown sugar.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁰ White, "Social Conditions in the South," p. 144.

³⁴¹ Smedes, *Memorials*, p. 218.

³⁴² Smedes, *Memorials*, p. 195.

³⁴³ Fleming, "Home Life in Alabama," p. 144.

³⁴⁴ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 67.

³⁴⁵ Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew to Charles L. Pettigrew, May 9, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

³⁴⁶ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 205.

Despite the fact that "receptions, balls, dances and other social affairs were held by Mrs. Davis and were common among the well-to-do,"³⁴⁷ these things were certainly not common among the refugees. When the homeless men and women danced, it was rarely at a large ball. Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, as a refugee at Amelia Springs, Virginia, in 1863, participated in a simple dance arranged by the hotel proprietor. The music was furnished by the solitary fiddler, and women danced with women, for there were no men. Despite the handicap the participants had an enjoyable evening.³⁴⁸ As a general rule the entertainment among the refugees was simple and unostentatious but there were exceptions. In Petersburg, Virginia, during the winter of 1864-1865, "Ball followed ball in quick succession. 'The soldier danced with the lady of his love at night, and on the morrow danced the dance of death in the deadly trench on the line'."³⁴⁹

Starvation parties were much the vogue among the refugees. At these there was "an absence of refreshments . . . not even the lump of sugar allowed by Lady Morgan at her *conversazioni* was possible" in most of the South.³⁵⁰ Throughout the Confederacy these starvation parties were held and always they were what the name implied, but they were welcomed by the refugees who could usually afford no more elaborate form of entertainment. Young and old attended, and all enjoyed the outlet for the energy even though the refreshments were scarce or nil and the affairs ended at reasonable hours.³⁵¹

Weddings were important social functions during the war as well as in time of peace. Most weddings were models of quietness and simplicity. One of this nature is described as follows:

We assembled in the parlour, which was brilliantly lighted, before the dawn of day. The bride appeared in a traveling costume; as soon as the solemn ceremony was done the folding doors were thrown open, revealing a beautifully spread breakfast table in the adjoining room.³⁵²

Some of the weddings of refugees, however, were characterized by balls, dinners, and much social gayety. Such a wedding was that of Miss Hetty Carey, a refugee from Maryland, to John

³⁴⁷ White, "Social Conditions in the South," p. 182.

³⁴⁸ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 187.

³⁴⁹ Pryor, *Reminiscences*, p. 327.

³⁵⁰ Pryor, *Reminiscences*, p. 327.

³⁵¹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 528. Mrs. McGuire saw some gayety of which she did not approve. She wrote: "I thought of the gayety of Paris during the French Revolution, of the 'cholera ball' in Paris, the ball in Brussels the night before Waterloo, and felt shocked that our own Virginians, at such a time should remind me of scenes which we were wont to think belonged to the lightness of foreign society."

³⁵² McGuire, *Diary*, p. 328.

Pegram, which was solemnized in St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Richmond, Virginia.³⁵³

Holidays were rarely occasions for celebrations by the refugees. On February 22, 1863, one diarist recorded: "Washington's birthday is forgotten or only remembered with a sigh by his own Virginia."³⁵⁴ On April 1 of the same year, however, the same refugee wrote: "The girls got up a little merriment this morning by their April fools."³⁵⁵ Christmas was far from a merry, joyous occasion in most refugee households. Food was scarce and gifts not to be had. Simple and quiet was the celebration of what was formerly a period of unusual gayety and festivity.

When the refugees were unable to enjoy the company of neighbors and friends, they spent their leisure time in various ways. Some read, others painted,³⁵⁶ and some took long solitary walks;³⁵⁷ and still others engaged in writing. The refugee diaries stand as monuments today to the leisure hours of many of these homeless women who wandered over the Confederacy during the Civil War.

The refugees, scattered as they were over the length and breadth of the Confederacy and frequently separated from their relatives and friends, were ever hopeful of hearing some bit of news that might be of interest to them. This news came to most refugees by word of mouth. Consequently the homeless wanderers were drawn into the society of friends and strangers alike in search of a bit of information that might be possessed by others. This was a major reason for associating, but it was not the only one. Many fugitives felt the desire to talk with others who were equally miserable while many thought that association with people and not thoughts was the only avenue leading to a forgetfulness of conditions, past and present.

The refugees for the most part suffered both socially and economically, but despite these things, they bore their burdens and sufferings with remarkable equanimity. Generally speaking they were cheerful and light-hearted, confident and hopeful of the future. During the early years of the war they were optimistic and expected to return soon to their homes.³⁵⁸ Sometimes the refugees felt an adventurous spirit that they had not known since childhood. But as the war rolled into its third and fourth

³⁵³ Thomas Cooper DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the FJ's*, p. 169.

³⁵⁴ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 194.

³⁵⁵ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 202.

³⁵⁶ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 199.

³⁵⁷ Cable, "The War Diary," p. 945.

³⁵⁸ McGuire, *Diary*, pp. 20, 26.

years the prospect of returning home became "more and more dim, until hope was almost gone."³⁵⁹

Some refugees looked upon the war and its accompanying hardships with a critical, complaining attitude;³⁶⁰ others bore equally severe hardships, but "determined to be jolly and keep up the excitement."³⁶¹ The younger refugees tended to show a more carefree, gayer attitude than did the older ones. Mrs. J. W. B. McGuire and Louise Wigfall were in Richmond at the same time in 1863. Mrs. McGuire, the older, observed an unhappy, melancholy air about the capital, but the younger recorded that "the spirits of the people generally are bright and buoyant."³⁶² Eliza Frances Andrews was a young girl when the war began; she observed that the refugees were "brave and cheerful, laughing good naturedly instead of grumbling over their hardships."³⁶³

Different sections of the South displayed different attitudes toward the war. Richmond and Petersburg, only twenty-two miles apart, were good examples of this. Richmond had many refugees, but it had that festive air so characteristic of capitals³⁶⁴ Petersburg was equally popular as a refugee haven, but it had "none of the gayety of Richmond."³⁶⁵

Refugees who fled because of hostile invasion, and were forced to leave practically everything to the mercy of the enemy, saw life as a melancholy existence. This was as true of Fredericksburg³⁶⁶ and the Shenandoah Valley³⁶⁷ of Virginia as of Mississippi.³⁶⁸ When the refugees realized the seriousness of the conflict they became more reflective. Cornelia McDonald said: "Though I never for one moment dreamed the failure of the South to establish her independence, I often felt my heart sink when I heard of the scarcity of food for our armies and people; and I knew that our men in the field were in want of everything."³⁶⁹

Naturally the feeling of fear was common among the refu-

³⁵⁹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 35.

³⁶⁰ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 100.

³⁶¹ Cable, "The War Diary," p. 944.

³⁶² Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, p. 146.

³⁶³ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 146.

³⁶⁴ Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, p. 76.

³⁶⁵ Pryor, *Reminiscences*, p. 259.

³⁶⁶ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 172. She wrote of the Fredericksburg refugees: "the feeling of desolation among them is dreadful."

³⁶⁷ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 112. The author wrote: "It is a dreary, weary life, the hope, the fear, the despair that crushes the heart, all that . . . seems to be wearing me out." When she left her home she was heavy-hearted, feeling she had let go of the only hold she had on anything.

³⁶⁸ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 81. "How very sad is this life . . . how little security we can feel."

³⁶⁹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 201.

gees. Mrs. Mary Loughborough wrote that she would "never forget . . . my extreme fear during the night, and . . . my utter hopelessness of ever seeing the morning light."³⁷⁰ While some showed fear, others demonstrated the greatest courage. Cornelia McDonald was the only person in Lexington, Virginia, who dared offer aid to a woman whose home had been destroyed by Federal troops. She said that she was "too used to ways of the Yankees to be afraid."³⁷¹

Southern refugees received the news of General Lee's surrender to General Grant with varied reactions. Cornelia McDonald said, "I can't forget the effect the intelligence had on me and my family. I felt as if the end of all things had come, at least for the Southern people. Grief and despair took possession of my heart with a sense of humiliation that till then I did not know I could feel."³⁷² Of her friends, however, "Not all . . . were dejected, some seemed relieved to be rid of the awful strain and to be content with defeat if it brought rest and peace."³⁷³ Many years after Appomattox Fannie Beers wrote that "the women . . . on that April evening long ago grieved bitterly over the news of the surrender;³⁷⁴ and Mrs. Roger A. Pryor felt that it was "an awful blow . . . all the suffering, bloodshed and death,—all for nothing."³⁷⁵ Mrs. Clara McClean wrote that when "the end had arrived, and all the tears and prayers had availed nothing; all prophecies of success were null, all forebodings fulfilled; all hopes blasted. . . . It fell upon us like a thunderbolt of doom."³⁷⁶ When Eliza Frances Andrews heard of General Lee's surrender, she knew that all was over, and there was nothing to do but "bow . . . my head in the dust and let hateful conquerors trample . . . me under their feet."³⁷⁷

Refugee life had tested the stability of the Southern morale. Many men, women, and children had suffered from harrowing experiences; and as a result some of these fugitives felt a keen

³⁷⁰ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 56. "Terror-stricken, we remained, crouched in the cave while shell after shell followed each other in quick succession. I endeavored by constant prayer to prepare myself for the sudden death I was almost certain awaited me. My heart stood still as we would hear reports from the guns, and the rushing and fearful sound of the shell as it came toward us. As it continued the noise became more deafening; the air full of rushing sounds; pain darted through my temples; my ears were full of confusing noises, and as it exploded, the report flashed through my head like an electric shock, leaving me in a quiet state of terror . . . morning found me more dead than alive."

³⁷¹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 207.

³⁷² McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 256. Of her children, she said, "The distress of the children was as great as mine; their poor little faces showed all the grief that was in their hearts and each went around sad and dejected as if it was a personal matter."

³⁷³ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 258.

³⁷⁴ Beers, *Memories*, p. 197.

³⁷⁵ Pryor, *Reminiscences*, p. 371.

³⁷⁶ McClean, "Return of a Refugee," p. 503.

³⁷⁷ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 171.

bitterness, while others took it all as a part of war, making the best of the suffering. Despite their varied attitudes and shades of feeling during the conflict, all welcomed the idea that the fathers, brothers, husbands, sons, and lovers who had survived the war would soon return to be with them. After four years of acute suffering for the South, the refugees returned "to their ruined homes . . . to try to gather up the remains of their scattered fortunes or find some place to rest where they could be with their families. . . . Some of them were glad to have the privilege of going back to reunite broken households,"³⁷⁸ but many had no homes or families to which they could return.

³⁷⁸ McClean, "Return of a Refugee," p. 259.

RECONSTRUCTION LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA

Edited by
James A. Padgett

PART X

LETTERS TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER
[Continued]

Dysartsville, N. C.
July 11th—1868.

Hon. B. F. Butler
Washington D. C.

Sir—

My work is almost ready to commence reducing ore I hope to be at work on the ore by next Thursday—I have been a long time getting ready owing to the small force employed and the amt of work to be done. I shall build a shed over all to protect it—If my hopes are realized please permit me to sink a shaft of 200 feet in the valley near the mill—I don't wish to do it if I can't save the gold—The waste water will enable me to rig-up a pump and drive over 100 feet below water level. Annexed is a section as the shaft would be—Accept my thanks for your kindness in having me relieved of political dissabilities.⁷²

Your Obt Servt
John F. Alexander

July 28/68 H H B

Dear Sir Your note of the 11th was received tonight. You are quite welcome to all I did to remove your Disabilities Radical and uncompromising as the South deem me I would like today to remove every political disability from all men who as you have done would go to work to build up the interest of the South and stop fighting and Cursing the North and Quarrelling with the Negroes Fair play is all I ask—I myself have done more to aid in advancing the industrial interest of North Carolina than all

⁷² According to the Fourteenth Amendment no one could be a Senator, Representative, or elector, or hold any other Federal office, civil or military, or be state senator or representative or hold any other state office, who had previously taken the oath, as a member of Congress or as an officer of the United States or member of a state legislature or executive or judicial officer, to support the Constitution of the United States, and then engaged in rebellion or insurrection against the United States or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof, but by two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress such persons could be pardoned. Congress tried to stop Johnson from issuing amnesty proclamations, but he refused to be stopped. He also granted special pardons freely and wisely. Congress gradually became more lenient and sentiment rose for pardon for all except a few of the leaders. Many were too proud to ask for pardon. When a general amnesty bill came up in the summer of 1871, Sumner tagged onto it his civil rights bill as an amendment. Whenever such a bill would come up Sumner would insist on his bill. Congress finally pushed Sumner aside and in May, 1872, passed a general pardon bill, which pardoned all those disqualified by the Fourteenth Amendment except members of the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh Congresses, officers of the judiciary, heads of the departments, ministers of the United States, and officers in the military and naval service of the United States. Before this law was passed some 150,000 to 160,000 men were disqualified, but this law restored all except between 300 and 500. Francis Newton Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws*, I, 31-2; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, IV, 61: VI, 10-11, 20, 312, 435-442.

the blatant politicians who damn negroes and talk about a "White mans Government at" at all the Corner Groceries in the State. But enough and all Phone every written about politics.

I was a little annoyed to find you were not working yet. I am anxious to see some returns from this business- I cannot agree to more experiments or any more expenditure till I know of some returns. Show me those and all surplus over the merest interest on the investment I am ready to put in to the improvement of the property. Marston thinks Mr Erastus is the thing but I say wait I have faith yet in Alexander Please let me hear from you weekly even if you have not much to say

Yours truly
B.F.B.

Dysartsville N. C.
Thursday Night
July 23rd 1868

General—

I have been handed by Gen Clingman a letter from Gen Marston ordering me to proceed to Watauga & Mitchell Counties of this State and make a thorough test and examination of the Silver Mines of that section—I shall leave as directed and I shall be absent from Dysartsville for 3 weeks.

I leave the Mines in the care of Mr Clay a reliable and trusty man—

Should I find that the Tax will take what money I have on hand and (4) four laborers I have need money—I may draw on you for a small amt Wednesday.

Yours Obedly J F Alexander

Dysartsville N. C.
July 20th 1868.

Maj Gen B. F. Butler

Washington D. C. Dear Sir—

On the night of the 17th a large belt to the saw-mill was stolen by some person or persons unknown—The loss of the belt seriously interrupted my work and without it I shall not be able to complete my work as I desired. I posted the following notice at prominent points throughout the county.

"25 DOLLARS CASH

To any one apprehending the THIEF that stole the COMPANY'S SAW-MILL BELT

It is a leather belt somewhat worn, 50 feet long, 10 inches wide. It was stolen on the night of the 17th

ALL PERSONS ARE FOREWARNED against trading for the same—

Dysartsville N. C.
July 20th 1868

Jn^d. F. Alexander
Supt M. Mining Co."

I have informed Gen M- and asked him to forward me another- The Tax

on the land and mine will be due on the 31st- I don't know what the amt will be, but I shall draw on you for it should I not have funds enough on hand to pay it.

I am now nearly ready to commence grinding my ore sand my rifle and bowls they will be done tomorrow.

I hope to make a good return in a few weeks-

Yours obedtly

John F Alexander

Dysartsville N. C. July 20th 68

Alexander -J F.

Aug. 1st 1868

General Marston

I am informed by letter from Alexander that you have ordered him to make tests of the Silver Mines of Watauga & Mitchell Counties and that he has started on that duty which will take him 3 weeks Our work therefore must be stopped for that time to Carry on an enterprise in which I have neither interest or faith. Is this a proper proceeding. The letter of Mr Alexander contains a notice of a draft on me- I Cannot & will not permit the business to proceed in this way- I do not want the Silver mines of any County tested or will I have anything whatever to do with them I desire an imediate [*sic*] settlement of our Joint business so that I may control when I am called upon to furnish the money

I am Yours truly

B. F. B.

Shelby N. C. Sept 9th 1868.

Maj Gen B F Butler

Washington D. C.

Dear Sir- I am now prepared to make you a shipment of amalgam unless instructed to reduce it to bullion. A few days since I was visited at the Shelby Mine by the State Geologist, Prof Kerr who was collecting data for his reports upon the unfinished counties. He was much pleased with the Mine and pronounced it a ledge, or formation of garnetiferous mica schist- filled with comminuted pyrites, and molecular gold. His opinion of the larger particles was, that they were the result of agglutination.

I am sure he will give the mine a good name in the forthcoming report upon the minerals of Cleveland County. I will send you the report as soon as it issues. I explained to him my idea of working to save this very minute gold and he thought well of it- I propose to put up three arastras, and a concentrator. With these I could grind 6 tons a day and I am almost certain I could get 25 Dollars out of that operation. The expense of

putting the whole in operation would not exceed 500 Dollars inclusive of the water-wheel which I shall have to build-

With your permission I can sell the two turbine wheels and obtain the money.

I have drawn on you for my wages and the wages of the hands the amount is 300 Dolls- which you will please honor-

With your permission I should like to visit New York about the 1st of next month- I wish to be absent about 20 days.

If you were in Washington as I pass through I should like to meet you and Gen Marston and make arrangements in regard to business generally-

Your Obt Servant

Jno. F. Alexander

Ans Sept 19

You can have the leave desired- I shall be at Lowell or would be glad to see you. I suppose you now have my letter of advice asking for account and ordering Shipment of amalgam to Lowell. I showed that the turbine wheels had better be sold if cost could be got for them I am unwilling to make more outlay without some returns

Yours truly

B. F. B.

Dysartsville N. C.

Sept 17th 1868.

Hon. G. Marston
Washington D. C.

Dear Sir:-

Your fav^r 10th to hand- I shall answer your questions satisfactory, if there be any satisfaction in words and figures- 1st Have you any good news?" If saving a part of the gold in the ore constitutes good news- I send it greeting while I have sent Gen B the gold itself-

2nd What is well? In answering this question I am compelled to answer another "how much per ton do you get"? Well is the saving of 5½ Dwts per ton from ore which by assay gives 8-

From August 3rd to Aug. 31 worked 26 days, ground 14² Tons, made 109 Dwts amalgam- From Sept 1st to Sept 18 ground 10² Tons made 57 18/24 Dwts amalgam Average amount daily ground in August 1248 7/13 pounds
" " " " " Sept 1568 pounds

Total amt amalgam 166 18/24 = 139 Dwt Gold = \$180.70
Expenses of working &c 97.25

Amt over expenses- \$83.45

Average yield per Ton 5 Dwts 15 grains- gold.

Number of hours worked daily 12.

Why the amt ground is so small- The mill can do three times as much work when run to its full capacity- but owing to the sickness of the cradle builder with whom I had a contract to build a battery of cradles- I have

finished and running only one cradle, which if I were to force beyond its power to discharge (15 to 18 hundred lbs in 12 hours) I should not save any gold with my battery of three cradles running day and night I can grind 5 to 6 tons which will give a clear gain of 500 per month with gold at 1.30-

The same difficulty presents itself in the arastar,⁷³ it will not save the gold if over-worked- I believe in the arastar and Chilian Mill- They are ahead of all machinery that I have seen for saving gold- *Why the yield is small*- The ore, which I am now working, is the waste rock and picked-up ore in the mine such as we get by sluicing- with some of the sands left by Col Lyon- It is my intention not to work the Taylor- vein- ore until the battery of cradles is completed- In working this ore I saved a little over 62.5 per cent of the assay-

I have opened the finest bed of deposit that has been seen on this mine since the days of its first working I shall soon have my sluice operation going a-head- Now is the time to send down a purchaser for Dysartsville I have the mine opened well-

I can get rock hard enough for a bed anywhere in Cleveland- Masons can be had at 2⁵⁰ per day- Casting cost 5 to 8 cents a pound at Lincoln- Shall I put up an arastas and some cradles at Shelby?

Higgins says you and B. told him he could have the house near the Kitchen at Dysartsville- shall I permit him to tear it down?

Enclosed you'll find your account I suppose I have answered all your questions this time-

Your Obt Servt

Jno F. Alexander

Lowell Sept 25th

Please remit accts monthly

Dear Sir

Your remittance of Amalgam received by express. will have it reduced and send result. You may sell the Turbines at Shelby and build an Arastar with the proceeds- so large as to exhaust two thirds of the estimated twelve hours there, at the lowest run the remainder ought to be kept for ulterior uses as to ore used in another Arastar, as the future may determine

At Dysartsville you are just making expenses taking out the Wear tare and interest and saying nothing about the Superintendent whom I assure would not like to live on the surplus I hope when you run full ore better ore you will do better.

I have given nothing to Mr Higgins. I do not think I owe him any

⁷³ Arastra or arastre was a crude apparatus used in Mexico and the United States for grinding and amalgamating free gold and silver. It consisted of a vertical axis with horizontal arms attached to it. To these arms masses of rocks are fastened by chains and as a horse turns around the vertical arm, very much as a horse turned an old-fashioned cane mill, the stones fastened by the chains drag over the stones which have been placed on top of a space about twelve feet in diameter, and grind out the gold. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, I, 318.

thing but good will and certainly should not give him a building to tear down- My gifts are either in person or in writing

Yours truly

B. Butler

The inclosed is very satisfactory. 62.5 per cent of the assay will do well enough- The Taylor vein will not give more than \$20 -per ton. An Arrastar should be put up at Shelby to run by water power. The Mill is Seems run all through Aug. as I Supposed. I did not authorize Higgins to take down one of the houses but asirtedly [*sic*] refused.

[This must have been written by Marston.]

Dysartsville N. C.

August 29th 1868

Hon B. F. Butler

Washington D. C. Dear Sir-

I arrived at Dysartsville on Wednesday from Watauga. The Mill was working handsomely and in its yield gave 10 Dolls per ton from the float quartz- I am now on my way to Shelby, to make an assay of the ore from the Watauga mine and to complete my report and forward to Gen Marston. I shall send you from that point a report of the working of the mill for August-

I shall accept of the suggestion of Gen Marston and put up if you direct it the arastrar at Shelby.

I shall forward the amalgam to Washington unless ordered to forward at other point-

Your Obt Servant

J F Alexander

Sept 8

Ans Make refund Send Amalgum with Accurate account of the Cost of getting it to Lowell - by Express. Will order the pully up of the Arastrar as soon as I see something coming to meet the Cost Am without any account of expenditures since report

Very truly B. F. B.

His reports shows 166 Dwts 18 grains of Amalgam, worth \$180.70
This from August 1 to September 18.

Expenses	97.25
Amount above expenses	<u>\$83.45</u>

Shelby N. C.-
Sept. 22^d 1868

Hon. B. Butler
Washington D C

Dear Sir

I have a Claim against the United States. in Right of my Father Martin Roberts,⁷⁴ who was an officer in the war of the Revolution, and was one of those who was promised half pay During Life-⁷⁵ I have ingaged [*sic*] Mr J. F- Alexander of this town who as I have lern [*sic*] from him- Doing Business for you, in regarde [*sic*] to mining operations [*sic*] in this section of Country- he also informed me that he expected your attention and influence in the prosecution of my Claim- now Dear Sir. if you have ever given this Claim of mine- any attention. Will you be so good as to give me your opinion- in regarde [*sic*] to its being recovered- either in the Court of Claims or before Congress-

I am old and in endegent [*sic*] Circumstance and if I Could git [*sic*] any incureagement [*sic*] as regards [*sic*] the Collection of this Claim I Could git [*sic*] help-

Sir I am your very Respectfully
James Roberts

Ans. Sept. 29

I am now absent from Washington away from my papers there and I have not such a memory on the subject of your fathers claim as to give you an opinion think you had better apply Mr Alexander who will fully informed on the subject

Yours truly
E, F B.

Dysartsville N. C.
Sept. 17th 1868

Maj Gen B. F. Butler

Lowell Mass-

Sir- I have arrived in time to send you by this mail a statement of gold made to date with the expenses- The amt ground appears small, from the fact that I have finished and running only one cradle which if I forced beyond its ability to discharge (15 to 18 hundred pounds in 12 hours) I should lose my gold. With a battelry of three cradles and the mill run to it full capacity day and night we shall be making 25 Dwts Gold per day.

The sickness of the battery builder with whom I contracted the building of three cradles, is the cause of the present arrangement-

⁷⁴ Heitman's *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution* does not list Marion Roberts as an officer in the Revolution.

⁷⁵ The Newburg discontent in the army and the Newburg Address grew out of the demand of the army officers for half pay for life and of the soldiers for their lack pay before they went home. The Lancaster march of soldiers from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to Philadelphia and the flight of Congress from Philadelphia to Princeton was due to the same cause. The army was largely organized by the officers and the officers had been promised half pay for life. Congress finally voted to give them full pay for five years. This caused great indignation over the country. John Spencer Bassett, *Short History of the United States*, pp. 223-229.

The character of the ore ground, is why the yield is small- The ore I am now working, and which I have been working is the waste ore of the mine- picked up on the surface and from the sluice operations of last year- with some of the sands worked by Gen Wichie.

It is best to work this "float ore" as it is called while we are working slow and close. The work shows a saving of over 62.5 per cent over the assay of the rock-

I have also opened the finest bed of deposit that has been seen on the mine since the days of its first working-

I have forwarded by express- 1 vial and two small papers in one bundle valued at 200 Dolls to Lowell Mass-

I was not in time to close my accounts in this letter- they will follow by next mail-

Your Obt Servant

Jno. F. Alexander

P.S. Higgins says you gave him one of the Houses on the mine and wishes to remove it must I permit him-?

Shelby N. C. Oct 5th 1868

Hon G. Marston

Washington D. C. Dear Sir,

Your fav to hand- I think an arastra at Shelby with a battery of two cradles will do excellent work. That is, grind about 2½ Tons and work it well. No arastrar [*sic*] that I could build at anything like a reasonable sum will accomplish more work than this and save the gold. The rocks of this section will not answer for its bed- the Salisbury granite must be brought here by rail

The mill at Dysartsville works well and next week we commence reducing the ore of the Taylor vein when I hope for much larger returns.

I have just heard from Gen B who gives me permission to come North I shall leave on the 12th from Morganton, Higgins will accompany me as far as Baltimore.

I shall call on you on my return or else meet you in New York. Write me at West Point care P. S. Michie and I will know of your whereabouts and meet you- I may possibly go to see Gen B would certainly had I the funds- I should like to meet you and him to arrange business in regard to cotton I can make make each of you some money this season perhaps as much as I could have on last year- I wish to see you and him in regard to your business here and arrange matters a little more satisfactory- I can bring the thing out all right if you will dispose of the mines on reasonable terms say 30,000. Higgins and I could have made a sale last year if the power had resided in us. You and Gen B. reserving the interest- If I can possibly meet you I wish to do so and have a good old fashion talk- Write me at West Point and I will know where to find you-

Your Obt Servt

Jno F. Alexander

Statement of ore worked from Aug 1st to Sept 18th 1868-

From Aug 3rd to Aug 31st worked 26 days Ground 14² Tons Made 109 Dwts Amalgam

From Sept 1st to Sept 18 worked 15 days Ground 10² Tons Made 57 18/24 Dwts Amalgam

Average Amt ground daily in Aug. 1248 6/13 pounds

" " " " " Sept. 1568 "

Total amt Amalgam 166 Dwts 18 grains
166 Dwts 18 grs = 139 Dwts Gold @ 1.30 = \$180.70
Expenses

Mr Jos. Clay 1½ Months Labor	52.50
" B. Brackett 29¼ days "	29.25
Wade rolling ore to Mill	10.00
Hauling Wood to Burn Ore-	5.50
	097.25

Amt above the expenses- \$ 83.45

Average yield in gold per Ton 5 Dwts 15 grs.

This is a correct statement of the yield and expenses of working to date-
Jno. F. Alexander

[November 12, 1868]

General Statement of Labor at Dystartsville Mine for September and October 1868.

Expenses	
B. Brackett 15 ² days in Oct	15.50
J. M. Clay 2 months Labor	66.67
John Shade 1 Days Labor	.75
Jos. B. Laudis 2 Days Wagonage	4.00
3 ² Bush Corn Horses	1.75
	88.67

By 24 Tons Ore ground at Mill
yielding 87² Dwts Amalgam \$87.50
Loss \$1.17

Novbr 20/68 H H B

My dear Alexander

The exhibit is not a flattering one for the work at Dysartsville.

I think you overvalue the worth of your amalgam as your last package of 164 dwts gave only 55 dwts 7/gr. gold after reduction. You can go on thus till 1st of January and then if exhibit is not better the work must be closed, as it is not paying expenses by one half Do not forward me any more amalgam distill it save the Mercury and send the product, but not in so small packages as the Cost of Expressage is huge-

Yours truly

B. F. B.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,
ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE,

Raleigh, 24 1868 [November]

Hon. Benjamin Butler:

Sir:

Would you be kind enough to refer me to some information which goes to show *the specific classes* barred from office by the 14th Amendment? This will soon be put to the test here in two cases, in one of which the party claiming to hold office was Sheriff, and in the other, State District Attorney, before the rebellion. Both are denied [*sic*] to be either "Executive of Judicial" Officers, but merely "Ministerial?" Our judges differ. By replying you will oblige me and assist in advancing the interest of justice.

With Great Respect

Wm M, Coleman ⁷⁶ Atty. Gen.

Decbr 1/68 H H B

My dear Sir

I am not able to give you any information as to the operation of the 14th Article other than what must Come from a Careful examination thereof and the logical deductions therefrom I should suppose in cases named there would be no difficulty in fixing status of the offices named. Indeed to claim that a Sheriff is not an executive officer seems to me simply absurd- When the Sheriff whips a man does he "execute" the sentence of the Court upon the Convict or only minister unto him? When he hangs the Criminal does he execute him or serve him. Is the transaction and "executive" or a "ministrative" The Attorney General & District Attorneys of the United States have always been classed as executive officers

In the language of the law a distinction is sometimes made between "Ministerial" and Judicial officers as regards the manner of performing their duties- That is that the Judicial officer is only responsible for good faith and honest Judgment with ordinary skill- but the "Ministerial" officers i e those who Administer in Executed [*sic*] the laws, are held responsible unless they strictly follow their preceptors warrent or authority No discretion may permitted to him but this distinction of "Ministerial" only Classifies executive officers and yet solely settles the question that all "Ministrative" are executive officers.

Yours truly

B. F. B.

⁷⁶In 1868 the Republicans nominated and elected William M. Coleman as attorney general of North Carolina. He made one of the leading speeches in the Republican convention in the late fall of 1868. W. W. Holden and Coleman fought in public, much to the discredit of both, but to the amusement of the Democrats. Coleman fought the machine when he pronounced the act incorporating the University Railroad unconstitutional, and the supreme court of the state stood back of him. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 280n. 366, 372, 397, 440.

Shelby N. C.
Dec 3th 1868.

Gen. B. F. Butler
Lowell Mass
Dear Sir,

Your fav to hand- The amalgam generally loses in reduction to dust about 1/6 and the dust is worth here 1¹⁵ per dwt. I shall obey your instructions and make my own reductions hereafter and forward the gold and silver- The ore is not uniformly rich sometimes the mill runs a day on ore without any yield. I hope the cotton arrived safe and found satisfactory- I am sorry I had'nt the money on my return, but I am confident you will make money on the shipment- I would put 10,000 cotton of a better staple and hold until about April and you'll double your money had I the means I would take the risk- The crop is badly damaged-

Your Obt Servt

John F. Alexander

Decbr 10/68

Ans

I have heard nothing of any Cotton- When shipped Consigned to whom- How much by whom were the drafts drawn What grade & at what price Please reply at once.

Yours truly B. B. . .

*Headquarters Military Post of Goldsboro,
Goldsboro, N. C., Dec. 7, 1868*

Genl B. F. Butler-
Washington, D. C.

Dear General:- If there is a prospect that the Army will be reduced I should be very willing to be Superintendent of Public Printing; in which office, I am informed, a change is probable. Will you assist me and advise me of the prospect-

Yours, most truly,

Edw. W. Hinks⁷⁷

Decb 10/68 H H B

My dear Hinks

I will assist you am assisting you and the prospect is very good.

Yours truly

B. F. B.

⁷⁷ Edward Ward Hinks of Maine and Massachusetts was second lieutenant in Massachusetts cavalry on April 26, 1861, but he resigned on June 4, 1861. He became lieutenant colonel of the 8th Massachusetts infantry on April 30, 1861; colonel on May 16, 1861; and was honorably mustered out on August 1, 1861. He became colonel of the 19th Massachusetts Infantry on August 3, 1861; brigadier-general of volunteers on November 29, 1862; was brevetted major-general of volunteers on March 13, 1865; and resigned on June 30, 1865. He became lieutenant colonel on July 28, 1866, and retired with the rank of colonel on December 15, 1870. He was brevetted colonel on March 2, 1867, for gallantry and meritorious service at Antietam, and brigadier-general at the same time for gallantry and meritorious conduct at Petersburg. He died on February 4, 1894. Heitman, *Army Register*, I, 532.

Raleigh, N. C.

Decemb. 19th 1868

Dear General-

I have no bayonets of my own, nor have I any made by the Government [*sic*]. I had to send them back to Springfield, when I was ordered to my regiment- I have received permission to purchase several from the Ordnance Department, and the moment they are received, I will send them to you-

You can obtain all the diferent [*sic*] models if you would be kind enough to order them sent to you or the Military Committee, from the Armory at Springfield-

I would do this, but have not the *power*- If you think it is best, I would like to be summoned before the Military Committee, to be examined and questioned in regard to it-

I remain Gneral

Yours Very Respectfully,

Edmund Rice.⁷⁸

U-S-A

Gen. B. F. Butler,
Washington D CSTATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
SENATE CHAMBER,Raleigh Dec 23^d 1868

General:

I have the honor to address you a few lines in reference to the Minister-ship to Hayti.⁷⁹ I may just as well begin by telling you that I am a Candidate for the position. I think that I have at least as much chance to the Mission- as any other man of my own race especially.

Knowing you are friendly to me and that you will be gratified beyond measure to see me placed in any honorable and deserving position, I desire very respectfully that you Construe this note as asking your support

I hardly deem it necessary to enter into a lengthy discussion as to what are the claims I put forward- I think it enough to say, that for the past three years I have- as is well known labored night and day for Republican Government [*sic*] and the success of the cause. I or was the only Colored

⁷⁸ Edmund Rice of Massachusetts became captain in Massachusetts infantry on August 28, 1861; Major on October 1, 1862; lieutenant colonel on July 27, 1864; and was honorably mustered out on June 30, 1865. He became first lieutenant on July 28, 1866; held many positions in the army; was a colonel in the United States volunteers in the Spanish-American War; received many brevet commissions; and was given a medal of honor on October 6, 1891, for leading his regiment of the 19th Massachusetts infantry against Pickett's division in the battle of Gettysburg when he fell severely wounded within the enemy's line. Heitman, *Army Register*, I, 826-827.

⁷⁹ The position of minister to Haiti was much sought after by the Negroes at this time. It paid a salary of \$7,500 per annum, and until the close of the nineteenth century it was always given to a Negro. On April 16, 1869, by a vote of forty-eight to five the Senate gave the place to Ebenezer D. Bassett, and Galloway was turned down. *United States Executive Journal*, XVII (1869-71), 123, 135, 183, 199; *United States Official Register*, 1869, p. 10; James A. Padgett, "United States Ministers to Haiti and Their Diplomacy," *Journal of Negro History*, July, 1940.

man in the County on the Electoral ticket and I believe I have done in a whole as much as any man in the state to place Gen Grant where he is, and I submit my claims- Believing that the whole matter lies with my friends-

Yours Very Truly

A. H. Galloway

Hon B. F. Butler
Decbr 28/68 H H B Ans.

My dear Sir

I certainly hope you will obtain the position you seek- But I am only sorry that we are to loose your services here at home where they are so much needed

Yours truly B. F. B.

Account of Cotton purchased by J. F. Alexander and Shipped to R. S. Fay, Jr Boston Mass.

13	Bales 402 275 362 454 427 392 368			
	382 328 337 315 374 367	4783	c 22.2	1076.07
2	" 469, 360	829	" 22.30	184.87
1	"	456	" 22.25	101.46
1	"	308	" 22.35	68.83
1	"	355	" 22.40	79.52
1	"	463	" 21.50	99.55
1	"	430	" 22.60	97.18
<hr/>				
20	" Upland Med'g	7624	Lbs	1707.48
	Wagonage		12.50	
	Baleing [Sic]		7.50	20.00
				<hr/>
				\$1727.48

E & O.E

J. F. Alexander In a/c with Maj Gen B. F. Butler Lowell Mass.

1868			
Nov. 25.	For Draft in fr Cotton		\$2000-
	Credit		
	By Discount on Draft	10.00	
	" Board in Charlotte, N. C.	3.00	
	" Fare to & from " "	4.50	
	" Shipment of Cotton	1727.48	
	" Bal In Corn	255.02	
			<hr/>
			\$2000-

E & O E

Jno. F. Alexander

Raleigh, N. C.

February 12th 69

General B. F. Butler-
Washington, D. C.

General-

I received a letter by last nights mail stating that two of the bayonets which I have been trying to obtain for the last two months for you were sent to Washington on the 5th to your address-

Can I ask you again after this delay to use your influence in trying to have this bayonet tested and introduced into service by the U. S. Army?

I was not at fault that you did not receive the bayonets when you wished- I applied for permission to purchase four of them in November but they did not leave the Armory untill [sic] the 4th of this month-

I am General

Your Obdt Servt

Edward Rice

Bt. Lt. Col. U.S.A.

F 16 Ans

My dear Sir

Your bayonets are received. I will take a favorable opportunity to have them tested that is not Just now

Yours truly

Benj F Butler

WILLIS BAGLEY,
Attorney at Law

Hertford, Perquimans Co., N. C.

Will attend the Courts of Perquimans,
Pasquotank, Chowan and Gates.

Hertford, N. C.,

February 5th 1869

Dear Sir:

Will you be kind enough to inform me, whether there is any probability of the extension of the Privileges of the Bankrupt Act, so as to permit persons to avail themselves of the benefits of the Act, without being able to pay 50 per centum of their debts? The time, as you know, was out, by the limitations of the Act, on the first day of January ultimo. I apply to you because of your prominence in the House of R., and because of your greater opportunities of obtaining information; rather than to any member of Congress from my own state. By giving me the information, you will greatly oblige,

Respectfully, yrs,

Hon.^{ble}

Willis Bagley.⁸⁰

B. F. Butler, H. R.

Washington, D. C.

⁸⁰ Willis Bagley represented Perquimans County in the house of representatives from 1876 to 1879. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, p. 755.

New Port
Carteret Co N Carolina
Febr 15th 1869

Hon B F Butler
Washington D C

Respected Sir

Since the close of the War with the South, I have had a hard time of it, for the fact that we were doubed [sic] with the title of Buffalows⁸¹ [sic], and that the Cesessionist [sic] got temporarily [sic], in power, in my Section of the Country, Consiquently [sic] we have been Very much oppressed, all of which I Born, with more than Christian fortitude, hoping that ere long, the currant [sic] of public Sentiment, would Change, You are Somewhat aware of my circumstances, I am a poor man, and have Some ties which bind me to the Old North State, Consiquently [sic] as there are many places of profit, and trust to be filled in the Government we fought to Sustain, I would be much gratified to have a recormendation [sic] for a place which is now filled by one who is not loyal, to our cause through the Rebellion, The place I wish the Custom [sic] House Agency at the Port of Wilmington North Carolina, I have several faltering recormendations [sic] for the place, but belive [sic] that a recormendation [sic] from you would greatly facilitate me, in obtaining the appointment, The present incumbent of the office, of wright [sic] out [sic] to be removed, from the fact that he gave aid and comfort to the enemy, during the Rebellion, and if necessary It Can be shown by reliable parties, that he has been Considered disloyal, to the Government which he is so anxious to represent,

Hoping to hear from you Soon I am General

With great respect

Your Obedient Servant

Elijah S. Smith ⁸² late A Lieut in the
1st N C Vols

P S

Please direct to me at New Port Carteret County N Carolina Care of
Jn^s. R Doughty Esqr

F 23
Congressional Etiquette

B.F.B.

⁸¹ Buffaloes were the opponents of the members of the Locofoco or Equal Rights party, who in 1836 accepted overtures from the regular Democratic party (Tammany) toward a coalition. It was a nickname given to the dwellers on the coast of North Carolina in the Civil War, who are said to have run from the approach of either army. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, I, 709.

⁸² Elijah A. Smith was in the lumber business in New Bern. His business was at 16 Metcalf Street. Heitman, however, in his *Army Register* does not list him as an officer in the Union Army. *New Bern City Directory*, 1904-05, p. 141.

Supt. & Chief Engineer's Office,
Mountain Mining Company,
Shelby, N. C. March 10th 1869

Gen B. F. Butler
Washington D C

Dear General

I have just arrived from the Dysartsville Mine and found your favor of the 27 I shall attend to its instructions at once would send at once could I get it ready for this mail-

Weather very cold in Dysartsville every thing frozen up

I convert all my gold into bullion report on hand from reduction 2 1/2 oz avd- as soon as I obtain a pound shall ship-

Your Obd Servant

Jno. F Alexander

Address me at Shelby I come to this point for my mail-

[March 22, 1869]

<i>Resources and Liabilities</i>			
RESOURCES			
Mining Appurtenances		475.88	
H. Taylor		69.88	
B. Brackett		43.19	
			588.95
LIABILITIES			
Hon. B. F. Butler		6,905.39	
" G. Marston		1,290.15	
Jno. F. Alexander		1,300.—	
			9,495.54
			<u>\$8,906.59</u>
LOSSES			
Freight		1,073.08	
Forage		90.00	
Laborers		4,662.12	
Claims		2,267.00	
Wagonag		517.74	
Wood		50.00	
Saw Logs		7.50	
Expenses		439.45	
			9,106.89
GAINS			
Mining Property		150.00	
Mdse Sold		50.30	
			200.30
			<u>Loss</u>
			<u>\$8,906.59</u>

[March 22, 1869]

Balance Sheet of Differences on Accounts of Mountain Mining Company
From April 1st 1867 to January 1st 1869

	Dr	Cr
Maj. Gen. B. F. Butler		6,905.39
Brig. Gen. B. Marston		1,290.15
Jno. F. Alexander		1,300.—
Mining Appurtenances	475.88	
Forage	90.—	
Freight	1,073.08	
Laborers Account	4,662.12	
Account of Claims	2,267.—	
Expenses	439.45	
Lumber Saw Logs	7.50	
Mdse Sold from Store		50.30
Wagonage	517.74	
Wood	50.00	
Mining Property		150.—
Hiram Taylor	69.88	
B. Brackett	43.19	
	9,695.84	9,695.84

E. & O. E

Jno. F. Alexander

Supt. & Chief Engineer's Office,
Mountain Mining Company,

Shelby, N. C. March 22 1869

Maj Gen B. F. Butler
Washington D. C.

Dear General-

You will find enclosed with your favor referred in regard to Mica- my balance sheet in in mercantile from which I hope may prove satisfactory.

It shows that the whole amt furnished myself for actual mining during the 2 years has not reached 5000 outside of the old debts now paid and the building of the furnace.

I am still hopeful and I expect to be able at no distant day to repay yourself every dollar expended in developing the mining interest of this State.

If you were about to purchase a mica mine I should oppose your making the purchase- The Mines have never been reliable in this State enough to justify a purchase at the high rates of land

I have secured the interest in 5 Mines now operating and yielding good mica in sizes varying from 2 to 3 and 6 to 10 inches of trimmed mica, about 1000 pounds raised weekly which will trim about 100 pounds- These mines are leased as follows Four (4) for 3 years, and 6 months of the time out, the other 20 years and the same time has elapsed- so we can

have 30 months on four of the mines, and 19 years on the other by paying 1200 Dollars for a half interest.

I am also trying to secure the mine I opened while searching for the silver vein for Gen Marston- in Mitchell Co- This will come somewhat cheaper and we will have full control. Upon your property there are good indications of a quarry although I have never opened it- I shall do so at once and report size and quality- I have already bonded all the land lying adjacent to our mines and intend working the ore upon the same at my mill The land embraces 800 acres which I am to have after developing at 1800 Dollars-

I have also bonded a mine rather a farm of 1000 acres in Mecklenburg Co N. C. a fine farm upon which I think a fortune can be made by raising the Ramie plant the same can be purchased at 8000 Dollars worth in my judgment about double the money- The parties owning the same wish to sell to pay themselves out of debt or else it will soon be sold for them.

Can you send me a paper of the Ramie seed out of the Agrl Dept.

I am owing a gentleman in New York 800 Dollars which I would like to pay will you honor my draft for that amount in 10 days from now-

Your Obt Servt

J F Alexander

[Filed April 1, 1869]

John F. Alexander

Dr.			Cr.
1867		1867	
Apl 1st For Cash	70.00	Mar 31 By 1 Mo Service	100.—
" 30 " Mdse	23.07	Apl 30 " Do	100.—
June 4 " Cash	68.34	May 31 " Do	100.—
" 12 " Mdse	10.—	June 30 " Do	100.—
" 25 " Cash	82.93	July 31 " Do	100.—
Sept 16 " Do	300.—	Aug 31 " Do	100.—
Nov 20 " Do	70.—	Sept 30 " Do	100.—
1868		Oct 31 " Do	100.—
Apl 21 " Do	100.—	Nov 30 " Do	100.—
May 12" Do	100.—	Dec 31 " Do	100.—
Sept 1 24 days absence*	80.—	1868, Cash adv laborers	515.09
" 14 " Cash	235.75	March 31 By 3 Mos. Services	300.—
Oct 12 " "	75.00	June 30 " Do	300.—
" 26 " "	100.00	Sept 30 " Do	300.—
Nov. 1 " 1 Mo Absence†	100.00	Dec 31 " Do	300.—
Dec 31 " Balance	1300.—		
			2715.09
	2715.09		
		1869	
		Jany 1st By Balance	\$1300.—

* In Watauga for Gen. Marston

†In New York & Boston.

Cash rec'd from all sources 10,717.92 to Jany 1869

Cash disbursed as per accts 11,233.01 to Jany 1869

See bal on Acct Current 565.39- 50.30 of which is to sales-

Shelby N. C.
Apl 6th 1869

Hon B. F. Butler
Washington D. C.

Dear General-

Enclosed are my accounts, which with this explanation of the balance to my credit, are as explicit as I can make them.

In Dec 1867 the laborers, who were creditors of the company, were so annoying to myself that I borrowed 500 Dollars to pay as far as it would go. At the time, you had in your judgment positively refused to honor a draft or any draft from myself and one of 150 Dollars on which I had obtained the money was returned under protest and I had to pay it. I wrote you fully in regard to my desires to operate the mines this year- I shall be in Dysartsville tomorrow night and will write you fully in regard to everything- I have at the request of Gen Marston been in Mecklenburg Co to look after the Harris & Blair properties. I have just returned from a mica hunt and feel very much fatigued so if I am obscure you must overlook it.

Promising you a letter from Dysartsville I am

Your Obt Servt

J. F. Alexander

[Filed under April 6, 1869]

Hon B. F. Butler Lowell Mass

Dr.		1868	Cr.		
Nov 25"	For Shipment	1727.48	Nov 25	By Draft	2000.—
"	Discount	10.00			
"	Board in Charlotte	3.00			
"	Fare to & from Charlotte	4.50			
"	Balance	255.02			
		2000.—			2000.—
			By balance		\$ 255.02

R. S. Fay Jr

69 Federal Street Boston

Dr.		Cr.	
1868			
Nov 25"	For Shipment		
	20 Bales Cotton		
402	308 456 392		
427	275 463 382		
469	454 374 337		
360	328 368 362		
355	315 430 367		
	7624 lbs	1727.48	

Shelby N. C. Apl 6. 69

Dear General-

On Dec 29 I wrote Mr Fay to forward to you the sales whenever made. On Jan'y 4th you wrote me to forward accts of shipment which I did with copies of letters from Mr. Fay, See my letter dated Jan'y 9th. The balance I have invested in corn which I am wagoning into South Carolina. I am looking for the wagoner next week and as soon as the corn is sold will render my acct-

Yours Obt'y J. F. Alexander

Supt. & Chief Engineer's Office
Mountain Mining Company,

Shelby, N. C. Apl 28th 1869

Hon B F Butler
Lowell Mass.

Dear General-

I have drawn on you at three days after sight for 800 Dollars in fav of I. L. Morse who was kind enough to lend me the money to meet the obligation in New York-

I hope you will honor my draft also my 75 Dollar draft at sight on the 3½ ounces Bullion on hand waiting your instructions

Your Obt Servt

Jno. F. Alexander

Elizabeth City N. C.
11 May 69

Hon B F Butler
Lowell.

Dear Sir:

I wrote you from Norfolk Va about fortnight since concerning the Canal stock;⁸³ but am without reply-

I enclose a letter rec^d from my banker in Norfolk-
Let me know what to do-

Truly Yours

C. L. Cobb⁸⁴

⁸³ The only canal of any importance in the South was the Dismal Swamp Canal from an estuary of the James River in Virginia to Albemarle Sound in North Carolina. It was completed in 1794 and reopened in 1828. Albert Bushnell Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, p. 38.

⁸⁴ Clinton Levering Cobb was born in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, on August 25, 1842; was educated in the common schools and at the University of North Carolina; studied law; and was admitted to the bar in 1867, beginning to practice at Elizabeth City. He spent part of his time in the mercantile business in Elizabeth City; served in Congress from March 4, 1869, to March 3, 1875; was defeated in 1874; returned to his legal practice; and died in Elizabeth City on April 30, 1879. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 826.

Supt, & Chief Engineer's Office
Mountain Mining Company,

Shelby, N. C. May 12th 1869

Maj Gen B F Butler
Lowell Mass.

Dear General-

On arriving at this point from Dysartsville I found your fav's of Apl 26th and May 7th

The deeds are in the hands of Gen Marston, I shall make the expenses keep within my estimate. The Dysartsville Mine is now operating five hands in its placer workings and two at the mill- I took up an ounce from the head Saturday- The amount of earth above the grit carrying the gold 30 feet- I find the Taylor vein becomes poorer as I drive down, so poor that I shall not work it. I am preparing the mine for heavier sluice operations than I have ever made during the time- I shall have the Shelby operating with an arastrar and cradle. I am surprised to learn that you have not received any accounts of the cotton purchased I made them out put them in the Post office and as you have not received them I can not censure myself for what I could not prevent- The Sales from Mr Fay were to be made to yourself and the Cotton is to your credit at that house. As you instructed me to transact the business in this manner I did so. You draw on Mr Fay for the proceeds of Sales which I hope will be satisfactory.

Enclosed you will find my purchase account and a/c current which shows a balance in your fav [*sic*] which I have in Corn and from which I hope to realize a good percentage for yourself. Regarding the obligation in New York I have made none against yourself and of course you have nothing to do with it unless in the generousness of your nature you wish to pay off an honest old debt contracted in the better days of your humble serv^t. My letter to yourself at Washington March 22nd will explain why I used the word obligation- I hope you will honor the draft if convenient for I am truly in need of it and I think my services here are worth the hire of the laborer- I was sick at Dysartsville or I should have written you- Hoping this may prove satisfactory I am general

Your Obt Servt

J. F. Alexander

Raleigh N. C.

May 29th 1869

My dear General-

Having a leisure moment this morning after a ride of forty miles upon a mule cart hunting after illicit distilleries and tobacco manufactories,- with the thermometer at 99, degrees in the shade consequently too hot to sleep even after such a jaunt, I will employ myself in dropping a line to you.

Contrary to my expectations, and to the arrangements made with the

Commissioner⁸⁵ when I saw him in Washington in company with yourself, that I was to be detailed for special duty under his immediate directions with my headquarters at the Treasury, - upon reporting myself for duty in response to a telegram from him, he informed me that he should not be able to carry out those arrangements for reasons which he could not then explain, but that instead, if I would consent, detail me for service in the District of N. & S. Carolina, to act in conjunction with, and under the orders of, Mr Supervisor Perry⁸⁶ from the State of Maine who was to succeed Gen Bennett the former Supervisor. I expressed to the Commissioner my disappointment at his inability to carry out the original arrangement, he replied that, he knew I would be, and was disappointed, but that the matter was beyond his control, and that I would oblige him by accepting a commission as a detective, and repairing to the proferred [sic] position.

My first impulse was to decline, and to return home, for I had learned that things were at very loose ends in the district to which I was assigned, that the revenue was being collected only in part, and that, with great danger to the officers of the government, that a large and powerful ring, comprising some of the smartest as well as desperate men, were combined together for the purpose of defrauding the government, resorting in some instances to extreme measures to circumvent and render futile the labors of the officers of the government.

The *fear* of meeting these men however, did not have the slightest influence in impelling me, at first to decline the position, but my total unacquaintance with, and knowledge of, the men comprising said ring, as well as of the geography of the country, and the fact that I should be obliged to rely upon such information as I could get from persons who would be entire strangers to me, as well as the fact that Mr Perry under whose orders I was to act, was also an entire stranger in the country comprising his district, and I may say entirely unacquainted with the duties of his office, except such information as he may have picked up since his appointment. With all these surroundings, I felt that I should be constantly hampered, and had very grave doubts whether I should be able to make my mark, or even satisfy myself, much more the Commissioner. I however concluded to accept the position, as I did not exactly like the idea of returning home "euchered," the more especially as you had been so kind as to procure for me the position originally offered me by the Commissioner, and I felt that it would not be treating you with proper respect for me to decline, and I accepted.

Upon my arrival here I found that I had not been misinformed as to the condition of affairs.

Gen Bennett the former Supervisor had, as I was led to believe from my investigations, absconded. Four collectors had been discharged for complicity with Bennett and others of the ring in defrauding the govern-

⁸⁵ Columbus Delano was the commissioner of internal revenue in 1869. He was born in Vermont; was appointed from Ohio; and resided in Washington, with a salary of \$6,000 per annum. *United States Official Register*, 1869, p. 56.

⁸⁶ In 1873 Parker W. Perry was still supervisor of internal revenue for Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. He was born in Maine and appointed from the same state at a salary of \$3,000 per annum. *United States Official Register*, 1873, p. 85.

ment, and there was a general, -so far as I could judge, -demoralization, among the balance of the collectors, assessors and assistants.

The Marshall of the district had been discharged. In one district, since our arrival, two of the assistants of the Collector have been shot down, and another mortally wounded, and the Collector has made application to the Supervisor for a squad of Soldiers to assist him in executing the law, the Supervisor being new to the business, sends to the Com- to ascertain *what to do*, &c &c. I simply mention these things to show the condition of affairs here, which in my judgment have obtained, because of the inefficiency, and venality of the officers. A few months however, of the labor of honest determined men imbued with the Butlerian System of administering the laws, would set all matters right, and the revenue could be collected without danger to the officer or loss to the government, and I overheard a gentleman say, who undoubtedly understands your mode of dealing with assassins, that you would hang those men upon Sight if they were caught. - I have been very busily engaged since I have been here in procuring evidence to indict [*sic*] Burnett and others, and in overhalling illicit distilleries, and tobacco manufactories, and capturing tobacco smugglers.

There is an immense amount of labor to be performed here before things get to moving in their proper groves, and I shall do my part of that labor while I stay, how long that will be is quite uncertain, for to tell to your private ear only, what is the truth, I do not like the conciliating, and patronizing manner in which the gentleman whose order I am subject to, deals with rebels and revenue stealers. When I go into and among, the mountain fastness, to the eminent [*sic*] danger of my life, for the purpose of destroying two two gallon whiskey Stills, I want to feel that, should I capture some of the workers of these Stills they will be dealt with according to the strict letter of the law, or that should I be fired upon as I am liable to be any day, I want to feel that, there is nerve enough to execute the law without sending to Washington to *know what to do*. I say these things to you under the nose, for I have no right to complain, for having accepted the position, and received written orders to act in conjunction with, and under the orders of the Supervisor of this district, it is of course my duty to obey orders, and my province to retire or ask to be relieved when I am dissatisfied.

But, my dear General, I have already spun this letter to an unconceivable length, and if, when you open, & attempt to read it, if it is as hot in your meridian, as it is here, I should not blame you if you were to throw it into the waste box. Should you do not be too buisy [*sic*] I should be most happy to hear from you, - while I remain as ever,

Your obedient Servant

W. H. Clemence⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Since W. H. Clemence was a special agent for the Internal Revenue Department, the editor was unable to identify him in any of the official government documents of the period.

Shelby N. C.
May 30th 1869

Hon B. F. Butler-
Lowell Mass-
Dear General-

When I arrived I drew on you, as directed with your permission.

An old Californian by name of Jo^s. O. Robertson wishes to lease the Dysartsville Mine, Mill &c who, to use his own language says, "I have funds enough on hand to double the work, and I think I can save all the gold" I have made no proposition to him, for I would not until I heard from you- I think that if he will work the mine furnish hands at the Mill and take charge of the property and give yourself 1/3 of the gold made by mill and placer, that it would be well for you to permit me to lease him old Dysartsville if he give a bond and good security for a faithful performance of his work. I shall draw on you at Dysartsville for amt of bullion on hand made by laborers since my absence to pay them- The draft whatever it may be shall not exceed the value of the bullion on hand- I suppose the amount will be about 70 Dolls.

I do this in order to save all the gold without selling it to defray my expenses- Please inform me of the fineness of the bullion which I gave you, since the ore contained an unusual amt of galena, iron and copper pyrites,

With great respect I am general-

Your Obt Servt
Jno. F. Alexander

Shelby N. C.
June 19th 1869

Hon Benj F. Butler
Lowell Mass.
Dear General-

Imagine my surprise when I came to this point and found my goods attached and my draft dishonored a second time- I explained as best I could how it occurred [*sic*] and have a little grace extended to me. I told them, the creditors of myself to the amount of my family expenses for 6 months, that you gave me your word and it would be paid and I knew you were an honorable [*sic*] gentleman and would not sacrifice your word and principle even to the humblest man- that you had'nt seen the draft now to make every thing right and to save my word to these people please telegraph me to the care of I. W. Dewey & Co Bankers Charlotte N. C. that my draft for 800 will be honored.

I have just arrived from the Mine and I am overwhelmed by this great confusion in which I find myself-

You agreed I should expend my salary of a mere pittance in the Mine this year and I agreed to do it, if you are dissatisfied with the agreement I can discontinue and turn over your property to any one you suggest or send to take it in charge-

It is true I wanted this money to pay an indebtedness of my own in New York, but I have written the Merchant who is a friend of mine and told him I shall pay as soon as I have it honored a part and the people a part charge the draft to my individual account-

Your Obt Servt
John F Alexander

NORTH CAROLINA BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1941-1942¹

By Mary Lindsay Thornton

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BOOK REVIEWS

GUIDE TO VITAL STATISTICS RECORDS IN NORTH CAROLINA, VOL. I. PUBLIC VITAL STATISTICS. (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Records Survey. 1942. Pp. vii, 62. Mimeographed. Not available for general distribution.)

Historians, genealogists, statisticians, and the general public will find useful this guide to the location and character of all existing public records in North Carolina concerning births, deaths, marriages, and divorces. Prepared under the supervision of Acting State Supervisor M. A. Rushton, Jr., it is the latest addition to the impressive and valuable list of North Carolina archival and historical guides and inventories, prepared and published since 1938 by The North Carolina Historical Records Survey, Work Projects Administration, whose fruitful career was terminated on June 30, 1942.

The guide is arranged in three main sections: first, birth and death records; second, marriage records; and third, divorce records. At the beginning of each section is a brief historical treatment, not elsewhere available, of important legislation concerning the making and custody of those records with which the section deals. Colonial and state laws from 1715 relating to birth and death records were ineffective until the Model Vital Statistics Law of 1913 made the North Carolina Board of Health responsible for securing and preserving such records for the entire state. These records are centralized in Raleigh but are available also in the various counties. The first marriage law was in 1669; but marriage bonds, required from 1741, constitute the chief available records until 1850 when clerks of the county courts were required to keep marriage registers. Since 1868 the preservation of marriage records in North Carolina has been a function of the county registers of deeds, in whose offices may be found virtually all existing marriage records except the marriage bonds, most of which have been centralized in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission in Raleigh. Since 1814 the county superior courts have had jurisdiction over divorces, and all divorce records are in the offices of the county clerks of superior court.

Following the brief historical treatment at the beginning of each section of the guide is the detailed list of the records themselves, arranged by location first at Raleigh and then alpha-

betically by counties. The marriage records consist of bonds, certificates of marriage, marriage registers, marriage licenses, applications for licenses, parents' statements of consent, and health certificates. The divorce records consist of papers, orders, and decrees recorded in the civil dockets. The record entries show the location of the records, inclusive dates, nature of the records, number of volumes or containers, method of arrangement and indexing, and cost of certified copies.

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THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES. By Milton Quaife. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap. 1942. Pp. xiv, 210. \$2.00.)

This is a reprint in book form of a series of articles originally appearing in the *Detroit Free Press* during August, 1942. The author's purpose is to tell briefly and simply the true story of the origin and history of the United States flag, a story which has often been obscured by a volume of myth and tradition but which remains even more dignified and inspiring with legend and fancy stripped away. Although obviously designed for popular reading, this narrative reveals the evidence of considerable research and its publication is timely.

Contrary to wide-spread belief, the Stars and Stripes were not carried in battle by the American armies during the Revolution. Our first national standard was the Great Union Flag, an excellent likeness of which appears on the paper currency of North Carolina in 1776; but this was primarily a sea flag or a garrison flag, and a variety of standards were used by the various detachments of land forces in battle. Likewise, the Stars and Stripes, formally adopted by the Congress on June 14, 1777, was designed primarily for use at sea and was not carried by armies on land for many decades after its adoption. Moreover, there was a great lack of uniformity in the design and dimensions of this flag during the early decades of the nation, and the details of its present arrangement were not adopted until April 4, 1818.

Other popular myths here exploded are: the well known story of Betsy Ross, the "Portsmouth Quilting Party," the claim that the colors of the flag were taken from the Washington coat of arms, the belief that each star in the union of the flag represents a particular state, and the idea that a flag now preserved

in the Smithsonian Institution is the one carried on the *Bon Homme Richard*.

There are chapters on the evolution of flags as national symbols, on the flags of the various countries which at one time or another possessed some part of the present United States, and on flags of the Confederacy. Among the numerous illustrations is a reproduction of the flag carried by the North Carolina militia at the battle of Guilford Courthouse.

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SOUTHERN SIDELIGHTS: A Record of Personal Experience. By Rev. William E. Cox. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company. 1942. Pp xii, 170. \$2.00.)

The scene of the greater part of this volume of autobiography is laid in the eastern part of North Carolina during the last quarter of the past century. The author was born in 1871 on a farm in Pitt County where he lived until he entered college in 1895. He writes of life on his father's and his grandfather's farms in a simple and unromanticised style. These farms seem to have been almost self-sufficient. The processes of cotton ginning, spinning, weaving, tanning, shoe making, and the preparation of tar and turpentine are described in some detail. It is a good picture of life on a farm of moderate size during those lean years following the Civil War.

In a small neighborhood school taught by his grandmother the author was prepared to enter the state university. He later went to the University of the South where he was prepared for the Episcopal ministry. The description of his education from "grandmother's school" through the theological seminary is interesting, but one feels that the value of the book would have been greatly enhanced if it had been treated more fully.

The author's life as a country parson is merely touched upon, and here also fuller description would have added much to the value of the reminiscences. The most significant feature of the book is its faithful portrayal of rural life in North Carolina. While the story it tells is not a new one to students of Southern history, it is not so familiar to the general reader and therefore is worthy of repetition.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

An act of the General Assembly, ratified in February, changed the name of the North Carolina Historical Commission to the State Department of Archives and History.

The Department's appropriation for the 1943-45 biennium is approximately \$54,000 as compared with \$46,440 for the 1941-43 biennium. A graduated salary increase for all state employees now receiving not more than \$4,500, effective January 1, 1943, has been provided.

Miss Geraldine Coburn, a member of the staff of the Department since July 1, 1941, resigned in December to marry Mr. R. L. Cox, Junior, a former North Carolinian who is now engaged in war work in Baltimore.

Mr. Elmer D. Johnson, since October 1, 1942, the Department's collector of war records, resigned at the end of January to enter war work in Washington.

Since February 15 the Department's new collector of war records has been Miss Charlie Huss, a native of Gastonia. Miss Huss attended Salem College and the University of North Carolina, and from 1935 to 1941 she held various high positions with the Work Projects Administration, especially that of state supervisor of Research and Records Programs.

On February 16 Mrs. Ellen Melick Rollins of Elizabeth City became collector for the Hall of History (state historical museum), under the administration of the Department of Archives and History. A graduate of St. Mary's School at Raleigh and of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Mrs. Rollins has had experience as a teacher and librarian, and from 1935 to 1942 she served in various capacities with the WPA Writers' Project.

The Department has received from the Genealogical Society of Utah typewritten copies of the abstracts of the marriage bonds from Burke, Haywood, Hyde, Iredell, Lenoir, McDowell, Martin, Pasquotank, Pitt, Polk, Richmond, Wayne, Wilkes, and Yadkin counties, the originals of which are in the Department's

possession. Also the Department has received from the Society 318 rolls of microfilms of county records (from originals in the courthouses) including deeds, wills, inventories of estates, county court minutes, and miscellaneous court papers from Beaufort, Bertie, Bladen, Carteret, Chowan, Craven, Currituck, Duplin, New Hanover, Onslow, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Wayne counties. In addition, the Department has received seven rolls of films which include papers of the general court, the court of admiralty, and the court of assize for the colonial period.

The Yale University Press has published *British West Florida, 1763-1783*, by Dr. Cecil Johnson of the University of North Carolina. Dr. Johnson has recently been promoted to the position of acting dean of the General College of the University.

Next fall in Montevideo, Uruguay, Dr. L. C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina will present in absentia a paper on medical history at the La Plata Medical Congress, an association of medical men, including medical historians, of Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians held its annual meeting at Chapel Hill, December 26, 1942. A war program for the society was discussed, and the officers were re-elected for another year, as follows: president, Phillips Russell, Chapel Hill; vice president, Walter D. Siler, Pittsboro; secretary, Malcom Fowler, Lillington.

Most of the merchant vessels constructed by the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company, at Wilmington, are being named for persons prominent in the history of North Carolina and South Carolina.

Books received include: John K. Buttersworth, *Confederate Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943); Ruth Ketring Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest Against Slavery*. Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXV (Durham: Duke University Press. 1942); Robert Watson Winston, *Horace Williams: Gadfly of Chapel Hill* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1942); and Martha Norburn Mead, *Asheville, in Land of the Sky* (Richmond: The Dietz Press. 1942).

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