

Carolina Chronicles

The Magazine of North and South Carolina History

Tarheels in the Trenches

In World War I, Soldiers from North Carolina took the fight to the Hun and broke the Hindenburg Line, only to suffer when they returned home



PLUS:
Fort Dobbs:
N.C.'s
Outpost of
Empire during
the French &
Indian War



Carolina Chronicles

Magazine

A publication of
Dram Tree Books
www.dramtreebooks.com



Jack E. Fryar, Jr.
Publisher & Editor

Carolina Chronicles
magazine is published
bimonthly in digital format,
available through shareable links
found on our Facebook page or
via email
notifications. All stories
in the magazine are
copyrighted by
Dram Tree Books or their
respective authors.



Contact us at:
[carolinachroniclesmagazine@
gmail.com](mailto:carolinachroniclesmagazine@gmail.com)
dramtreebooks@ec.rr.com
or by messaging us on Facebook at
[Carolina Chronicles
Magazine](#)

In This Issue...

- Fighting the Good Fight:
North Carolina Doughboys in
the Great War and at Home
- Fort Dobbs: Outpost on the
Edge of Empire during the
French & Indian War
- New to the Shelf:
New books for Carolina
history lovers

Welcome to Carolina Chronicles! *We hope to pick up where Coastal Chronicles magazine left off*

Welcome to *Carolina Chronicles*! Some of you reading this may remember an earlier incarnation of this publication, *Coastal Chronicles* magazine. Published in the mid-1990s, *Coastal Chronicles* was intended to tell true, factually accurate stories about the great history to be found along the North Carolina coast in a way that was also fun and entertaining.

The magazine was very well received. I was publishing 10,000 copies each month, and they were all gone within a week of arriving at our distribution outlets at museums, historic sites, tourist attractions, commercial outlets, and via mailed subscriptions. Teachers used them in classrooms to help teach North Carolina history to students too often bereft of resources to aid that instruction. The accumulated stories from *Coastal Chronicles* magazine eventually became the first title published by Dram Tree Books, the small book-publishing house that evolved from my earlier magazine publishing efforts. Since then, Dram Tree Books has published forty titles, including another volume of stories from *Coastal Chronicles*.

This version of my history magazine is markedly different from the earlier, 1990s version. For one, it is digital. One of the constraints of doing a print version of a periodical is that you are limited when it comes to how many copies you can make. Now, digital software allows me to produce a magazine that can live in the ether, downloadable and sharable by anyone who wants to read it, anywhere in the world. I just drop my layouts into the software, and it converts it into a flipbook that is readable (and printable) on any platform. You will also notice that the stories in each issue have a bit more heft to them than in the past. Since the stories we tell will likely be instrumental in teaching younger people about North and South Carolina's history, I feel it is important that we do a better job of telling where our sources come from and making sure the history is right (or at least attributable). Finally, I have expanded the magazine's scope to include all of North and South Carolina. The two states are connected in so many ways, and as a region we share much of the same past. The expanded coverage area also allows me greater freedom to write about stories that interest me, but that may not have fit under the umbrella of *Coastal Chronicles*' coastal North Carolina coverage area.

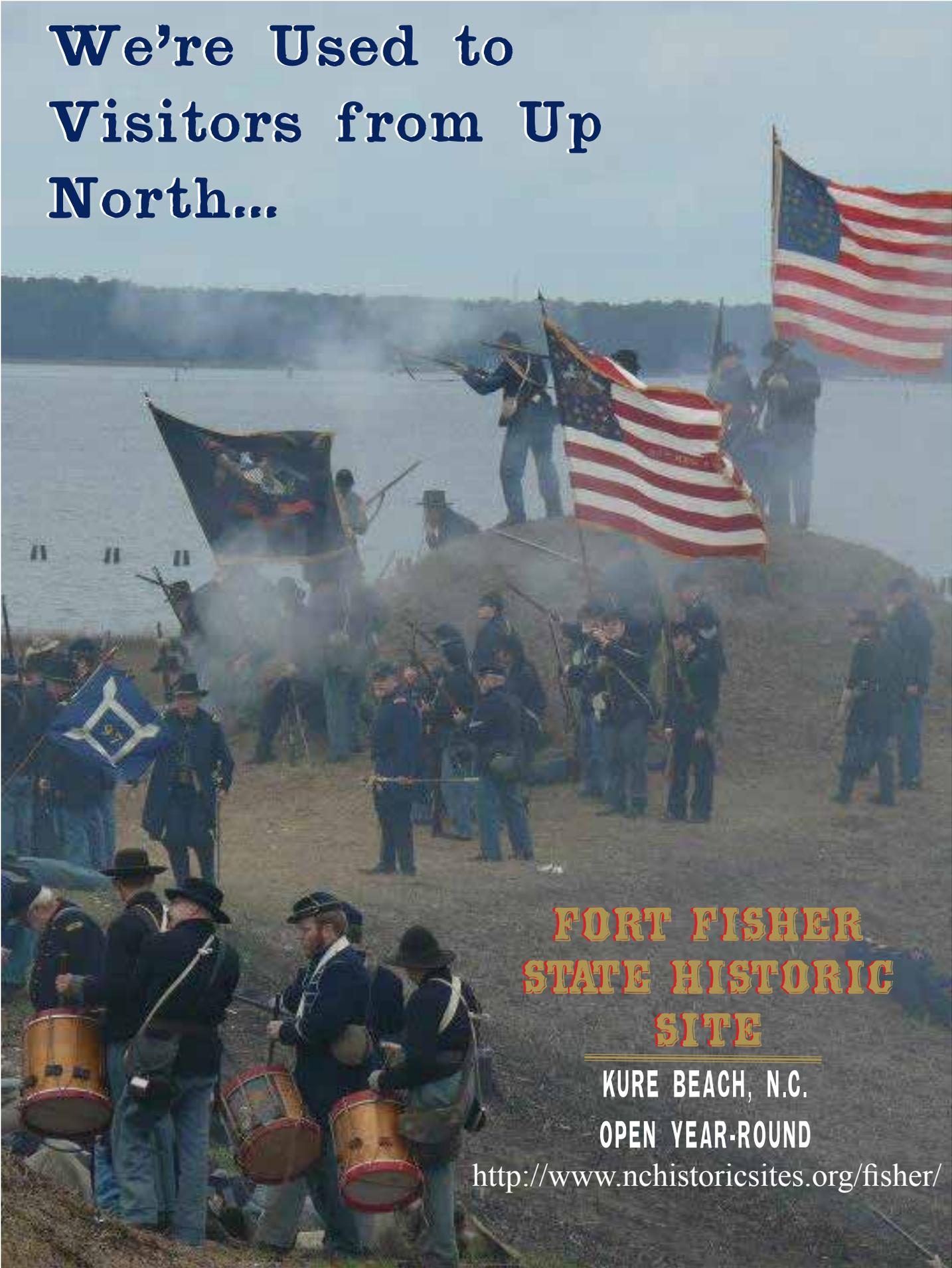
I intend to publish *Carolina Chronicles* every two months, for a total of six issues a year. If you have story ideas – or if you've written a story yourself that you would like to contribute – feel free to get in touch with me. You will find my contact information in the masthead to the left on this page. I hope this effort will find as much favor as *Coastal Chronicles* did twenty years ago. If so, feel free to share it with your history buddies, organizations, and classrooms. If you can think of ways to make it better, let me know your ideas. In the meantime, enjoy!

Jack E. Fryar, Jr.

Have a story idea? Have a story you've written that you would like to see in the magazine? Contact *Carolina Chronicles* at carolinachroniclesmagazine@gmail.com
Put "Story Idea" in the subject line of your email

Or message us at Carolina Chronicles Magazine on Facebook!

**We're Used to
Visitors from Up
North...**



**FORT FISHER
STATE HISTORIC
SITE**

KURE BEACH, N.C.

OPEN YEAR-ROUND

<http://www.nchistoricsites.org/fisher/>

FIGHTING THE GOOD FIGHT:

North Carolina Doughboys in the Great War and at Home

by Jack E. Fryar, Jr.



*Soldiers of the 30th Infantry
choked roadways on the*



*Infantry Division slog through mud-
the way to the front at Ypres.*

When the men of North Carolina answered their country's call to arms in 1918, they left behind their plows and jobs in the banks, railroads, and stores of what passed for cities in the state at the time. By the thousands, they left home to train with strangers from all over the country at depots far from the places they knew so well. The newly minted soldiers of the 30th and 81st Infantry Divisions crossed an ocean after enduring scanty training stateside, and stepped into the furnace of the first global war of the modern age. After the fields of Flanders and the trenches of France, their perceptions of the world they lived in would be forever altered. North Carolina's doughboys would carry that altered sense of self and the world home with them, changing the American landscape as well.

For many of those North Carolina soldiers, World War I would be the first time they were exposed to the wider world beyond their fields and sleepy neighborhoods. For most, it was a terrifying ordeal that brought them face to face with the sad truth of man's inhumanity when acting under the clouds of war. For all of them, it was a life-changing event that would mark them for the rest of their lives. When they returned to the United States, many found resuming their civilian lives to be difficult, with little help to be had from their government.

The Rip Van Winkle State Wakes Up

North Carolina, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, was little different from the defeated Confederate state occupied by Union troops after General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered the last rebel army at Durham's Bennett Place in the spring of 1865. Boasting few cities that were worthy of the name – and none that would compare with the great European metropolis' that Tar Heel doughboys would see in France and England – North Carolina was still primarily rural in nature, and provincial in its outlook on the rest of the world.

Despite innovations like the telephone, electricity, the typewriter and the Wright Brothers' Kitty Hawk experiment that ushered in the age of powered flight, North Carolina for the most part resisted the impact of a changing world and remained predominantly agrarian and rural-centric in character. By 1900, the numbers of the U.S. Census revealed that for the first time in the history of the United States, more people lived in urban areas than rural.¹ But while that may have been true for the nation as a whole, the draw of the big city was not as strong in much of the South. Nevertheless, in the urban centers of the South – including those in North Carolina – the amazing wonders of the age were being embraced, even if those revolutionary inventions had yet to be introduced in the South's rural areas. While new wonders such as the automobile and the electric trolley were proudly touted in Tar Heel cities like Charlotte, Wilmington and Raleigh, in the countryside life was much as it had been for the preceding half century.²

In North Carolina, only 318,474 residents lived in what the U.S. Census Bureau would describe as metropolitan areas, out of a total population of 2,206,287. Yet North Carolina was on the cutting edge of the new technologies sweeping across the nation. In the fifty years from 1870 to 1920, the Tar Heel State would become the most industrialized of the Southern states.³ Washington Duke was revolutionizing the tobacco industry in Durham, and from his humble homestead would grow a company that would put North Carolina brightleaf in pipes, cig-

arettes and cigars across the globe.⁴ At Wilmington, Alexander Sprunt & Sons became the largest cotton exporters in the world. North Carolina's Atlantic Coastline Railroad carried passengers and goods from the northeast states to the tip of Florida, all orchestrated from its Wilmington headquarters overlooking the Cape Fear River.

Yet for all its strides into the new century, North Carolina's people remained, for the most part, firmly rooted in the previous one. The high hopes of better lives for Tar Heels in the wake of the Civil War gradually gave way to something less grand, and became in many cases a quest for simple survival. Emancipation spelled the end of the slave economy that greased the economic engine of the South, but newly freed African-Americans were not suddenly catapulted into socio-economic equality. For most North Carolina blacks - and most poor whites, too - sharecropping and tenant farming became the norm when it came to earning a livelihood.⁵

In North Carolina, despite the appearance of wonderful new machines and labor saving devices like tractors, the hoe, plow, and liberal doses of human sweat remained the primary tools of those who worked the state's tobacco, cotton and corn fields.⁶

As most North Carolinians dug in the dirt to earn their sustenance, or worked in the burgeoning textile industry around manufacturing centers like High Point and Greensboro, the men who owned those companies and farms grew progressively wealthier. Durham's James Buchanan Duke (son of tobacco giant Washington Duke), textile magnate Robert Holt, cotton exporter James Sprunt and railroad impresario J. Pembroke Jones amassed unheard of wealth, while at the other

end of the spectrum most working families made do with their own resources. Virtually everyone had a small parcel of land set aside as a family garden plot, where food for the dinner table was grown. This was vital to a family's well being, as there was very little cash income for most



In rural North Carolina, farming was a family affair in every sense of the word. (Photo: N.C. Dept. of Archives & History)

families. Between 1860 and 1900, North Carolina's small farms tripled in number from 75,000 to a whopping 225,000, even as the average size of Tar Heel farms shrank from 316 acres to 101. Sharecroppers and tenant farmers would barter with local shops and service providers for the things they needed to get by, using their share of the crop as collateral. By the time the crops actually came in, there was often little in the way of hard cash left. Factory workers were in the same boat, going in debt to company stores established by the factory owners, who extended credit to workers against their expected wages.⁷ As many as 200,000

North Carolina workers had migrated from the farm fields to the textile mills as of 1900, working eleven and twelve hour days in less than optimum conditions to put food on the family table.⁸ Education in the state, which might have provided a means to escape the grinding poverty and subsistence

living conditions most North Carolina workers found themselves in, was spotty and sporadic at best, especially in the countryside.⁹

Given the lives most Tar Heels lived in the early part of the twentieth century, events happening a world away in Europe seemed of little import to North Carolina's men and women. When war clouds gathered in France and Germany after the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and his wife, the consensus among most Americans was to mind their own business. In fact, Woodrow Wilson, the bookish, Ivy League president who had spent much of his youth in Wilmington,

N.C. (his father had been the minister of First Presbyterian Church in the city), was elected on a platform of keeping the troubles embroiling all of the European powers at arms length. "He Kept Us Out Of War!" exclaimed campaign posters during his second election. But as events like the U-boat sinking of the luxury liner *S.S. Lusitania*, with its attendant loss of American life, and German machinations against the United States with America's neighbors came to light, the reluctant President Wilson realized the country could no longer ignore the European conflagration.¹⁰ Despite the president's pacifist yearnings, on April



Some North Carolinians did not wait for their own country to shed its isolationist tendencies, and crossed the Atlantic to join the fight on their own. Among them were (left to right) Arthur Bluethenthal, Kiffin Rockwell, and Edgar Halyburton.

2, 1917 Wilson delivered a message to Congress, asking for a declaration of war against Germany and its allies.¹¹

Over There: Tar Heels At War

In 1910, seven years before President Wilson asked for congressional approval to send the nation to war on the side of Britain, France and the rest of the Entente, North Carolina had a male population of 1,098,476. Of these men, 120,248 were between ages fifteen and nineteen; 98,796 were twenty to twenty-four years old; 79,490 were between twenty-five and twenty-nine; and 65,177 were between thirty and thirty-four years old.¹² Despite earlier isolationist sentiment, once the declaration of war was made, large numbers of North Carolina men answered the call to arms with enthusiasm.¹³ For the Tar Heels, mobilization may have been a bit easier than for other states, as more than 7,000 members of the North Carolina National Guard had already been called to duty in 1916 for service along the U.S.-Mexican border. During that time they served under overall command of the man who would become commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) in France, General John J. "Black Jack" Pershing, as he pursued the Mexican bandit (or revolutionary, depending on whose



The shoulder patches of the 30th Infantry Division (above), and the 81st Infantry Division (below).



history you read) Pancho Villa.¹⁴

Even before the nation officially went to war, numbers of North Carolinians had already joined the fray wearing the uniforms of other powers. Three North Carolinians fought for the British before their own country joined the fight. Five other Tar Heels, including one woman and Wilmington's Owen Kenan, were already in the field as part of the American Field Service (AFS), driving ambulances in France, when the United States became a belligerent. Men from the Old North State like Kiffin Rockwell (who flew with the famed All-American unit of the French air force, the Lafayette Escadrille), and Wilmington's Arthur Bluethenthal (who flew French bombers), had already followed their consciences and enlisted in the Allied cause.¹⁵ Both would give their lives in the effort. Those early volunteers would soon be followed by wave after wave of American youths wearing the olive-hued wool uniforms of the U.S. Army. Some of those young men would be volunteers, others would be draftees. All of them would bring a vigor and youthful optimism to the fight that had been missing for some time, after years of war had sapped the stamina from both sides of the fight in Europe.

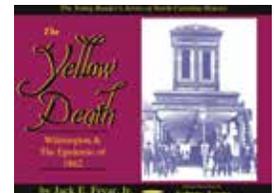
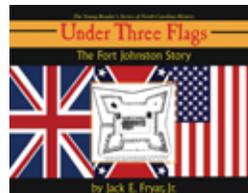
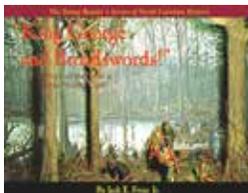
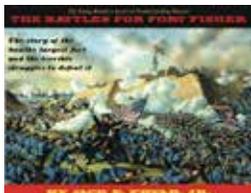
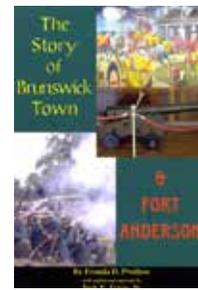
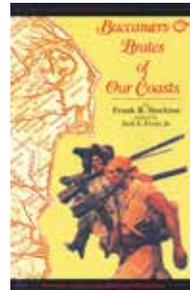
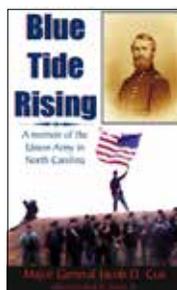
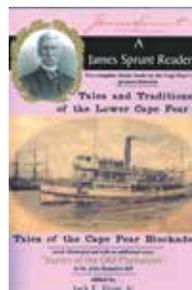
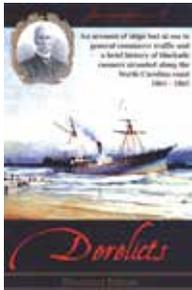
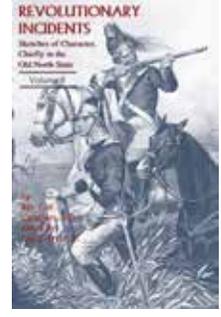
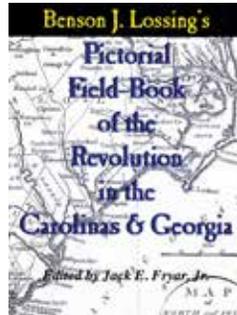
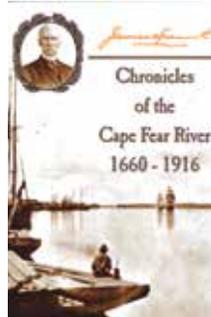
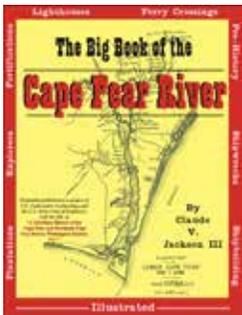
With a declaration of war in

Coming Soon!

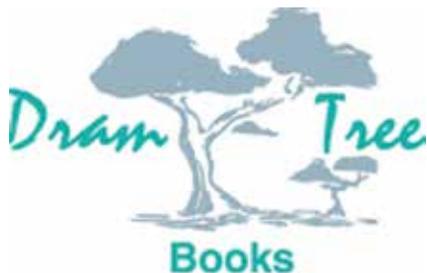
THE RETURN OF Dram Tree Books

The good thing about publishing history books is that if you take time off, it's still history when you start up again...

LOOK FOR THESE FAVORITES TO BE BACK IN PRINT SOON:



TELLING THE STORIES THAT TELL THE CAROLINA STORY



Dram Tree Books

PO Box 7183

Wilmington, NC 28406

dramtreebooks@ec.rr.com

WWW.DRAMTREEBOOKS.COM

hand, President Wilson wasted no time bringing the nation to a war footing. In North Carolina, existing National Guard and militia units were called into federal service and reformed as the 30th Infantry Division, nicknamed the “Old Hickory Division” because it was composed primarily of men from the Tar Heel State and Tennessee.¹⁶ The “Old Hickory” label referenced President Andrew Jackson, who had ties to both states. These men were mostly already serving as members of guard units like the 120th Infantry Regiment, or were enlisted volunteers. The bulk of the remainder of North Carolina’s men who served in the war were mainly draftees who went to France with the 81st Infantry, known as the “Wildcat” Division. North Carolina’s contribution to the 81st was confined primarily to the 321st Infantry Regt., the 316th Field Artillery, and the 321st Ambulance Regt. The rest of the division was made up of South Carolinians, Georgians, and Floridians. The 81st would arrive later in the summer of 1918, after the 30th Infantry had already been overseas for several months – first, undergoing trench warfare training in Great Britain, then easing into position in the trenches of France.¹⁷ North Carolina’s black soldiers served and fought primarily in the segregated 93rd Infantry Division, organized at Camp Stuart, Virginia.¹⁸

Even with mobilization of regular Army and National Guard units, the United States was woefully unprepared to fight a war on the scale of the one being waged in Europe. It

soon became apparent that for the first time, Americans would be compelled to serve in the armed forces via a national draft. The “new” draft of May 1917 covered all males (both black and white) between ages twenty-one and thirty-five. North Carolina, led by enthusiastic wartime Governor Thomas Bickett, actually exceeded the draft quota it was asked to



N.C. Governor Thomas W. Bickett

meet.¹⁹ Local county selective service boards registered 337,986 white North Carolina men for the draft, and another 142,505 blacks. Local boards received guidance from the federal government on how drafts should be conducted, but how each draft was done was left largely to the states. The North Carolina draft effort was significant



Camp Greene, near Charlotte, N.C., served as a basic training base for Tar Heel troops.

in that it provided no exemptions for college students (one of the only states to make that stipulation). Neither did it allow whites to evade service by rigging the draft to put black draftees in their place – a not insignificant fact in a state that is now widely credited with being at the forefront of efforts to usher in the Jim Crow policies that disenfranchised Southern blacks at the turn of the century.²⁰ As the scope of the conflict became more apparent to General Pershing, he informed his superiors in Washington, D.C. that even with the first draft more men would be needed. Thus, a second round of draft selections were made, this time from a widened pool of candidates up to age forty-five.

Despite Gov. Bickett’s best efforts, not everyone in North Carolina came around to his pro-war point of view. Especially in western North Carolina, there were still significant numbers of holdouts that just did not think they had a stake in a war half a world away. The state recorded more than 1500 men who earned the label “slacker” for evading the draft. The U.S. District Court for North Carolina tried 390 evasion cases, and convicted fifty-two draft dodgers. Still, North Carolina’s evasion rate was one of the lowest of any state in the nation, at just 2.6% of the draft pool. Much of the draft’s success was due to Bickett and local draft board officials, who took efforts to seek out evaders and convince them to report for duty before the matter could become “official” and



Camp Jackson, near Columbia, S.C., also functioned as a basic training base for soldiers of the 30th Infantry Division.

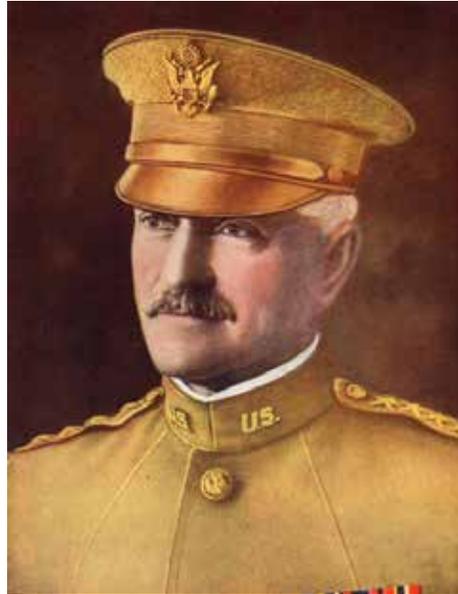
require a court martial.²¹

Most North Carolina soldiers carried rifles as infantrymen, or serviced French-provided 75mm guns as artillerymen. The majority of these men in the infantry or artillery (except in the case of mobilized National Guard units) were draftees. At the war's outset, many volunteers opted to serve as U.S. Marines, or in the navy or air corp. There was a feeling that these services offered options that were somehow more manly, romantic or chivalrous than regular infantry or artillery billets.²² But whether volunteers or draftees, the Tar Heel State would contribute more than 87,000 of its citizens to the armed forces that made up the American Expeditionary Force.²³ During their six months in combat, from May to November 1918, records show that 629 were killed in the fighting. Another 204 died from wounds sustained in the war, and 1,524 more died from diseases such as dysentery and influenza that were rampant in the ranks of soldiers in the Great War. More than 3,600 came home with debilitating wounds, and scores more with lasting mental scars.²⁴

While the mass of American manpower reported for duty at one of thirty-six training camps hastily set up around the country by the U.S. Army,²⁵ a North Carolina sailor aboard the *U.S.S. Mongolia* claimed the distinction of committing the first hostile act of the war by an American after the nation entered the conflict. Gunners Mate James Goodwin, of Edenton, is credited with damaging a German U-boat while serving on a convoy in the English Channel on April 19, 1917.²⁶ As well, the first American prisoner captured by German troops after the United States declared war was a North Carolinian.²⁷ Sergeant Edgar M. Hallyburton, the unfortunate U.S. Army regular who bears that dubious distinction, could at least say he was not the first North Carolinian to be

captured. Another Tar Heel, Benjamin Muse, was captured earlier in the war while serving with British forces.

When the 30th Division stepped ashore in France in March 1918, they found an allied force in disarray. The spring of 1917 had been disastrous for the British and French. After French commanders threw wave after futile wave of soldiers against the seemingly unbreakable wall of



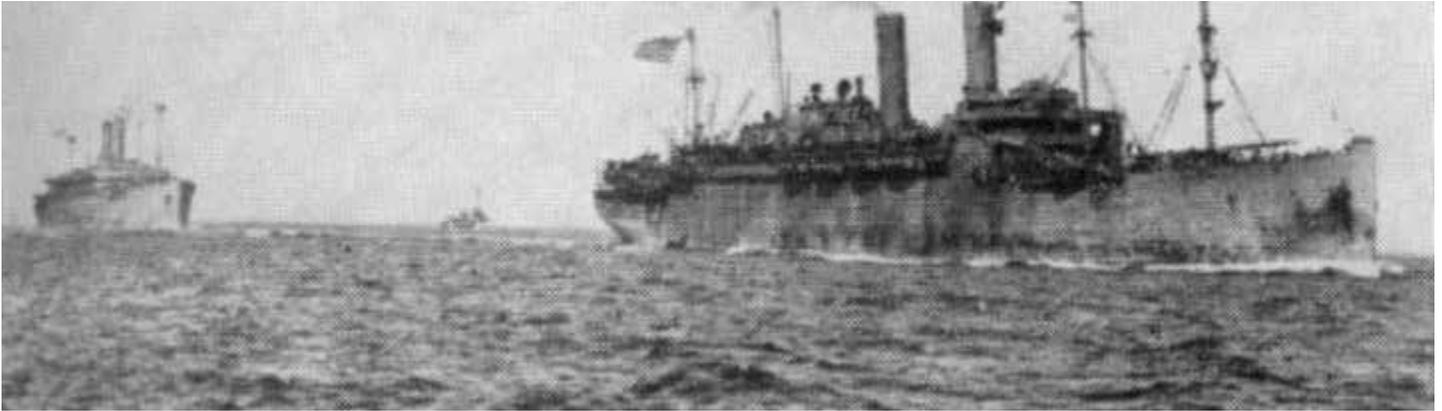
Gen. John J. Pershing

the German army in an offensive that nearly broke the back of the military's ability to fight, the common soldiers decided they had had enough. Mutinies throughout the ranks threatened to give the Germans the victory over the French that they had not – to date – been able to achieve through outright force of arms. Only a change of command and the adoption of a strictly defensive posture avoided a complete disaster for French commanders. British troops were worn out too, after losing 350,000 men in a 1917 offensive to take some pressure off the beleaguered French. Government leaders at home lost so much confidence in the strategies of their army commanders in the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) that they refused to send any more reinforcements to France, thus forcing

the British army to adopt a similar defensive policy.²⁸ In short order, both French and British commanders looked with covetous eyes at the newly arriving American troops. Pershing was deluged with attempts to co-opt the Americans as replacements for the decimated Allied divisions holding tenuous lines of defense in France and Belgium. But Pershing, with the support of his superiors in Washington, D.C., steadfastly refused to allow the American Expeditionary Force to be used piecemeal.²⁹ The one concession Pershing did make to his desperate allies was to allow whole units to be detached for duty under overall command of French and British commanders. At no time did Pershing contemplate allowing individual soldiers to be used as a replacement pool for the kind of attrition tactics the Allies had adopted on the trench-scarred French battlefields.

Pershing's hope was that he could postpone deployment of his fresh American forces until 1919, when he would have a completely trained and provisioned force to put in the field. He disdained the static tactics that trench warfare had devolved into as being wasteful of life and resources, and unsuited to the American style of combat, which was characterized by open field, small unit fire and maneuver, rather than massed advances into the teeth of enemy machine guns, artillery and gas shells.

But plans made in cozy staff quarters seldom survive in the real world, and Pershing's were no different. First, there was the problem of supplying the new American army. From the moment war was declared until the first American went "over the top" to face combat for the first time, getting men and materials to the army had been a problem. American industry was slow to ramp up for the war effort, and actually getting troops to France was complicated by the fact that America did not have enough



American forces shipping for France relied on transports from Great Britain, who still leased more ships from other nations to carry the load.

ships to move large numbers of men and their equipment across the Atlantic Ocean in short order. That lack of hulls meant Pershing had to rely on ships provided by the British, at the time the world's premiere maritime power. Disagreement over which troops should be sent complicated the process even further. Pershing wanted logistical support troops to have equal priority of movement. British and French allies wanted combat troops – infantry, artillery and engineers – to be sent first (hoping, of course, to use them to replenish their own depleted ranks). On top of everything else, not even the mighty merchant fleet of Great Britain was big enough on its own to conduct such a mass movement. The British had to lease and buy ships from all over the globe to meet the demands of moving the American army and all of its equipment.³⁰

As a result, American forces were slow to reach France. Still, by December 1917 General Pershing had 176,000 troops at his disposal in the AEF. He would soon need them. As the Russian war effort came apart under the stresses of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Russians signed a separate peace that took them out of the war in March 1918. General Erich Ludendorff and the German high command immediately began transferring their freed up divisions from Russia to the western front. Ludendorff hoped to launch an offensive against the

flagging British and French that would win the war before Pershing's fresh troops could arrive in enough numbers to make a difference. By late March, the Germans had amassed over a million men to face the combined strength of 1,476,000 allied forces in France and Belgium. By this point, American strength had risen to 287,500.³¹ When Ludendorff launched his great offensive in the Somme, those Americans would be very much in demand.

Seeing the Elephant

Ludendorff's plan was ready to launch by March 21, 1918. The Germans had managed to gather seventy-five divisions, organized into three armies, along a seventy-kilometer front facing British General Sir Douglas Haig's three battered armies. When Operation St. Michael was launched, it fell on the hapless British like a hammer. Haig's forces were sent reeling, as on the opening day of the offensive alone, British forces suffered 17,000 casualties and lost 21,000 men as prisoners. The British fought heroically despite losing as much as eighteen percent of their combat effectiveness, and managed to inflict 39,000 casualties on the attacking Germans. But Ludendorff's armies were several times as large as the British force they faced, and consequently could absorb the losses over the short term. By March 26, the British were forced to withdraw in the face of a superior en-

emy. Ludendorff squandered a chance to knock the British out of the war, however, by failing to press the issue. The British, with French assistance, manage to consolidate their defenses with their backs to the English Channel.³² Now Ludendorff would turn his attention to the French. It was here that North Carolina troops would receive their baptism of fire.



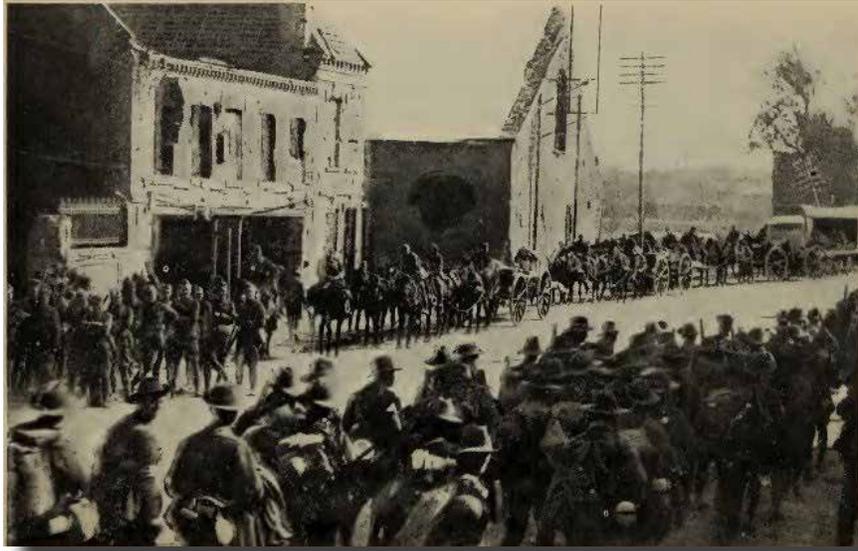
German Gen. Erich Ludendorff

The Tar Heels were called into action as soldiers and Marines of the Second Corp, against the third major German offensive launched between May and June 1918. They would also see extensive action during the ensuing Allied counteroffensive from Au-

gust to November. When German forces participating in Operation Blucher threatened to make a breakout in the area of Cantigny, Chateau-Thierry, and Belleau Wood, along the Marne, French commanders implored General Pershing for help. Americans, serving under their own officers, went into the line as the battered French were in full retreat. The Marine brigade, especially, earned lasting acclaim while stemming the oncoming German tide at Belleau Wood, then actually pushing them back. Astounded by the Marines' ferocity in the attack across machine-gun-swept fields, German soldiers labeled the Americans "teufel-hunden," or devil dogs, a nickname that Marines are proud to claim today. All glory aside, the victory around Chateau Thierry and vicinity came at a high price. Pershing lost 8000 American lives to win what became known as the Second Battle of the Marne, but the Germans were stopped thirty miles from Paris. Represented among those killed and wounded were men from North Carolina.³³

Meanwhile, in July, the 30th Division was sent to Belgium as part of the British forces defending the front around Ypres. In August 1918 they took over the section of the line known as the Canal Sector, running from Ypres to Voormezele.³⁴ After a month of training alongside the 27th Division (made up primarily of New Yorkers), both divisions were sent to the British Second Army. The Old Hickory Division found itself a part of the army's Second Corp. With the New Yorkers on their left flank, the Tar Heels of the 30th Division entered

the trenches at Ypres on July 2, 1918.



The Old Hickorys and the Australian 3rd Infantry Division pass each other after the fall of the Hindenburg Line in 1917.

The young men of the division would find themselves faced with the reality of war in short order.³⁵

Assigned to a relatively quiet section of the line initially, the North Carolina men found themselves relegated to menial labor rebuilding collapsed trenches when they moved on July 16 to support two British divisions south of Ypres. The Tar Heels, who had so enthusiastically answered the call to arms when their nation went to war, resented the work. They came to France and Belgium to fight, not dig. They would get their chance before another month passed by.³⁶

Sensing a fatigue among their German foes, Allied commanders began planning for a new counteroffensive even as doughboys and Marines were still earning their reputations in the Second Battle of the Marne. That offensive stepped off on August 8, 1918 when British, French and American troops began a push that would end in what Ludendorf would label "the black day of the German army."³⁷ Allied success was such that German troops seemed completely demoralized.³⁸ Encouraged by their successes, hoping to capitalize on the German

collapse around Amiens, British high command gave the go ahead to launch a new offensive around Ypres. It was a fight in which the Tar Heels would lead the charge. Called by military planners the Ypres-Lys Offensive, the men of the 30th Infantry Division would play a dominant role for the first time in offensive operations. Beginning on August 19, 1918, the North Carolina men would lead the way in the attack. This was especially true

of the Sixteenth Infantry Brigade, to which North Carolina's 119th and 120th Infantry Regiments were attached. These men took their places in front line trenches and stayed there until the attack ended on September 4.³⁹ The high ground of the line was dominated by Mount Kemmel, part of the Bailleul heights. The mount gave German defenders a wide view of the Flanders plain to the south, east and north. To be successful, Mount Kimmel had to fall.

As night fell on August 30, British commanders believed enemy forces were falling back from trench lines opposite the Old Hickory Division. Scouts, sent to confirm that information the next day, found something entirely different. Each company of the 119th Infantry sent single platoons out into No Man's Land early the next morning to conduct a reconnaissance towards the village of Voormezele. In less than 200 meters they began encountering stiff resistance from machineguns and mortars. At least at this point on the line, Ludendorf's men seemed determined to make a stand.⁴⁰

Division commanders discussed after action reports from the day's fighting later that evening. The consensus seemed to be that no clear

Two Royal Governors. One Associate Supreme Court Justice.
Site of the Stamp Act Resistance. Raided by Pirates. Sacked by
Redcoats. North Carolina's primary colonial Port of Entry.
Home of the last Confederate Fort on the Cape Fear River..

Brunswick Town

FORT ANDERSON

State Historic Site



8814 St. Philips's Road SE • Winnabow, N.C. 28461

Where
Cape
Fear
History
Began

<http://www.nchistoricsites.org/brunswic/brunswic.htm>

picture of the enemy's determination to hold the sector could be discerned from the results of action on August 30. Units expecting light resistance suddenly found themselves in disarray and out of touch with command. Accordingly, 30th Division commanders decided to press forward again the next day. Orders went out to units already engaged in No Man's Land to continue their slow advance toward German lines. At first light, a general advance by both the 119th and 120th Infantry Regiments would follow them.⁴¹

Some of the Tar Heels assumed that they would occupy the recently vacated heights of Mount Kimmel when the attack commenced on September 1, 1918. Instead, the two battalions of the 120th ordered over the top at 7:30am that morning were aimed at the trenches directly opposite, where German troops were still offering a spirited defense near the Lankhof farm.⁴² Despite stiff fighting, by nightfall the Americans held a new line that included the Lankhof farm trenches taken by the 120th, and the town of Voormezele, secured by elements of the 119th Infantry. The next day, a German counterattack failed to dislodge the Old Hickorys. The Tar Heels stuck.

Having proven their ability at Ypres, army commanders replaced the 30th Infantry Division with British troops over the next few days, shifting the North Carolinians to other areas in preparation for the coming Somme offensive and the assault on the Hindenburg Line. From July to September, the 30th Infantry Division as a whole lost 777 men. The 119th and 120th Infantry Regiments suffered the vast

majority of those casualties, with 296 and 269 respectively, between July 11 and September 6, 1918.⁴³

Breaking the Line: St. Mihiel and the Hindenburg Line

To this point American units had fought well as units attached



30th Infantry Division troops advance across No Man's Land at the Somme.

to British and French armies. Now General Pershing was about to get his wish. The AEF would launch an offensive of its own. The French had lost the area around St. Mihiel to the Germans in 1914, and the enemy had managed to repulse a French effort to take it back again in 1915. Strategically, the salient around St. Mihiel threatened the stability of the entire Allied front. It also was important because of the railroad junction within the salient that was critical to German logistics.⁴⁴ French commander Marshal Ferdinand Foch assigned the task of retaking the salient and capturing the rail junction to the Americans.

For whatever reason, Pershing abandoned his preferred doctrine of small unit fire and maneuver at St. Mihiel. American soldiers assaulted the trenches of the enemy in the classic wave formation that had

proven so costly in manpower to that point during World War I. The attack came in three stages. First, sappers and engineers were sent out into No Man's Land at night to cut lanes through the wire for follow-on troops in the assault to come. Second, a huge artillery barrage was laid on to soften up the enemy's defenses and provide a curtain of steel to mask

the advance of the infantry. The third phase of the plan was sending the infantry against the German trenches.⁴⁵

Three thousand artillery pieces opened the bombardment one hour after midnight on September 12, and kept it up for four straight hours, pummeling German lines before the infantry assault.

While the 119th and 120th regiments of the 30th Division were still engaged at Ypres, around St. Mihiel the 113th Infantry and 105th Engineers were meeting stiff resistance from the Germans. But the stiff resistance was just a rearguard action. German troops, expecting an attack by the end of the month, had already begun withdrawing from the salient. Five hours after the artillery began raining down, Allied forces had occupied most all of the area around St. Mihiel. A day later, Allied elements of the three pronged attack linked up at Vignuelles, and the salient was no more.

St. Mihiel was a tough fight to endure, as the rain of artillery was incessant. As a result, North Carolina doughboys reported nineteen cases of "shell shock." Also known as neurasthenia and war neurosis, symptoms included anxiety, nightmares, exaggerated startle response, tremors, nightmares, hallucinations, delusions,



“Breaking the Hindenburg Line,” by Australian artist William Longstaff, depicts Allied troops, including North Carolinians of the 30th Infantry Division, battling to breach the formidable German defenses around the French towns of Bellicourt and Nauroy.

withdrawal and catatonia.⁴⁶ Today it is more familiarly known as post-traumatic stress disorder.

For the next few weeks, both sides were content to rest and regroup. Artillery kept up a steady bombardment to dissuade any plans to alter the status quo, but by October the allies were ready to shift operations to the Meuse-Argonne front. Just a week after the fighting at St. Mihiel ended and the Americans were replaced in the trenches there, the Tar Heels who had been fighting under British command at Ypres rejoined their countrymen and started training for the upcoming offensive.

On September 23, 1918 the 30th and 27th Divisions were sent to General Sir Henry Rawlinson’s British Fourth Army. The Old Hickory troops relieved Australians in the line before Bellicourt and Nauroy, towns occupied by Germans anchoring the toughest part of the famed Hindenburg Line. The sector lay between the larger French cities of Cambrai and St. Quentin. Three days later, the attack began.

The Hindenburg Line was a massive, heavily fortified defensive line that stretched across the French

countryside. The Germans began its construction early in the war, and had spent the ensuing four years making it stronger and more impregnable with each passing week. The section the Tar Heels of the 30th Infantry Division was to attack was widely believed to be the strongest section of the line. Centered around the town of Bellicourt, along the St. Quentin Canal northeast of Paris, it would be a tough obstacle for the Americans. First, there were three rows of heavy barbed wire, each row thickly woven to a depth of thirty to forty feet. Artillery did little to remove it from the path of the advancing infantry. Next came three rows of the Hindenburg Line trenches, a bristling collection of machinegun nests with interlocking fields of fire. Finally, there was Bellicourt and the St. Quentin Canal tunnel, also fortified with machinegun emplacements to guard the massive German army barracks, command, control and communications centers, and hospital complex located there.⁴⁷

By the night of September 27, the 119th and 120th Infantry Regiments had moved into position for the main assault scheduled for September 29, 1918, when the men would step off at

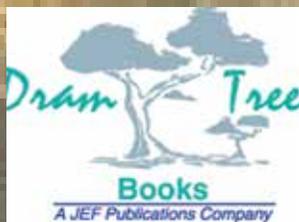
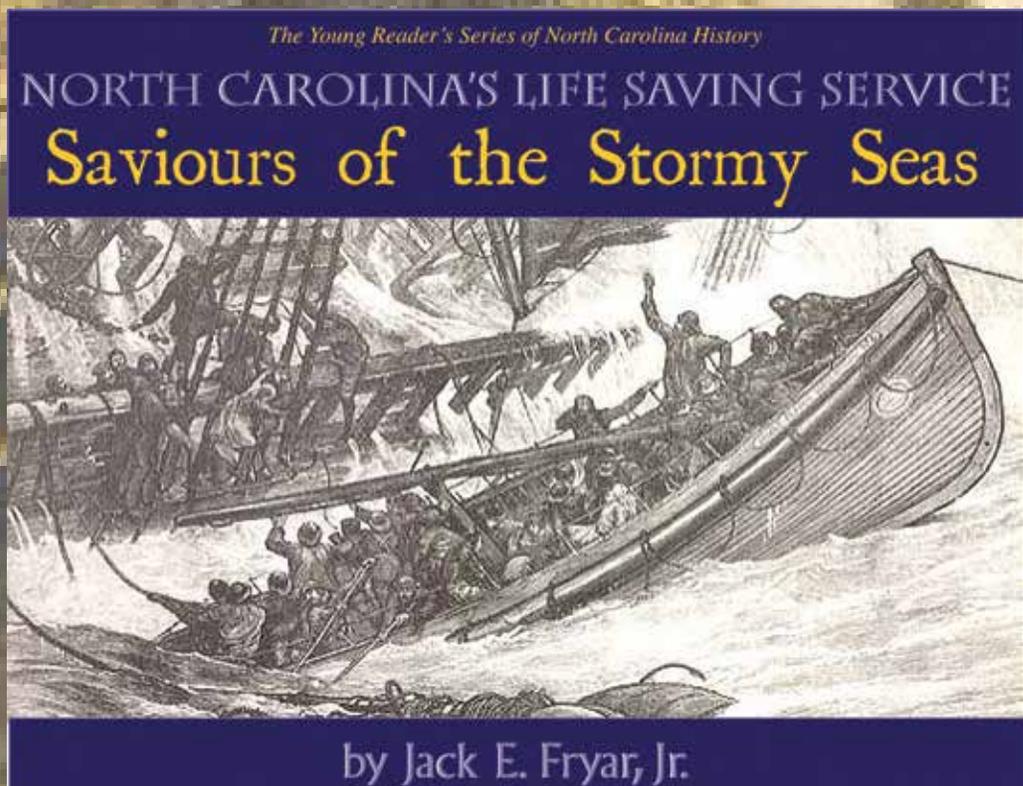
5:50am. The 117th and 118th Regiments of the 30th Division were ready as reserves if needed. The attack would be supported by artillery and thirty-four British Mark V tanks. When the time came, a creeping barrage of artillery led the men of the 119th and 120th into No Man’s Land, advancing at a rate of one hundred yards every four minutes.⁴⁸ The artillery fire was not just outgoing, either. German guns began dropping shells among the Tar Heel soldiers massing for the attack. Rainy weather, fog, and gun smoke created a thick curtain that masked the advancing Americans from each other, reducing the war to just what each man could see in his immediate vicinity. Lost in No Man’s Land, the North Carolinians advanced, often separated from their own officers, small bands of men walking into the most heavily fortified German defenses in France.⁴⁹

Despite the confusion and carnage, the men of the 120th Infantry pressed on. Company A was the first to break through into the concrete reinforced bunkers of the Hindenburg line around 7:30 that morning. Men from the company captured their section of the supposedly impregnable line and used compasses to advance beyond

Coming Soon From

Dram Tree Books!

In the eyes of hurricanes, over oil-slicked and burning water, in towering seas, with howling winds making every oar stroke a back breaker, they always came: The men of the U.S. Lifesaving Service along the North Carolina coast - the tough, salt encrusted angels who saved countless mariners from certain death in the deep.



The latest title in the
Young Readers' Series of North Carolina History

the first row of bunkers. With little command guidance, noncommissioned officers acted on mission objectives given before the attack started to press home the gains they had made. On their left, the 119th Regiment was having a tougher go of things. They too had reached the Hindenburg Line as scheduled, but heavy machinegun fire caused their assault to falter. As well, the slow advance of the New Yorkers of the 27th Regiment lagged behind that of the North Carolinians, leaving the Tar Heels' left flank exposed to enfilading German machinegun fire. The exposed flank, a half-mile deep, resulted in wholesale slaughter of the North Carolinians. It was not until reinforcements of the 117th and 118th Infantry Regiments arrived late in the afternoon that the exposed flank was secured, and the 119th was able to gather its dead and wounded and secure their section of the line.⁵⁰

Taking the Hindenburg Line was an impressive win for Pershing and the Allies. With North Carolina men leading the way, American forces captured forty-seven German officers, plus 1,432 enlisted men during the three-day assault. Large stores of ammunition and weapons were also captured. Yet for all the losses suffered, it still only amounted to just 3000 yards of territory. To get it, North Carolinians of the 30th Infantry Division suffered 2,494 officers and men killed or wounded. The 119th Infantry Regiment lost 874 men, while the 120th lost 994.⁵¹ During the two weeks

ending October 20, 1918, the British Third Army, to which the 30th Infantry Division was attached, suffered 121,000 casualties in total.



Men of the Old Hickory's 113th Field Artillery advance through the tattered remains of the Argonne Forest in the 1918 offensive.

The Meuse-Argonne, 1918

After being beaten to a pulp taking the Hindenburg Line, the bulk of the 30th Infantry Division was too worn out to participate in General Pershing's move against the German line in Meuse-Argonne region of southwest France. The campaign, launched in September 1918, would last until the armistice was announced in November. Even though most of the 30th was too fatigued to participate, Pershing did have the services of the division's 113th Field Artillery, plus the as yet untested 81st "Wildcat" Division. The green nature of the 81st was not unique in the force Pershing assembled. Five of his nine divisions for the offensive had never been in combat.

The Meuse-Argonne was a region the Kaiser's troops had held

since 1914, after their first assault on Verdun. In the years since, they had invested a lot of time and effort into strengthening their defenses there. The Meuse-Argonne campaign was part of a larger offensive devised by France's Marshal Foch, designed to cut German rail lines at Mezieres, Sedan, and Aulnoye, hopefully forcing Ludendorff's troops to retire within German territory before the onset of winter.⁵²

The doughboys' part in the plan was to advance against the German line near Verdun, with a jump off date for the attack of September 26, 1918. The Americans would be supported by 190 French light tanks and 800 aircraft, plus the usual artillery. It would

be a formidable task. Thick forest and a landscape studded with natural and German-made obstacles, dominated by three lines of defense in depth featuring trenches, barbed wire, deep dug-outs, and concrete reinforced fighting posts faced the attacking Americans in the area. A fourth such line was even then under construction. The Meuse River formed the right boundary of the American sector for the attack, while the thickly wooded ground of the Argonne Forest, riddled with deep ravines, machinegun nests, and barbed wire entanglements, bounded the left side. A high, hogback ridge commanded the center of the line between forest and river, bristling with stonewalled villages and fortified spurs. The dominant feature of the ridge was the heavily fortified town of Montfaucon.⁵³ To take this piece of real estate, General Pershing massed three corps, giving him an eight to one edge in manpower for the attack. Pershing hoped to ad-

vance at least ten miles in the opening, unyielding push. The general would be disappointed.

Even after a three-hour artillery bombardment to prep the battlefield, the attack ran into trouble early on. While the American III Corps did manage to gobble up five miles in their drive, their sister units in the center and on the left had less success. The V Corps was able to make little headway against the German defenses along the ridge in the center, while I Corps on the left advanced barely a mile into the thick tangle of woods that was the Argonne Forest.⁵⁴ This left V Corps overextended. Over the next few days, after wave upon wave of Americans advanced in murderous frontal assaults,⁵⁵ V Corps managed to penetrate into the Germans' second line of trenches near the Meuse. But the lack of progress by the other two corps allowed the Germans on the central ridge and in the forest to hit them with flanking fire. By the end of September, the attack had bogged down.

While the main thrust of the offensive was grinding to a halt along the banks of the Meuse, the Wildcats of the 81st Division, as well as African-American soldiers of the 92nd Division, were assigned to what until then had been a fairly quiet sector near the Vosges Mountains. When Pershing's offensive kicked off, their mission was to do what they could to draw off German troops that might otherwise be used against the Americans closer to the Meuse-Argonne. After some heated exchanges with the enemy, the two divisions were moved closer to the main thrust in the

Meuse-Argonne. By the end of September, the offensive had ground to a halt.

Recognizing that much of the problem lay in the inexperience of his green divisions, Pershing had to regroup. The American general had a lot to overcome. Logistical support was far outstripped by the demands of the war, and so trucks, mules, and all the other things an army needs to continue the fight was slow in coming from home. Battlefield losses were outstripping the rate of replacement



Wildcats of the 81st Infantry form up before engaging German defenses at the Vosage Mountains.

from training camps in America, so newly arrived troops were thrown into line divisions unprepared for what they were about to face. Thirty of the French tanks seconded to his command for the attack were destroyed in one two-mile advance, and the rest seemed plagued with the usual miscellaneous mechanical troubles. The battlefield itself was daunting. Pocked with shell holes already, many doughboys must have felt even God was against them, as a hard rain fell for forty of the forty-seven day offensive.⁵⁶

The Americans regrouped, with veteran units that included the Second Division being brought to the

fight, and resumed the attack in early October. Stiff resistance persisted from the Germans, but slowly, inch by muddy, shell-torn inch, the doughboys cleared the Argonne Forest, and eventually forced the Germans to fall back to Sedan. North Carolina men played a significant role in the fight, from start to finish. The last German trench line was breached by the Americans on November 1, but the success came at a steep price. In a month of fighting, Pershing's forces had suffered 24,000 casualties.⁵⁷

Under pressure from internal strife and Allied successes, Ludendorff resigned on October 27, 1918. The inexorable pressure being brought to bear on the exhausted Germans by the Americans and their British and French allies finally caused the Kaiser's ministers to sue for peace, after riots in the wake of

German defeats threatened their grip on the country. On November 11, 1918, the guns fell silent. The armistice went into effect, and the soldiers could go home – in time.

American soldiers, including those from North Carolina, would be in Europe up to a year longer before boarding transports that would take them back to the homes they had left behind so many months before. Both the 30th Infantry Division and the 81st Infantry Division stayed in France during the winter of 1918-1919, until boarding American ships for the voyage back across the Atlantic.⁵⁸ The North Carolinians touched American soil again at east coast ports like Charleston, Newport News, and Boston. From there, they rode by train back to the same camps they

had left behind on the way to France, where they were given sixty dollars travel pay and mustered out of their country's service. The Tar Heels were home.⁵⁹

After Johnny Came Marching-Home: Re-assimilation

The men who came home from Europe's battlefields were not the same men who had marched off to war singing patriotic songs in 1917 and 1918. From lives centered around family, friends, crop planting schedules and daily clock punching at jobs in North Carolina factories and offices, the men of the AEF re-entered civilian life changed by their wartime experiences. They returned from France and Belgium missing limbs, with seared lungs from exposure to mustard gas, and a less naive (if not outright jaded) view of the world and their place in it. While most were glad to be home, many also harbored a resentment that they were not allowed to finish the job.⁶⁰

It is difficult to find data specific to North Carolina when it comes to determining how well Tar Heel doughboys managed to fit in with the lives they left behind after coming home. Given the resources available, the best we can do might be to look at World War I veterans as a whole, in that the issues facing North Carolina veterans must have been similar to those facing their brothers from other parts of the country.

North Carolina veterans, like those from other states, carried baggage home with them that they did not have when they embarked for France in 1917 and 1918. Even among those that may not have been clinically diagnosed as suffering from Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome (or shell shock, as it was known then), there were still an abundance of nightmares and memories they often spent the rest of their lives trying to bury deep inside themselves.⁶¹

The mental residue of the veterans' time in combat often became an insurmountable obstacle for loved ones hoping to get their friends, lovers, husbands, brothers and fathers back again at the war's conclusion. They either could not understand what their men had been through, or did not want to.⁶² Then, too, the veterans themselves bore their share of the blame. Said one ex-doughboy, "It was a long hard job for Walt (his brother) and me to adjust to civilian life. We were both partially deaf from exploding shells. My throat was damaged by gas, and Walt had a breaking out on his face

"It was a long hard job for Walt and me to adjust to civilian life. We were both partially deaf from exploding shells. My throat was damaged by gas, and Walt had a breaking out on his face from cootie bites."

- An unidentified N.C. Doughboy on returning home after the war

from cootie bites. We had traveled so much that we had the wanderlust. Every time we heard a train whistle, we wanted to get on it and go somewhere. Every horizon beckoned. No matter where we were, we wished we were somewhere else.

"However, our worst handicap was a callous indifference to everything and everybody."⁶³

While troubles reintegrating into civilian life were widespread among veterans, within the ranks of America's African-American doughboys, including those North Carolina men of the 93rd Division, it was compounded by racism at home. World War I was the largest transatlantic movement of African-Americans since the days of the slave trade, with more than 200,000 black American soldiers

serving in France until the Armistice. Those men were exposed to a society in which men of their color were not the social outcasts they were at home. In France, there was no segregation (at least among French civilians). The racial, social and sexual equality they found among French men and women sowed the seeds of social activism in the black soldiers who would shortly return to Jim Crow-era America.⁶⁴ The men had thought their sacrifices in Europe would pave the way for changes in civil rights in America. They were wrong.⁶⁵

The war changed the men and women who lived through it, and in turn those men and women changed the world they lived in. Skirts got shorter. The teetotaler movement was bolstered in their efforts to usher in prohibition by a wartime ban on the sale of alcohol as a scarce resource, which in turn spurred the rise of criminal elements represented by men like Chicago gangster Al Capone. Jazz, deemed immoral by government authorities, spread across the country after the ghettos it was born in were made off-limits to U.S. servicemen during the war. Free or almost free cigarettes provided to the military hooked a generation of soldiers, sailors and Marines on tobacco products. American soldiers who had been part of the occupation forces in France and Germany brought home foreign-born wives, whose cultural influences were felt in the communities they lived in.⁶⁶ Maybe more to the point, any lingering fascination with European sophistication among American veterans went by the wayside. By the 1920s, as more and more families began to suffer economic decline, many veterans began to feel like the nation had been hoodwinked into a costly war for a bunch of people who did not deserve it. The experience of life among the British, Belgians, Germans, and especially the French (who most doughboys grew to detest as ungrateful for

The American public had a hard time understanding their returning heroes, in part because the soldiers who had seen combat saw it in varying degrees. While all may have served in France, the experiences – and therefore the psychological impact of the war – of each man was different.

the sacrifices they had made), left most veterans of the opinion that it should be a good long time before American blood and treasure was spent on helping out with troubles across the Atlantic Ocean again.⁶⁷

The American public had a hard time understanding their returning heroes, in part because the soldiers who had seen combat saw it in varying degrees. While all may have served in France, the experiences – and therefore the psychological impact of the war – of each man was different. An ambulance driver saw the end results of combat, but his experience never approached the blood chilling terror felt by an infantryman scrambling for a gas mask as a fog of lung-searing death floated inexorably closer along his trench line. An artilleryman's experience of the war would be different from that of a scout trapped in a shell hole while German machineguns chewed up the air above him.⁶⁸

The U.S. government tried to help its returning soldiers, but in too many cases the effort was ineffectual. Part of this might be attributable to corruption on the part of the men tasked with administering the newly created Veterans Bureau.⁶⁹ Yet even if the Veterans Bureau had been a model of efficiency, the task it faced was daunting. While historians generally date the Great Depression as beginning in 1929, the seeds of that global disaster were sowed in 1919, when four million hastily discharged American soldiers were unceremoniously dumped into a job market that had no jobs to fill. The G.I. Bill of World

War II did not exist for the soldiers of the Great War (though the experience of those World War I vets was a cautionary tale that influenced the



Secretary of the Interior Franklin Knight Lane.

creation of the bill in 1945). There was no money for re-educating returning soldiers, no job training on the national level, although attempts were made to find employment with some new government programs for returning veterans. After World War I, veterans were basically expected to fend for themselves, no matter the financial loss their service might have burdened them with.⁷⁰ Making things worse for the veterans were the blinders that many civilians wore when it came to their returning soldiers. In too many cases, they seemed intent on returning

the men to a simpler, more docile past that just could not exist anymore in a time when the idealism of the Wilson administration was often seen as a laudable but naïve failure. The nation was ready to put the ugliness of the war behind them, and the painful reminder of the conflict represented by maimed or destitute veterans was something most people of America just refused to see.⁷¹

Some thought had been given to the problem of returning soldiers, however fleeting or poorly executed it might have been. In the past, soldiers had been given homesteads as thanks for their service, but Congress ended that program after the Civil War. Veterans from all ensuing conflicts were forced to settle with something less than what their grandfathers had been given via the “bounty” system that existed in their time. By the time the veterans of World War I came home cities were growing, and the slums and other problems that came from urban living were, too. The cities just did not have the infrastructure to offer returning soldiers a home and a job. Couple that with the fact that as the economic situation in the nation worsened, so too did the city's ability to support those who were unable to fend for themselves through charitable organizations. Therefore, many people began to advocate “back to the land” schemes for returning Great War soldiers. The idea was to return some of the urban population to communes in the countryside, where the occupants would be able to achieve self-sufficiency (or some degree of it) by growing and raising the things they needed to survive. Wilmington, N.C.'s



Penderlea, in modern Pender County, N.C., was a New Deal program that attempted to offer rural families fresh starts in the depths of the Great Depression. (Photo: Penderlea Homestead Museum)

Hugh MacRae was one such advocate of communal living for the returning vets and their families. As early as the turn of the century, literature put out by advocates of such policies painted a romanticized picture of life on bucolic patches of land, where formerly harried city dwellers got back in touch with their agrarian roots and fashioned livelihoods from God's country bounty. Planners of the soldier resettlement for the most part operated under no such illusions, realizing that agrarian living was often "unprofitable, uncomfortable, and dull."⁷² They hoped that a cooperative effort between private sector developers and the national government could sidestep many of the pitfalls of the plan. Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane was an advocate of veteran colonization. He proposed a "communal plan" in which one hundred families or more would be grouped together to work allocated land. According to Lane's thinking, the reason for the decline of rural communities was "dissatisfaction with social conditions," and that the new communal system would have the advantage of neighborliness. Lane anticipated

that returning soldiers would precipitate a deep bout of unemployment, and hoped that such a planned commune would lessen its impact.⁷³ The plan was that states would furnish the land, while the federal government provided the financing for development. A much broader plan, that included agricultural, forest and mineral lands, and the establishment of a "United States Construction Service" as a buffer against unemployment, was put forth by the Labor Department. Even the American Legion endorsed such plans, and adopted soldier resettlement as one of their four points for dealing with returning veterans.⁷⁴ Plans for soldier resettlement were never adopted at the national level, due in large part to opposition from large farming interests. Thirty-seven states did, however, pass legislation creating such colonizing plans.⁷⁵ The agricultural depression of the 1920s and the dependence on funding from the federal government to see the projects through doomed them all to extinction by 1930.⁷⁶

Such plans would likely have found fertile soil among veterans in North Carolina, where half the

total population by 1920 still lived on working farms. But increasing mechanization and a glut of agricultural product made farming a tenuous occupation even among people who had made their living tilling the soil for generations. This was a situation that would be compounded when the Great Depression gripped the country beginning in 1929. Franklin D. Roosevelt's election to the presidency saw the unveiling of new programs under his "New Deal", including subsidies for *not* growing crops (to decrease the surplus and stabilize the markets), and in 1933 the new Resettlement Administration. This organ of the federal government, created by Congress in 1935, moved select families to federally planned resettlement farms.⁷⁷ The first such communal farm in North Carolina was the community known in 2010 as Penderlea.⁷⁸ The Civilian Conservation Corp, organized by the federal government in 1933, also offered some help to veterans caught in the throes of the Depression. Through it, men worked on civilian infrastructure projects nationwide for thirty dollars a month in pay, plus room and board.

Other programs, both governmental and privately administered and supported, tried to offer the wounded and maimed rehabilitation, retraining, and support. But in a perverse sense, sometimes veterans found the medicine worse than the cure. For men used to making their own way in the world, finding themselves relying on government subsidies and the charitable efforts of strangers – no matter how well intentioned – often had the effect of making them feel less than a man. For a veteran who might already be suffering from self-esteem issues stemming from a missing a limb, blindness, or shell shock, even an unintended blow like that could be a serious setback.⁷⁹ Even when a veteran did swallow his pride and apply for retraining under one of the federal programs, red tape and delays often saw the men drop out in disgust.⁸⁰

It was this disgust and desperation that led to one of the most horrific scenes in the aftermath of the war, when unemployed veterans at the height of the Great Depression joined their brothers in the summer of 1932 in a mass march on Washington, D.C. to demand the bonus promised them by Congress. The bill to compensate World War I veterans for the difference between their service pay and what a civilian was being paid at the time over the length of their wartime service had been passed in 1924. Called the Adjusted Compensation Act, it compelled the U.S government to pay World War I vets a dollar for every day they served, while those who saw overseas duty would be paid \$1.25 per day, plus interest at a rate of four percent. The checks were to

be issued in 1945, delaying the hit to the treasury during the height of the country's economic woes. Some veterans stood to be paid as much as \$1600, money that desperate veterans and their families could surely use in the days after the stock market crash of 1929.⁸¹ When the market bottomed out, cash strapped doughboys began calling for their "bonus" to be paid immediately, and they did so with the



N.C. veterans of the Great War joined their compatriots in a march on Washington, D.C. to secure the bonuses they had been promised.

support of new but powerful veterans advocacy organizations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion.⁸² The need was certainly evident. Veterans Administration studies show that in 1930 and 1931, veterans suffered almost fifty percent higher unemployment than their civilian contemporaries, and that their plight on average lasted longer. Over one nine day period in the first month of 1930, 170,000 World War I veterans applied for first-time loans against the monies promised them by their bonus certificates. But the demands from veterans for immediate relief from the

government by paying them their bonuses butted up against efforts by the Hoover administration to cut spending to reign in Depression-fueled deficits. Hoover was adamantly against paying the bonuses early.⁸³ Henry L. Stevens, Jr., a North Carolina veteran of the Wildcats of the 81st Infantry Division, was the national president of the American Legion. At the group's 1931 national convention in Detroit,

the membership of the legion was on the verge of passing a resolution demanding the payment of the promised bonus money. Before the measure could come to a full vote, President Herbert Hoover arrived and made a plea to the American Legion leadership not to push for the bonuses. The measure was defeated, and Stevens spent most of the rest of his tenure defend-

ing the decision to his rank and file.⁸⁴

Faced with no other options for relief, many veterans across the country decided they would go to the seat of government and ask for their money in person.

The Bonus March of 1932

The nation's capital was sweltering in the summer of 1932, and the heat came from more than just the weather. For weeks, caravans of former soldiers of the Great War had been arriving in Washington, D.C. to put their demand for payment of back pay, what was popularly termed a "bonus," to the President and Congress in person. As many as 20,000 combat veterans – some with their families in tow – gathered on the outskirts of

The protest at the capital turned violent when someone threw a brick that hit a policeman. From there, the ugliness of the confrontation escalated. Police and veterans battled (right) until the army was called in.

the city in makeshift tents and derelict buildings. The men were led by a thirty-four-year-old former sergeant from Portland, Oregon named Walter Waters. Collectively, the men came to call themselves the Bonus Expeditionary Force, an undisguised reminder of the last time they had gathered together en masse, as their country's American Expeditionary Force being sent off to fight a war.⁸⁵

The House passed a bill that would have paid the vets their bonus money, but the Senate blocked it with an overwhelming vote against the measure (18 for, 62 against), and Congress adjourned for the summer. Realizing there would be no satisfaction until the legislators returned in the fall, about a fourth of the veterans availed themselves of a government offer of free transportation home. The rest settled in to wait in their shantytowns in parks on the flood plain of the Anacostia River, and in a row of condemned buildings along Pennsylvania Avenue. From there, they staged peaceful demonstrations in front of the White House, depending on charitable contributions to feed themselves and their families.



The real trouble came when members of the American Communist Party sent John Pace to stir the pot and incite a riot. While it is uncertain whether he had any success, his mere presence set off alarm bells in the seats of power. Hoover and others in the halls of Washington were only too aware of the bloody chaos that had ensued when Communists in Russia had set the people there to overthrowing the Czar's government. They also were aware of worker unrest in the war-ravaged countries of Europe. Hoover did not want any such scenarios happening in the United States, especially among wounded, unemployed and starving veterans – and certainly not with the White House as a backdrop to whatever pictures of the unrest that might appear in the newspapers.

To evict the veterans, Secretary of War Patrick Hurley turned to the army.⁸⁶

Hurley ordered Washington, D.C. police superintendant Pelham Glassford, who had been a friend to the veterans and their cause, to remove the men from the capital. When police officers tried to move the squatters out of their camps, they came under attack with thrown stones and bricks. One officer suffered a fractured skull. Police opened fire on the veterans, killing one and mortally wounding another. Glassford sought the counsel of the city's Board of Commissioners, who passed the buck up to the federal government. Hoover used it as an excuse to call out troops from Fort Myer to restore order.

Secretary Hurley issued marching orders to Major General Douglas MacArthur, who on July 28, 1932, led five Renault tanks and a brigade of rifle and bayonet-toting soldiers to the squatters village. After ordering them to disperse, the soldiers began a steady march through the shanties, driving the veterans ahead of them like cattle. Angry pockets of resisters threw glass bottles and bricks, but to little effect. In short order MacArthur had driven the ex-soldiers



President Herbert Hoover sent soldiers under the command of Major General Douglas MacArthur to evict the veterans and instill order, but he did not expect the violence that the general unleashed on the unarmed ex-doughboys and their families in the camps.

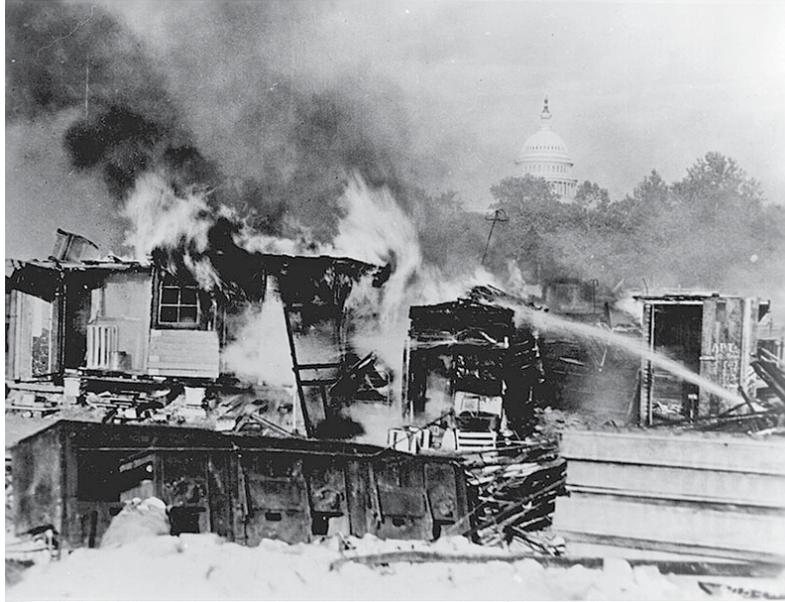
out of the downtown area of the capital. Then his men proceeded across the 11th Street bridge and into the camp where the soldiers and their families were camped. No one really knows how it happened, but suddenly the highly combustible shacks the veterans were living in were aflame. Before the day was over, fifty-four veterans were dead, another 135 would be arrested – and the nation would be stunned.

The backlash was almost immediate. In the presidential election soon after, the public expressed their displeasure with Herbert Hoover, the man they held responsible for what happened to the “Bonus Army” in Washington, D.C., by voting in Franklin D. Roosevelt.⁸⁷ The Congress eventually did vote to give the men their bonus ahead of time, but not until 1936.

In North Carolina, Tarboro veteran Henry C. Bourne, the president of the state chapter of the American Legion, was adamantly opposed to the position taken by Stevens and the national leadership. A vote by all Legion posts in the state sent a resounding message in favor of asking Congress to pay the bonus immediately, and that became the position that Bourne adopted. Meanwhile, Walter Waters’ band of veterans was gaining new followers on their way to the nation’s capital. Men from all states began to journey to Washington, D.C. to press the bonus issue with the president and the members of Congress.

North Carolina’s volunteers in the Bonus Army came mostly from the central Piedmont and western parts of the state. While the Great Depression

brought hardship to virtually everyone across North Carolina, people living along the Coastal Plain were less severely impacted. Nevertheless, 276 Tar Heel doughboys joined the march and took their complaints to the capital.⁸⁸ These men, living mostly in a derelict building along Pennsylvania Avenue, suffered along with all the rest of the veterans from hunger, dysentery, sore



The eviction of Bonus Army protestors ended with a fire among the shacks where the veterans were living, costing fifty-four lives.

mouth, venereal diseases, and other minor injuries. None of them had beds, the sides of the building were open to the air, and there was no plumbing to offer a sanitary means of dealing with bodily wastes. It would have been a miserable way to live in the heat of a Washington, D.C. summer.⁸⁹

The Doughboys’ Legacy

World War I tore the globe apart, ripping asunder ways of life that existed before what historian Barbara Tuchman dubbed the “Guns of August” roared. That was as true for North Carolina as it was for everywhere else. The profound impact of the war on the men who left homes

and loved ones to serve in the muddy, blood-soaked trenches of France could not help but change the Tar Heel State, too. Until the declaration of war came, most North Carolinians were isolationist in their tendencies. But when the war came to America, North Carolinians of all races and backgrounds answered their nation’s call. They served admirably on the fields of France

and Belgium, achieving notable victories against their German enemies.

They helped keep order in a war-torn, post-armistice Europe – despite being surrounded by allies who seemed less than grateful for the blood the Americans had shed. They came home missing limbs, psychologically scarred, often unemployed and finding themselves playing catch-up in a world that had somehow passed them by. Doughboys from North Carolina joined their brethren from other states in a desperate plea to their

government, not for special perks, but for what was simply their due for a job well done. They came home optimistic that their sacrifices had some greater meaning and had changed the world for the better. Then they felt that sense of accomplishment fade, as two short decades later, they watched their own sons march off to bleed on European battlefields against the same enemy they had faced. And then they faded into obscurity, trying to put the things they had seen and done on behalf of their flag behind them. The North Carolina veterans of World War I are all gone now, but there was a time when they did all that their country asked of them, when they were all “soldiers once, and young.” Through the lens of nearly a century later, their sacrifices may seem somehow less significant than those made by their

Coming Soon from

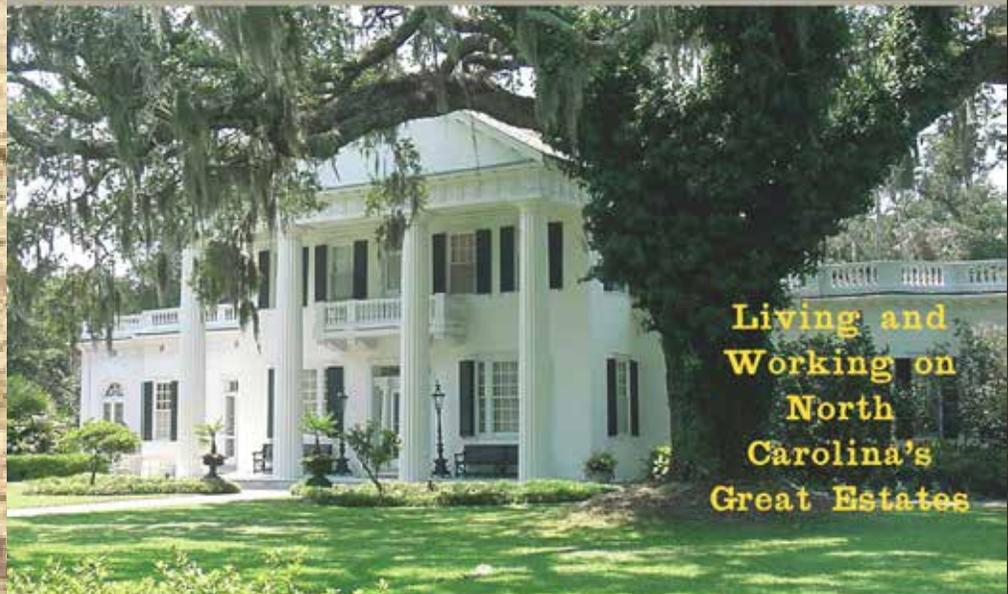
Dram Tree Books...

Plantations were a way of life along North Carolina's Cape Fear River for centuries. The latest addition to the *Young Reader's Series of North Carolina History* takes you inside the great estates that made fortunes off of naval stores, rice, and cotton.



The Young Reader's Series of North Carolina History

PLANTATIONS



Living and
Working on
North
Carolina's
Great Estates

by Jack E. Fryar, Jr.

sons who fought World War II. But there was nothing easy about fighting a war in the trenches, the wounds they sustained did not bleed any less. Their sacrifice is no less noble because politicians gave them something less than the victory they all thought they were fighting for. In France and at home, the Tar Heel doughboys did their jobs.

Notes:

¹ U.S. Census Abstract, 1910. Bureau of the Census. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Hereafter cited as 1910 Census.

² Sydney Nathans, "The Quest For Progress: North Carolina, 1870-1920." In *The Way We Lived In North Carolina*, ed. Joe E. Mobley, 353-468. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (hereafter cited as Nathans).

³ Nathans, 355.

⁴ Nathans, 356.

⁵ Nathans, 355.

⁶ Nathans, 357.

⁷ Nathans, 358.

⁸ Nathans, 388.

⁹ Nathans, 369.

¹⁰ Charles F. Horne, ed. 1923. Source Records of the Great War, Vol. V. *National Alumni*. The Zimmerman Telegram was an intercepted communiqué sent from German officials to Mexico, in which the Germans proposed returning southwest territory lost to the United States in the Mexican War of the 1840s in return for Mexican aid in keeping the Americans too preoccupied to enter the European war. The cable was leaked to the media by British intelligence, who hoped its value as a propaganda tool would tip the balance and cause a popular uproar in the United States against Germany.

¹¹ Eric Dorn Brose, 2010. *A History of the Great War: World War One and the International Crisis of the Early Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press.

¹² 1910 Census.

¹³ R. Jackson Marshall III, *Memories of World War I: North Carolina Doughboys on the Western Front*. Div. of Archives and History, N.C. Department of Cultural Resources; Raleigh, N.C., 1998. Hereafter cited as Marshall, *Doughboys*. In reading first-hand accounts of the North Carolina doughboys, the reasons for their enthusi-

asm are varied. They range from a sense of duty to the nation, to the youth's notion of war as being adventuresous.

¹⁴ Michael Siström, Documenting the American South. North Carolina and the Great War: Introduction to the Soldier's Experience. <http://www.docsouth.unc.edu/wwi/soldiersintro.html> (accessed October 2, 2010). Hereafter cited as Siström.

¹⁵ Siström.

¹⁶ Siström.

¹⁷ Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, *North Carolina's Role in the First World War*. Raleigh, N.C.: Department of Archives and History, 1966. Hereafter cited as Lemon.

¹⁸ American Battle Monuments Commission. 1944. 93rd Division Summary of Operations in the World War. <http://www.history.army.mil/topics/afam/93div.htm>. (accessed September 18, 2010).

¹⁹ Douglas Carl Abrams, The North Carolina History Project. <http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/commentary/181/entry> (accessed September 10, 2010). Thomas Bickett, a Wake Forest University graduate from Monroe, N.C., was inaugurated as North Carolina's governor on January 11, 1917. An enthusiastic supporter of President Wilson, Bickett helped turn the tide of support for the war effort in the state by giving rousing stump speeches on the subject at college campuses and elsewhere. Bickett offered two main reasons for supporting the war: one, to show gratitude to France for the help they provided Americans during our Revolutionary War; two, to defend Christian democratic civilization from German militarism. With Bickett's help, North Carolina succeeded in registering 106% of their draft quota.

²⁰ Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, 1966. *North Carolina's Role in the First World War*. Raleigh, N.C.: Department of Archives and History.

²¹ Lemmon.

²² Siström.

²³ Marshall. Among regular, volunteer soldiers, draftees were often looked down upon as being somehow not as good as themselves (and in some cases that was true). But by most measures, once a man had "seen the elephant," any discrimination disappeared as they became veterans and old hands themselves.

²⁴ Siström.

²⁵ Marshall. Of the thirty-six training camps established around the country, three were built in North Carolina: Camp

Greene, in Charlotte; Camp Bragg, built near Fayetteville, N.C. as an artillery training base; and Camp Polk, a tank training base in Raleigh. Camp Sevier, outside Greenville, S.C., is where the men of the 30th Infantry Division received basic training (after spending long days clearing the forest and fields to actually construct the camp). The Wildcat Division received their training at Camp Jackson, outside Columbia, S.C. Camps Sevier, Greene, and Polk were decommissioned when the wartime need for them ended, but both of the others remain as active duty U.S. Army bases today (Forts Jackson and Bragg).

²⁶ "Gunner's Story of First Shot Against Germany," *New York Times*, May 20, 1917.

²⁷ Charles W. Hyams, 1923. *Sergeant Hallyburton, The First American Soldier Captured in World War I*. Moravian Falls, N.C.: Dixie Publishing Company. Sergeant Edgar M. Hallyburton, of Iredell County, N.C., served in Company F, 16th Infantry Regt., First Infantry Division. Hallyburton, who was promoted to sergeant while serving with Pershing along the Mexican border, was part of the advance party that arrived in France with Pershing ahead of the main body of American forces, after the declaration of war in April 1917. He was captured by German shock troops after being cut off in No Man's Land in front of the French trench line, November 3, 1917.

²⁸ Eric Dorn Brose, *A History of the Great War: World War One and the International Crisis of the Early Twentieth Century*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 320. Hereafter cited as Brose.

²⁹ Gary Mead, *The Doughboys: America and the First World War* (Woodstock, N.Y.; The Overlook Press, Peter Mayer Publishers, Inc, 2000): 15-16. Hereafter cited as Mead.

³⁰ Mead, 127-146.

³¹ Brose.

³² Brose.

³³ Marshall.

³⁴ Marshall.

³⁵ Marshall. Said 30th Division veteran Joe Thompson of Ypres: "There was a graveyard as big as Raleigh. The English had lost a million soldiers. Canadians, New Zealanders, South Africans, West Indians and Australians were all buried there; it was a big graveyard. When we

were on that hill there and looked down, there was the valley of Belgium near the French-Belgium line. There was a smoke haze in the air from the gunpowder, and there were observation balloons in the air looking for targets. You were going down through the valley of the shadow of death, that's what it was, the jaws of hell, to tell you the truth. That was Ypres, Belgium.”

³⁶ Marshall.

³⁷ Marshall.

³⁸ Marshall. Known as the Battle of Amiens, by August 11, 1918 the Germans had lost more than 29,000 men to surrender, while another 46,000 were killed or wounded during the Allied push. The infusion of fresh American troops into the fight sank German morale to new depths, and it was reflected in their fighting.

³⁹ John Otey Walker, *Official History of the 120th Infantry “3rd North Carolina” 30th Division, from August 5, 1917, to April 17, 1919. Canal Sector, Ypres-Lys Offensive, Somme Offensive* (Lynchburg, VA, J.P. Bell Co., 1919). Hereafter cited as Otey.

⁴⁰ Marshall.

⁴¹ Otey.

⁴² Marshall.

⁴³ Marshall. North Carolinian Paul Green, an officer of the 105th Engineers, said of the fighting around Ypres in a letter home: “The poor tired earth has drunk enough blood within the last four years as to be offensive in the sight of God.”

⁴⁴ Mead.

⁵⁵ Marshall. Pershing mustered some 550,000 from the American First Army, including the new 82nd “All American” Division, who would later make its home at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. By this point, the 81st “Wildcat” Division was also in country, but was still undergoing training. Therefore, it was not involved with the St. Mihiel offensive.

⁵⁶ John S.D. Eisenhower, *Encyclopedia of World War I, The: A Political, Social, and Military History*. Essay by Jack McCallum, pg. 1085. ABC-CLIO, 2005 (accessed 10/28/2010). <http://0-lib.mylibrary.com.uncclc.coast.uncwil.edu>. Shell shock was common among all troops during the war. American estimates said after the war that as much as twenty to thirty percent of all casualties were psychiatric in nature. Though “shell shock” was noted in other wars, its ubiquity in World War I is attributed to relatively static fronts, long battles, poor living conditions for soldiers in the

trenches, and high incidences of exposure to traumatic injury and death. Post-war treatment was both difficult and expensive. Even as late as 1940, twenty-seven of ninety veterans hospitals in the United States were designated as psychiatric facilities. Treatment for men suffering from shell shock cost taxpayers more than a billion dollars from 1918 to the beginning of the Second World War.

⁵⁷ Coleman Berkley Conway and George A. Shuford, comps, *History, 119th Infantry, 60th Brigade, 30th Division, U.S.A.: Operations in Belgium and France, 1917-1919* (Wilmington, N.C.; Wilmington Chamber of Commerce, 1920).

⁵⁸ Marshall.

⁵⁹ Marshall. The horrible destruction of the assault was revealed when sunshine finally burned through the fog. North Carolina stretcher-bearer Harvey Maness related: “...when the fog lifted about eleven that morning, there was a scene I’ll never forget. There were caissons and trucks and wagons and horses and mules and soldiers – some of them hanging on spikes – and rifles and machinegun nests upset and shell holes. It was just a scene of devastation.”

⁶⁰ Marshall.

⁶² Marshall;

⁶³ Maurice Matloff, ed., *American Military History* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1973). Hereafter cited as Matloff.

⁶⁴ Marshall.

⁶⁵ Matloff. Why Pershing opted to adopt the obviously unsuccessful and costly tactics of the frontal assault might be explained in part by the geography of the Argonne, and the sheer magnitude of the German defenses there, which made it unsuitable for small unit fire and maneuver.

⁶⁶ Marshall.

⁶⁷ Marshall.

⁶⁸ Marshall.

⁶⁹ Coleman Berkley Conrad and George A. Shuford, comps, *History, 119th Infantry, 60th Brigade, 30th Division, U.S.A.: Operations in Belgium and France, 1917-1919*. Wilmington, N.C.; Wilmington Chamber of Commerce.

⁷⁰ Marshall, 170-171. This sentiment was especially true when the “war to end all wars” turned out to be just a precursor to the next conflict to engulf the globe in 1939. North Carolina doughboy Harvey Maness, in an interview conducted

in 1985, offered this as his reasons for marching off to war: “I felt I had an opportunity to make history. I can’t imagine anything more justifiable than to say ‘I’ll help kill war. There will never be another war.’” But after Kaiser Wilhelm II was allowed to escape untouched into Sweden while the German army marched home intact, and when just over twenty years later they watched their own sons march off to fight the Germans again, many soured on their efforts during the Great War. “We made a mess and came home,” N.C. veteran James Covington said in 1983, “and then the Second World War started, and we went over there, made another mess and came home... We fought two world wars and never got anything.”

⁷¹ Marshall. For instance, veteran Jack Marshall spent the rest of his life battling nightmares and depression – to the point that his family hid his uniforms, decorations, and other items that might remind him of his time in combat, and made it an unspoken rule never to let conversation stray to wartime topics.

⁷² Mead.

⁷³ Mead.

⁷⁴ Mark Whalan, ““The Only Real White Democracy” and the Language of Liberation: The Great War, France, and African American Culture in the 1920s”. *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 4, Winter 2005: 775-800. Addie Hunton, a black woman who volunteered with the YMCA in France during the war, wrote that “there was being developed in France a racial consciousness and racial strength that could not have been gained in a half century of normal living in America. Over the canteen in France we learned to know that our young manhood was the natural and rightful guardian of our struggling race.”

⁷⁵ Mead. In one post-war evaluation of black soldiers, the army reflected the attitude of white superiority that was prevalent in American at the time. “The negro does not perform his share of civil duties in time of peace in proportion to his population,” the report said. “He has no leaders in industrial or commercial life. He takes no part in government. Compared to the white man he is admittedly of inferior mentality.”

⁷⁶ Erika A. Kuhlman, “American Doughboys and German Frauleins: Sexuality, Patriarchy, and Privilege in the Ameri-

can-Occupied Rhineland, 1918-1923". *The Journal of Military History*. (Vol. 71, No.4, 2007): 1077-1108.

⁷⁷ Mead.

⁷⁸ Steven Trout, "Where Do We Go From Here?": Ernest Hemingway's 'Soldier's Home' and Veterans of World War I". *The Hemingway Review*, Vol.20, No. 1, Fall 2000, Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Press. Hereafter cited as Trout.

⁷⁹ Trout, 7. The predecessor to the Veterans Administration was formed by the U.S. Congress in 1923, and given to Warren G. Harding appointee and former army officer Charles R. Forbes to administer. Forbes used the bureau as his own personal cash machine, selling \$600,000 worth of medical supplies at a discount to a private company and other assorted crimes. Under his administration, the veterans who needed government help were all but ignored. Forbes is quoted as telling a crony, "we could clean up enough on this deal to retire for life." The good news is that Forbes was eventually brought to trial and sentenced to prison for his malfeasance.

⁸⁰ Trout, 10. By way of example, Trout points to Abe Krotoshinsky of Boston, who during the war was the man who made his way through surrounding German forces to get word to higher command that the famed "Lost Battalion" was cut off and needed help. Then there was Native American veteran Joseph Oklahombi of Oklahoma, one of the most decorated soldiers of the war, who in the 1920s battled alcoholism and unemployment, except for short stints working two-dollar-a-day jobs loading lumber.

⁸¹ Trout.

⁸² Bill G. Reid, "Proposal for Soldier Settlement during World War I". *Agricultural History*, Vol. 41, No. 2, April 1967: 167-180 (hereafter cited as Reid).

⁸³ Reid. Lane did not support the notion of giving returning veterans their homesteads outright. Instead, he was of the opinion that allowing the men to work on the communes to pay off the mortgages on their farms would be better for the men's self respect and the nation's pocketbook. He also thought such communities would teach valuable farming skills to city-bred soldiers, who could then make new lives for themselves on their new spreads.

⁸⁴ Reid. Political reasons existed for the resettlement plan's support, too. There was still a great deal of support among

Americans for the agrarian tradition, and the people in power also believed that such homesteading farmers could serve as a hedge against radicalism. Reid's article quotes a popular belief of the time, that soldier-farmers would not become Bolsheviks.

⁸⁵ Reid. Most such legislation was passed in upper Midwest and New England states. I have been unable to find any record of such measures in North Carolina.

⁸⁶ Reid; "Facts About Penderlea Homestead Museum." <http://www.penderleahomesteadmuseum.org/facts.html> (accessed 12/7/10). Hugh MacRae proposed the idea for the homestead communities in 1934. He sold a tract of 4,700 wood-cut acres to the Department of the Interior at a cost of \$6.50 per acre for what would become Penderlea. Eventually there would be 152 such communities established nationwide.

⁸⁷ RoAnn Bishop, "Difficult Days On Tar Heel Farms". *Tar Heel Junior Historian*, Fall 2010.

⁸⁸ M.J. Lansing, "Salvaging the Manpower of America: Conservation, Manhood and Disabled Veterans during World War I". *Environmental History*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2009: 32-57 (hereafter cited as Lansing).

⁸⁹ Lansing. Lansing quotes historian Jennifer Keene in his article, saying veterans demanded more of their government, believing that "if the state had the power to draft men, it also had the ability and responsibility to prevent the war from ruining the lives of those it conscripts."

⁹⁰ Stephen R. Ortiz, "Rethinking the Bonus March: Federal Bonus Policy, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Origins of a Protest Movement," *Journal of Policy History*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2006: 275-303 (hereafter cited as Ortiz, "Bonus Army").

⁹¹ Ortiz, "Bonus Army." One VFW commander wrote President Herbert C. Hoover that "The local units of the VFW throughout the country are being besieged daily with appeals for help from veterans unable to secure employment... Thousands are shuffling along the streets of our cities, thinly-clad and hunger-driven, in futile search for employment and the chance to exist in the country for which they fought and were willing to die on the field of battle."

⁹² Stephen R. Ortiz, "The 'New Deal' For Veterans: The Economy Act, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Origins of New

Deal Dissent". *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 70, No. 2, April 2006: 415-438.

⁹³ Robert V. Parker, "The Bonus March of 1932: A Unique Experience in North Carolina Political and Social Life," *North Carolina Historical Review*, January 1971.

⁹⁴ Wyatt Kingseed, "The Bonus Army War In Washington". *American History*, June 2004: 28-35 (hereafter cited as Kingseed).

⁹⁵ Kingseed, 28-35.

⁹⁶ Kingseed, 28-35. Said an outraged Senator Hiram Johnson just prior to the presidential election, in the wake of the Bonus Army War in the capitol: "The president sent against these men (who he observed had been labeled heroes and saviors just ten years earlier), emaciated from hunger, scantily clad, unarmed, the troops of the United States Army. Tanks, tear-bombs, all of the weapons of modern warfare were directed against those who had borne the arms of the republic."

⁹⁷ Robert V. Parker, "The Bonus March of 1932: A Unique Experience in North Carolina Political and Social Life," *North Carolina Historical Review*, January 1971 (hereafter cited as Parker). Known North Carolinians in the Bonus Army include John Burkheimer, M.J. Ellis, George McC. Fault, John Grant, R.J. Hodges, and D.T. Stearns – all of Wilmington.

⁹⁸ Parker.

Like what you see? Check us out on the web or Facebook to stay up to date on new stories, great history, worthy new books about Carolina history and more!

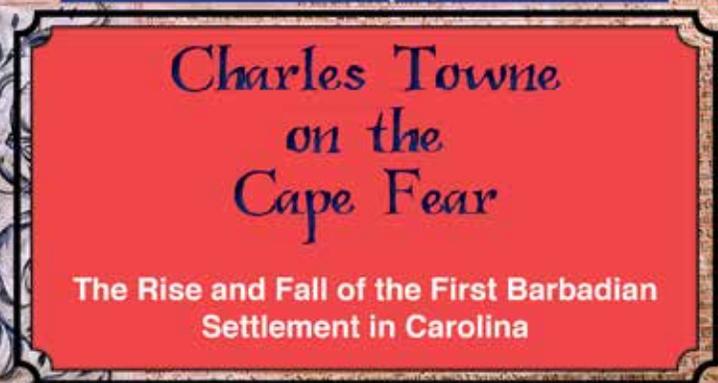
South Carolina has the famous one,
but North Carolina had the first one...



In 1663, Puritans from Massachusetts made an abortive attempt to plant a colony along the Cape Fear River. They were followed a year later by Barbadians led by John Vassall. The Barbadians spread up and down the Cape Fear River in what became the first English colony below the Albemarle, according to some sources as many as 800 strong. But world events and circumstance conspired to doom the fledgling settlement in modern Brunswick County, N.C. In this first book to address the rise and fall of that first Charles Towne, author Jack Fryar tells the fascinating story of the colony that could have been.

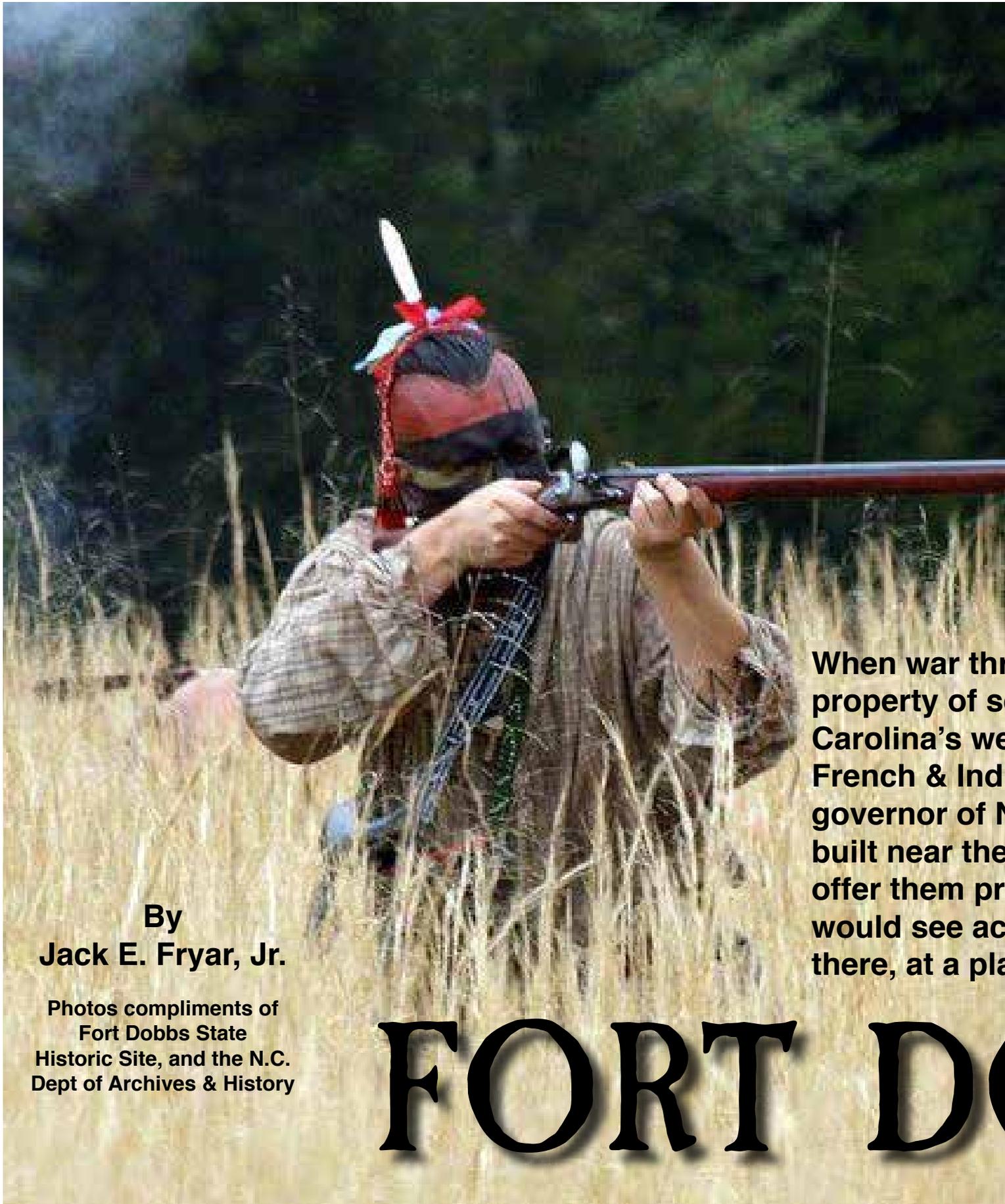


Jack E. Fryar, Jr.



**Coming
Soon!**



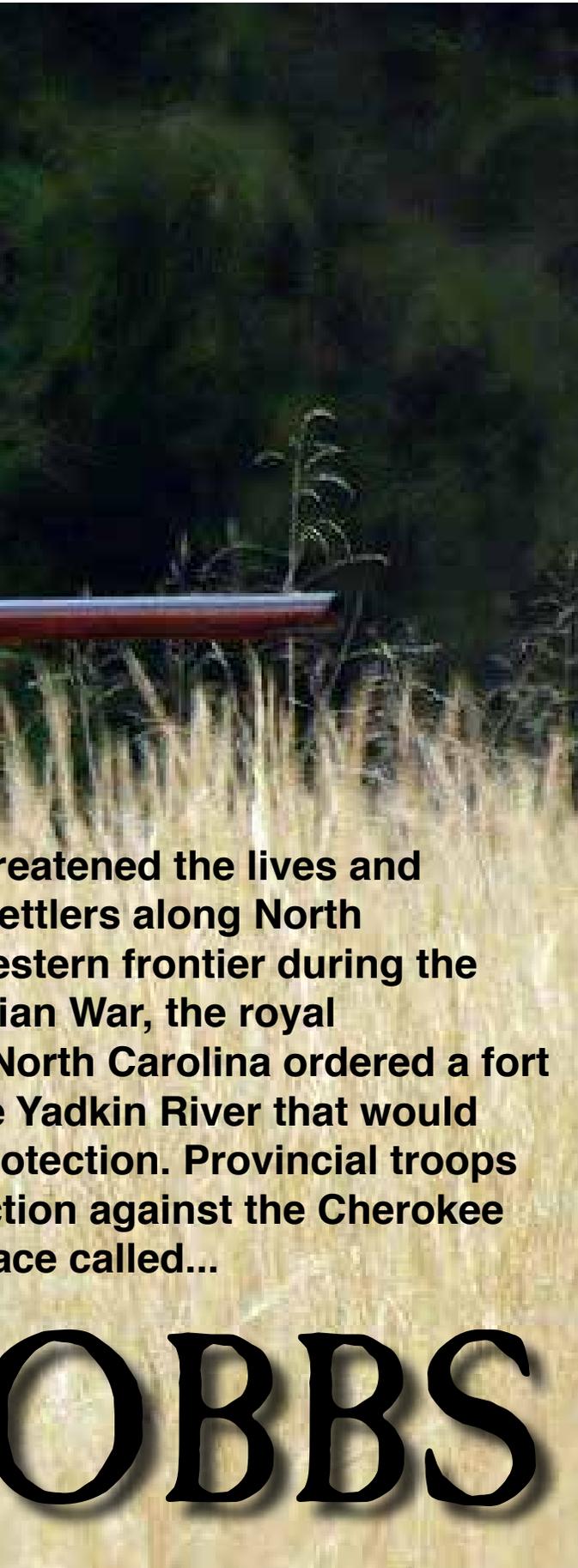


When war threatened the property of some Carolina's wealthy French & Indian governor of North Carolina built near the offer them protection would see action there, at a place

By
Jack E. Fryar, Jr.

Photos compliments of
Fort Dobbs State
Historic Site, and the N.C.
Dept of Archives & History

FORT DOBBS



threatened the lives and
settlers along North
western frontier during the
Indian War, the royal
North Carolina ordered a fort
the Yadkin River that would
protection. Provincial troops
action against the Cherokee
race called...

DOBBS

Hugh Waddell glanced over his shoulder at the log fort three hundred yards behind him, then turned to face the shadowed oak thicket to his front. He and the handful of men with him were on edge, as anyone might be if they suspected that people were lurking in those shadows waiting to kill them.

Waddell commanded North Carolina's westernmost defensive fortification on a frontier dangerously vulnerable to depredations by native warriors, egged on by Gallic instigators, in the ongoing war between England and France. He and the thirty men with him were charged with keeping those Cherokee war parties at bay, and providing a refuge for isolated farm families on what had become the front lines of the conflict.

Tension between the two strongest nations of Europe had been percolating since the late seventeenth century. London and Paris had been competitors for decades over issues of European politics and expansion.¹ That was especially true in the New World, where British and French colonists from the Caribbean to Canada found themselves in a never-ending race to acquire territory at the expense of the other. In North America, British incursions into the Northwest Territory around the Great Lakes and the Ohio River were countered by French strikes against King George's domains along the North American east coast. Indian tribes often acted as proxies for both sides in the growing fight, and that was who Hugh Waddell and the men of Fort Dobbs faced on a crisp February day in 1760.²

The Fight for Empire in North Carolina

By the 1750s, the rivalry between France and Great Britain had spread to engulf the young colonies of North America, especially along the western frontiers where Europeans and their Indian allies fought a nasty conflict that had implications beyond just the wilderness where most of the battles were fought.

In the Carolinas, the war was always something happening over the horizon – more Virginia's problem than that of the colonies farther south. That changed when news of Gen. Edward Braddock's defeat reached Salisbury, N.C. on July 28, 1754. The Tar Heel contribution to the expedition consisted primarily of a lone company of 100 provincial troops under the command of Captain Edward Brice Dobbs, the son of North Carolina's royal governor, Arthur Dobbs. Governor Dobbs, an earnest and hard working Irishman who had assumed office only a short while before, immediately realized the implications of the French victory for his impoverished and unprotected colony. Two months later, he implored the colonial assembly to appropriate funds to change that.³

Dobbs pleaded with the Assembly to authorize a generous contribution to the British war chest to fund the effort to oust French forces and to fortify North Carolina's own sadly unprepared coastline. The governor observed in his message to the Assembly that, "a proper sum cheerfully granted at once will accomplish what a great sum may not do hereafter... I therefore earnestly recommend it to you to grant as large a supply as this province can bear not only to defend your own frontier and sea coast but also to act in conjunction with our neighboring colonies."⁴

Dobbs knew of the lack of currency in his colony, and had first hand experience of the Assembly's parsimony. When his son marched to join Braddock's campaign the North Carolina men, including a young Daniel Boone, carried a mix of English and Dutch arms. But the lack of



Royal Governor Arthur Dobbs worried that North Carolina was woefully unprepared for war.

specie in North Carolina resulted in Gov. Dobbs having to pay the men from his own pocket. After Braddock was killed, the Tar Heel company retreated to the relative safety of Fort Cumberland before nearly all of them deserted and made for home.⁵

The need for money to beef up North Carolina's defenses was urgent. Not long after Dobbs assumed office, he went on a tour of the colony to assess its readiness and needs. What Arthur Dobbs saw

was disheartening at best, and alarming at worst. He wrote Virginia governor Robert Dinwiddie that he had been "...above four months in different parts of the Province to observe our seacoast and western frontier in order to put them in a state of Defence, as far as this poor province can contribute at this critical juncture." Dobbs confided that he had ordered the construction of batteries at Ocracoke and at Fort Johnston, on the Cape Fear River. Even so, he complained to Dinwiddie that North Carolina still lacked enough powder, cannonballs, and artillery to mount much of a defense if the French and their allies should strike along the coast. Dobbs wrote to London that the colony had an "immediate occasion for Artillery and Bullets and Stores." He also asked authorities in London for "14 eighteen pounders, and 16 nine pounders, with 30 Swivel [guns] and as many Musquetoons" for Fort Johnston.⁶

In 1755 Dobbs again ventured away from the coast to locate likely places to establish forts in the North Carolina interior. A second priority was to explore the possibility of establishing alliances with the Indians along the western frontier. Dobbs understood the value of having allies among the tribes in the west, as an attack became increasingly more likely to materialize there than in the east. Dobbs liked what he saw along a tributary of the Yadkin River, near modern Statesville, N.C. To Dobbs' experienced eye, the site

had much to recommend it. He described it as having "...an Eminence and good Springs, and fixed upon as the most central to assist the back settlers and be a retreat to them as it was beyond the well settled Country."⁷

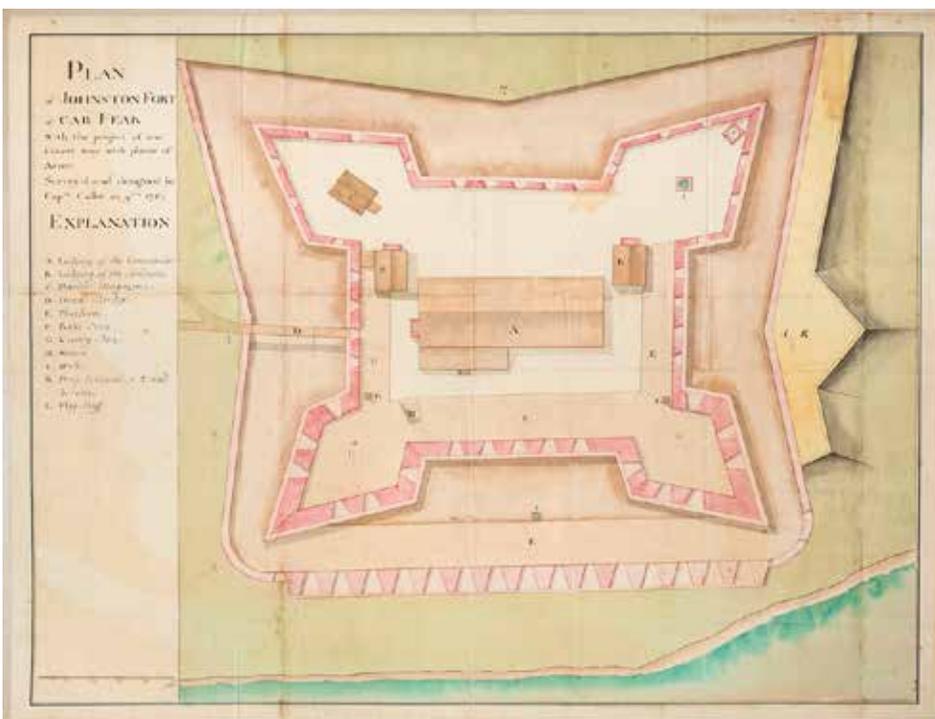
The governor declared to Dinwiddie that he wanted to "put the frontier in the best State of Defence against Indian incursions." To that end, he devised to raise 100 men to serve in a frontier company. Command of the unit went to Wilmington's Captain Hugh Waddell, who led the escort for Dobbs' scout of the North Carolina backcountry. Dobbs went on to meet with members of the Anson and Rowan County militias. The governor instructed them to select fifty men from each to serve under Waddell as reinforcement to the fort in the event of an emergency. In the meantime, the men set to work building winter quarters.

Hugh Waddell was a good choice to command the western fort. Only James Innes had a better reputation as a military man in North Carolina. An Irishman like Governor Dobbs, Waddell served under Innes in the failed attempt to support a young George Washington's Virginia troops in 1754. He was also a family friend of the governor, who preceded Dobbs in coming to North Carolina.⁸

Braddock's defeat spurred the North Carolina Assembly to comply with Governor Dobbs' request for war funding. One traveler in the colony noted "A cold shuddering possessed every breast, and paleness covered nearly every face" he came across. The legislative body at New Bern voted an appropriation of £10,000 in paper bills to fund the raising of "3 Companies of 50 Men each" to serve for two years. Another £1000 was voted to fund the construction of Waddell's fort on the western frontier. The fort would come to be named in honor of the man who selected its site and championed its construction, Royal Governor Arthur Dobbs.

Work on Fort Johnston and Fort Dobbs was coming along as 1755 gave way to a new year. By January 1756 construction at the two installations was such that they might actually live up to their

Fort Johnston, on the Cape Fear River, was one of several installations Gov. Dobbs hoped would fend off French attacks on North Carolina. Fort Dobbs would anchor defenses in the west. This drawing dates from 1767.

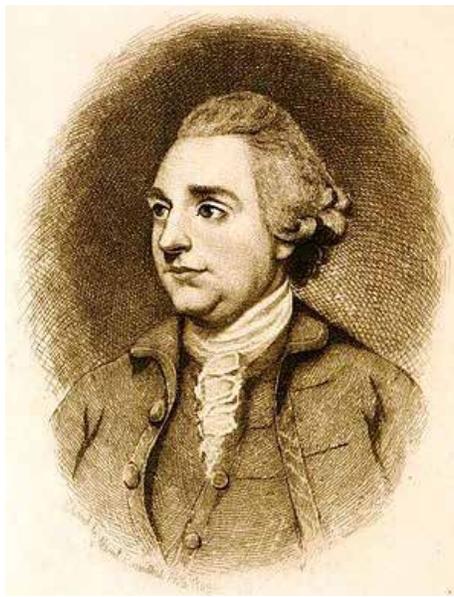


intended uses, but the governor still fretted that neither had yet to receive any artillery. Dobbs considered it good work that in the west, Hugh Waddell had so far managed to keep a lid on any simmering resentments the Indians might be harboring, and deflected any overtures by the French to enlist the Native Americans in their cause. Finding men willing to serve in the militia was difficult. Colonial law required that all men between the ages of 16 and 60 serve, but Dobbs lamented not finding many willing to meet their obligation. According to him, some men went to extreme lengths to avoid their duty, to include fleeing to the surrounding swamps, where they were “concealed by their friends and Neighbors.” The reluctance of many men to serve in the militias required the raising of paid troops called provincials.⁹

It was the same at the other places where Dobbs was trying to strengthen North Carolina’s ability to defend itself. Those men who did report for militia duty usually were unarmed. At Fort Johnston, Dobbs reported to London that there was “neither ammunition, arms, nor cannon except a few ship guns unfit for service.” Batteries being erected at Core Banks and Topsail Inlet suffered similar deficiencies. The latter was especially irksome to Dobbs, who saw the defenses around Ocracoke as the key to successfully thwarting any French attack along the coast around the Albemarle.¹⁰

The Warpath in the West

The war with the Cherokee did not develop from enmity that existed from the beginning of relations with white settlers. In 1756, a meeting between the Indians and colonial officials resulted in the Cherokee agreeing to provide security for the Virginia frontier in return for the colonials’ promise of two forts to be built by Virginia and South Carolina to protect Cherokee towns from attack by tribes in the pay of the French and their own natural enemies. The war party sent north ran into misfortune on the way to Virginia when they lost their supplies in a river crossing. The Cherokee were reduced to eating their own horses for food. When that ran out, they began taking what they needed from white farms along the way.



Hugh Waddell had proven himself a capable soldier in earlier conflicts, and was a family friend of Gov. Dobbs.

The appropriations did nothing to endear the Indians to their white neighbors.¹¹

With the loss of Fort Oswego, the French claimed control of the entire Ohio Valley. Cherokee loyalties began to shift in favor of the French because of the successes enjoyed by the Gallic forces and their Indian allies. Pro-French sentiments were greatest among the Overhills Cherokee, whose towns were closest to French influence. It was the French who persuaded the Cherokee that new forts being constructed along the frontier would be followed by British settlers encroaching on Indian lands. Not many Cherokee took the French warning serious at first, but as more and more whites moved into land that belonged to the Indians, they began to see the truth of the threat.¹²

Settlers on North Carolina’s western frontier shared Governor Dobbs’ anxiety about the colony’s readiness for war. French control of the Ohio Valley left the southern colonies ripe for attack. In 1754 an Indian raid along the Broad River killed sixteen settlers and saw another ten taken captive. By the summer of 1756, roving bands of Indians had committed “several abuses and robberies” against colonists homesteading there. There was some indication that these “Strolling Parties of Indians” were Cherokee, who to that time had remained at least neutral regarding the war between the two European colonial powers. Dobbs suspected northern Indians in the employ of the French were egging

Carolina Indians on to instigate a wider war. The governor ordered the two companies of militia attached to Fort Dobbs to begin patrols through the surrounding countryside in an effort to calm the fears of colonists who began imagining Indian war parties behind every bush. To give the militia real teeth with which to meet the threat, Dobbs had powder and shot transferred to Waddell from stores at Fort Johnston.¹³

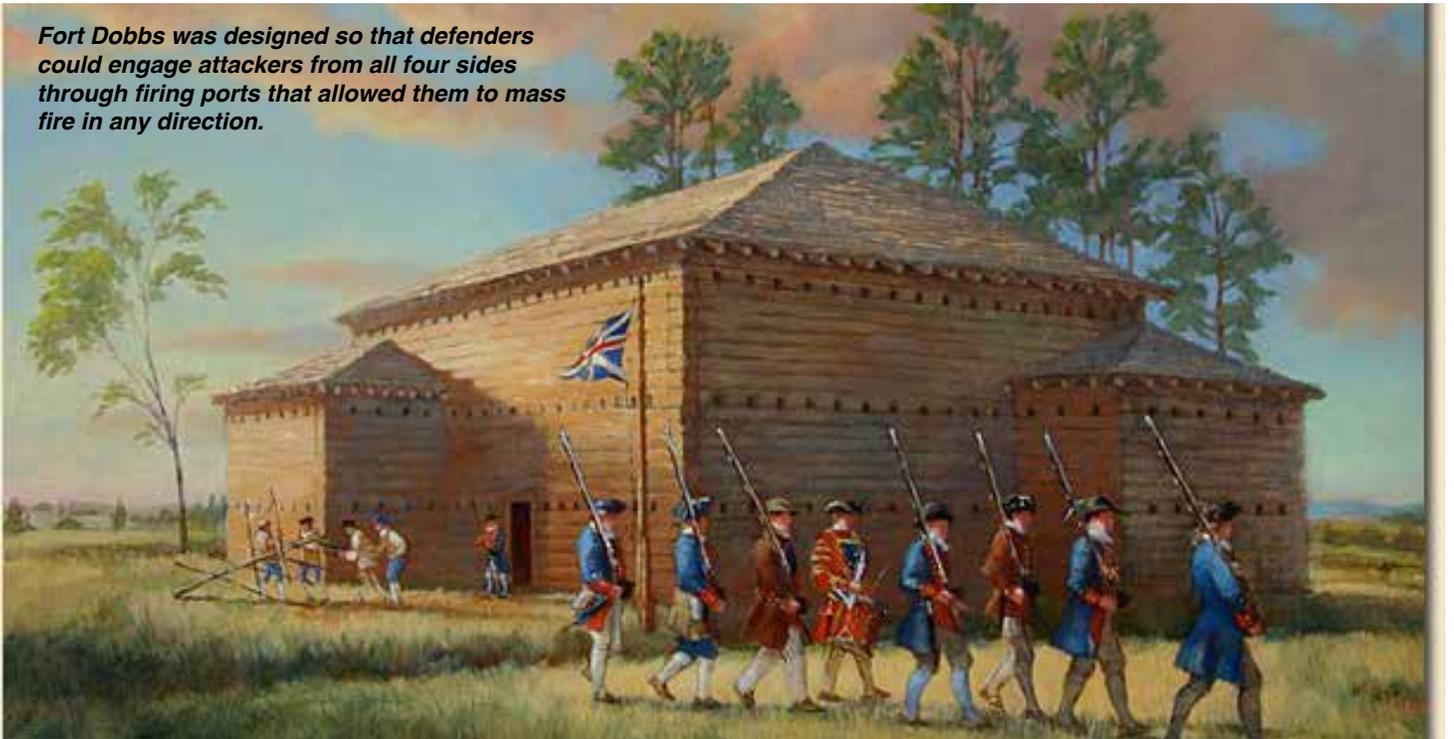
The fall of Fort Oswego that autumn led the North Carolina Assembly to take the threat to the colony’s frontier more seriously. Another £4,000 was allocated to “erect a fort to protect and secure the Catawbias, and to maintain two companies to garrison that and another fort built last summer on the frontier” (meaning Fort Dobbs). In March of 1757, governors of the American colonies traveled to Philadelphia to devise a unified strategy for fighting the war. Lord Loudon, overall commander of British forces in the colonies, led the discussions that resulted in royal governors pledging to do their best to coax often recalcitrant assemblies into providing all they could for the war effort. Dobbs had real doubts as to how much North Carolina’s legislators would or could offer up, but he still promised 200 men to help South Carolina fend of a perceived French threat. He also committed to raise another 200 men for duty in North Carolina, split between coastal fortifications and Fort Dobbs.¹⁴

The Assembly dispatched Richard Caswell, Francis Brown, and Thomas



Richard Caswell inspected Ft. Dobbs.

Fort Dobbs was designed so that defenders could engage attackers from all four sides through firing ports that allowed them to mass fire in any direction.



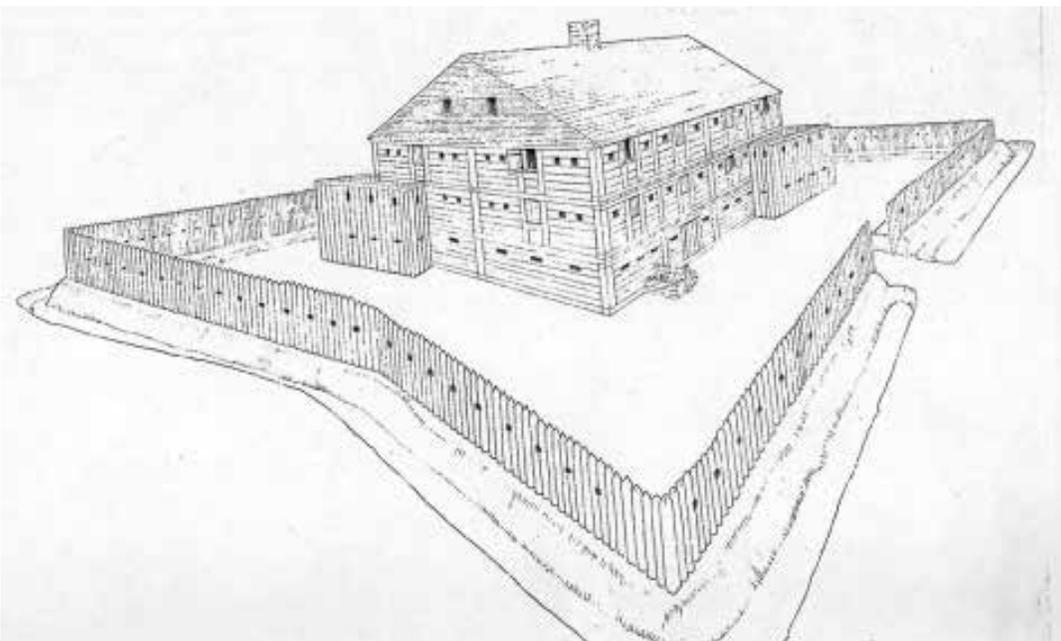
Relf to inspect and report on the progress of defenses along the frontier and at Fort Dobbs. The two men liked what they saw. Their report described Fort Dobbs as “a good and Substantial Building” consisting of “an oblong square” measuring 53’x40’, with “the Opposite angles Twenty-four feet and Twenty-two In height Twenty-four and a half feet.” The thick walled blockhouse construction was made of horizontally laid oak logs that reached high enough to include three floors. Each floor had room for defenders to discharge “at one and the same time about one hundred

Muskets.” The exterior fortifications included a defensive ditch known as a fosse measuring less than two feet deep, but five feet wide. An abatis of felled trees with sharpened points completed the defensive preparations. Both inspectors found Fort Dobbs “beautifully scituated” with a garrison of 46 effective men and officers, all of whom appeared to be “well and in good spirits.”¹⁵

Relations between the British and the Cherokee were friendly through 1757, and Fort Dobbs hosted a parley between them and other “northern Indians” that

year. One of George Washington’s officers got a first hand look at the fort as he escorted the Indian representatives there for the negotiations. Within the year, the Cherokee had soured on their friendship with the colonists after continued encroachment on Indian lands in southern colonies led to bad blood between the two camps. The deaths of dozens of Cherokee in Virginia also played a part in the Indians’ change in sentiment. It is likely the ill will was fanned to flame with the help of French agents.¹⁶

Cherokee war parties raged



The design of Fort Dobbs featured a strong blockhouse made of stout oak logs, surrounded by an abatis of sharpened poles, ringed by a shallow but wide ditch called a fosse, as seen in this rendering.



Waddell's provincials waited until the Cherokee were just feet away before unleashing a concentrated volley that threw the attackers into confusion.

across the western Carolina borderlands by 1759, prompting South Carolina's Governor William Henry Lyttleton to mount an expedition to put down the uprising. Lyttleton asked for help from North Carolina and Virginia, and Governor Dobbs dispatched instructions for the colony's militia to cooperate with any expedition carried out by their sister colony to the south. Further notices went out to North Carolina militia companies warning them to be prepared to mobilize if needed. At Fort Dobbs, Hugh Waddell received a promotion to colonel and orders to call out the militias of Anson, Rowan, and Orange Counties if needed, to "protect the Frontier inhabitants." The warning of impending hostilities would prove timely.¹⁷

The Attack

Lyttleton's expedition was both relatively bloodless and successful, at least at first. But any security it brought was short-lived. By 1760 Cherokee warriors rampaged across the southern frontiers once again. In February, Cherokee leaders planned a broad attack against settlers in both Carolinas and Tennessee. But before that major campaign began, warriors from Settico set their sights on destroying Fort Dobbs and its undermanned garrison.

On February 27, Col. Hugh Waddell recorded that a small Cherokee party had been spotted near Fort Dobbs. By the time a patrol had been dispatched to check into it, the Indians had disappeared. As night fell, the men of the fort described hearing "an uncommon Noise" down by a spring not far from where the provincials

kept watch from within the log fort's thick walls. Waddell ordered a "Capt. Bailie" and eight men to accompany him outside to seek out what was causing the disturbance.¹⁸

The men crept along beyond the fosse and abatis that marked the outermost defenses of the fort. The woods were dark, shadows playing tricks on the men's eyes as their palms dampened on the muskets they carried at the ready. Waddell brought the patrol to a halt and stared into the dark, trying to make out the forms of hidden enemies that he felt more than heard. They advanced a little further, now some 300 yards from the safety of Fort Dobbs' stout bulwark. Just when the colonists thought that they may have been imagining things, the threat materialized in the form of sixty or seventy screaming Indians rushing from concealment in the woods.

The Cherokee war party came on like a wave, slipping fluidly around and over fallen logs and trees. The howl erupting from their throats caused hair to stand up on the provincials' heads, and Waddell had to keep a tight rein on his men to prevent a headlong fight for safety. The small patrol was heavily outnumbered, and Waddell knew if they lost cohesion they would all be killed one by one. The only hope for any of them lay in maintaining the integrity of their ranks.

A sharp command from the colonel tamped down the urge to panic and brought the patrol into closed ranks. The Indians were very close now, close enough that the provincials could make out details of the warriors hurtling towards them. They could see the war clubs raised in by muscled arms. They could make out faces

painted in demonic patterns, and hear the pounding of their feet across the rapidly diminishing ground. The provincials stood there, should to shoulder, muskets raised, and waited for Waddell's command.

The Cherokee drew closer with each step. Thirty yards. Twenty. Ten. Waddell reminded his men to wait for his command, to swallow any impulse to panic they might feel. Still the war party came on, and the men in the ranks felt wetness on their brows that was out of place for a cool February night. According to Waddell's report on the attack, he waited until the majority of the attackers had discharged their own muskets. Then the colonel gave the order for his own men to fire, letting loose with a disciplined volley at "not further than 12 steps." The Indians were caught out, exposed just yards from the flaming muzzles of the provincial firelocks. They "had nothing to cover them as they were advancing either to tomahawk or make us Prisoners," Waddell recalled.¹⁹

The colonials' volley hit with telling effect. The men accompanying Waddell were all loaded with "a Bullet and 7 Buck shot," a load that transformed a musket into something like a shotgun. As close as they were, the lead attackers went down in a heap. Those that followed behind were thrown into confusion. Waddell and his small patrol took advantage of the momentary respite to retreat back to Fort Dobbs. Inside the oak redoubt, the rest of the garrison stood to, the commotion beyond the perimeter having alerted them to the Cherokee assault. It was not until after the provincials beat back the attack that Waddell realized how close a thing his encounter with the war party had been.

His musket bore testimony to that, having been shattered in the Cherokee's opening volley.²⁰

The Tide Recedes

While Fort Dobbs withstood its first challenge when Waddell and company fended off the Cherokee attack of February, the war was not over. Within weeks of the attack, settlers along the Yadkin, Catawba, and Broad Rivers began a large-scale evacuation of frontier farms to the safety of either Fort Dobbs or the palisaded Moravian town of Bethabara. Soon at least half of Rowan County had abandoned their homes for more secure surroundings. Indian violence raged across



Carolina History Lectures by Jack E. Fryar, Jr.

Enjoy great Carolina history lectures with author Jack E. Fryar, Jr.!

Fryar, who holds Masters degrees in History and Teaching, is the author or editor of more than twenty books of North Carolina history. He is a frequent speaker at historical events and organizations throughout North Carolina.

To book Jack E. Fryar, Jr. for your organization, contact him at Carolinachroniclesmagazine@gmail.com

western North Carolina for at least another year. The Cherokee opted to confine their attacks to lightly defended farms and settlements in the backcountry that witnessed atrocities on both sides. For instance, settler William Shaw had his feet amputated by the Cherokee in 1759, but at least he lived to tell the tale.

The men of Fort Dobbs skirmished with another band of Cherokee at the nearby Fourth Creek tributary in March 1760, near the home of Moses Potts. During the action, provincial Robert Campbell took "Two Shots in [his] back and the other Broke his Arm near his Shoulder and immediately [he] was tomahawked in Several Places & Scalp'd." The fight left seven provincials dead, buried by their comrades on the field where they died.

Great Britain was finally prodded to action in the aftermath of the attack on Fort Dobbs and the widespread destruction of settlements in the Carolina backcountry. Military commanders dispatched elements of the 1st and 77th Regiment of Foot, composed of Highlanders, to Charles Town in South Carolina. Their mission was to provide a professional military force with which to combat the Cherokee. By 1761, the war in the Carolinas was all but over. Later that year, Waddell's service ended when he and his men were finally ordered home from Fort Dobbs, North Carolina's only defensive installation on the western frontier.²¹

Endnotes

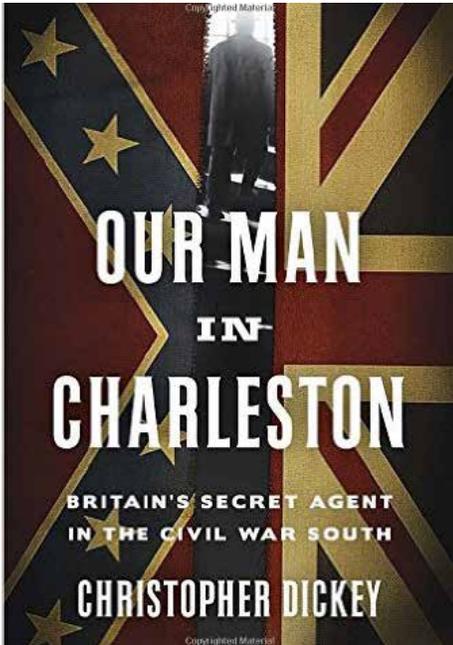
1. John R. Maas, *The French & Indian War in North Carolina* (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2013), 13. Hereafter cited as Maas, *The French & Indian War in North Carolina*.
2. Maas, *The French & Indian War in North Carolina*, 94.
3. Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs, Esquire, 1689-1765: Surveyor General of Ireland, Proprietor and Governor of North Carolina* (London: The Bodley Head, 1957): 123-125. Hereafter cited as Clarke.
4. Clarke, 125. This request was made during what be termed the honeymoon phase of Dobbs' administration, before relations between him and the Assembly took a turn for the worse.
5. John R. Maas, *The French & Indian War in North Carolina* (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2013): 34-42. Hereafter cited as Maas.

6. Clarke, 124; Maas, 42. A musketoon was a short-barrell musket capable of being used like a shotgun or with a single ball of ammunition.
7. Maas, 42.
8. Lawrence E. Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763* (Raleigh: N.C. Department of Archives & History, 1968): 64. Hereafter cited as Lee; Maas, 42-43.
9. Lee, 67; Maas, 44. The amount allocated by the Assembly for the war effort was not very impressive compared to sums raised by other colonies, but it was about as much as North Carolina's barren coffers could contribute.
10. Lee, 65; Maas, 44-45. Despite Dobbs' concerns to bolster coastal defenses, no enemy attack ever came along the coast.
11. Lee, 68.
12. Lee, 69-72.
13. Lee, 65; Maas, 53-55. Gov. Dobbs dispatched then Captain Hugh Waddell and a company of men to patrol as far west as the Appalachian Mountains. The fears of the colonists in the backcountry were such that Moravian leaders ordered all farming suspended until they could complete the construction of a palisade around the settlement at Bethabara, where people could take refuge in the event of a full blown attack.
14. Maas, 55-60.
15. C.B. Alexander, "The Training of Richard Caswell," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan. 1946): 13-31. Hereafter cited as Alexander. Caswell was a good choice. He owned thousands of acres of land along the Neuse River in Johnston and Dobbs Counties by 1755, and three plantations in Orange County. Caswell would have been quite familiar with the frontier and its people. Maas, 62-63. No contemporary drawings of Fort Dobbs exist. Governor Dobbs may have designed it himself. Dobbs envisioned a defensive installation that could be defended with swivel guns.
16. Maas, 84.
17. Maas, 90.
18. David Walbert, "Fort Dobbs and the French and Indian War in North Carolina," *LearnNC*. <http://learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/2046>. The officer who accompanied Waddell on his sally out from the fort was Captain Andrew Bailey.
19. Maas, 94.
20. Maas, 95.
21. Lee, 79; Maas, 96, 118.

NEW TO THE SHELF...

New offerings for history lovers in the Carolinas

Authors and publishers with titles they would like to submit for review can send them to: Book Reviews, Carolina Chronicles Magazine, P.O. Box 7183, Wilmington, N.C. 28406



Our Man in Charleston by Christopher Dickey (Crown Publishers • 978-0-307-88727-6 • Hardcover • July 2015)

For Great Britain, the discontent between America's abolitionist North and slave-owning South in the years leading up to the outbreak of hostilities in 1861, and for the four bloody years after, were something of a sticky wicket. On the one hand, Great Britain was at the forefront of the effort to eradicate slavery in the nineteenth century. William Wilberforce's triumph had led the British to end their own trade in slaves decades earlier. On the other hand, British industry had a voracious appetite for the cotton grown on plantations below the Mason-Dixon Line in a system of agriculture that depended on slave labor to be viable.

Enter Robert Bunch, the young British consul assigned to a post in Charleston, S.C., the epicenter of the pro-slavery South in the decade before the Civil War. A minor diplomat looking to make his mark, Charleston was Bunch's first solo posting. He took over the office from a predecessor who was too antagonistic to make much headway

Veteran writer Christopher Dickey has written a book that is as much suspense as spy adventure

with the slave aristocracy that ran the most important American city below Philadelphia. There was one key issue at the top of Great Britain's wish list. South Carolina's Negro Seaman Act was a thorn in the side to any ship calling on Charleston that counted black sailors among its crew. Such seamen were safe as long as they remained aboard their ships, but once setting foot ashore in the South Carolina port, they were usually scooped up and jailed. Sometimes they were even sold into slavery at nearby plantations. The British were understandably outraged at the South Carolinians. Bunch's first task was to get the law changed to respect the rights of black British sailors, and to keep tabs on South Carolina's efforts to make the African slave trade legal again in the United States.

It was a task Bunch was eager to tackle. While the requirements of his posting demanded that Robert Bunch maintain friendly relations with his Charleston neighbors, his own personal feelings about slavery were anything but sympathetic to the class of slave owners in the South who increasingly felt besieged by abolitionists in the North. While interacting with these people whom he loathed, Bunch was the model of benign British diplomatic charm. In his correspondence with his superiors in the British Foreign Office, he was something else altogether, writing vehemently of the horrors of slavery he saw every day and the cruelty of the white planter class who saw it as the vital ingredient to their own personal wealth and well-being.

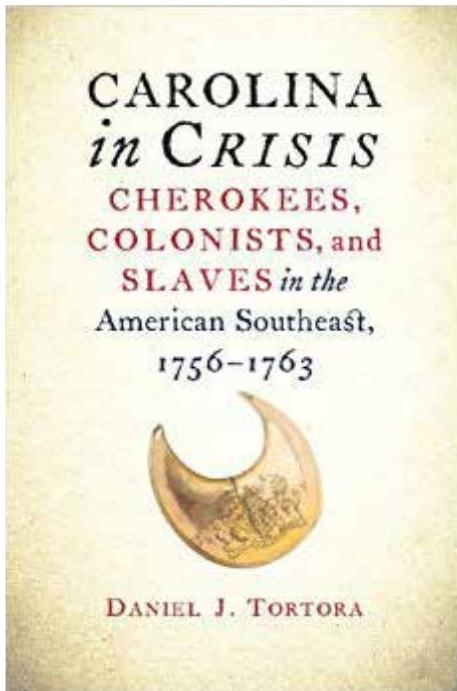
Author Christopher Dickey contends those letters to his superiors in Great Britain ultimately played a key role in how the British government would view the Confederacy when war broke out and the Union was ripped asunder. The South desperately wanted Great Britain to recognize their nascent government, providing

it with legitimacy that would provide leverage in their negotiations with the North, or barring that, provide them with allies and creditors in their pursuit of their military aims. Acting as a spy as much as a diplomat, Robert Bunch used his station in Charleston to keep the Foreign Office informed as to the strengths, weaknesses, and aims of the Confederate government. Dickey makes a compelling argument that this previously unknown personality played a greater role than might be imagined in preventing Great Britain from recognizing the Confederacy.

Veteran writer Christopher Dickey has written a book that is as much suspense and spy adventure as it is a history book. A great many of the colorful characters of the Civil War era make appearances here – a young Lt. John Newland Maffitt, abolitionist John Brown, British gun for hire Henry Forbes and many others. At the center of all this intrigue is a staunchly anti-slavery British diplomat, risking his life and that of his family to do his duty in what he had to consider the heart of the evil that turned men into chattels based on the color of their skin. A story as compelling as this one does not come around very often. With so much already written about the Civil War, and more coming every year, originality is a rare thing these days. The story of Robert Bunch is that and more.

Carolina in Crisis: Cherokees, Colonists, and Slaves in the American Southeast, 1756-1763 by Daniel J. Tortora (UNC Press • 978-1-4696-2122-7 • Trade Paper • May 2015)

The French & Indian War was transformative for everyone involved. The French lost virtually all of their North American territories, the British gained a huge swath of land from the Great Lakes to the Mis-



Mississippi, and the Native Americans who chose the wrong side in the conflict paid a price they never recovered from. Daniel J. Tortora, an assistant professor of history at Colby College, has turned a spotlight on the plight of the Cherokee who found themselves enemies of the British.

Most histories of the war focus mainly on the clash between French and British armies and the colonial militias that supplemented their formations. With the exception of in the upper colonies and Virginia, Native Americans have not figured largely in the histories of the war. Tortora rectifies this omission with a book that chronicles how the Cherokee went from allies of the British to enemies, and the impact the war had on the Indians, white colonists, and British colonial officials.

The Anglo-Cherokee War created rifts in relations between white colonists, Indians, and representatives of the British crown. When the Cherokee took up their war clubs, bows, and muskets, the settlers of western South Carolina (and to a lesser extent, North Carolina) suffered a series of attacks that set off alarm bells among colonial elites on the coast. The government in Charleston sounded the alarm, asking for colonial troops from neighboring colonies and British regulars to root out the Cherokee who were wreaking havoc along the frontier. Competing with South Carolina's needs, though, were the needs of Great Britain to prosecute their war against the

French.

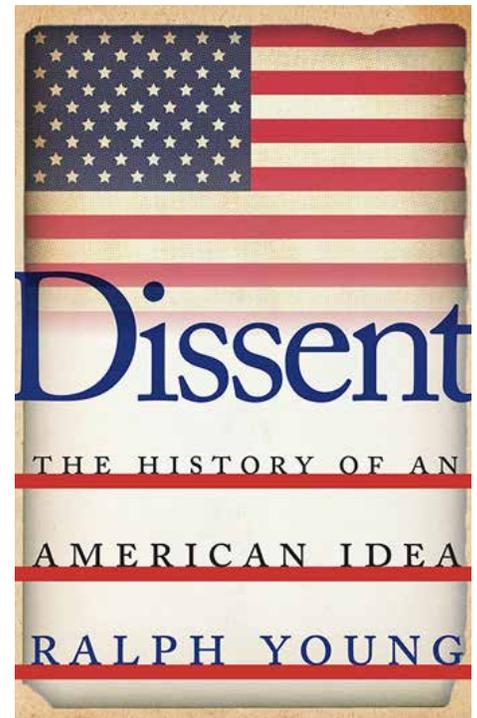
The war against the Cherokee was finally settled when South Carolina troops marched into the Indian towns of western Carolina and burned crops and homes alike, killing any warriors that stood against them. When the smoke cleared, the Cherokee had no other choice but to become subjects of the British crown.

Tortora has sifted through what seems like mountains of primary sources to paint a picture of a time when South Carolina and her sister colonies were truly the frontier. With war on their doorsteps, Indians, slaves, and white settlers alike had to choose sides and suffer the consequences of those choices. Tortora's account stands among the best and freshest works on the years encompassed by the French & Indian War in the South, and the legacies it left behind.

Dissent: The History of an American Idea by Ralph Young (NYU Press • 978-1-4798-0665-2 • Hardcover • May 2015)

The Carolinas have certainly seen their share of dissent. There was the Regulator Rebellion and the Stamp Act Defiance of the colonial period, and the slave revolt at Stono. In the nineteenth century, Southern dissent in the Carolinas ended in a war that killed 700,000 Americans. In 1898, dissent in Wilmington, N.C. resulted in a riot that has been called the only successful coup d'état in the history of the United States. In the Great Depression, Carolina veterans of the Great War expressed displeasure with their government by joining fellow doughboys in an ill-fated march on Washington to get what was owed them. During the Civil Rights era, a sit-in in Greensboro was the vehicle of dissent that sparked a nationwide move towards equality. Dissent might be considered the quintessential American birthright – the ability and willingness to mobilize to seek redress of injustices.

Temple University's Ralph Young has penned a book about just that – the way dissent has come to define the American character. He makes the argument that the advances the United States has made since even before it was called that are the direct result of dissent. It was people who were dissatisfied with the status quo



that spurred the power structure out of its inertia. Over the course of more than 500 pages, Young goes on to make a compelling argument to support his thesis. From one tea party involving colonials dumping British leaf into Boston harbor, to the current Tea Party that has taken their extreme brand of politics into the halls of power, Young ably demonstrates that dissent is a steady thread throughout American history.

This is a well-researched, fascinating look at history through the lens of the people in the streets who agitated for change to achieve a better life for all Americans, or to protect the rights of the few against the numbers of the many, or to demand that those in power remember where that power comes from – the people. *Dissent* is a fine addition to the bookshelves of those with a passion for what makes America what it is.

The Early English Caribbean, 1570-1700 by Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger (Pickering & Chatto • 978-1-84893-435-1 • Four Volumes • 2015)

Historian Carla G. Pestana has long been an authority on the history and development of the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, and in this remarkable collection of primary sources, she and co-author Sharon Salinger have done an outstanding service to scholars who also

What Gardina and Salinger have accomplished is a work that brings together in four volumes an amazing collection of primary sources related to the English Caribbean over the course of 130 years.

explore the Caribbean past.

Those who benefit from Gardina and Salinger's work should include a number of Carolina historians. Settlement of the lands below Virginia originated during the proprietary period, when Charles Stuart reclaimed the throne of England after the decades of Cromwell's Interregnum. When the newly crowned King Charles II granted rights to the lands south of the Chesapeake to eight nobles who had been instrumental in the return of the monarchy, it opened the doors to the eventual colonization of Carolina (the Carolinas did not become North and South until much later).

Those eight men, the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, threw their new territory open for settlement, and soon different parties were petitioning the group for land in the new colony. The Caribbean – more specifically, Barbados – was the source of most of those seeking new starts on plantations in Carolina. The history of the Caribbean is inextricably linked to that of the Carolinas. The first settlers sailed from the warm waters of the Leeward Islands to the Carolina mainland. The islands became the main trading partners for the naval stores and foodstuffs produced in the Carolinas. The first slaves to work Carolina fields and forests came from Barbadian traders in flesh. What Gardina and Salinger have accomplished is a work that brings together in four volumes an amazing collection of primary sources related to the English Caribbean over the course of 130 years.

Indexed and with notes for each entry, the four volumes are broken down into broad categories: Vol. I, *General Introduction* by the authors and *Conceptualizing the West Indies*; Vol. II, *Fitting Into the Empire*; Vol. III, *Living in the Caribbean*; and Vol. IV, *Making Meaning*. The breadth of this collection is impressive. While too pricey for individual buyers, this collection should be in the library of every college and university between Norfolk, Virginia and Savannah, Georgia. For those who delve into the history of the Caribbean, this will be an indispensable

tool. For those who chronicle the Carolina past, Gardina and Salinger's work will offer valuable documentary insights into the place that those first settlers came from.

If we gave starred reviews, *The Early English Caribbean, 1570-1700* would get four of them.

Choosing Sides: Loyalists in Revolutionary America by Ruma Chopra (Rowman & Littlefield • ISBN 978-1-4422-0571-0 • Hardcover • 2013)

While the famous battles of the Revolutionary War were fought in the Northern colonies, the decisive ones were fought in the South. King's Mountain, Ninety-Six, Guilford Courthouse, Yorktown – all took place in the colonies farthest removed from the places where the revolution started, and all involved a higher percentage of Americans fighting against their friends and neighbors than perhaps in any other theater of the war. Men like the Carolinas' David Fanning were terrors who fought savagely for the British, and who wagered everything on a redcoat victory. Ruma Chopra has produced a volume that delves into the motivations and mechanics of those Americans who fought under the British flag in a way

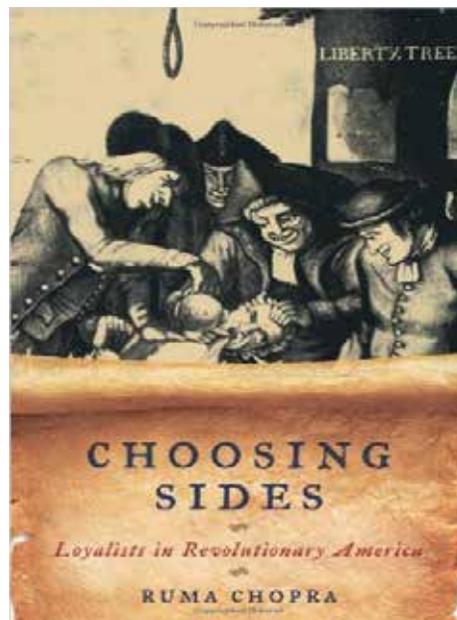
that is useful for professional historians and laymen alike.

In a very real sense, the Revolutionary War was America's first civil war. Brothers, fathers, and other kin faced off over the issue of independence from the British Crown, and as is often the case when families fight, the results could be vicious. People who had lived close to each other for years turned on one another, exacting punishments on noncombatants in a tit-for-tat manner that rivaled or exceeded the worst Indian attacks of earlier colonial days. Yet the fact remains that those who fought on both sides considered themselves patriots. What Chopra's book does so well is explore the how's and why's of the choices loyalists made, and paints a vivid picture of what their world was like during those tumultuous times.

Using excerpts from primary source documents, journals, diaries, and a host of other materials, Ruma Chopra has done much to illuminate the world of the other Americans who fought in the Revolutionary War. Some lost everything, dispossessed of their land, homes, and holdings by their victorious newly independent neighbors. Many of those loyalists sailed away from their former homes aboard British warships enroute to Nova Scotia and other English enclaves. Some, like Wilmington, N.C.'s John Burgwin, were forgiven their British loyalties and were allowed to resume their lives among their American neighbors. Either way, the loyalist story is one that is too often overshadowed by that of the Revolution's winners. Chopra's work helps correct that imbalance and makes a valuable addition to the story of how America came to be.

The Battle of Roanoke Island: Burnside and the Fight for North Carolina by Michael P. Zatarga (Arcadia • 978-1-62619-901-9 • Trade Paper • May 2015)

Winter was a cold one for Northern leaders in 1861, and it had little to do with the temperature. Since the firing on Fort Sumter launched a civil war that



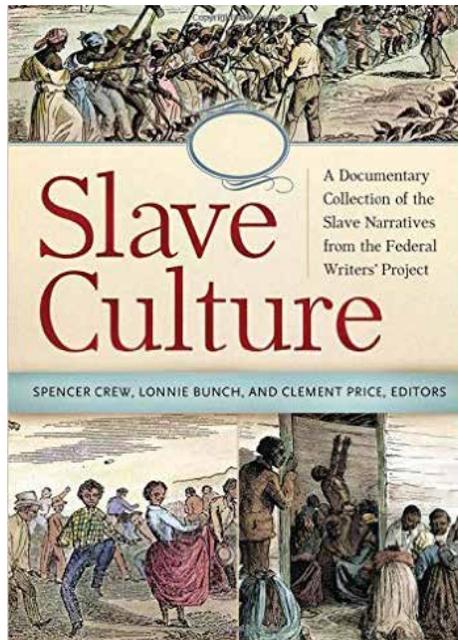
threatened to rip the nation apart, Abraham Lincoln despaired of ever seeing any good military news come across his desk. Then Gen. Ambrose Burnside mounted an expedition against the Confederate forces on the North Carolina Outer Banks and gave a despondent country something to cheer about.

Union war planners needed to get a toehold in Confederate territory to roll back the advances made by Southern troops and bring to heel the rebellious states seeking to form their own nation built around the institutions of slavery and states rights. A look at maps of the North Carolina coastline showed the barrier islands that shielded the Albemarle from the Atlantic Ocean as a likely place to make that strike. From there, Federal troops could interdict rebel operations in the northeastern part of the Tar Heel State, and eventually mount a mainland operation to retake the state and deal a blow to the Confederate war effort. But before any of that could come to fruition, the Confederates manning defensive works at Roanoke Island had to be ousted.

Zatarga, a ranger with the National Parks Service who works at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site in Manteo, N.C., has done the research to tell the story of the fight that happened on the same island where the first English settlement in North America was planted. With previous tours of duty at North Carolina battlefields such as Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, he has a good eye for the state's military history, and a good ear for what makes a good story. Backed up by extensive notes and a deep bibliography, Zatarga has told an enthralling story of a little known episode of the Civil War, but one that would be crucial to the success of the Union war effort in the Carolinas.

Slave Culture: A Documentary Collection of the Slave Narratives from the Federal Writer's Project edited by Spencer Crew, Lonnie Burch, and Clement Price (Greenwood • 978-1-4408-0086-3 • Hardcover • 3 vols.)

"De slaves had secret prayer meetin's wid pots turned down to kill de soun' o' de singin'. We sang a song, 'I am glad salvation's free.' Once dey heard us, nex' mornin' dey took us and tore our back to pieces. Dey would say, 'Are you free?"



"What were you singin' about freedom? while We niggers were bein' whupped they said, 'Pray, marster, pray.'"

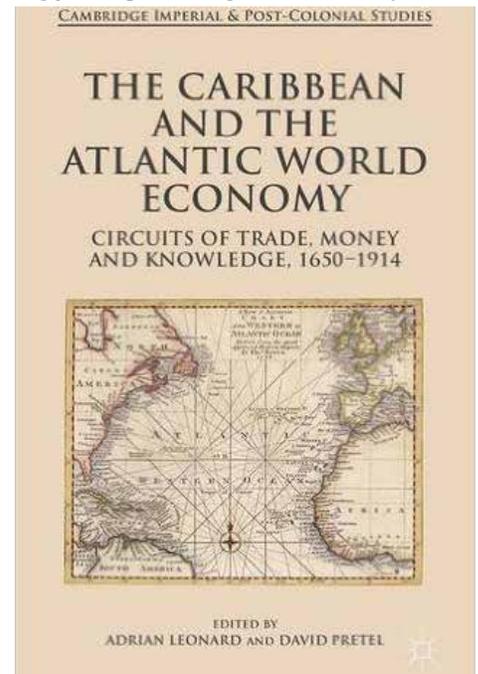
Charity Austin, a former North Carolina slave, gave the preceding testimony to an interviewer for the federal government sometime in the 1930s. Her recollections were recorded as part of the Federal Writers' Project, in which government scribes spread out across the nation to gather the memories of former slaves about their time in bondage. The Great Depression had knocked the nation back on its heels, and the project was one of many conceived by the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration to put America back to work. In the process, project writers assembled a truly remarkable chronicle of what slavery was like for the blacks that lived their lives under the yoke of what John C. Calhoun euphemistically called "our peculiar institution."

The Federal Slave Narratives are a fascinating exercise in historical memory. By the time they were written, many of the participants were decades beyond the days when they were considered property. Memories, after all, often become fuzzy over time, and can be tainted by exaggeration. Yet if even a tiny fragment of what the interviewees of the slave narratives remembered is true, then they serve as a vivid testimony to the horror that slavery was. Historians have used them as valuable primary sources when studying the days of the antebellum South, when the plantocracy of rich whites ruled over a world where everything depended on the labor of black

hands and backs. The Library of Congress and other archives host websites that make these stories easily available.

What the editors do in *Slave Culture* that is so valuable is to sort the material in a way that makes it easy to locate testimonials about the varied aspects of life under slavery. Categories range from religion, holidays, music and other forms of expression, to just about any other arena a researcher might think of. Preceding each section, the editors offer a preface that adds insight and perspective to the stories that follow. Each interviewee is identified by name and the state in which they lived as a slave. The work is generously illustrated with photos of many of the ex-slaves that were interviewed. The result is an easily searchable reference work that puts primary source information at the researcher's fingertips. While many incarnations of the Federal Slave Narratives exist, few are as intuitively easy to use as the three volumes of *Slave Culture*.

Slave Culture does an outstanding job of presenting their testimony in



a way that is poignant, easy to use, and a stark reminder of what the Lost Cause was really all about.

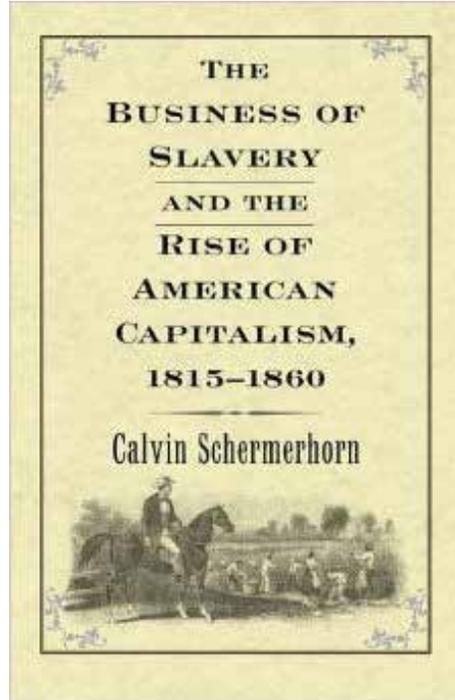
The Caribbean and the Atlantic World Economy: Circuits of Trade, Money and Knowledge, 1650-1914 edited by Adrian Leonard and David Pretel (Palgrave Macmillan • 978-0-137-43271-1 • Hardcover • 2015)

As European powers expanded their sway into the islands and lands of the western hemisphere, they also attempted to insure that the benefits of their colonization efforts accrued to the countries that invested the effort to establish new colonies to begin with. Unfortunately for them, out on the far edge of the Atlantic world colonials were not always so observant of restrictions placed on them by governments an ocean away. Adrian Leonard and David Pretel have assembled a collection of essays that explore the impact of colonial interactions and trade on economies on both sides of the Atlantic. That, of course, includes those of the Carolinas.

Carolina has its roots in the hardy souls who turned places like Barbados into the richest colony in the English realm. They did this in part by willingly conducting trade with anyone who could offer them a favorable exchange, whether it be slaves, in the inter-colonial carrying trade, or otherwise. The Dutch, for instance, provided good service to English colonists in the Caribbean and along the North American Atlantic seaboard. A Dutch ship landed the first Africans at Jamestown in 1619, and carried sugar and molasses north to mainland colonies in return for shingles, timber, and other raw materials that they brought back to Barbados where they were sorely needed. It was Sephardic Jews from Brazil who rode aboard Dutch ships to bring sugar technology to the island in the first place. Prohibitions on such trade facilitated by anyone other than English ships and resources were often ignored in the isolated world of the Caribbean and the mainland Americas, where necessity bred contempt for mercantile edicts.

Yet the essays in this book demonstrate that the Atlantic economy that evolved by this multinational melting pot of economic interaction was a fundamentally sounder one than might have evolved if trade restrictions had been scrupulously observed. Meticulously researched, the essays in the book examine the Dutch, English, French, and Spanish colonies of the Caribbean and how they interacted with their home governments in Europe over the course of 234 years. Commerce in the New World, especially in the early years, transcended boundary lines on maps in European drawing rooms. The influence of Europe's New World Caribbean colonies on the various home countries, and vice

versa, blended to develop an economic system we still feel the influences of today. Leonard and Pretel have assembled an excellent primer for those who are curious about how inter-colonial trade in the New World squared with imperialist policies set by European states, shedding light on



an aspect of colonial settlement that goes beyond simply planting a king's ensign on an unclaimed island beach.

The Business of Slavery and the Rise of American Capitalism, 1815-1860 by Calvin Schermerhorn (Yale University Press • 978-0-300-19200-1 • Hardcover • 2015)

There is any number of ways to measure the rise of American capitalism. Arizona State University's Calvin Schermerhorn has managed to present a compelling case that our nation's system of economics is in many ways attributable to the institution of slavery that provided not just the sweat that built much of the country, but also the instruments of commerce that fed our capitalist system. That slavery was a bedrock institution in the development of the Carolinas is a well-known fact. The slave markets that could be found in cities like Charleston, Wilmington, Fayetteville, Columbia, and virtually every other place of any size, attest to it.

In spotlighting the entrepreneurs who saw in slavery a commodity that would enhance their own wealth even if they never planted an acre of cotton,

Schermerhorn dispels the notion that slavery was an institution confined principally to the South. Human chattels as commodities developed into a globe-spanning network of business and investment that went far beyond the immediate investment of plantation owners. According to Schermerhorn's thesis, slavery not only fueled the economy of the South and its planter aristocracy, but also spurred capitalist development abroad and at home.

Slavery as a business and commodity was not confined to the American South. Investors in New England funded shipping interests who traveled to West Africa and provided the human fodder for the system of coerced labor that was essential to the system of large-scale agriculture that was the backbone of the southern states. Men like Maryland's Austin Woolfolk were welcomed by Baltimore's elites and high society based on his slavery enterprise. Francis Rives used federal assets like postal roads and the protections of the American system of government to literally become a mover and shaker in a growing transnational slave trade. Though slave smuggling was illegal in the United States, men like John Marsh found the rewards for successfully thumbing their noses at the law's prohibitions.

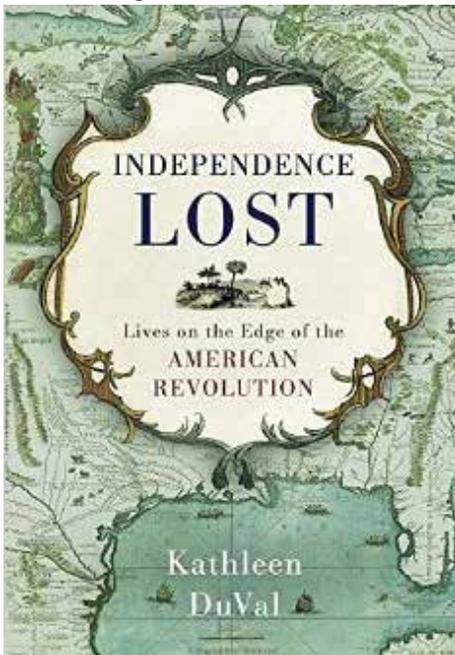
The upshot is that slavery was more than just a system in which human bondage provided labor to make Southern agriculture and society viable. Slaves, like any source of profit, were turned into a commodity that had an impact far beyond the cotton fields of the Deep South. Schermerhorn's argument that slavery helped to build the capitalist economy of the United States based on its far ranging influences is compelling.

Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution by Kathleen DuVal (Random House • 978-1-4000-6895-1 • Hardcover • 2015)

Kathleen DuVal might be considered something of a rock star among those of us who eat, sleep, and breathe colonial American history. The award-winning professor of Early American History at North Carolina's flagship university at Chapel Hill has a track record of producing excellent examinations of our earliest past that is both well researched and eminently readable. Her latest offering, a compelling

tale of people along the gulf coast who gambled on the rebelling Americans along Atlantic coast against Great Britain, is not likely to diminish that acclaim.

The thing is, the Revolutionary War along the gulf coast was not just a conflict between upstart Americans and King George III. The people who carved out lives for themselves along the lands bordering the Gulf of Mexico were a hodge-podge drawn from many different nations – Spain, France, Great Britain, and the Native American tribes who preceded all the others. Revolution there was not simply about independence from Great Britain. Revolution along the gulf coast also was a mix of imperial rivalries, personal motivations, and competing notions of what independence should be. DuVal



illustrates her point by telling the stories of a handful of players in the region and their reasons for the choices they made.

There's a Chickasaw warrior, and a Scottish-Creek fur trader whose family got rich off the British mercantile system that marshaled the might of his Indian brethren to oppose the American split with King George III. There is an Irish couple of mixed marriage – he was Protestant, she was Catholic – in Spanish New Orleans who bet their fortune that the Americans would win out against the redcoats. Scotland's James Bruce and his wife hoped to find their fortunes in the wilds of West Florida, and the prospect of a successful American rebellion was antithetical to their plans. The slave Petit Jean exercised

agency in determining his fate by becoming a spy for Spain when war clouds gathered. Finally, Acadian Amand Broussard saw in the Revolutionary War the opportunity to exact a measure of revenge against Great Britain for expelling his family from their gulf coast homes. DuVal weaves a fascinating story that is compelling history of the marginalized players who fought the American Revolution outside of the original thirteen colonies.

The days of "Great Men" history from earlier eras has a place in the historical tapestry, but theirs is not the only thread in the weave. The stories of others – of ordinary men and women, the marginalized, the ones whose images never make it onto stamps, coins, or currency – provide us a fuller appreciation of the events that shaped our present. Kathleen DuVal's latest work is an outstanding contribution to our understanding of what happened in the single greatest early formative episode of our American past. Solid scholarship plus a storyteller's flair for narrative make this a book that will satisfy academics and popular history fans alike.

Calamity in Carolina: The Battles of Averasboro and Bentonville, March 1865 by Daniel T. Davis and Phillip S. Greenwalt (Savas Beatie • 978-1-61121-245-7 • Trade Paper • 2015)

By February 1865, Wilmington had fallen. So had Kinston, Goldsborough, New Bern, and every other town of any size in eastern North Carolina. The writing was on the wall for Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, but the commander of Confederate forces still in the field was not ready to surrender. Besieged by Federal troops around Richmond and Petersburg, Lee sent word to President Jefferson Davis that Joseph E. Johnston was the only man who could lead the army and stand a chance of stopping Gen. William T. Sherman's advance through the Tar Heel State. Sherman had to be stopped if Lee was to have any hope of successfully defending the Confederate capital.

Part of the Emerging Civil War Series from Savas Beatie (www.emergingcivilwar.com), *Calamity in Carolina* chronicles the last two major engagements in North Carolina, in which Joe Johnston's Confederates fought a desperate campaign to stop Sherman's advance. It

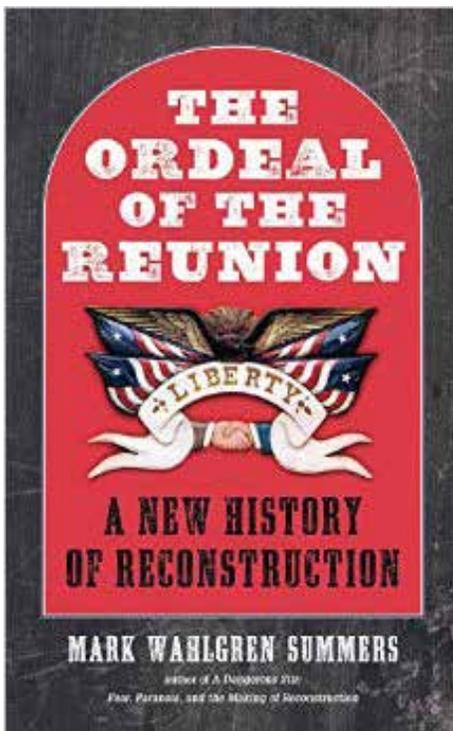
was a tall order. Sherman's bluecoats had cut a swath through the South stretching from Georgia, to the South Carolina coast, to the North Carolina Piedmont. They seemed unstoppable, but Johnston's Johnny Rebs were game for the attempt.

Johnston's army was not the cream of Southern martial manhood. His ranks were filled by the remnants of the Army of Tennessee, garrison troops who had been gathered after the pell-mell retreats from the coast after the fall of Wilmington and Fort Fisher in February, and whatever personnel he could scoop up from the surrounding countryside. The Southerners never had comparable numbers to what Sherman was able to field, but they were determined to make an effort to carry out Lee's orders. Those two clashes came at Averasboro, not far north of modern Fayetteville, N.C., and at Bentonville, near modern Newton Grove, N.C., in March 1865. It would be the last time Confederate and Union forces would meet in large-scale combat in North Carolina. The outcomes of the battles led directly to the surrender of the largest Southern army still in the field at Bennett Place, near Durham, a short while later.

Davis and Greenwalt have done a fine job recounting the essentials of the battles at Averasboro and Bentonville. Both authors have ties to the National Parks Service, and it shows in their work, which reads like part history-part tour guide. Generously illustrated with black & white images, maps, and an easy to read design, this book will find a welcome home with history buffs that are looking to learn about the two last major battles of the Civil War in North Carolina. It is a worthy addition to the titles in this series.

The Ordeal of Reunion: A New History of Reconstruction by Mark Wahlgren Summers (UNC Press • 978-1-4696-1757-2 • Hardcover • 2014)

The decades after Appomattox are fascinating. In the years immediately following Robert E. Lee's surrender, the emancipation of enslaved Africans became a reality. That reality was enforced in a South that was defeated in war, but still fiercely proud and determined to keep to a way of life in which blacks were subservient to whites. The only thing that prevented them from preserving the conditions



of slavery – even if the institution itself was gone – was the determination of the victorious North to see to it that the South and nation changed. But things were different by the 1870s, when the desire – the need – to bring all of the states back under the umbrella of Union began to outweigh the will to make certain that blacks in the South continued to make progress towards equality with their white fellow citizens.

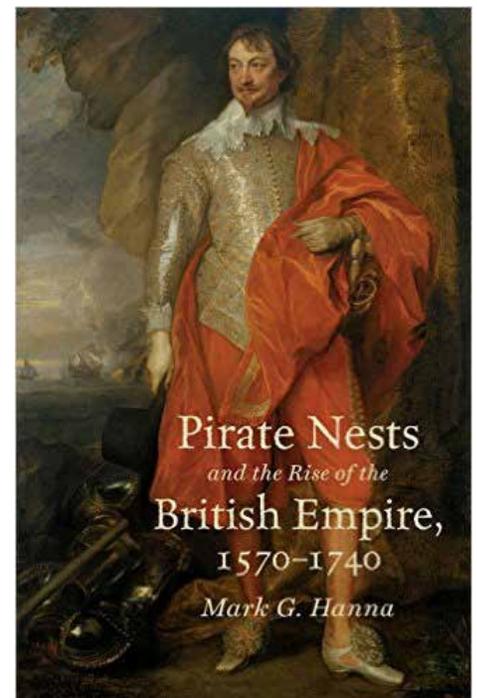
Mark Wahlgren Summers, one of the best historians of the Reconstruction era, steps away from the standard regional examination of the plight of Southern blacks to achieve some sort of equality, and instead turns his keen eye and prose style to the broader national view. By the 1870s Washington was wrestling with an expanding country in the West, a belligerent Europe that could easily threaten American interests. At home, not only ex-slaves, but women and others were agitating for what they saw as their rights under the Constitution. If turning a blind eye to the slow, steady reintroduction of what amounted to slavery by another name – Jim Crow – would result in a truly *united* United States again, then that was a sacrifice to what they perceived as the greater good, then that was a price they were willing to pay.

To the dismay of a people who had been freed from bondage by a bloody war not so long before, the erosion of their hard won freedom and the institution of

a de facto system of servitude was the price of a strong nation to deal with new challenges. To be sure, not all of the gains earned with a Union victory in the Civil War were lost, but what took their place in many instances was a far cry from the images of freedom that blacks imagined on their day of jubilee. In the Carolinas, the descent into Jim Crow reversed real advances. North Carolina had been a leader in the South of placing blacks in government jobs and even the state legislature. South Carolina blacks, too, found themselves making marked advances while under the watchful eyes of Union soldiers and their bayonets. When the bluecoats left, so too did their protections.

Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570-1740 by Mark G. Hanna (UNC Press • 978-1-4696-1794-7 • Hardcover • November 2015)

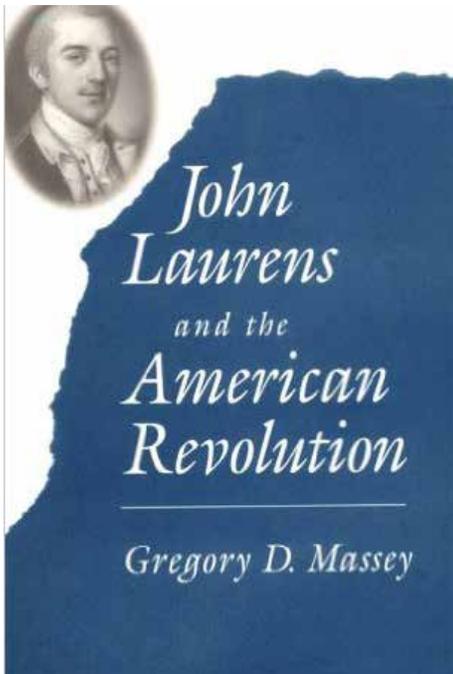
Anyone who is familiar with the rough and tumble early years of the Carolina colonies knows that in places like Bath, Charleston, and other coastal enclaves, pirates were familiar visitors and even sometime business partners with the poor sorts who struggled to make a living in a place a long way from the mercantile hubs of England. In fact, one Englishman who sought to eliminate piracy from Jamaica complained that Charles Town's acceptance of "Rogues" who preyed on Spanish treasure fleets would allow those who did "unpardonable actions" to "retire to Carolina and be safe" from the king's justice. Mark G. Hanna, whose previous titles dealing with piracy establish his bona fides in the field, examines the collusion between otherwise law abiding colonials part pirates played in the rise of the English empire in his latest offering. The role of pirates in the colonies from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth is multifaceted. On the one hand, pirates were sometimes tolerated and on occasion even encouraged as unofficial tools of the English government to exert influence on the colonial ambitions of rival powers like France, Holland, and Spain. On the other, pirate trade with remote colonies cut out English tax men and mercantilists, depriving them of coin that otherwise would have ended up in English coffers. Either way, Hanna makes a convincing argument that for all their swashbuckling reputation



and the official disapproval of government officials, pirates played a crucial role in helping early colonists find a footing in a remote and unforgiving part of the world.

That remote colonial settlements would collude with pirates is hardly surprising. At the extreme end of the commercial supply chain, if colonists wanted nice things they seldom could be choosy when it came to its provenance. If a nice bolt of cloth could be had from a roving sea dog's looted bounty – and had for cheaper than what the same cloth from England would cost – there really was not much of a decision to be made. When the notorious Edward Teach, a.k.a. Blackbeard, prowled along the east coast of North America, the little town of Bath, N.C. was a regular stop on his itinerary. In fact, Gov. Charles Eden's secretary Tobias Knight came under scrutiny when it was discovered that a warehouse he owned held items taken by pirates. Charles Town merchants seldom turned up their noses at the goods of less than above board pedigree offered by the pirates, either. The point being that pirates played a crucial part in helping colonial business interests grow and survive.

We imagine that Hanna, an associate professor of history at the University of California San Diego, probably wears an eye patch and includes lots of "arr-rghs" for emphasis in his lectures, such is his affinity for the world of pirates. But beyond the colorful tales of swashbuckling



daring-do, pirates played a key part in the growth of England's overseas dominions, and Hanna tells that story masterfully. There is no better authority on the world of the pirates. This study is just another in a long line that validates Hanna's reputation as among the best in the field when it comes to studying the men (and women) who sailed under the black flag.

John Laurens and the American Revolution by Gregory D. Massey (USC Press • 978-1-61117-612-4 • Softcover • September 2015)

Among the many names enshrined in the pantheon of Southern heroes of the American Revolution, that of Laurens figures as a prominent contribution from South Carolina. Henry Laurens is well known to students of the American War of Independence. Less well known is his son, John, who Wilmington, N.C. native Gregory D. Massey spotlights in his latest work. It is a well-honed homage to a patriot whose life was cut short before it could reach full promise. Yet in the twenty-seven years John Laurens did live, circumstance and his own temperament made certain he saw adventure enough for a life many times that long.

John Laurens, living in England when hostilities broke out between King George III and his North American colonies, came off the sidelines in 1777. He returned to America to become an aid-de-

camp to George Washington, and participated in the violent clashes at battlefields from Brandywine to Yorktown. The young officer was wounded four times, was a British prisoner for six months, and undertook a diplomatic mission to France, only to perish in a small clash in 1782, not long before the end of the war. His thoughts on slavery were diametrically opposed to those of most of his Southern contemporaries, in that Laurens advocated a plan of freedom for slaves who fought on behalf of American independence.

This is not a new book. A hardcover edition preceded it in 2000, also from University of South Carolina Press. But Massey's intimate familiarity with the life and exploits of John Laurens makes for a wonderful read, the style eminently accessible for the casual reader and academic historian alike. If you missed the hardcover, this newest iteration is well worth consideration for fans of eighteenth century American history and biography alike.

The American Slave Coast: A History of the Slave Breeding Industry by Ned and Constance Sublette (Chicago Review Press • 978-81613748206 • Hardcover • October 2015)

When studying the commercial aspects of slavery in the United States, historians and economists generally focus their attention to the labor produced by

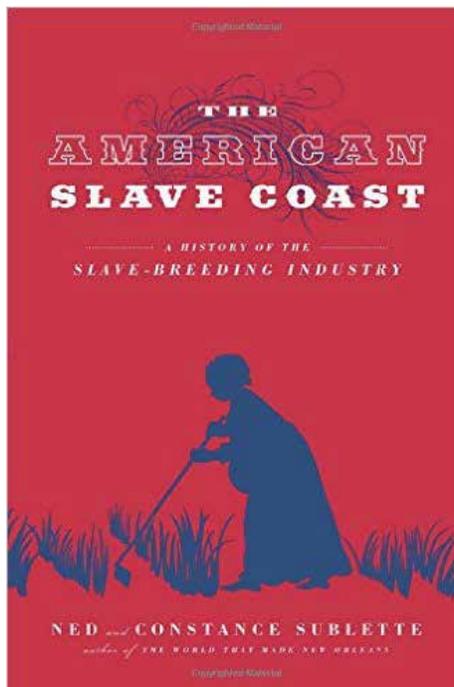
the institution in the form of agricultural output, etc. What makes the Sublette's hefty new book different from so many of the works that preceded it is that they have produced an exhaustive study of how slaves themselves became a source of profits for slave owners and traders.

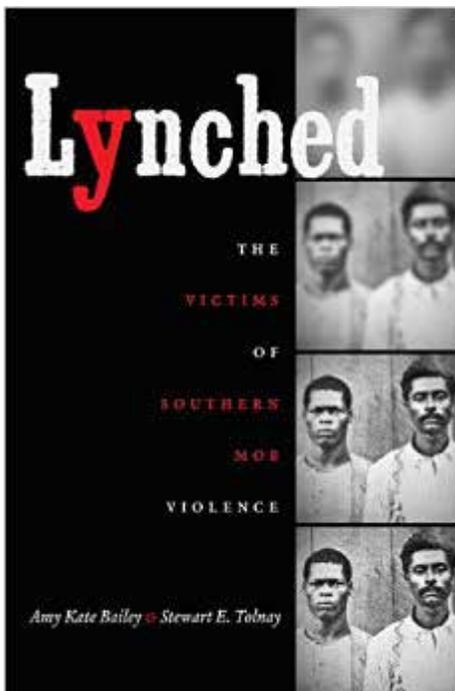
Slaves themselves became a commodity after the United States stopped importing Africans in the early nineteenth century. Yet even though they had officially turned their backs on slave importation, the institution itself still thrived. The need for large pools of cheap labor for Southern plantations not only still existed, but grew. While the Slave Coast was no longer a legal option for human chattels, the slaves already in the country could produce as many new bodies as were needed. This led to what the Sublette's term the "capitalized womb," referring to the reproductive ability of slaves as a means of profit just as surely as their labor in the fields.

Casting a wide net, the authors examine both the days when the demand for slaves was satisfied via importation, and also the interstate slave trade that emerged after importation was banned. They spotlight the great rivalry between Virginia and South Carolina to dominate the trade, and along the way provide context by weaving in the roles played by prominent Americans like Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and James K. Polk. In exposing how the trade in slaves impacted the U.S. economy, how female slaves were prized as "breeding women," and how the trade permeated and impacted the larger growth of the United States, the Sublettes offer a uniquely different take on the foundations of American history. This is a book that should be an addition to any bookshelf oriented towards the dark chapter of our past constituted by slavery.

Lynched: The Victims of Southern Mob Violence by Amy Kate Bailey and Stewart E. Tolnay (UNC Press • 978-1-4694-2087-9 • Softcover • June 2015)

Perhaps the ugliest sort of image to illustrate the hate-filled era of Jim Crow in the South might be that of a black man or woman hanging from a tree branch, bodies degraded and bearing only superficial resemblance to the living, breathing people they had been, while a crowd of jeering vigilantes celebrates





their handiwork beneath the shadow of a swinging black corpse. Looking at the people dangling from the end of a rope in those pictures, of which many examples exist throughout the country, it is difficult to see them as human. Their very inertness and the starkness of the photos that they exist in can dehumanize them. In lynching pictures, there can be a tendency to think of the person lynched in the abstract, as an illustration of a wider disease that afflicted a large part of America for much of our history. In *Lynched: The Victims of Southern Mob Violence*, many of those anonymous victims regain the identities that their victimhood stripped them of.

No part of the South was untouched by racial violence in the years after Reconstruction, when a new kind of social system was put in place to keep blacks in their place. The laws and rules that emerged were collectively known as Jim Crow, and it was a key tool of white supremacists determined to preserve as much of the old order in the South as they could. To keep blacks afraid and cowed, mobs too often resorted to lynching to serve up an object lesson to those who refused to keep toe the line. What the authors of this book have done is examine the victims of Southern lynching with a scientist's eye, seeking to paint a picture of the things they had in common and the things that set them apart from the rest of the world. Did they own their own homes and businesses? Were they newcomers to

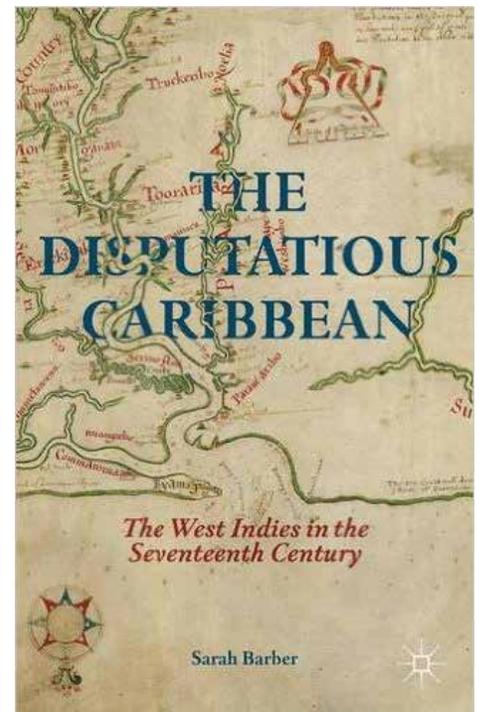
the places where they died? What did they do for a living? Were they married with families? Young? Old? Bailey and Tolnay dissect the demographics of lynching victims to provide us some insight into who they were and why they died. The result is perhaps the clearest picture yet of the poor souls who found their lives forfeit to the cause of white supremacy and the preservation of a callous system that far longer than it should have.

The Disputatious Caribbean: The West Indies in the Seventeenth Century by Sarah Barber (Palgrave Macmillan: 978-1-137-47999-0 • Hardcover • November 2015)

The origins of both Carolinas can be traced back in large part to the island of Barbados that dispatched expeditions to colonize the North American mainland and establish English colonies under the eight Lords Proprietors of Carolina during the reign of King Charles II. Sarah Barber's examination of what was called the "torrid zone" between Carolina and the sun-drenched islands near the equator brings what life was like during the seventeenth century there in a way that is both concise and complete. This is a book that will be a valuable addition to the libraries of researchers and readers trying to construct a fuller picture of who those original settlers of Carolina were.

Broken down into broad themed chapters of Place, Resource, Connection, Body, and Will, Barber has sought out primary sources from people and institutions beyond the usual white, English repositories. Black, red, and white sources are scoured to paint a portrait of the region that became the sugar bowl of the world, and the starting point for much of England's (and later, Great Britain's) imperial designs. Carolina figures prominently in that story, and Barber tells it masterfully.

North and South Carolina were founded for an assortment of commercial reasons. For the Lords Proprietors, it was real estate speculation on a grand scale. For the Barbadians who sailed from the Lesser Antilles to plant colonies along the Cape Fear, Ashley, and Cooper Rivers, it was to establish plantations in a place where there was still room to do so. For the Barbadians who supported the expeditions, it was a necessity to find a place that could provide the raw materials they need-



ed to build, eat, and live, since every inch of land that could be co-opted for sugar cultivation was in use already. Barber paints her picture in broad strokes that encompass the whole of what she identifies as the "disputatious Caribbean," but there is more than enough here to fill in many of the blanks a historian of Carolina might have about where we come from. Barber's book is a slim volume, but one packed with valuable information, nonetheless.

Revolution: Mapping the Road to American Independence, 1775-1783

by Richard H. Brown and Paul E. Cohen (W.W. Norton • 978-0-393-06032-4 • Hardcover • October 2015)

Old maps are as much works of art as they are instruments of navigation or geography. Map lovers Richard H. Brown and Paul E. Cohen have demonstrated that fact admirably in a beautiful volume that uses period maps to chart the progression of the Revolutionary War from its beginnings in 1775 to the last gasps in 1783. This collection of cartography, much of it published for the first time, will find a ready audience with casual readers and history buffs alike.

News of the war was much sought after while it was going on, and newspaper reports, often second hand, were consumed by a public with an insa-

Hear ye Hear ye...

Upcoming History Events in North and South Carolina

NORTH CAROLINA

JUNE

- June 2 **Vance Birthplace Summer Heritage Storytelling Series**. Free.
 June 2 **Duke Homestead Artifact Care 101: Become the curator of your personal history!** Fee.
 June 4 **Alamance Battleground "Remembering Hearth and Home": The Allen/Stout Reunion at Alamance Battleground**. John Allen House 50th Anniversary event. Free.
 June 4 **Historic Edenton Edenton Water & Music Festival**. (town partnership program). Free.
 June 4 **Town Creek Indian Mound Archaeolympics (International Atlatl Day/Competition)** Free.
 June 4 **Historic Edenton Classic Car Club of America Car Show**. Tour Fee.
 June 9: **Thomas Wolfe Memorial Book Club, "A Prologue to America" and "The Promise of America"** by David Madden. Free.
 June 11 **Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site Saturday on the Farm, 9am-1pm**. Free
 June 11 **Horne Creek Farm Baa, Moo, and CockADoodle-Do! Heritage Breed Animals**. Free.
 June 11 **Charles B. Aycock Birthplace Saturday on the Farm**. Free.
 June 11 **Charlotte Hawkins Brown Museum Dr. Brown's Birthday**. Free.
 June 11 **Somerset Place Days Gone By**. Admission.
 June 11 **Bentonville Battlefield A Day in the Life of a Civil War Soldier**. Free.
 June 17-19 **Historic Edenton Juneteenth Programming**. Fee.
 June 18 **Historic Stagville Juneteenth Celebration**. Free.
 June 18 **Reed Gold Mine From Mercenary to Miner**. Fee.
 June 18 **Fort Fisher Artillery Program**. Free.
 June 18, **Fort Fisher Beat the Heat Lecture**. Free.
 June 18-19 **Historic Halifax Halifax Revolutionary War Days**. Free.
 June 19 **Alamance Battleground Regulator Day Commemoration**. Wreath ceremony at the Regulator marker in Hillsborough, NC. Free.
 June 20-24 **Charles B. Aycock Birthplace Summer Camp Fun**, ages 5-12. Fee.
 June 21 **Alamance Battleground Kids Powder Horn Workshop with Rick Sheets**. Registration and fee required.
 June 18 **Duke Homestead Family Outings at the Homestead**. Free
 June 25 **CSS Neuse Interpretive Center Hands on History: Ordinance**. Admission.
 June 25 **Duke Homestead Mythbusting Day**. Free.
 June 25 **Fort Fisher Lecture: "Civil War Home front in Eastern North Carolina."** Cliff Tyndale. Free

JULY

- July 2 **Fort Fisher Lecture: "The WASP at Camp Davis."** Kyrstal Lee. Free.
 July 4 **Historic Halifax Independence Day Celebration**. Free
 July 4 **Historic Edenton Reading of the Declaration of Independence in Courthouse Green & Bell Toll**. Free.
 July 7 **Vance Birthplace Summer Heritage Storytelling Series**. Free.
 July 9 **Duke Homestead Pork, Pickles & Peanuts**. Free.
 July 9 **Town Creek Indian Mound Dr. Coe's Birthday**. Free.

- July 9 **Fort Fisher Lecture: "The Kure Beach U-Boat Attack."** Ev Smith. Free.
 July 16 **Fort Fisher Lecture: The Battle of Wyse's Fork** Wade Sokolosky. Free.
 July 16 **Historic Stagville Jubilee Music Festival**. Free.
 July 16 **Historic Bath Pirates in the Port**. Free.
 July 16 **Horne Creek Farm Crayon Art Workshop**. Registration and fee required.
 July 16 **Duke Homestead Family Outings at the Homestead**. Free.
 July 16-17 **Bennett Place Medical practices and Procedures**. Free.
 July 23 **Fort Dobbs Militia Muster** Free (\$2 donation suggested.)
 July 23 **Fort Fisher Lecture: "Fort Fisher to Elmira."** Richard Treibe. Free.
 July 30 **CSS Neuse Interpretive Center Hands on History: Blockades**. Admission.
 July 30 **Fort Fisher Lecture: TBA** Michael Hardy. Free.

AUGUST

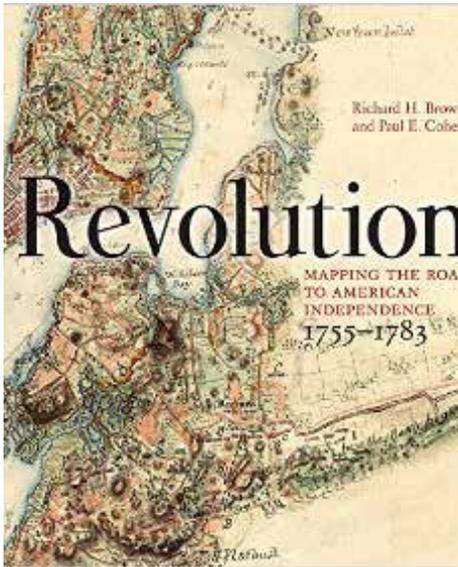
- Month long **Historic Edenton Beat the Heat Iredell House Tours**. Fee
 August 4 **Vance Birthplace Summer Heritage Storytelling Series**. Free
 August 6 **Fort Fisher Lecture: TBA** Jack Fryer. Free.
 August 6-7 **House in the Horseshoe 235th Anniversary of the Battle at House in the Horseshoe Reenactment**. \$5.00 Parking Fee.
 August 7 **Historic Edenton National Lighthouse Day**. Free.
 August 13 **Fort Fisher Beat the Heat Lecture**. Free.
 August 13 **Town Creek Indian Mound Play in the Clay**. Free.
 August 13-14 **Vance Birthplace Civil War Encampment with North State Rifles**. Free.
 August 20 **Duke Homestead Family Outings at the Homestead**. Free.
 August 27 **Bentonville Battlefield Life on Campaign: Summer Artillery and Infantry Program**. Free. August 27 **CSS Neuse Interpretive Center Hands on History: Photography**. Admission.

SOUTH CAROLINA

• Cowpens National Battlefield

- June 4-5 **Cowpens National Battlefield: Living History Weekend- 1st Maryland, Southern Campaign encampment (American Continentals) Weapons firing demonstrations**
 June 11 **Cowpens National Battlefield: Living History Day - New Acquisition Militia - featuring activities such as sewing, chair caning, rifle making, and weapons firing demos. At 2:30 there will be a talk on "The Year of 1780 - Turning from Uncertainty to Victory"**.
 June 18 **Cowpens National Battlefield: Living History Day - SC Rangers (American Militia). Weapons firing demonstrations at 10:30, 11:30, 1:30, and 2:30.**
 July 2 **Cowpens National Battlefield: Celebration of Freedom - Family Friendly patriotic activities such as guided battlefield walks, weapons firing demonstrations, and children's activities. Schedule will be available by the end of June.**
 August 6 **Cowpens National Battlefield: Living History Day - SC Rangers (American Militia). Weapons firing demonstrations at 10:30, 11:30, 1:30, and 2:30.**
 August 13 **Cowpens National Battlefield: Find Your Park After Dark - Star Gazing Program**
 July 4 **Patriots Point: Fourth of July Fireworks Blast! Aboard USS Yorktown's flight deck. Tickets on sale at www.patriotspoint.org.**
 August 27 **Patriots Point: 40th Anniversary Celebration. Contact for details.**

Having a history event? Let us help share it! Contact us at
carolinachroniclesmagazine@gmail.com



tiable appetite to know the latest from far off battlefields. Maps were an integral part of describing the things the stories talked about in a way that those who were not there could understand. They also became key primary sources for historians delving into the fights in later years, after those who had been there were all gone. Illustrating pivotal battles in the conflict, with short essays included that provide context, Brown and Cohen have put together a volume that has both historical and aesthetic value.

For art lovers, this coffee table-sized book will stimulate conversations. For historians and casual RevWar enthusiasts, the book offers beautiful examples of the mapmaker's art from the years when the thirteen American colonies fought for independence from Great Britain. From Georgia and the Carolinas, to the Northeast, every region of the struggle is documented in gorgeous color.

General History Titles

The Holy Roman Empire: From Its Foundation in 800 to Its Demise in 1806 by Peter H. Wilson (Belknap Press • 978-0-674-05809-5 • Hardcover • 2016)

When Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne emperor, he opened the door to the creation of a new entity known as the Holy Roman Empire. Otto I, Charlemagne's successor, was the first of a long line of kings who were ostensibly defend-

ers of the papacy and the Roman Catholic Church under the title of Holy Roman Emperor. Encompassing Germany and several other polities, the empire was different from others that came before it and after, in that it had no fixed capital, no common language, its head was determined by elections (though often dynastic in nature), and it was dependent on its constituent states for what real power it wielded.

The empire lasted until 1806, and included such historical luminaries as Napoleon Bonaparte as its titular head. Peter H. Wilson's new history is a masterful examination of one the most fascinating and influential empires to emerge from the Middle Ages. That is saying something, considering the many different facets of the Holy Roman Empire that seem at first glance to suggest anything but unity.

Wilson attacks the question from a decidedly different angle. He explores the history of the empire by examining its ideals, the nation itself, how it was governed, and how it related to the people who lived within it. At more than 1,000 pages, he has plenty of room to get into it all. Wilson notes that there have been plenty of very smart people who have held up the empire as an example of what not to do when building a polity, among them James Madison and Voltaire. But Wilson argues that the impact of the Holy Roman Empire on the nations that emerged from it, on Europe today, and on the rest of the world cannot be underestimated.

This is an all-encompassing history, and Peter H. Wilson has penned what should be a cornerstone of any bookshelf belonging to the historian whose interests lay in the study of the Europe's past, and especially that of the Holy Roman Empire. Wilson is the Chichele Professor of the History of War at the University of Oxford, and it shows in this impressive volume.

The First Congress: How James Madison, George Washington, and a Group of Extraordinary Men Invented the Government by Fergus M. Bordewich (Simon & Schuster • 978-1-4516-9193-1 • Hardcover • 2016)

The current incarnation of the United States Congress has an approval rating somewhere in the vicinity of ten percent. That's just ten percent of the more

than 300 million people who live in this country who consider that the nation's legislative branch is doing its job well or at all. Fergus M. Bordewich has spotlighted the first Congress, the one in which the elected representatives of the new nation established the nuts and bolts of how our new experiment in democracy would function. The result is an absorbing study of how a handful of visionary men guided the newly minted representatives through the pitfalls and shoals of creating something new among the world's governments. It is a blueprint that has served us in good stead for more than two centuries, despite recent evidence to the contrary.

Names like Washington and Madison figure prominently in the American pantheon, and Bordewich's book reminds us why those founding fathers are held in such high esteem. When the Union Jack was hauled down for the last time, the former colonies were faced with a daunting task, one that most outsiders (and more than a few insiders) believed was doomed to failure. The new country was swamped with debt, both at the state and national level. Great Britain was still agitating to upset the American applecart in the Northwest Territory. The new nation was divided between those who backed a strong central government versus those who clung desperately to a government model that vested most power with the individual states (event though the Articles of Confederation had already provided ample evidence that such a model did not work). The legislative branch was the strongest of the three decreed by the still young U.S. Constitution, and the parameters of power when it came to the executive and judicial branches had yet to be established. In short, it was a mess.

Every Fourth of July, Americans celebrate the grit and fortitude of those colonial forbearers who wrested control of North America away from the greatest power on Earth at the time. But that was just the beginning, and maybe we should be celebrating what came after, instead. What Bordewich has done is write an eminently readable and compelling tale that reminds us that perhaps the hardest work in building a new nation comes after the shooting stops, when a disparate people must learn to work and live together. There must be a lesson there somewhere for their brethren in the Congress today.