HISTORY AND HISTORIANS
IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
1795 TO 1950

by
Carl H. Pegg

OCTOBER 1990
Preface

In September 1923 I entered the University of North Carolina as a first year student and completed work for the Ph.D. degree in 1929 with a major in history and government and minors in the department of commerce and economics as well as education. I taught at the University of Mississippi in the academic year 1929-1930, and joined the staff of U.N.C. in September 1930. I remained a full-time member of the staff until I retired in 1974, and I have continued to share an office in Hamilton Hall since retirement. So I have been deeply involved in history in the University since 1923, and in fact two of my brothers had done work in the University before I came and I had heard quite a bit about history and historians in Chapel Hill from them.

In 1982, after completing two manuscripts that I had underway when I retired, I decided to write something about the study and teaching of history in the University centering largely on the years from 1890, when the Alumni Chair of History was established and a solid department formed, down to the early 1950s. This would enable me to keep my research and writing heavily centered on the men and women under whom I had taken all of my graduate courses and with whom I had taught and worked in Saunders Hall for many years; and thus about whom I probably had more direct and personal information than anyone else had or could ever get.

Of course I realized at the outset that what I had in mind would require extensive research and study. I knew that I would not only have to spend a great amount of time in both the North Carolina and the Southern Historical Collections in the Wilson library, but that I would have to spend considerable time probing in the writings of A. R. Newsone, J. G. de R. Hamilton, R. D. W. Connor, M. C. S. Noble, E. W. Knight, Milton Heath, and even quite a bit of time in the writings of such recent scholars as J. C. Sitterson, W. S. Powell, H. G. Jones, and J. A. Beebe.

So while I have tried hard to get the facts about the men and women who were most concerned about history in the University from its opening down to the early 1950s, I have not worried much about other matters. I realized at the outset that my project would not be the type of work that should be published in book form, but that a few typed and microfilmed copies to go into the history office and the North Carolina Collection in the Wilson library would be adequate. Nor have I been much concerned about such matters as paragraphing and capitalization. Too, I should like to point out to the reader who may not be interested in the status of history in the early decades before there was a solid department of history, that he or she can move at once up to 1930 when Kemp F. Battle resigned as president of the University in order to take command of the new Alumni Chair of History.
Chapter I (1795-1870)

History in the University 1795-1870

The University of North Carolina, which was chartered in 1789 and opened to students in 1795, did not have a chair of history or a full-time teacher of history until the early 1850s. But of course this was not out of keeping with the times, for no where in the country did history stand on its own feet as a discipline in its own right until well into the nineteenth century. Harvard College, which was founded in 1636, and is thus our oldest college, did not have a chair of history until 1839 when the Mellen Chair was established with the famous Jared Sparks as its holder. While Yale, which was founded in 1701, did have a chair in ecclesiastical history during the last two decades of the 18th century, it did not last, and Yale did not have a permanent chair for several years after Harvard. So the curriculum of studies in the University of North Carolina in the early years and decades of its existence was very similar to that in the other colleges and universities of the time, and was thus heavily centered on the Greek and Roman languages, mathematics, theology, and moral philosophy.

But the absence of formal courses in history did not mean that no history was taught or learned. Some history was taught, especially in the course in Latin and Greek, and considerable history was read and learned outside the classroom. This was perhaps more noticeable in the University here than in most colleges and universities of the time. For it is a clearly documented fact that there was a rather strong interest in history among the men who took the lead in founding the University. At least three members of the first Board of Trustees—William R. Davie, Samuel McCorkle, and William H. Williamson—were rather deeply interested in history. Both Davie and McCorkle drew up programs of study for the University and both called for work in history. And of course, Williamson later wrote a lengthy history of North Carolina. The first Trustees also saw to it that there was a tiny library of about a hundred books in Old East before the first student, Milton James, arrived from Wilmington in February 1795 and about half of the volumes in the collection were historical or biographical in nature. Thus it appears that some history would have been taught in the classroom from the beginning if either the Davie or McCorkle program had been instituted. But since all of the institutions of higher learning in the country, including Harvard and Yale as well as the College of New Jersey (soon to be Princeton), centered their programs of study on the classics, mathematics, and theology, it would have been difficult if not impossible for the trustees to have found a teacher and presiding president who had had formal training in history.

And of course Davie and McCorkle as well as the other Trustees were aware of that fact and seemingly made no effort to find a professor who had had formal training in history. They
hastened to sign young David Ker who had studied the classics and theology at Trinity College in Ireland, and was at the time preaching and teaching at the little Village of Fayetteville, North Carolina, and was thus vaguely known to most of the trustees. Ker was a rather determined and impulsive individual and soon made demands which the trustees could not accept and they dismissed him in the spring of 1796. But his dismissal did not cause any serious trouble for Charles Harris, a native North Carolina who had just graduated from the College of New Jersey, and was at the time practicing law and medicine in the Salisbury area, let the trustees know that he would be willing to serve as professor and presiding officer at least until they were able to locate another qualified scholar. Harris was known to have a deep interest in the state and its history and the trustees were delighted with his responses and they immediately named him professor and presiding officer.

Harris performed well and satisfied about everyone. But as soon as he had strengthened the study program and helped the students get their Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary societies going he was yearning to return to his home and to the practice of a bit of both law and medicine. Accordingly he told the trustees of his wishes and advised them to invite young Joseph Caldwell, whom he had known and liked while he was studying at the College of New Jersey, to come to Chapel Hill and take his place as professor and presiding officer. The trustees regretted to see Harris return to the Fayetteville area, but they understood his feelings and took his advice.

So Joseph Caldwell, now in his twenty-fourth year and fresh out of the College of New Jersey, arrived in Chapel Hill in the autumn of 1796. He was steeped in the classics and mathematics and well aware that he was not prepared to teach any history except what he had learned in Greece and Rome, which he intended to connect with his work in the classics. But he apparently took a close look at both Davie's and McCorkle's suggestions for professors and let the trustees know that he did not mean to do so. Too, he kept a close eye on developments at Harvard and Yale as well as Princeton. Since he failed to see anything in the nature of a history department, he was comfortably satisfied and went on to make a real effort to get instruction in history in the classroom, even though he knew that some of the trustees were hoping for it.

Nevertheless Caldwell soon made a move which was to be good for history in the University. He invited Archibald D. Murphy, one of his students, to assist him in tutoring first year students in the Greek and Roman languages; and that turned out to be a very important move for the study of history in the University. For Murphy was a brilliant student and a native of the state and he did not intend to confine himself to teaching first year students some Greek and Latin. He encouraged all students to read history, especially state history, especially state history, and he also encouraged them to take a deep interest in their Di and Phi literary societies, and even urged them to use topics of a historical nature in their debates and oratorical contests. And this was very important for the study of history in the University, for the literary societies were destined to play a big role in student life and the learning process for many decades to come. For perhaps nothing did so much to encourage and foster the reading of history on the part of students as the two literary societies. The Di society was made up of boys from the western part of the state and the Phi of boys from the eastern part, and even this geographical division of students tended to generate a touch of rivalry. The societies normally held debates one evening each week and sometimes debated each other and also put on oratorical contests. Since a large portion of the topics treated were historical and biographical in nature, it is obvious that the students had to do a great deal of reading in history, biography, and economics. Too both societies began gathering books to be housed in their debating halls, and of the first books purchased more than half were from the fields of history and biography, and there was not a single novel among them. By 1820 the Di and Phi societies had approximately 5000 volumes and they continued to build over the decades stressing above all history and political science.

Too, most members of the Board of Trustees continued to encourage the teaching of some history; especially state history; and some even urged President Caldwell to write a history of the University. While Caldwell almost certainly failed to give the suggestion serious consideration, it apparently touched him a bit and caused him to look more favorably on history in the curriculum. For there was some history in the curriculum virtually all of the time during his long presidency, and it tended to increase as the years passed. The University catalogues, which date back to 1811, show that a course entitled "History and Chronology" was given much of the time across the 1820s and a course entitled "Political Economy" some of the time. It is evident that the choice of books from the catalogues is limited, but the instructor who joined the staff in 1818, was not only stressing chemistry, mineralogy, and geology into the curriculum across the 1820s and 1830s, but even taught some history before his accidental death.

1 I attended Piedmont high school near Shelby in 1921-22, and we fifty boarding students had our Di and Phi debating societies, and nothing about Piedmont stands out so clearly in my mind today as the debates I participated in during the year. A large percentage of our debates concerned historical matters, and Piedmont's comfortable little library had many books of a historical nature.

2 I say this in part because I remember hearing both R. D. W. Connor and M. C. S. Noble say that Murphey had a great deal of influence on the student Caldwell. Of course, most of the history in the classroom was ancient history and the textbook was Alexander Adam's Roman Antiquities which stressed the customs and habits of the Roman people.
in the Great Smokies in 1857. Although he was born in Connecticut, he soon became fascinated with North Carolina, especially with its flora and its mountains.

And indeed the years from 1820 to 1885 were rather good years for history in most of the colleges and universities across the country including the University of North Carolina. And perhaps no one did as much to promote the study of history in the University at Chapel Hill in these years as David L. Swain, though some others, including Archibald D. Murphy and Ellessa Mitchell, were not far behind. Swain had attended the University briefly in 1822, but since his chief desire at the time was for a legal and political career, he soon left Chapel Hill and went to Raleigh to read law in the office of John Taylor. Swain worked hard at law and also developed a deep interest in the history of the state. By 1830 he was rather well known in political circles over much of the state, and in 1832 he was elected governor. He enjoyed the governorship, and was elected to a second term in 1834. Then in January 1835 president Joseph Caldwell died and the University trustees offered Swain the presidency of the University, and he accepted and was to remain president for the next thirty-three years and thus to the end of his life.

As president Swain was very different from Caldwell in a number of ways.1 He was above all deeply interested in the history of the state, and as governor had begun collecting state records, and had even joined with James Iredell, Joseph E. Jones and some others in urging the General Assembly to provide for the organization of a state historical society. While this first effort to launch a state historical society failed, partly because of the difficulties of travel, it did not lessen Swain’s interest in history or his desire for a state historical society. And as soon as he became president of the University, he pushed the cause of history harder than ever, and in fact was destined to have a small hand in the growth of the study of history across much of the country. At first he directed his efforts largely at the students. We know that he sometimes visited students in their rooms, and frequently surprised freshmen by telling them a great deal about their parents and relatives. From the first the students respected and admired him, and in their gayer moments sometimes playfully called him "Old man warping bars" because of his long unshaven sides. It is clear that Swain felt that the University’s chief mission was to help prepare as many young men as possible for public careers of nearly every sort and agreed that a knowledge of the classics and ancient civilizations was of real value, but he obviously felt that more classroom time should be given to political and economic history and the natural sciences.

As soon as he got comfortably settled in as president, he announced that he would teach a course for seniors in National and Constitutional law. And the course centered on the principal political and constitutional landmarks from Magna Carta forward, and perhaps contained more history than law. The course was much praised by graduates over the years. Zebulon B. Vance, who was to be twice governor of the state, described his first hour in the course as one "of the shortest and most exciting hours of his life." Moreover, Swain took an active interest in the Di and Phi literary societies, and saw them not only as valuable training grounds for would-be lawyers, teachers, ministers and public officials, but also as ways and means of promoting history by keeping alive debates and commencement orations centered on historical topics and issues.2

Too, the fact that the study of history began to grow across the country during the 1830s pleased and encouraged Swain. He was aware that George Bancroft, whom Herbert B. Adams later called the "Father of American History", had published the first volume of his History of the United States in 1834; that Francis Lieber, who was born and trained in Germany and had a very broad and sound view of history, became professor of Political Economy and History in the South Carolina College (later the University of South Carolina) in 1835; that Harvard University got its first chair in history in 1839; and that Jared Sparks was named to the chair. Swain was soon in correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks about several matters, but especially about documents and source materials for the colonial and early national years. He got some help from Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data. He kept up the correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data. He kept up the correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data. He kept up the correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data. He kept up the correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data. He kept up the correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data. He kept up the correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data. He kept up the correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data. He kept up the correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data. He kept up the correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data. He kept up the correspondence with Bancroft and Sparks for many years, and was also told more that Francis Lieber was able to furnish both men with some valuable data.

Perhaps Swain’s central contribution to history was the impulse he gave to the collection of documents and materials of all sorts on North Carolina. Apparently this was uppermost in his mind in 1844 when he took the initiative in establishing the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina with its

3 There is a sizable body of Swain papers in the Southern Historical Collection in the Wilson library. Carolyn (Andrews) Wallace did her doctoral dissertation on Swain up through his two terms as governor of the state.

4 See for example, W. S.ULLINS’ Diary, 1840–41, Southern Historical Collection.

5 Since Lieber remained as professor at South Carolina until 1857 when Columbia University pried him away, the University of South Carolina could make a strong claim to have had so great a chair of history in the United States, and thus challenging Harvard and Sparks.
headquarters in Chapel Hill. Swain dominated the new society from its founding and sought in various ways to gather all sorts of basic materials on North Carolina. He even urged the General Assembly to formulate a plan for gathering and preserving one or more copies of every book, pamphlet, and other written item that appeared after the introduction of the printing press in 1749; and to obtain from England copies of all documents and papers bearing on Proprietary Government from the charter of 1663 to the establishment of the American system in 1789. Swain asked historian George Bancroft, who was at the time U. S. Minister to England, to find out approximately what it would cost to get a copy of every public paper in England that concerned North Carolina before 1789. Swain considered going to London to study the matter, and the General Assembly of 1849 authorized a sum of $1,000.00 to be used for the purpose.

Too, at this time Swain was becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that he did not know what materials concerning colonial North Carolina were to be found in other states across the country, and that it would be a mistake and a waste of time and expense to do a real search in London if what was at home. So he began devoting more time to this matter, and got several scholars, including Bancroft and Sparks to help him. Swain obviously thought of the records he was gathering for the North Carolina Historical Society as the property of the North Carolina Historical Society, and thus felt that they should ultimately go to the University Library.

Moreover, in the mid-1840s Swain began pressing cautiously for a broader curriculum which would include courses in law, surveying, and agriculture as well as a professorship in history. Instruction in the law proved the easiest to get and in 1845 William L. Mitchell became the University's first professor of law. Shortly afterwards the matter of a professorship in history got a new push. Francis L. Hawks, a North Carolinian who had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1835, and later became a member of the Episcopal Church in New York, now surprised the University Trustees by informing them that he was working on a multi-volume history of North Carolina and would accept the salary of an assistant in history at $50 a month if the faculty was adequate to support his family. The trustees apparently gave the matter careful consideration but when it became clear that they were expecting more salary than the other professors were getting, they decided that history would have to wait a bit longer.

But the next three governors of the state - William A. Graham, Charles Manly, and David Reid - had considerable interest in history and assisted Swain both in the collection of historical materials and in getting a professorship of history in the University. In the late 1840s Swain began pressing a bit harder and in 1849 a professorship in history and English literature was established. A. M. Shipp, who had graduated from the University in 1840 and done some advanced work under Swain, was appointed to the new chair to divide his time between history and English. History had made a very substantial gain in the classroom, but Swain and some of the trustees wanted more and the University catalogue for 1853-54 listed a department of history with A. M. Shipp as professor of history. There were courses in the ancient, medieval, and modern periods and in the rise and fall of empires by Swain's course in political economy and constitutional law, which students sometimes said were heavy with history. Too, young Henri Harrisse, who built the Horace Williams house and was to gain distinction in bibliography as well as history in the years to come, had just been named professor of French and was also scheduled to give Shipp some help in European history. The University now had a Department of History for the first time, and indeed a program in history which was certainly not exceeded in many colleges or universities in the country.

While the establishment of a department of history was the most notable development in the decade of the 1840s, there was much else of importance to history and its growth. The Di and Phi literary societies seemingly gave a bit more time and attention to historical and biographical matters, debates and even in the purchase of new books for their libraries. Too, with a bit of urging from Swain, they took the initiative in 1852 in the revival of the University magazine which was to run until the outbreak of the Civil War and was to add to the growth of history in the University in several ways, but above all by publishing many articles of a historical nature.

Zebulon B. Vance, who was later to serve two terms as governor of the state, was a student in the University at the time and served as the first editor of the revived magazine. Several alumni, contributed articles on North Carolina, and Swain himself not only contributed many articles but provided many students with manuscripts for articles. Two of Swain's most widely read and highly praised articles were "Cornelius Harnett and the Mountains of Vance." For few citizens in the state were so well-known and so much admired as was professor Mitchell. He had become the University faculty for nearly three years, and on July 28, 1857 he fell to his death near the highest peak in the Great Smokies. No one had studied the soils, the ferns, and the fauna of the mountains for generations.

Strange and surprising as it may seem the already famous geologist and geographer Elisha Mitchell was teaching a broad course in history for first year students at the time. He was using as a text George Weber's Outlines of Universal History, which covered developments from the imagined creation to the present.

7 For a list of the better articles, see Battle, History of the University of North Carolina, 2 (1885), 663-64. The magnitude of the financial situation was improving as the years passed and it certainly would have continued if war had not broken out between the states.
rocks of Western North Carolina as much as he, and few knew as much about the history of its people as he. His influence was a large figure in the life of the state. In 1869 the University purchased his library of nearly 2000 volumes which was rich in historical as well as scientific materials.

History in the University also suffered another loss at this time which was more direct and probably as serious as the loss of Mitchell. In late 1858 Columbia University got Francis Lieber away from the College of South Carolina, which was soon to be the University of South Carolina, and the College of South Carolina made professor Shipp an offer that he felt he could not decline. Still President Swain was not overly worried by the loss of Shipp for that was but the loss of one. First of all, he had Francis L. Hawks and John H. Wheeler were rather good historians and so much interested in the University, that one or the other would almost fill the chair of history.8 Too, he himself had something of a national reputation as a historian and thus knew a goodly number of historians north and south. Finally he was wise to an increasing amount of his time to the history of North Carolina, and was at the time hoping to join with Hawks in doing a sizable documentary history of the state. So while worried a bit by the loss of Shipp, and even more by the growing tension between North and South, he nevertheless told the University Trustees in 1859 that the University was doing well and growing fast; that the enrollment was near 500, and that to the best of his information Yale University was the only educational institution in the country with a larger enrollment. Too, he was flattered and pleased by the fact that President James Buchanan had agreed to attend the commencement of 1859.

Of course, it was the growing tension between North and South that most concerned Swain most. He knew that if war came the enrollment would decline sharply and the situation would be very difficult. Still it appears that he fully intended to replace Shipp until the fighting actually started. He approached both Hawks and Wheeler, and found each saying that he wanted to come to the University, but could not support his family on the salary of a professor. Swain made much of an effort to send men who would come for the salary is not entirely clear. But in any case war between the northern and southern states was soon a reality and some four-fifths of the students and the majority of the staff were in the armed services in a matter of weeks. Thus Swain made no further effort at replacing Shipp, but centered his attention on the running of the University open and available to other members of the staff to work more history into their courses.

The University catalogue of 1861-62 stated that instruction in the field of ancient history would be the responsibility of

8 Wheeler had published a two-volume documentary history in the early 1850s entitled Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851.

the departments of Greek and Latin, and that modern history would be the responsibility of the president of the University.9 And it is evident that the small group of students in the University did continue to get considerable history in the classroom. For Swain himself not only put more history in his classes in constitutional law, but he taught at least one course that Shipp had given and he pressed the men in modern languages as well as in Greek and Latin to work more history into their courses. Actually some have wondered if Swain himself was not playing with the idea of resigning the presidency of the University after the war and taking the chair of history, as Kemp F. Battle was to do in 1890.

But if only a modest amount of history was being taught in these years, a great deal of history, heavy with emotion and tension, was being made in the area and the University was deeply involved in it. As General Sherman and his Union troops moved toward Raleigh in the early spring of 1865, Governor Zebulon Vance asked Swain, with whom he had had courses in the University and so well, to join with William Graham in going with Sherman to meet General Sherman in an effort to spare the Raleigh, Durham, Chapel Hill area of possible heavy damage. But, of course, Union soldiers were soon stationed on the University campus with horses stabled in the old playmaker building just across Cameron avenue from Old East. And a Union officer soon married Swain's daughter, and that hurt Swain's standing with many people in the state especially with ardent democrats. Then a few weeks later Andrew Johnson, who had become President upon the assassination of Lincoln and who was born in Raleigh, N. C., invited Swain, William Eaton, and A. F. Moore to Washington to discuss the matter of North Carolina's re-entrance into the Union. But the talk with Johnson and the conversation was not successful and President Johnson then turned to W. W. Holden who had remained loyal to the Union and had taken the lead in the formation of a Republican party in the state. Holden was soon elected governor of the state and there was a new state constitution and a new Board of Trustees for the University. A political and social struggle ensued across the state, and the University was caught in it. The new State Board of Education created under the new constitution soon turned to the University, and on July 24, 1868, declared the office of president and all professorships vacant. Swain, who had just offered to resign as president, was shocked and angered and addressed a strong protest to Governor Holden. But a few

9 History remained in the catalogue in this way until after Swain's death in 1868. When I was a graduate student I heard both T. H. D. W. Connor and E. W. Knight tell about the hopes and dreams of Hawkins and Swain of doing a two-volume history of the state. See also H. G. Jones, For History's Sake, pp. 196-208.
days later Swain was thrown from his buggy by a spirited horse belonging to General Sherman, and he died on August 27, 1868.10

The new Board of University Trustees with Governor Holden as chairman then met and elected Solomon Pool president of the University. Though Pool had taught mathematics in the University for several years and was a supporter of Holden, he was far from being a Swain. In the coming year only a few students showed up, tensions mounted, confusion grew and very little history was taught or learned. On November 20, 1870, the new Board of Trustees decided that faculty salaries would be discontinued on February 1, 1871, and the University thus closed. Chapel Hill soon became known as the "deserted Village," but president Pool clung to his office and remained near the campus most of the time in an effort to protect the buildings, which fortunately had not been plundered and looted quite as much by Sherman's troops as had the farms of Orange and Chatham counties.11

10 Many felt that Swain's death was due more to weariness and the weight of events than to the fall from the buggy.

11 These were the years when Cornelia Phillips Spencer, daughter of Professor Charles Phillips, sought diligently for ways and means of reopening the University. When the good newcomer, she climbed to the belfry of South building and rang the old bell furiously.
professors to head the six colleges. John H. Wheeler, who had done so much work on the history of North Carolina and had some support for the chair of philosophy, which embraced history, political economy and constitutional law; but he was about to retire. Fortunately for the education of the state he was near his seventieth birthday. Adolphus W. Mangum, who was born near Chapel Hill, had served as a chaplain in the Confederate army, and was at the time a well known churchman in the state, was finally chosen to head the college of Philosophy. While Mangum's principal interest was known to be in moral philosophy and metaphysics, he had read rather widely in English literature and history, and indeed had published an article concerning George Washington's visit to Salisbury and also occupied the Confederate Prison in Salisbury. Too, the Trustees were not much concerned about the teaching of history because they were morally sure that Kemp Battle, who had a deep interest in history as well as in constitutional law, would soon be elected president of the University.

And of course Battle assumed the office of President in June 1876, and perhaps this was a blessing for the University as well as for history in the University. For Battle was a man of courage and ability, and he had had a great deal of varied and useful experience. After graduating from the University in 1849, he had remained in Chapel Hill for four years tutoring in mathematics and reading law and history. He had then begun the practice of law and was gradually drawn into business and politics, and had even served for a time as postmaster of Chapel Hill. The Chatham Railroad which had been hastily constructed in the early 1860s largely to help get coal to Confederate foundries.

By reason of his family connections and political interests, he was probably able to do as much if not more for the University in the years just ahead than any one that could have been chosen.

On assuming the presidency Battle let it be known that he would do as Swain had done and teach some history as well as political economy and constitutional law. In fact he still had notes that he had taken in courses with Swain, and of course he had done much reading and thinking about matters in the interim. Then it was announced that John D. Hooper, professor of Greek, and young George T. Winston, professor of Latin, would give considerable time to the history of Greece and Rome in their courses.

2 Winston had just graduated from both the Naval Academy and Cornell University with highest honors. Speaking at commencement exercises several years later, Winston said of Battle: “He performed the duties of a dozen men and carried on an enormous correspondence without any secretarial help.”

So if we look at the first university catalogue after the reopening, we see that the enrollment had reached 214; that Mangum gave a survey course for freshmen on the history of Europe and the United States; that Hooper gave a course on the history of Greece; that Winston gave a survey course on the history of Rome; and that Battle gave a course for seniors on the constitutional history of England and the United States.

While there were minor variations in this program almost every year, the amount of history offered in the classroom remained substantially at this level across the 1880s. Though Mangum's health steadily deteriorated, he had the help of a tutor much of the time until his death in 1890.3 Though Battle was strongly in favor of more history, there was little he could do except give more of his own time lecturing to students. The University's tiny budget was terribly strained by the new schools of pharmacy, medicine, mechanical arts, and agriculture.

However Battle did initiate a very modest graduate program in history at the Master's level. While the program was centered in North Carolina history and was of necessity largely a matter of directed reading, it was substantial and covered more than a dozen historical works including the whole of George Bancroft's lengthy History of the United States. Perhaps the best known student that Battle had in this course was Stephen B. Weeks, who afterwards did a doctorate in history at The Johns Hopkins University and taught history for several years in Trinity College (now Duke University). Weeks also had a considerable writing, mainly in the field of North Carolina history, and helped S. A. Ashe with the editing of the last two volumes of his Biographical History of North Carolina.4

Another development in these years that did a great deal for history was the revival of the North Carolina Historical Society. For the Historical Society was destined to play sizable roles in connection with the Swain collection of letters and documents, the establishment of the University Summer School, and the revival of the University Magazine. In

3 But Mangum tried hard to keep the freshman course in good shape and in at least two cases paid law students out of his own pocket to tutor freshmen. Mangum and Battle also took the lead in 1885-86 in getting the libraries of the DI and Phi Literary Societies merged with the University Library.

4 There was not, of course, very much advanced training in history anywhere in the country as yet. The course-trained Herbert B. Adams established a Ph.D. program at Johns Hopkins in 1876, and this appears to have been the first doctoral program. The University of N. C. awarded a few degrees before the end of the century, but the Graduate School as an independent structure was not established until 1903.
fact a movement to revive the historical society got underway just before the reopening of the University and the return of alumni, including William A. Graham, Sebolen B. Vance, and John H. Wheeler, joined their voices in a call for a society some kind of one that had operated for a couple of years during the Civil War. On March 22, 1875, the General Assembly incorporated a new North Carolina Historical Society. Then in May the incorporators met in Raleigh and named Governor Vance, W. A. Graham, and Cornelina Spencer as a committee to approach Eleanor Swain, widow of former President Swain, concerning the disposition of the so-called Swain Collection. Of course, since much of the material had been gathered by the previous historical society in the 1850s and 1860s, the feeling was widespread that Swain had always intended to put the collection in the University library after his retirement. Still he had not indicated this in his will and the debate over the collection became a_daily public battle of letters, partly because there were items from the pen of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Prince Talleyrand, and several other famous men, and which thus had considerable monetary value.

At the same time William L. Saunders, who had graduated from the University in 1854 and crippled for life in the battle of the Wilderness, had been for some time collecting records of the colonial period in the hope of doing what Swain and Hawkins were planning to do until the Civil War put an end to their hopes. This pleased Eleanor Swain and she was giving Saunders full access to the collection. Then in 1881 when the General Assembly authorized the Trustees of the State Public Library to gather and publish important records of the colonial period, Eleanor Swain named the well-known Walter Clark and Richard Battle executors of her estate and instructed them to do what they thought best for the Swain Collection of historical records as soon as W. L. Saunders had finished with them. Clark and Battle saw to it that a large portion of the collection got into the University library where it became a solid nucleus for a North Carolina Collection.

Of course the establishment of a summer school in the University was one of the most important developments at this time. And it did not come as a surprise to everyone. Quite a number of people across the state, including Governor Vance, were pondering the possibility of summer sessions in the University devoted mainly to the training of teachers for the struggling but growing public schools across the state. Then

5 Saunders, who was now on the University Board of Trustees, was confined to a wheelchair, but he was a man of great determination and managed to complete work for ten volumes of The Records of North Carolina before his death in 1850. Walter Clark would soon take up where Saunders left off and publish 16 additional volumes.

when in 1877 the Peabody Fund informed the General Assembly that the Fund was prepared to help financially with the training of teachers for the public schools of the state, the General Assembly authorized the State Board of Education to establish for a couple of years, and for a number of schools, one at the University in Chapel Hill and the other at the College for Negroes in Fayetteville. The summer school at Chapel Hill not only attracted more than 200 students, but since it was one of the first summer schools in the country to be connected with a university it attracted a number of well-known teachers and scholars from various parts of the country to the campus and several of them gave lectures of an historical nature while they were in Chapel Hill.

And even though this first normal school was hailed as a real asset to public education across the state, it was served only as a small portion of the public schools, mainly because salaries were very small and the great majority of those teaching were not financially able to attend a summer school in Chapel Hill. Accordingly the summer school in the University was suspended from 1885 to 1894 in order that a large number of regional or county institutes for the less well to do teachers could be held each summer across the whole state. These summer institutes proved to be popular and quite helpful to the public school system. But University president George T. Winston restored the summer school in the University, and there have been courses in history as well as programs for public school teachers in the University every summer since.

In the meantime the North Carolina Historical Society had been truly active and had succeeded in reviving the University Magazine. But the Magazine was having hard time even though Cornelina Spencer, George T. Winston, George S. Hill, Adelaide Fries, and Stephen S. Weeks were giving it considerable time and attention. The most serious problem was that the vast majority of students regarded it as too high-toned and thus took little interest in it. In fact, a goodly number of students were already talking about a publication that would concern itself mainly with student affairs, and in 1892 the Tar Heel appeared and became a critic as well as a competitor of the magazine. The weekly Tar Heel quickly became the favorite of the great majority of the students, and was to remain so over the years, whether as a weekly, a bi-weekly, or a daily. The magazine was never again able to contribute to history in the University as it had during the Swain years.

But history's most spectacular gain in these years was in the main stream of University life and President Battle was nearly always in the center of it. Battle's intelligence and his way of teaching history had grown and in the mid 1880s he began thinking of the possibility of an Alumni Chair of History. At the same time several alumni, including the gifted and widely
known Colonel William H. S. Burgwyn, gave him some encouragement. Burgwyn had graduated from the University in 1868, the Harvard law school in 1870, and the Washington Medical College in 1876. In 1881 he had established the business firm of Burgwyn and Company in Richmond. A few years later had become a member of the University's Board of Trustees. He had shown considerable interest in history over the years and had written some good articles bearing on the history of the state. Battle, keenly aware of all this, decided to make an effort to get the promise of funds for an Alumni Chair of History at the commencement of 1890. Burgwyn was invited to make the commencement address with history as his principal theme, and he accepted and was in Chapel Hill at the appointed hour. It is obvious from his address that he had read Herbert B. Adams' new book The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities; and it is equally obvious that he had been deeply disturbed by the fact that Adams had all but ignored the colleges and the universities of the South. As he moved toward the end of a well informed address in which he had talked about Francis Lieber and George Bancroft; as well as Washington and Wheeler, he said: "We have North Carolina historians but our history is yet to be written.... This work must be done at the University of the state, around which clung the glories of a century and where the state must look for its freest, loftiest, and noblest culture in literature, science, and art." Quite a number of alumni were now ready to pledge support, and when commencement exercises were over, an Alumni Chair of History was a certainty.

The establishment of the Alumni Chair was of course a real landmark in history in the University, and President Battle immediately magnified its importance a bit by telling the Board of Trustees that he wished to move the presidency of the University to the new chair of history. This came as a surprise to many across the state, and there were considerable speculations as to why Battle chose to make this move. While there were negative as well as positive reasons, it seems all but certain that the primary reason was political.

Throughout his deep interest in the history of the state and the University and his strong feeling that history should have more attention in the University's program of studies. On the other side, it is obvious that he was aware of the need of pressing alumni and friends of the University to give money to support the University when few of them had much money to give, and that he was keenly aware that most of our denominal colleges in the state were preparing to intensify their effort on the University because of its effort to get funds from the state.6

6 Some felt that Battle believed that the strong-willed and outspoken Negro T. W. Winston would be chosen as his successor as president, and that Winston could handle the financial and sectarian problems better than he himself.

In any event, and whatever the reasons, Battle moved from the presidency of the University to the new chair of history, and in his own words, dealt with considerable detail in the University catalogue of 1890-91 what would be offered in the classroom in the years immediately ahead. He stressed that there would be three types and levels of instruction, namely general history, special history, and a course in historical research. He stated that the work in general history would consist mainly of assignments in textbooks and that its central aim would be to provide a "concise, logical view of the great stream of events" from Greek and Roman times to the present; that the program in special history would require considerable work in "original materials" as well as textbooks and lectures and would center on the decline of the Roman Empire, the formation and growth of England, and the principal landmarks in modern European history and development; and that the work in historical research would be confined largely to the United States and would center on North Carolina where a large body of original material was available. He explained that the latter course was to be a seminar and that the students were to be encouraged to submit their research papers to newspapers and periodicals for possible publication.

Though Battle was not a professionally trained historian and not what historians of a later date would call a scientific historian, he was an able and sensible man and he believed that a knowledge of the broad currents of the past was of value to everyone. He had been active for many years in the collection of basic source materials at the state level; he had read rather widely and pondered much; and he had seen quite a bit of life. Too, he had a deep interest in students and felt that it was his duty to work with them outside as well as inside the classroom.8

8 Soon after assuming the Alumni Chair, Battle took the initiative in getting Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University, who had a doctorate from the University of Freiburg and was being hailed as one of the top historians in the country, to Chapel Hill for a series of lectures on history, and the Methods of Teaching History. Then Battle

7 So while the University was not to have a formal graduate school in 1890, considerable research in history as well as chemistry and several other fields was being done, and Battle had a large hand in it.
joined hands with President Winston in getting Alfred M.
Waddell, graduate of 1854 and member of U. S. Congress for a
time, to serve as a life speaker for 1893 and 1895. At the
commencement of 1893 Waddell spoke on W. L. Saunders whose ten
volumes of the Colonial Records of North Carolina had just
appeared. In 1895 he spoke at the commencement of 1894 on
the early years of the University. Battle also made semi-annual
reports to the president of the University and the work on the
history department. The needs that he stressed most at this
time were for more library materials and for an assistant.8
He pointed out that the enrollment in his classes approached
the total university enrollment, and that it was all but
impossible for him to give the students the attention that
they wanted and needed much less to do any research or
writing. Battle was liked and admired by Tar Heel now
and then pointed out that students often gathered at the door
of his office in Old West hoping to ask him questions and
to get him talking about the history of the state.

The Trustees understood the situation, and soon
encouraged both Battle and President Winston to begin the
search for a mature and able man who could help with the
teaching of history and also with the training of prospective
teachers for the growing public school system. Battle and
Winston were soon telling the Trustees that Edwin A. Alderman
was the best man available for the position. Alderman had
attended the University in the early eighteenies, and was now
professor of history and the philosophy of education in the
State Normal and Industrial School in Greensboro. He was a
gifted public speaker and was rather well known in the
state. Battle obviously thought of him as a man who could
serve well even as president of the University. Alderman
believed that history's chief value lay in its possible
providing perspective and to shed light on current problems. He
thus felt that the courses for first and second year students
should be rather broad surveys.9 Indeed Alderman helped
develop the survey of western civilization type course which
was to become very popular across the country during the first
world War and immediately after. While Alderman gave much
time at first to the philosophy of education and the training
of teachers for the public schools of the state, he was a hard
worker and found time to help Battle. He was soon teaching
the survey courses in history, and developing an advanced
course covering the years of the Civil War and Reconstruction,
which was destined to be given in the department for several
decades and to be fought over at times as we shall later see.

Tar Heel worked actively with president Winston in an
effort to strengthen the North Carolina Historical Society.

But in 1896 things changed suddenly for both Winston and
Alderman. The University of Texas with its big purse lured the
rather ambitious and pioneering Winston to Austin, and the
University Trustees had to name a new president. Alderman
had wide support and was quickly chosen president, and this
created another problem for Battle and history. Alderman
announced that he would continue to give the course in
political science. That helped but Battle needed help with
the survey course, and he finally added W. C. Smith, who had
just graduated with honors in history, to the faculty for the
coming year. But the search for a well-trained full-time man
gave up; and in 1897, the year in which the University's
enrollment went back to the level of 1888-89, Albert T. Bynum
was added to the history staff. Bynum, who had spent his
early years in Chatham and Guilford counties, had done two
years of graduate work at Johns Hopkins University and then
gone to Halle University in Germany for a doctorate. Battle
and most everyone in Chapel Hill was pleased with Bynum, and
the student Tar Heel hailed him as a real find in its issue of
January 25, 1898. But Bynum was already getting offers from
other universities, and before the end of the year he accepted
a special chair at the University of Arkansas.

Battle was weary with searching and apparently no effort
was made to find the time to replace Bynum. But the history did not
suffer too much for Alderman continued to give the course; Smith
was retained as an assistant; and Marcus Cicero Stephens
Noble, who had graduated from the University in 1878 and done
outstanding work in the public school system for many years, was
added as professor of pedagogy and assistant in history.
It was not an ideal history staff, but all were good with
students, and all except Smith had read widely and seen a lot
of life.

There were no staff changes for the next two years, but
in the spring of 1900 President Alderman accepted the
presidency of Tulane University and his move to New Orleans
left what was generally seen as a full-time vacancy in
history. After considerable searching K. F. Battle and M. C.
Smith, the old both Francis Venable, the new President, and the
Board of Trustees that the man they wanted was Charles L.
Raper, who had grown up in High Point, graduated from Trinity
College, and had just completed work for a Ph. D. at Columbia
University.11 At the outset Raper took over most of the

8 Horace Williams (donor of the University Airport and more), who got an M. A. degree in philosophy and history in 1883 and
helped the man who had been named professor of philosophy after Mangum's death and now found little time to help Battle.

9 I heard much about Alderman in my early years, for my
father had known him slightly while he was in Greensboro and
-regarded him as a gifted speaker with statesman-like
qualities.
courses that Alderman had given and slowly developed a course in economic history as well as courses in economic affairs and business matters. Noble gave the survey course in American
history and introduced a course in the history of education,
and thus began to lay the basis for a department of education
which would be broadly based and would include the
educational development of the state. Noble and Raper
would still be giving a considerable part of their teaching time
to the history department when he retired in 1908. Counting the courses that Noble and Raper
were giving, the history department was now offering some
twelve courses and also giving help to graduate students on
any topic they wished to explore.

Venable also took the initiative in 1904 in bringing
Joseph Hyde Pratt to the faculty as professor of mineralogy
and geology. Pratt was born in Connecticut and did a Ph. D.
at Yale in geology and geography. He came to North Carolina
in the late 1870s to assist with a geographical, geological,
and meteorological survey of the state and was so
impressed with what he saw in the state and soon became interested in its
history as well as its mineralogy and geology. Collier
Cobb, W. C. Coker, M. C. S. Noble, R. D. W. Connor and some
others agreed with President Venable that Pratt would be a
valuable addition to the faculty and he was soon a fixture in
the University. He felt that history as well as mineralogy
and geology should have a solid place in the University
curriculum. I saw quite a bit of him from 1925 until his
death in 1934.

While we have now touched on most of the major
developments concerning history in the University in these
years, there were some other matters and projects and
benefited history and deserve a bit of attention. The most
direct and immediate of these other developments was a
noticeable increase in the amount of history taught in other
departments. The university catalogue shows that the
department of Latin was giving two courses that were basically
history, one dealing with the private lives of the Roman people
and the other with Roman literature and philosophy. The
department of Greek was giving a course on the history of
Greece. The departments of English, French, and German each
gave at least one course that was largely biography and
history. Too, the emerging departments of economics and

very skilful in the selection of staff in all fields. In the
early months of his term as president, he seemingly was
largely responsible for the addition of both Louis R. Wilson
as professor of English and Charles T. Woolmen as a lawyer
and purchasing agent. And few men contributed as much to the
welfare of the University in the next thirty-odd years as
these two men.

education, which were headed by Charles Raper and M. C. S.
Noble respectively, were giving considerable attention to
history.

Moreover, and very important for history in the
University and the whole state, a small group of North
Carolinians led by Charles B. Aycock, Walter Clark, William J.
Peel, Kemp F. Battle, H. G. Connor gathered in Raleigh on
October 23, 1901 and discussed among other things the
establishment of a State Historical Commission. Then on
January 29, 1901, the same group decided to urge the General
Assembly and the Governor to plan the establishment of such
body. In March Governor Aycock appointed W. J. Peel of
Raleigh, Richard Dillard of Edenton, F. A. Ashe of
Asheville, James Huffam of Henderson, and Young R. D. W.
Connor, who was then teaching in the public school system in
Winston-Salem, to draft a plan for a North Carolina
Historical Commission. Connor always hastened to observe, when discussing
this matter in later years, that the members of the committee were
scattered across the state and it was impossible for all of them to get together. But fortunately
Peel and Connor and Huffam were fairly close together, and in
early November 1903 they met in Warsaw and, being a majority
of the commission, they proceeded to organize. Connor
nominated Peele for chairman and then he and Huffam voted
Peel to the office of chairman. Peele then nominated Connor
secretary and he and Huffam voted Connor secretary and the
North Carolina Historical Commission was a reality with a
budget of $4500.00. Then in 1905 Governor Glenn, with
the approval of all members of the Commission, made changes in the
memberships that minimized this difficulty. He left Peele and
Connor on the Commission but replaced the others with
Charles Raper of the University faculty, J. Bryan Crum of
Raleigh and Thomas W. Blount, well-known business man of the
Piedmont area. The new group worked with considerable zeal
and determination, and in 1907 the General Assembly increased
the Commission's annual appropriation to $5,000.00 so that
secretary Connor would be able to devote full time to
collecting, editing, transcription, and the like. Shortly
thereafter M. C. S. Noble of Chapel Hill replaced Blount and the
Commission had two members of the University faculty.
Indeed, as we shall see, it was to remain close to the
University and its department of history for many years to come.

Another development in the early years of the new century
that gave history in the University a substantial boost was

12 All of these men were insisting that the state was on the
 verge of rapid growth. See Judge Walter Clark's address
delivered at the newly organized State Teachers Association on June
12, 1901. The public school term was raised from four to six
months at this time.
the construction of the Carnegie Library which was opened in the summer of 1907 and served as the University library until 1929 when the Wilson library was opened. The Carnegie was an excellent library for the time it not only gave students fairly easy access to all of its holdings (the books, periodicals, and even daily papers) but it had several sizable seminar rooms on the upper floor, one of which was soon set apart for history majors and graduate students. The room had book shelves on three sides, and they were filled largely with books and materials which the history staff felt were most needed by history majors and graduate students. This room, with a large table in the center, made reading and writing easier and more inviting, and it was there that Frank Porter Graham, Albert H. Newsom, Fletcher H. Patton, K. T. Shanks, and a number of others including myself, did their first graduate work during the second and third decades of the twentieth century.

In the early years of the new century the history department and its graduate students also received a tiny bit of financial aid, and the one who really started it was John Sprunt, a well known business man in Wilmington, North Carolina. Sprunt had a deep interest in history, especially state history, and he knew and admired K. P. Battle. In 1899 he, with the enthusiastic support of his wife, announced that he would provide small annual sums to the department of history to be used to help out with the publication of good articles and monographs. Battle was pleased, and Sprunt soon came to know and admire J. G. de Roullac Hamilton and R. D. C. Williams, whom were in their early twenties and pointing toward careers in history. They would later see to it that a goodly number of Sprunt supported publications came from the press.

Perhaps we should not close this chapter without a few words about new buildings and new sports; for K. P. Battle was professor of history, was deeply interested in both. Of course there was next to no building until near the end of the century. In fact only one substantial building was constructed on the campus from 1859, when New East and New West were opened, until 1898 and that was the auditorium.

13 Few in the state pushed as hard for a University Library building as John sprunt Hill who had settled in Durham in 1850. He was born in Duplin County, graduated from the University in 1889, practiced law in New York for several years, delivered the Alumni Address at the University in 1903, and died in New York to Durham in the autumn of 1903. His papers are in the Southern Historical Collection.

14 Too, the Colonial Dames and Charles Hill of Baltimore offered small prizes in those years for outstanding articles on North Carolina history.

15 Old Memorial Hall was much used by students for exercising in the winter until Bynum Gymnasium was built. By the mid-1920s, when I was a student, Old Memorial was pronounced structurally unsafe, and was dismantled and the present Memorial Hall was constructed in the late 1920s.
From 1890 to 1905 K. P. Battle, a man of stern courage and great devotion to duty and to the University, had kept the department of history moving rather smoothly. But in 1905 it became clear to all concerned, including the Board of Trustees, that the department of history would have to be restaffed very soon. For not only was Battle in his seventy-fourth year and anxious to move along with the second volume of his History of the University, but both M.C. Noble and Charles Raper, who had been for several years giving approximately half of their teaching time to history, were heads of growing departments and were pointing out to Battle and all concerned that they now needed about all of their time for their own departments. Too, the University enrollment was growing steadily and there were indications that it would grow even faster in the years immediately ahead. In fact, there was now across much of the state a steadily growing feeling that the state was on the march, and that the piedmont region from Raleigh and Durham to Winston-Salem and Charlotte had good potential for industry as well as agriculture. A number of well-known citizens, including Charles B. Aycock, Charles McIver, Josephus Daniels, Julian Carr, E. A. Alderman, Paul Schenck, Clarence Poe, E. K. Graham, and H. G. Connor, were calling for the expansion of the public school system and hinting that some effort should be made to tie the University at Chapel Hill, the College of Agriculture and Engineering at Raleigh, and the Woman's College in Greensboro, more deeply into the life of the state. All of these developments, along with the drive for better roads and more industry were fostering a sense of pride in the history of the state and improving the climate for the study and teaching of history at Chapel Hill.

In the autumn of 1905 K. P. Battle told President Venable and the Board of Trustees that he would retire from the history staff after one more year, and that his principal assistants, M. C. S. Noble and Charles Raper, needed nearly all if not all of their teaching time for their own departments of education and economics and finance. The M.C.S. Noble and E.A. Alderman as well as K.P. Battle had known Charles B. Aycock when they were students in the University in the late 1870s and had kept in touch with him over the years.

16 Both Collier Cobb and Archibald Henderson said that the three golf holes or cups were in this area, and that one was where Spencer Hall now stands, one in the north-central area of Coker Arboretum, and the other about the center of the present Planetarium Garden. Tin cans with tops and bottoms removed were placed in the holes.

1 M.C.S. Noble and E.A. Alderman as well as K.P. Battle had known Charles B. Aycock when they were students in the University in the late 1870s and had kept in touch with him over the years.

2 I had worked under M.C.S. Noble in 1924-25 and he had a solid grasp of the history of education in the U.S. and he liked to talk about K.P. Battle and about his own years teaching history under Battle.
Trustees understood the situation and told Battle to begin the search for two good men to give full-time to history. As actually this did not worry Battle very much because he already had his eyes on the two men that he wanted and he felt fairly confident that he could get them. He wanted for September 1906 to take over from Raper and Noble was Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, who had grown up in Hillsboro, attended the University of the South for family reasons, and was at the time on the point of completing work for a Ph. D. in history at Columbia University. The other, who would be needed in September 1907, was Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, who had grown up near Roxboro, attended the University from 1895-1899, and was at the time completing work fairly confidently in history at The Johns Hopkins University. On February 7, 1906, Battle informed Roulhac Hamilton that the Board of Trustees had elected him to an associate professorship in history at an annual salary of $1,000.00, effective September 1, 1906, and added: "Your grandfather and my father were personal friends." Hamilton, now in his thirtieth year, was really delighted to remain in North Carolina and concentrate on the state and the southern region. Since Raper had assured Battle that the new department of economics and finance, which he headed, would give at least one course in economic history, and since Noble had already agreed to give the survey course in American history for at least one more year, Battle felt that he had the situation well under control. Moreover, he had learned that both Raper and Noble were soon to be members of the North Carolina Historical Commission, and that pleased him for he felt that their presence on the commission would be a real help to history in the University.

So in the late summer of 1906 with Hamilton already in the classroom, Battle let Wagstaff, whom he had had in classes eleven years earlier, know that the history department would need another full-time member in September 1907 and that many eyes were on him. Wagstaff was much flattered, as he liked to express it, and he informed Battle that while he was under contract to teach at Allegheny College during the coming year, he would keep himself available for September 1907.

Meantime Hamilton was in action and his first year was a rather hard one because most of his courses were in European history. However he was very pleased when Battle told him that he could give the course, entitled Civil War and Reconstruction, which Alderman had developed several years earlier. This course not only helped to brighten Hamilton's first year, but it remained his favorite course over the years.

3 Roulhac Hamilton's great great grandfather, James Hamilton had served as governor of South Carolina from 1830 to 1833, and had also been a member of Congress for some years.
vast storehouse of humorous stories. Wagstaff on the other hand was rather quiet, a bit dull, and very slow to criticize. Too, they walked and behaved differently as they moved across the campus. Hamilton had a swinging rhythmic walk, and usually looked straight ahead; while Wagstaff moved slowly, were rather stiff and slow and he kept his eyes most of the time on the trees, flowers, birds, and squirrels on both sides of the walkway.

But their behavioral differences did not interfere with their real work. They seemingly had no trouble dividing up the courses in the department, even though each had done his dissertation, and thus the bulk of his hardest research, in North Carolina history. Of course the faculty was still quite cosmopolitan in his thinking and had developed a deep interest in the history of several other regions of the world, including the British Empire and Latin America, was probably determining the division of courses and fields. While Hamilton gave two courses in the European field, one on the Protestant Revolution and the other on the French Revolution and Napoleon, he devoted much of his time to the American field. Wagstaff gave most of his time to England and western Europe from Greek and Roman times, though he soon developed a course on Latin America. So with Raper, who was soon to become dean of the graduate school, giving a course in his own department on the economic history of England and the United States, and Noble giving a course on the history of education, more courses in history were being scheduled than ever before.

Moreover at this time as Hamilton and Wagstaff studied the future with care, both were quite surprised by a letter that Professor H. N. Hull, head of the department of history at Cornell University, Hull invited Hamilton to join the Cornell history staff at approximately twice the salary he was getting in Chapel Hill and with a lighter teaching load. Deep as was Hamilton's attachment to his native state, he gave some consideration to the offer and Wagstaff later admitted that he could not refrain from reminding Hamilton that his deepest interest was in the history of the state and the south. Then immediately after Hamilton had decided that he would not leave North Carolina, he received another letter which surprised him as much as the letter from Hull. J. S. Bassett, who had gone from Trinity College (now Duke University) to Smith College in 1906 and whom he knew slightly, now wrote him that he should accept the Cornell position and assured him that he could do it. He was from North Carolina and the south just as well if not better at Cornell than at Chapel Hill. Hamilton turned down the offer from Cornell, but he never quite forgot Bassett's advice, and was never quite sure why Bassett gave his advice, which he regarded as very unsound.

Hamilton's rejection of the Cornell offer served to convince Wagstaff that Hamilton, like himself, was Chapel Hill to stay. They now worked together with greater confidence and soon decided that President Venable would agree that the department of history needed a full-time instructor in the near future. In September 1911 D. H. Backett, with an M.A. from Columbia, joined the staff as a full-time instructor and took over the course on Greece and Rome as well as the courses on the Protestant Revolution and the French Revolution. He also introduced a course in Municipal Government and helped with the survey work in American History. Backett's presence was a real addition to the faculty and they were able to find a bit more time for activities outside the classroom. Hamilton revised and enlarged his documentary study, which was a study of the Revolution in North Carolina, and which was soon published by the Columbia University Press; began collecting the papers of former Governor Jonathan North with a view to preparing them for publication; and also decided that he would take the lead in preparing a volume of essays as a memorial to Professor William A. Dunning, under whom he and many others had studied at Columbia University. He wrote several of Dunning's former students, including U. B. Phillips of Michigan and Charles W. Ramseur of Texas, about such a volume and plenty of encouragement and continued the project. Hamilton was also asked at this time to serve on the A.H.A. Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize. He agreed to serve, but I do not believe that he ever sought to serve on a professional committee or organization. Wagstaff was working more closely with his colleagues and students than Hamilton, but he was finishing his dissertation for publication and also collecting the papers of John Steele with a view to editing and publishing them. Then in the summer of 1914 D. H. Backett, who had been on the staff for three years, asked for a promotion and discovered that neither Hamilton or Wagstaff was enthusiastic about his accomplishment. After a talk with Hamilton, Backet decided to resign his instructorship and resume work for a Ph.D.

Hamilton then turned to Frank Porter Graham, who had graduated from the University in 1909 and who was a nephew of

6 Hamilton at this time also joined with F.S. Riley of Mississippi and J.S. Chandler of Virginia in writing and publishing Our Republic which was designed for use in high school history courses. It was used quite as a bit as a text in high schools in Mississippi and Virginia. Hamilton also took some part in the presidential campaign of 1912, and received a letter of thanks from Woodrow Wilson on July 7, 1912.

---

5 Wagstaff soon enlarged his doctoral dissertation and published it under the title of State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina.
E.K. Graham the new President of the University. After graduation, Frank P. Graham had taken a law degree and had taught in the Raleigh high school for two years before returning to the University as secretary of the YMCA and as a member of a survey course in American history. Even though he had had very little history when a student, he had read considerably in American history and was well-known and liked by the students. He soon had his students in the survey course in American history rehearsing the Webster-Haynes debates of the 1850s. By the end of the fall quarter he had decided that what he wanted to do was to teach history in the University, and he got encouragement from many including R.D.W. Connor and his cousin Edward Kiddie Graham. Hamilton felt that it would make a good addition to the faculty, but told him that if he really wanted to teach history in the University he would have to do considerable graduate work. He understood and soon asked Connor as well as Hamilton and Wagstaff to write W. E. Dunning of the history department at Columbia University in his behalf. Connor wrote Dunning:

You have the energy and industry necessary to become a full-time instructor in September 1915, not only recommended Graham fairly strongly, but also asked Dunning if he knew of a good young man who had his doctorate, or was near it, and could teach courses in European as well as American history.

Dunning immediately wrote Hamilton that he could, and gave Hamilton the name of William Whitley Pierson, a young Alabamian who was broadly trained and near his Ph.D. And this was a piece of great good fortune not only for history at Chapel Hill but also for the University in the broadest sense. For Pierson was a real scholar with good judgment, a strong personality. He was in his early thirties at this time, extremely industrious, especially for able and serious students, and an ideal man for the development of a graduate program. He, as well as F.P. Graham, will be much in our narrative from this point on.7

So in the late summer of 1915 when Frank Graham went to Columbia University, Pierson came to Chapel Hill, and for the first time, the department of history had three men with Ph.D. degrees. Pierson gave both Hamilton and Wagstaff help because he not only had solid training in American history but very considerable training in both Latin American and European. At the outset he took over the courses on continental Europe as well as the courses on Latin America, and talked of adding a course in government and political theory. From this time on...8

7 Both Hamilton and Wagstaff wanted to keep Graham in the dedication and felt there would be a real need for him as well as Pierson by the time he had completed his graduate work. Both Graham and Pierson would make large and basic contributions to the University but they were about as different in most respects as two members of the University faculty could be.

8 They have not only examined all of the Connor materials in the Southern Historical Collection, but when I was a student in the University I had all the courses that he gave: I taught in the University under his direction from the fall 1934 when he went to the National Archives; and I saw him frequently from 1941; when he returned to Chapel Hill, until his death in 1951.

there was talk of additional courses in government, and in 1919 the name of the department was changed to History and Government.

Moreover as Pierson settled in, there were other developments which exerted strong influences on the department and the University, and thus need attention at this point. And perhaps the matter that overshadowed all others was the growing impact of R.D.W. Connor and the North Carolina Historical Commission.8 For Connor's influence on history in the University had continued to grow, and was perhaps greater after 1913, when he became a member of the University Board of Trustees, than it would have been had he been a member of the history staff. He had a deep interest in the University; he made friends easily; he was an excellent speaker and much in demand as a speaker, and he had the appearance as well as the attributes of a statesman. In 1916 he was asked to institute for Charles B. Aycock at an educational rally in Raeford, and a few weeks later was elected secretary of the North Carolina Teachers Assembly. In the same year he had been instrumental in the founding of the American Historical Association and had served as its president, asked him to give a paper at the next annual meeting. In fact, Jameson, who was famous in historical circles and knew presidents, became a real admirer of Connor just about as early as Hamilton did.

Connor was also doing some writing on historical matters, especially for young students. In early 1907 his Sketch of the Old North State appeared and he received, from across the state. Geologist Collier Cobb wrote him: "There is not a dull line in the whole book, and you have done our children a signal service today, especially for able and serious students, and an ideal man for the development of a graduate program. He, as well as F.P. Graham, will be much in our narrative from this point on."

So in the late summer of 1915 when Frank Graham went to Columbia University, Pierson came to Chapel Hill, and for the first time, the department of history had three men with Ph.D. degrees. Pierson gave both Hamilton and Wagstaff help because he not only had solid training in American history but very considerable training in both Latin American and European. At the outset he took over the courses on continental Europe as well as the courses on Latin America, and talked of adding a course in government and political theory. From this time on...
Connor had considerable respect for Coon, he felt nevertheless that Coon was a little arrogant and overly quick to tell people what they should and should not believe. Connor sent Coon a copy of the manuscript of his The Makers of North Carolina in 1911, and Coon quickly told him that he had made an effort to do the right things and found little space to write about railroads, wars, and tobacco; and that he should forget patriotism and state pride and write about the men and women who had worked for peace and social reform. While Connor kept in touch with Coon over the years and sent him additional manuscripts for criticism, he never took Coon very seriously.

Connor's influence on the University, and especially on the history department grew steadily in these years. In June 1911 he gave a series of lectures on the history of the state for students in the University summer school. Too, he exerted more and more influence on overall policy in the University. He had, for example, more of Noble, Raper, Hamiltor, and Waugh staff, but he was also an elected member of the Board of Trustees of the University in 1913 and two years later became Secretary of the Board. And of course this put him in close contact with the President of the University and elevated him in the eyes of alumni as well as of all members of the history staff. Connor also served as president of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Society in 1912; took the initiative in getting French Ambassador Jules Jusserand to address the society in 1913; served on the Reception Committee for the inauguration of Locke Craig as governor in 1913; and edited the North Carolina Manual for 1913 which was loaded with records and documents of various sorts.

Connor also played a cautious but sizeable role in the election of Edward Kidder Graham to the presidency of the University in 1914. And he did so though, like Waughstaff and Hamilton, was a warm admirer of Francis P. Venable who had succeeded E. A. Alderman as president in 1902. Connor felt that Venable was not only getting a bit weary of the routine of the office but was also yearning to get back full-time to his first love, which was chemistry. Too, Connor was a classmate and close friend of E. K. Graham who was serving as president of the University while Venable was away. Connor felt that E. K. Graham was an able man, who loved the University deeply, and would do as well if

9 All of these felt that Venable was an extremely able chemist and scholar and had done much to move the University from a veritable college of some 500 students in 1901 to a respectable University with some 1350 students in 1912.

10 When he requested a leave to study in Europe some, of course, wondered if he was not thinking of doing just what K. F. Wall had done in 1890 when the Alumni Chair of History was established.

not better than Venable as president. Aware that Graham had strong support among alumni, Connor wrote alumnus Charles Tillett of Charlotte, who was one of Graham's most ardent supporters, to ask that an effort should be made to announce his desire to return full-time to chemistry before there was any campaign for E.K. Graham. For if Venable did so then there was the possibility of his feeling part of his and Graham's supporters. And this was good advice, for Venable wrote from London on May 7, 1914, that he had decided to move from the presidency back to full-time work in chemistry. Then on May 27 the Board of Trustees, of which Connor was a member and soon to be its secretary, voted to establish a special chair in Chemistry for Venable, and then without much discussion elected E. K. Graham President of the University.

Too, it was at this point in time that Frank P. Graham was added to the history staff, and since he had had a great deal more English and law in the University than history, he would welcome some others, if his cousin E. K. Graham had not had something to do with it. Actually the two Graham were very much alike in their thinking as well as their looks. As he pointed out earlier Frank's class oration in 1909 was entitled "The State and the University," and that the central idea of the speech was that the University was obligated to reach out to the people of the state and assist them in every way possible. And it had been pretty obvious that his uncle E. K. Graham, with whom he lived at the time, had had a hard in writing the address. Moreover, the oration had been printed and copies sent to many people across the state, including such business men as Julian Carr, Paul Schenck, John Sprunt Hill, Frank Haynes, Charles Reynolds, and such journalists and lawyers as Clarence Poe, Josephus Daniels, and W. F. Bynum.

Another development at this time in which both the history staff and Connor played sizable roles was the establishment of the University Extension Division with its department of rural social economics. The idea for this was headed and largely built up by Eugene C. Branson who was born in Morehead City in 1861, had taught in the public schools for many years, and had come to know members of the state family while teaching in Wilson. Branson was teaching in Athens, Georgia in 1913, but was delighted at the opportunity to come to the University and head the new department on rural economics. Actually he knew something of Hamilton, Waughstaff, and Raper as well as Connor, and suspected that all of them had something to do with the invitation that had come to him. He had never taught history at the college level, but he had a deep interest in history and government and had read quite a bit about North Carolina and the South. On January 28, 1914, R.D. W. Connor wrote him thanking him for agreeing to return to his native state, and assuring him that the University Board of Trustees would stand ready to assist him with any sound program in rural economics and county
government. Branson started the University News Letter at once, and was soon getting calls from across the state for information and help about a number of rural and county problems. The history staff had become so involved that Clarence Poe, editor of the Progressive Farmer, was asking Roulhac Hamilton to address groups of farmers.\(^{11}\)

Also in these years the summer school played a more diversified as well as a more important role in history. Historians from other institutions began coming in to teach, and members of the staff in the University sometimes taught elsewhere. For example, in these years W. K. Boyd of Trinity College (now Duke University) and W. E. Dodd of the University of Chicago taught in two summer sessions in Chapel Hill, and R. D. W. Connor gave a series of lectures on the history of the state in five summer sessions. In the same years C. L. Raper and W. W. Pierson both taught in Columbia University summer sessions, and M. C. B. Noble journeyed to Iowa for a summer of teaching in its university. Also Roulhac Hamilton, on a few occasions, gave special programs in the summer for high school history teachers.

History also continued to provide most of the substance for the Phi and Phi debating societies, the North Carolina Magazine, and for public lectures which increased in these years. For example Woodrow Wilson spoke in 1909; Shosuke Sata of Japan delivered several lectures on the history of Japan in 1914; the Weil Lecture Series was established in 1915, and both William Jennings Bryan and William Howard Taft spoke in that year, and there was much more.

Among the historical matters of a country-wide nature that Hamilton and Connor became involved in 1915 was the effort of Professor Frederic Bancroft and some of his friends to reform the American Historical Association by putting "Younger men with fresh blood into positions of leadership," as Bancroft expressed it. Bancroft wrote Hamilton on September 3, 1915, that he and a group of his young friends were getting ready for a "vigorously drive all along the line—we shall challenge Jameson, Burr, and their clique——. Burr must not become president." Bancroft then asked: "Is Connor really with us?" But Bancroft did not wait for Hamilton to reply. He put the question directly to Connor as to whether he was an "Old ringer or a reformer." Connor did not appreciate Bancroft's letter, and wrote back that he would vote for the man that he felt best qualified when the time came. But on November 12 he wrote Hamilton that Bancroft was trying to tell him what he should think and do, and added:

\(^{11}\) I was only a small boy at this time, but I remember hearing my father, who was a farmer in Guilford County, talk about Clarence Poe and Eugene Branson. The Progressive Farmer was always on his desk, and on the desk of a good many farmers in the county.
Chapter IV (1916-1920)

The First World War Moves History More Deeply into the Curriculum

In 1915, when Frank P. Graham went to Columbia University for graduate work and William Whatley Pierson joined the history staff in the University, the war in Europe was a real concern in Chapel Hill as well as across the country. The German government was considering unrestricted use of its submarine fleet and on May 7, 1915, the British liner Lusitania was sunk with the loss of some 1200 lives, including about 140 American citizens. This sinking produced an outcry across the country, and even though the Germans did not resort to unrestricted use of the submarine until early 1917, the war was a steadily increasing influence on history at Chapel Hill. In the summer of 1915 Hamilton, Pierson, and Wagstaff helped the Carnegie Endowment establish International Relations Clubs over much of the south as well as in the state. In March 1916 Hamilton, at the request of the Carnegie Endowment, spent several days visiting newly founded clubs in South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, and in the summer attended a seminar in Cleveland, Ohio, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation.

Then, after the sinking of the unarmed French Sussex in the spring of 1916, quite a number of faculty members, as well as President E. K. Graham, came to feel that the best course for the United States might well be to enter the war at once in the hope of shortening it. In fact President E. K. Graham, talked so much about resigning as President of the University and entering some branch of military service that both Josephus Daniels, who was secretary of the Navy, and George Howe, who was professor of Latin in the University and a nephew of President Woodrow Wilson, told the President about Graham's attitude. The President then assured E. K. Graham, whom he knew personally, that he could serve his country best by remaining at his post as President of the University. R. D. W. Connor, who was now working a bit with the New League to Enforce Peace, was also telling E. K. Graham that he could contribute most by remaining in Chapel Hill and providing firm leadership for the University and its 1400 students.

Meantime Frank Porter Graham, who had gone to Columbia University in the autumn of 1915 to do graduate work, had immediately had an encounter which was to have quite an impact on the University and on history in the University. He had met Dudley Dewitt Carroll, a fellow North Carolinian who had grown up in Stokes County, graduated from Guilford College in 1907, taught there for several years, and was at the time doing graduate work at Columbia University and teaching part-time in Hunter College. Graham and Carroll were very much alike in several ways. Above all they were both short and thin, good-natured, ardent North Carolinians, and teetotalers. Carroll had heard a great deal about the University and obviously wanted to go there, and Graham
would soon have him on the way to Chapel Hill. Graham wrote
Hamilton on November 24, 1915, telling him about this and
stressing his good qualities and his deep interest in the
state and the University. The news about Carroll soon got to
P. A. T. Thomas, who wrote to Nathan M. Olmsted, who was
director of the University summer school. Walker soon offered both
Carroll and Graham teaching positions for the summer of 1916.
Carroll immediately wrote Walker a warm letter telling him that
he was under contract to teach at Hunter College in the summer of
1916, but would like very much to teach in the University’s
summer school of 1917, and in fact made it quite clear that he
would like to become a member of the University faculty. Graham
also thanked Walker for the invitation to teach in the summer of
1915 but in a very different tone. He stated that he was not
adequately prepared to teach, especially in a summer school. He
wrote: "I haven’t got my cotton picked yet much less ginned,
bailed, and stored away for the factory. However, Frank was
careful to let Hamilton know that he wanted to remain on the
history staff and return to Chapel Hill before too long. In a
letter to Hamilton on February 7, 1916, he wrote: "I know that
you expect a little from me if the last I have to say is that we
will fill me where you want to expand departmental offerings, I will dig
in there." Actually Hamilton was for more reasons than one anxious
for Frank to return, and already regarded him as a member of the
history staff who was merely on leave.

And in reality things worked out much better for Carroll in
Chapel Hill than he and Graham had anticipated. For he not only
taught in the summer school of 1917, but he was brought in as
professor of economics and commerce in September 1918, when
Charles L. Raper, now head of the department of economics and
finance and dean of the Graduate School, received an offer from
Syracuse University. Raper was surprised by the offer, and, to the surprise of everybody and, to the surprise of everyone, he
accepted on his way to Syracuse.1 Carroll thus found himself in control of
economics, finance, and commerce, which he soon labelled
Economics and Commerce. Carroll had a real interest in history
and his department and school was never to be without work and
offerings in economic history.

But much as Frank P. Graham had done to get D. D. Carroll to
Chapel Hill, his main concern in the late weeks of 1916 was not
getting him to Chapel Hill but the war which was raging in Europe. Frank P. was now in essential agreement with his uncle E. K.
Graham. Both were now saying that the country should be making
rapid preparations to do battle on both land and sea, and E. K.
Raper's leaving the University, which surprised most of the
faculty, was apparently related to the announcement by President H. W. Chase of one of the new Kenan Professorships to
young Howard W. Odum whom he knew and who was having trouble at
the University. Raper felt that he and some others on the
University staff were much more deserving of a Kenan Professorship
than Odum.

was talking of taking a leave of absence from the Presidency of
the University in order to join one of the country's military
services. President Woodrow Wilson, as well as R. D. W. Connor,
became much concerned and hastened to assure E. K. Graham that he
could probably serve the war effort at home and remain at the
University and giving firm leadership to its faculty and 1400 students.

Too, Frank Graham’s eyes were giving him trouble in the
summer and autumn of 1916, and he apparently was not as yet
contemplating service in either the Marine Corp. or army. But in
the early weeks of 1917 his eyesight improved and when the German
government resorted to unrestricted submarine warfare, he became
very determined to get into either the Marine Corp. or the army so
that he would have a chance of getting to the trenches.2 Before
the United States entered the war on April 7, 1917, Frank had been
very active in the Naval War by the Marine Corps, the Navy on the
grounds that he was too short, too thin, and had poor
eyesight. Still he was determined and he appealed to Josephus
Daniels as chief of the Navy, and Daniels told the people in the Marine Corps to take
him for he would do the job inspite of his shortness and
thinness. They grumbled but took him, and had to later admit
that he had carried his load and made a great marine.

While no other member of the history staff got as completely
involved in the war as Frank Graham, Hamilton became rather
deeply involved in non-military activities and even Pierson and
Connor in a modest way. Hamilton's work with the navy and
relations clubs in the summer of 1916 had impressed the Carnegie
Endowment for International Peace, and the Endowment was urging
him to join the navy clubs again in the summer. But the military situation was changing fast and in February 1917, when
the German government made what appeared to be a firm decision
for unrestricted use of its submarine fleet, the United States
severed diplomatic relations, and on April 6 entered the war. On
April 13 President Wilson created the Committee for Public
Information with Josephus Daniels as a member, and a few days
later a group of historians under the leadership of J. Franklin
Jawson and James T. Shotwell, established the National Board for
Historical Service. With Josephus Daniels on the Committee for
Public Information and Hamilton and Connor rather well known
by the key members of the National Board for Historical Services,
both organizations were soon adding sparks to history at Chapel
Hill. Perhaps the largest spark came on November 28, 1917, when
the National Board for Historical Services asked Connor to
lecture in the fall at Chapel Hill which was located near
Charlotte, from January 13 to March 16, 1918. Connor was asked to
do so, but immediately warned Hamilton and Pierson that they
2 Dave Graham, one of Frank's brothers, was already in the marine
army, and was killed in the battle of Belleau Wood in the spring of
1918.
would have to share the work with him on equal terms. Each took his turn at Camp Green during the early weeks of 1918. All three found the young men alert and full of spirit, but all three complained that the ankle-deep red clay had to be worked through daily. Hamilton wrote J. Franklin Jameson for a slide showing the sinking of the Lusitania, and Pierson wrote a friend: "The men are very patriotic and they like above all to have one denounce the Kaiser." While Hamilton was located at the camp in February, he got two interesting bits of information of a historical nature. He was informed that he had been named to the committee on Nominations of the APA, and that a University alumnus was prepared to provide funds so that Mary L. Thornton of the University Library staff could devote all of her time to the North Carolina collection. And of course that was pleasing and exciting news for Connor and Wagstaff as well as Hamilton. Frank Graham was also contributing to the war effort in a different way. He wrote Hamilton on both February 13 and April 21, and in the latter letter he said he was getting the sort of training that he wanted and needed: "--bombing, bayonets exercises, etc. etc.--When I finish this kind of training, I know I can be at least a first class private in an overseas operation." A few weeks later when his brother Dave Graham was killed in the battle of Belleau Wood, he seemed more determined than ever to get into the trenches.

Meantime Hamilton and Connor were giving President E. K. Graham some help with his work as a member of the Educational Committee of the Council of National Defense which was working closely with the Army and Navy, and which had now agreed on a broad program for bringing the colleges and universities across the country more deeply into the war effort. This program, which was named the Students' Army Training Corps, was soon in some form of operation on several hundred college and university campuses across the country. President Woodrow Wilson wrote E. K. Graham, whom he knew as the director of the program for the six South Atlantic States, and also that Hamilton became director of the War Issues Course for this area. Actually Hamilton and Pierson and Connor had perhaps all been interested in it at first, and had completed a syllabus for just such a course as the War Issues Course. Professor Frank Aydelotte, of the Mathematics Institute of Technology, who was now director of the War Issues

3 All three were doing some writing at this time. Hamilton, with the active help of wife Mary, was about to finish the manuscript for his book, 'Eastern and Southern Colonial Literature'; Pierson was working on a broad syllabus of Latin-American history, and also on a syllabus for a course on War Issues. Connor had just published 'The Story of the United States for Young Americans,' and was helping Hamilton with the National Board of Historical Services, and thinking of beginning work on a volume on colonial North Carolina.

Course for the whole country, wrote Hamilton that the syllabus was excellent and that copies should be sent to all SATC units.

Meantime Connor, busy as he was with the Historical Commission and his projected volume on Colonial North Carolina, was still writing to his friend the University's Board of Trustees and thus had to keep a watchful eye on developments at Chapel Hill. He was now convinced that there would be substantial economic growth across the state after the war ended; that young men in increasing numbers would soon head for the University; and that many would have to be turned away unless some new dormitories and classroom buildings were soon under construction. He was so instrumental in getting the General Assembly of 1917 to authorize a $500,000 bond issue for capital improvements that President E. K. Graham wrote him in that he would see that the issues in the years ahead: "I had a big hand in building all this."

Connor as Secretary of the Board of Trustees also helped in getting the Kenan Professorships established. These special professorships were made possible by Mary Lily Kenan, who was the widow of William Rand Kenan, and who had helped establish the Alumni Chair of History and had done much else for the University. Mary Lily Kenan's first husband was Henry Flagler, who had been for a time an associate of John D. Rockefeller and had helped develop the east coast of Florida. He had died in 1913 and had left Mary Lily about $50,000,000. In 1916 Mary Lily had married Robert W. Bingham, who had been a student in the University and was at the time publisher of the Louisville Journal, and soon to be Ambassador to Great Britain. Mary Lily, who was a widower, died of a heart attack in July 1917, and her will provided for the establishment of a trust fund sufficient to produce $75,000 annually for strengthening the faculty of the University and hinted at a special class of teachers to be known as Kenan Professors. Its president E. K. Graham favored special professorships from the outset, and Connor and most of the University Trustees gave strong support.

Of course no money could come to the University for new professorships until Mary Lily's estate was settled and that would take some time. But the certainty of several special chairs in the near future enabled President E. K. Graham to tell R. D. W. Connor something that he had been wanting to tell him.

4 A Reserve Officer Training Course (ROTC) was established in the University on June 15, 1918, and just before the Armistice the University was marked for small Marine and Naval units.

5 An annual appropriation for the University went from $115,000 in 1915 to $15,000 in 1919, and new buildings were largely constructed on land and buildings were constructed from the part largely from the bond issue were Phillips, Steele, Crimmins, Ruffin, and Mangum. Without these buildings the University would certainly have had to turn away many hundreds of students in the 1920s.
for some time. Namely that he could have one of the special chairs if he would join the University's history staff. Connor had attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in 1917 and been named to a new chair and was thinking more seriously than ever about joining the University faculty. He had not done any graduate work, but he felt that the world history course which he had taught at Chapel Hill had taught him a great deal about history and the use of the basic sources of history. During the spring and summer of 1918 he kept in close touch with Hamilton and President Graham and followed with interest the settlement of Mary Lily Kenan's estate.

But in the mid-autumn of 1918, as Hamilton made arrangements to visit the SATC units in the southeast district, there were two events very real but very different impact on history at Chapel Hill. On October 26 President E. K. Graham became a victim of the influenza epidemic that was raging across the world. At Graham’s death, which caused much sadness in Chapel Hill and across the state, presented the Board of Trustees, of which R. D. W. Connor was still secretary, with the task of choosing a new President. For the time being the executive committee of the Board of Trustees named Marvin Stacy, who was then dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Chairman of the Faculty and thus acting President. Harry W. Chase, professor of English since 1914, succeeded Stacy as dean of the College of Liberal Arts. On November 6 James Sprunt wrote Hamilton: "Your tribute to Graham in the News Letter was a gem in composition. I am pleased to note for either you or Connor as Graham’s successor."

But there was much that concerned history before the Board of Trustees elected a successor to E. K. Graham. Just after the Armistice Hamilton was informed that a conference of the directors of all the SATC groups in the country would open in Washington D.C. on November 23. Hamilton wired in apparently Wagstaff and Pierson agreed, that the most important question that would face the conference would be the fate of the War Issues Course, which had established SATC units. Hamilton told the conference that he considered the course very good and in its broad lines, and that he felt that most, if not all, of the institutions would want to continue it. And in fact interest in the course was now so widespread and strong that the board of the American Historical Association had just decided to devote a full session to it at its annual meeting in late December 1918. The session attracted a large group of history teachers and a substantial majority appeared to feel, as did Hamilton, that the War Issues Course should serve as the pattern for the second half of a two-quarter or two-semester course on modern Europe to be required of first year college students. Hamilton, with the full approval of Wagstaff and Pierson, put the course in the department schedule for the coming year with the title "Foundations of Modern Europe," and it remained in the University's department of history and government essentially unaltered until the General College was established in 1935. Moreover, the syllabus that Hamilton and Pierson had developed for the War Issues Course was rather widely used for some time, and the authors continued to receive compliments for their work. For example, Professor C. S. Hazen of Columbia University wrote Hamilton on January 3, 1919, that it was the best syllabus for the course that had been developed and that he felt that it would be much used.

Too, on January 21, 1919, as the Board of Trustees was beginning to consider the matter of a successor to E. K. Graham as President of the University, Acting President Marvin Stacy also died of the flu and Harry W. Chase, now dean of Arts and Sciences, became Chairman of the Faculty and Acting President. It was another stunning blow. Victor Bryant, and R. D. W. Connor wrote Hamilton for his view on considering a successor to E. K. Graham. Actually Connor with rather wide support among the trustees and across much of the state, found himself very much in the running, and probably would have been elected President instead of Chase if Attorney General James Manning had not discovered a few weeks later that chapter 831 of the N. C. Public Laws of 1909 precluded the election of an active member of the Board of Trustees presiding of the University.

With Josephus Daniels as well as Connor out of the running, Chase who many felt had become rather well acclimated and wanted the presidency was elected on the second ballot. Connor had great knowledge of the University and wanted to go to Chapel Hill, but there is considerable evidence that he preferred to go as a Kenan professor of history rather than as president. And it is quite possible that he did more for history in the University as a member of the history staff than he would have, or could have, as president. Actually Chase, like Graham, kept in close touch with Connor, and certainly made few important moves without consulting him directly or indirectly. So Connor continued to have quite a voice in overall policy.

Meantime Hamilton had remained much in the news in a variety of ways. The National War Work Council asked him to help with the development of an educational program for the American occupation forces in Europe; the University of Texas urged him to...
teach in its summer school for 1919; and the War Department was feeling him out about a permanent position in educational work and offering a very attractive salary plus substantial retirement benefits. He considered the latter offer and sought advice from William E. Dunning as well as Connor. While they congratulated him on the offer and the honor, they told him that he would be happier in the long run in Chapel Hill than in Washington. He had a feeling that they were right, but he did agree to spend the months of May and June 1919 with the American occupation forces in Europe as a lecturer and educational consultant. He apparently enjoyed his two months in Europe, and made such a favorable impression on the War Department that it continued its efforts to get him to Washington. Perhaps the most characteristic and unforgettable thing that happened to him while in Europe, apart from getting to know President to be Herbert Hoover rather well, was the diary he was writing to his wife Mary every few days instead of writing her long letters about what he was doing. Mary, after receiving the second batch of the diary, wrote back to Coulhac: "I enjoy it, but you will have to use the word 'damn' so much if I am to let the children see it."

Actually, Hamilton's stay in Europe may have been a fortunate and good thing for the history department in the long run. For Wagstaff, who was in charge of the department while Hamilton was in Europe, succeeded in bringing in Albert Ray Newsome to help with Hamilton's courses, and this may well have strengthened the department's appeal to graduate students, the way to the history staff in the University. Newsome, who had grown up in Marshallville, N. C., and made all "A's" as an undergraduate in college, said that when he wrote Wagstaff in 1919, they would be delighted to help with Hamilton's courses (all of which he had had as a student) and that he had just decided to "pursue history with the idea of teaching in college."

At the same time Connor was becoming increasingly involved in faculty matters in the University, especially by way of holding and adding staff. For Hamilton was not the only one who had an attractive offer from the outside at this time. E. C. Branson, whom Connor had been instrumental in getting to the University, was now being urged by Edwin A. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia, to come to Charlottesville; and indeed was offering him, among other things, a considerably larger salary than he was getting. Connor felt that Branson was doing valuable work, especially with many of the farmers across the state, and did not want him to leave the University. Branson wrote Connor, and said that he was not acting on Alderman's offer and was, in general, not worrying about what he should do. Finally on March 12, 1918, he wrote Connor: "What am I to do? I am now as usual counting on the clarity and sanity of your judgment. I'll do as you say." Connor wrote back on March 17: "Show Alderman's letter to Chase and ask his advice; that should do it. Don't go near him; the same time Connor urged Edwin Greenlaw to pass up attractive offers from both the University of Chicago and Iowa, and W. W. Pierson to go to the University of Alabama and Nevada.

So far as new staff was concerned, Connor seemingly worked hard to get Edgar W. Knight to Chapel Hill. Knight was a native son who had taken a Ph. D. at Columbia University in education and history and was at the time teaching at Trinity College in Durham. M. C. S. Noble who was still on the N. C. Historical Commission, had already told Connor that Knight was a good man and that he would like to have him on his staff in education. Too, all members of the history staff knew and wanted him on the faculty not only because he was an attractive and well- trained man but also because his chief interest was in the history of education, and thus he had a much different background than the seniors in history in the University. (In two courses with Knight, and found him able and attractive). Chase, just after he became President of the University, wrote Connor that he had an appointment with Knight in Raleigh in a few days and would like to confer with him about Knight and some other matters on the same day. Connor agreed, and Chase, who was now aware that E. K. Graham had held out to Connor the prospect of a Kenan Professorship in history, told Connor during their conference he was in complete agreement with Graham's promise of a Kenan Professorship in history; and also asserted that every effort should be made to hold Hamilton as well as Knight. Connor was a bit surprised at the fervor with which Chase had persuaded him, and wrote Hamilton about it all. Hamilton wrote back that he was really not surprised, and that he would have liked to have been hidden under the table and heard it all.

Of course, Hamilton as well as Connor knew that Chase was very anxious to be president of the University, and that he was fully aware of the fact that Connor, as secretary of the Board of Trustees, would not only have a vote in it all, but assumed that he would also have the real support of the Board. The fact was not yet known that a member of the Board of Trustees could not be a candidate for the office of President of the University!

Actually, much of the intensity of Chase's courtship of Connor may have resulted from a matter that neither Hamilton nor Connor could talk about openly, namely that Connor wanted to see work in educational psychology and sociology in the University expanded, but that he had just heard that Howard W. Conant, whose his father and whose was associated while they were graduate students at Clark University, was now having trouble at Emory University in Georgia and would be

---

8 Hamilton even got a strong plea from Carl Van Doran at this time to do a chapter for the third volume of the Cambridge History of American Literature.
looking for a position elsewhere. In any event, after Chase was elected President of the University in the late spring of 1919, he did not wait long before offering young Odum one of the new and feebly Kenan Professorships. Many members of the faculty were surprised and none more than Roulhac Hamilton and Charles Raper. They were considerably older than Odum and had done many years of research and teaching work in the University, and Chase had not so much as mentioned the possibility of a Kenan Professorship to either of them. Hamilton talked again of the attractive offer that the War Department was holding out to him, but Connor was bent on keeping Hamilton in Chapel Hill as head of the department of history and government, and continued to press him and tell him that he would never be happy in Washington, and that his future in the University was still bright. Hamilton, who was extremely fond of Connor and was now sure that he was headed for Chapel Hill the near future, calmed down and stayed and saw. But Raper, who had served for years as dean of the University graduate school as well as head of the department of English, and whose tenure, was soon on his way to the University where he would soon be dean of Syracuse's new School of Business Administration and Vice-Chancellor of the University.

Meantime we must not lose sight of that member of the history staff whom Josephus Daniels had slipped into the marine corps in early 1917, but who had not gotten to the trenches. The moment the Armistice was signed Frank Porter Graham wanted to get back to the University and into the classroom. He was mustered out of the marine corps just as Chase was officially elected President of the University, and when he reached Chapel Hill he found that the new administration wanted him to serve as Dean of Students. The position that had just been established by nearly all members of the faculty, knew Graham well, and felt that after his many months in the marine corps he was just the man to help get the new office and to get it running smoothly. Though Graham preferred to return full-time to the classroom in history and government, there was considerable pressure from the administration, and he soon agreed to serve as dean of the new office for one year and try to get it solidly grounded.

Actually Graham's return seemed to have a good influence on both Hamilton and Connor. They were confident that he would soon be back full-time in the classroom and would help to draw students. This made Hamilton a bit more inclined to say no to the War Department and Connor a bit more anxious not to accept the University. In fact, Connor, knowing little about Odum and hopeful to work smoothly with President Chase, now seemed to look hoplessly for ways and means of persuading him to stay at Hamilton. He even resorted to teasing Hamilton, and wrote him on July 25, 1919, "I have written you two letters since you returned from Europe and you haven't noticed either of them. R. D. W. Connor, your former friend." More important still, Connor suggested to H. M. Wagstaff and W. W. Pierson that an effort be made to get William J. Dunning of Columbia University, to put more pressure on Hamilton. Accordingly they wrote Dunning about Hamilton's behavior and urged Dunning to come to Raleigh and speak on the Carolina Literary and Historical Society at its meeting in November, and to have a talk with Hamilton at the time. Dunning agreed to be in Raleigh at the appointed time. When Dunning arrived in Raleigh and his wife Mary made a reservation at the Raleigh, he learned that Dunning was not coming by inviting him to dine with them in their home on Rosemary Lane in Chapel Hill before the Raleigh meeting. Dunning dined, and after speaking in Raleigh and returning to New York, he wrote back to the Hamiltons praising Mrs. Hamilton's dinner. He said: "Each separate course seemed to excel in attractiveness the perfect first course." And he put a question to Roulhac: "How does Mrs. Hamilton feel about leaving that beautiful home among the trees for an apartment in Washington?"

Dr. William B. MacNider, widely known member of the University medical staff, now had his say and wrote Hamilton, "We offer from Washington is an honor—but I believe that we have a chance to build here the outstanding University in the South—Our future is great and full of encouragement." The message was clear to Hamilton.

Indeed Chase himself was surprised and catching on, and he went into Connor's office in Raleigh in mid March and told him that he intended to offer Hamilton a Kenan Professorship as soon as Connor immediately alerted him about the Connor and Byrnes visit and message, and added: "Working for your own people and your own state will afford you great satisfaction in the years to come." Hamilton wrote back to Connor on March 2nd that the "pull of Chapel Hill and the State was too much" and that he would remain on the history staff. This it was and Wagstaff, Pierson, and Franklin Graham as well as Connor added to it. Charles M. Andrews of Yale University was at the time on his way to Raleigh to spend two nights with the Connors, and he was thus one of the first outsiders to know that Hamilton had made this decision. Connor sold his house in Raleigh in the summer and made ready to go to Columbia University for graduate work in history, and Hamilton, though no longer considering the department of history and government, was nonetheless careful to finish all the matters that he had undertaken for the War Department. He continued to serve as an educational consultant for many months, and even spent some time at Camp Grant in
Chapter V (1920-1922)

Rapid Growth and Connor's Decision for Columbia University and Chapel Hill

In the spring of 1920, when Hamilton became firmly convinced that he could not leave Chapel Hill, and Connor decided that he could not stay away from Chapel Hill, and Frank Graham had served his year as dean of students, it was quite clear that the University enrollment was headed upward and that more faculty as well as more dormitories and classroom buildings would soon be desperately needed. Connor, as Secretary of the Board of Trustees, had been telling Chase for several months that a sound and solid building program should be mapped and alumni informed of the already crowded conditions. Waggstaff and Hamilton were also beginning to stress the same points, and obviously felt that Chase would need advice and guidance when and where practical matters were concerned.1

During the summer of 1920 the staff of history and government, though scattered, managed nonetheless to keep in fairly close touch and even to do a little planning. Perhaps no one worked as hard as Frank Graham who, after a year as dean of students, was anxious to get back to the staff and into the classroom. Having been assured by Hamilton that he was being recommended for an assistant professorship, he set out in early June for Columbia University for a summer of work toward a doctorate. To his surprise and delight, he met Albert Ray Newsome, who had also just gone to Columbia for a summer of graduate work. Indeed, he and Newsome soon found themselves together in two graduate classes, one of which was being taught by Benjamin B. Kendrick, who was soon to become professor of history at the Woman's College in Greensboro (Now UNCG).

But neither Graham nor Newsome was to do further graduate work at Columbia. Hamilton had already recommended Newsome to Merck B. Phillips at Michigan so strongly that Phillips had offered him a part-time instructorship, which he accepted and immediately began work on his doctorate with Phillips. In September Graham returned to Chapel Hill as an assistant professor for the coming year, but had already decided to go to the University of Chicago the following year and work for a doctorate with W. R. Rodd, who was born in Clayton, N. C. and was now being looked upon as the top man in the country in the

1 Of course, Charles T. Woollen, Business Manager of the University, was there in South Building and was full of good business sense, and that made many feel better; however was still a bit worried, and wrote Connor on August 3, 1920, that Chase was not only wanting in practical experience, but was "afraid of his shadow" and was already looking to him for advice as well as support.

10 Hamilton got about as many requests from high school principals across the state to give commencement addresses in the spring of 1920 as Connor did.
economic history of the south, a field in which Graham had developed a deep interest.

Meantime Hamilton, after returning from his two months work with the American Army of Occupation in Europe, was dividing his time between history and the War Department. He and Edgar Knight, with whom he had been collaborating for many months on a study for the War Department on educational problems, spent some two weeks in mid-summer at Camp Grant in Illinois. The officers there felt that Hamilton and Knight had done a sound and valuable piece of work, and the War Department soon published it with the title Education for Citizenship. Hamilton also continued to take a deep interest in international affairs and helped the Institute of International Education establish additional international relations clubs, especially in North Carolina and Virginia. He also went to Camp Hoover, whom he had worked with a bit while in Europe, that he should move into the national political arena and seek to become the nominee of the Democratic party for the presidency of the country in the election of 1920. 2

Meanwhile the other two members of the history staff, Wagstaff and Persson, kept close to the University offices. Both had been for years teaching a wide variety of courses and were now wondering if the time was not now at hand when full professors should be able to confine their course work to one broad field, and not have to teach "over all creation" as Wagstaff sometimes expressed it. In fact, Wagstaff, who had probably taught more broadly than any other member of the staff, was now hoping to limit his teaching to the history and government of England and the Empire, and he was also planning to apply before long for one of the newly established professorships, which would enable him to spend several months studying in England and also travelling some on the continent of Europe. And indeed this hope was soon to be realized as we shall see.

These years were even more venturesome and decisive for Persson largely because Edwin Greenlaw, who had become dean of the school when Papen went to Syracuse, was urging him to give more of his time to developing and administering the University's graduate program. He had great respect for Greenlaw, as did about all members of the staff, who was finding graduate work interesting and rewarding. After much pondering, as he later put it, he decided that it might be best for him and the University if he gradually divided his time between the classroom and the graduate office. He was also getting feelings from some good universities, but he was not too interested because he not only knew of Hamilton's feeling toward

4 Another thing that Hamilton did in these years that he didn't tell Persson was how hard it was to keep Persson in anything except summer teaching.

him but he liked Chapel Hill and the University. As the months passed Greenlaw relied on him more and more, and many felt that he was largely responsible for Research in Progress the first number of which appeared in 1921.

But it is doubtful that any one did as much as that affected history in the University in a broad way at this time as R. D. W. Connor, who had now definitely decided to seek a position on the history staff. Connor received a little honor for the state as well as himself in the early spring of 1920 when Brainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, informed him that he had been chosen to serve with Worthington Ford and Gairdner Hunt as a committee to study the matter of the housing and preservation of the nation's most basic and treasured documents, including the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. 3

Though Connor received a number of compliments for his work on that committee, his primary concern at this time was to make the necessary arrangements for at least a year of graduate work in preparation for teaching history and government in the University at Chapel Hill. While Hamilton was hinting that he should consider going to Columbia and work with Verplanck, C. W. Andrews of Yale and W. E. Dodd of Chicago were both hoping to have him as a student and a companion as well. And of course the question immediately arose in many minds as to what would happen to the Historical Commission. Some of those who were most deeply interested, including J. Bryan Grimes, M. C. S. Noble, L. R. Wilson, and Roulac Hamilton, wondered if Connor could not, and perhaps should not, divide his time about equally between the Historical Commission and a professorship in the University.

Even C. M. Andrews of Yale told Connor that the Historical Commission was so solidly established that he could retain overall direction of it and do a great deal of teaching in the University at Chapel Hill. But the matter did not worry Connor very much for a number of reasons. Above all he had great confidence in J. Bryan Grimes and Marjorie Terrell, the Commission's central figure and its secretary. Connor had already added young Robert B. House, who had graduated from the University in 1916 and taken an M. A. at Harvard the following year, to the commissions' staff, and he felt that House was able and dependable and would very soon master the essentials and do solid, if not brilliant work. 4

3 Connor later said that a National Archives Building was one of the topics he had discussed with Worthington Ford and he had discussed. See Connor Papers, April 21, and June 4, 1920, S.M.C.

4 And House, though he called on Connor frequently for help during the first year, did settle into the position rather quickly, and was doing a rather good job in 1926 when President Chase brought him back to Chapel Hill as his secretary and principal aid.
Connor also worked out in mid-summer an arrangement with the Executive Committee of the Historical Commission for the coming year by which he was to retain overall direction of the Commission and draw approximately half of his salary. This arrangement left many of those who were deeply interested in the Commission hoping that Connor would change his mind during the year. As it was, he returned full-time to the steady supply of materials for the summer of 1921. But the members of the history staff were more convinced than ever that Connor had really made a decision for Chapel Hill. Hamilton wrote Connor in early August 1920 that he felt that all matters were settled for his coming to the University and the history staff. He added: "Chase regards you as his chief asset and will support the expansion of the department as soon as your situation is clear and firm."

Connor was now ready to apply for admission to the Columbia graduate school, but he was slightly uneasy and embarrassed because as a student he had had his hands in all sorts of activities and his grades, while good, were not all "A." He wrote Dunning on September 3 that he had decided to seek admission at Columbia but was not sure what documents would be necessary for admission. To his relief, Dunning wrote on September 8: "I have no detailed knowledge of the technicalities of getting into this institution, but it will be a great pleasure to me to see that the way is made easy for you. If you have secured a place to sleep, there is no need to feel at all uneasy or hurried about the purely academic end of matters. Upon learning of Connor's decision for Columbia, Hamilton wrote him: "I'm glad you decided for Columbia and Dunning——I'll write him and tell him of the good thing he has in store for himself." Hamilton congratulated Connor and the way he had handled matters with Chase, who had just been to Connor's office in the Historical Commission and told him that he could not but quote him the Kenan professorship and the importance of a man's agreement to come to the University in September 1921. Hamilton added: "I wish I could have been under your desk when he came to talk with you——or Ed. Graham could have been here with us." On September 5, Horace Williams wrote Connor that he would never regret the move to Chapel Hill and the University, and not to worry at all because if anything went wrong in Chapel Hill Columbia University would be enlightened to add him to its faculty.

Then, in mid-September 1920, as Connor left for New York, more than 1500 students poured into the University at Chapel Hill to the surprise of many. Those across the state who had predicted that the economic recession of the early months of the year would check enrollment and ease the building and housing situation were proved wrong, and there was added pressure on Chase to get a sound building program mapped out and underway. As a result, the University was able to make headway. Remembering to many Alumni the advances in education that new dormitories to the east, and its little steam engine was to interrupt momentarily many lectures in Saunders hall and evoke interesting comments from some historians as it puffed by their classrooms. Wallace Caldwell would sometimes put his hands over his ears and shout "the Greeks and Romans did not have to put up with such things." But Frank Graham, when he heard the little engine coming, would raise his voice and lecture us once more on the impact of the steam engine on the world.

Though Connor's connection with the building program changed when he went to Columbia, he continued nevertheless to play a very important and active role. He was not just a Trustee but he was also president of the Alumni Association, and thus in a position to help organize a state-wide campaign. He helped to organize the "Save Hill" movement, with many in Chapel Hill including many, who was editor of the Alumni Review, and Lenoir Chambers, who was chairman of the University News Bureau. Moreover he suggested that the building program receive special attention at the University Day exercises on October 12, and that as many alumni as possible gather in Chapel Hill on October 2 to make plans for the University Day exercises. The next day, Connor attended and proposed among other things that alumni in each county across the state meet on October 12 to discuss and express the ideas presented by Connor on the need for more dormitories at the University; and secondly that President Chase be urged to center his University Day address on William R. Davie and Davie's vision of the University. Already vigorous in importance of a man's agreement to come to the University; and not to worry at all because if anything went wrong in Chapel Hill Columbia University would be enlightened to add him to its faculty.

The decision of the University to proceed with the building program was made just as the bell was rung at the University of North Carolina to come into the colleges and forbid them to change their minds. It is interesting, however, that Connor was doing most of the planning even though he was in New York. House was writing Connor frequently for help with the Historical Commission.
not for such is the kingdom of tomorrow." He was strongly supporting Connor's suggestion that the students he encouraged to tell their parents and their parents' neighbors about the need for more dormitories and classrooms during the Christmas recess and thus before the legislators started for Raleigh.

During the early autumn of 1920 as the building program gathered momentum, Chase wrote Connor that the executive committee of the Board of Trustees had approved a Kenan professorship for him to begin on September 1, 1921, and urged him to accept at once because there was a serious shortage of faculty houses, and that it would probably be necessary for the University to build a house for him. Chase also told him that his presence in Chapel Hill would make the University's department of history and government the best in the South and one of the best in the country, and he quoted Everett, alumnus and trustee, in letter with the words "The University Needs You." Connor then wrote both Chase and Hamilton that he expected to accept the professorship if the Trustees made him an offer, but reminded them he would not elect him until he had been off of the Board of Trustees for at least six months. He said he would probably return to the Board soon, but that he hoped announcement of any kind until the Trustees had acted, which would probably not be much before June 1921. But in his letter to Hamilton he inquired as to what courses the department would want him to teach in 1921-22, and reported in obvious pride that C. M. Andrews at Yale had already invited him to come to New Haven as soon as possible to speak "briefly and informally to the Yale history staff on any matter that came to mind."

Hamilton wrote Connor at length on October 22, 1920, that he was very pleased to have the good news: "North Carolina is in your blood as it is in mine, and while we might do better in some ways in the state, we will be here at Chapel Hill. This may be a sign of weakness, but it is a fact." Hamilton then turned to the matter of the schedule and reminded Connor that every year the staff was expected to teach in several of the two-term freshman course and give him the authors and titles of the texts to be used each quarter of the course. He then informed Connor that he was scheduling him for a course on the Government of North Carolina, and that he himself could decide the remainder of his schedule: "You will be free, and whatever you lean to, go to the virtual certainty that the virtual certainty that he was free with a careful consideration to combining work with the Historical Commission and the professorship, and that C. M. Andrews felt that if he could do it it would be good for the Commission, the University, and me as well.

Connor wrote M. C. S. Noble on October 17, 1920, that he was not getting much out of his courses and was spending most of his time in 1920. He also assured Noble that he had given careful consideration to combining work with the Historical Commission and the professorship, and that C. M. Andrews felt that if he could do it it would be good for the Commission, the University, and me as well.

leave for 1921-22 to study in England, and also to check for items dealing with colonial North Carolina.

In the meantime Chase continued to rely heavily on both Connor and Frank Graham to get the building program going strong. He talked frequently with Graham and he wrote Connor long letters on their meeting on April 29, 1920, expressing his surprise for what Connor had done, and requesting that he talk with W. R. Kenan about the possibility of getting some of the Kenan endowment funds released at an early date; and he also asked Connor to describe the type of house that he would like to have built in Chapel Hill for Mrs. Connor and himself. But he surprised Connor most of all by telling him that the rising enrollment was causing talk about the building of some sort of barracks for the temporary housing of students. Connor wrote at once to both Chase and Kenneth that the idea of building barracks or makeshift housing would be a mistake because it would encourage the Legislature to postpone the construction of dormitories. He also told Chase that he had talked with William Kenan. But here too Connor urged caution, stating that sizable sums from the Kenan Fund might give the Legislature the idea that there was plenty of money. As for what the best course was, Connor said, to make it clear to the Legislature that additional dormitories and classrooms were really needed and that the dormitories could be made to pay for their construction within a few years.

It is clear that Connor felt that much more could be and should be done before the Legislators arrived in Raleigh in January 1921. Though he was a very cautious and judicious person, he felt that North Carolina had much potential than most people in the state realized. And during the autumn of 1920 he moved on a surprisingly wide front in spite of his heavy schedule. He was the first in several of the leading newspapers of the state; and he appealed to John Kerr, a University senior and student leader, because he felt that Chase had failed to realize how much influence the students could exert if properly instructed. He told Kerr that the 1400 students, most of whom would soon be dispersed across the state for the Christmas holidays, really had it within their power to win the battle for a sound building program at the University. He urged Kerr to get the facts about the crowded conditions to the students and to urge the students to give the facts to their parents and their parents' neighbors. This procedure, Connor said, would do much to get the facts to the Legislature before the went to Raleigh. They also reassured Noble of articles, which were entitled "The Crisis": "How it should be met," and "Our Ability to Attract Ability to meet the situation," and much attention and Connor received letters of congratulation from a wide variety of people across the state, ranging from student John Parker, Josephus Daniels, P. J. Murphy, Henry London, E. C. Branson, and many others. Even the newly elected Governor of the
state, Cameron Morrison, came out in the end rather strongly for a substantial building program. The members of the staff of history and government were rather surprised at the range and intensity of Connor’s effort, and tended to feel that he had given President Chase most of the ideas and slogans he had used.

Next in importance to more dormitory and classrooms was additional staff. And it was felt that with Connor coming to take over North Carolinas history and government and the colonial period, the next most pressing need was in the ancient field. In February 1921, when it became reasonably certain that the legislative appropriation for the University would be as much as hoped for, Hamilton wrote Connor to be on the lookout for a promising young man in ancient history and to let the Columbia history department know of the need. Connor wrote to the Columbia staff and wrote Hamilton on March 23, that all of the staff, including Dunning, spoke favorably of Wallace E. Caldwell, who was working on his doctorate at Columbia as an instructor in the department. Connor added, however, that he had not met Caldwell and that some members of the Columbia staff felt he was a bit careless about his dress and appearance. Hamilton was worried about the matter of personal appearance, and he asked Connor to have a look at Caldwell. But before Connor could arrange an appointment with Caldwell, President Chase informed Connor that he would be in New York in early April and would like to have a talk with him. Connor then arranged a talk with Chase and Chase’s views coincided with Chase’s view. Connor got a look at Caldwell. Connor wrote Hamilton on April 6 that he and Chase talked at some length with Caldwell, and that both of them felt that he had a good head and was a solid scholar and that it would be a mistake to drop him because he appeared to be a little careless about his dress and appearance. Connor commented that when one looked at his clothes and unruly hair, he must bear in mind that he has a wife and two children and is living in New York on a salary of about $1,000 a year. Connor quipped, "The people in Caldwell’s shoes would not have any clothes at all."

Another piece of information and sound advice that Connor gave Hamilton about Caldwell was that he had been offered an instructorship for the coming year in a Belgian university in connection with the Belgian Relief Commission. Connor advised Hamilton that it would be wise to let Caldwell take the Belgian instructorship because a year in Europe would not only be of great value to him as a teacher but would also enable him to locate and procure other valuable material on the ancient world for the University library. Hamilton agreed and offered Caldwell an associate professorship to begin in September 1922. Caldwell’s year was not only to enable him to get the materials for the University library and a close up view of much of Europe and the Near East, but also to establish working relations with many of the scholars in Europe in his field. Being a good linguist as well as historian, Caldwell kept in close touch with a surprising number of European historians over the years to come.

In concluding this chapter I wish to make a few observations about the University’s graduate program which was growing rapidly and in which Mr. Pierson was becoming much more deeply involved as Edwin Greenlaw, who became dean of the school when Raper went to Syracuse. Rapidly as the overall University enrollment was growing, enrollment in the graduate school was growing much faster. Graduate enrollment went from 125 in 1920 to 458 in 1925 and 740 in 1930. But for a number of reasons this rapid growth did not cause much surprise at the time. Presidents Venable and E. K. Graham and graduate deans Smith and Raper had put the graduate school on a rather solid footing, and the World War and the growing role of science had been strong stimuli to various sorts of research. Too, the Kenan professorships, the funding of twenty-six teaching fellowships for graduate students in 1921, and the way the University was on the point of being elected to membership in the Association of American Universities gave an impetus to graduate work in all fields.

Then too and quite important, the University had succeeded during Venable’s years as President in adding a number of men to the staff with unusual talent and judgment. Both Wagstaff and Connor felt that this was true and gave much if not most of the credit to Venable, declaring that he had a remarkable gift for detecting and attracting superior teachers and researchers, and pointing to W. C. Coker in botany, George Howe in Latin, Charles Raper in history and economics, Edwin Greenlaw in English, W. dab. MacNider in medicine, and E. C. Branson in rural social economics. They said all of these men were great teachers and understood the importance of graduate work and knew how to do it. And of course Pierson worked closely with Greenlaw and was instrumental in the founding of Research in Psychology in 1921.

7 My brother J. Paul Pegge entered the University in September 1922 as a Freshman. He joined the school and he has since received his B.A. and M.A. with Caldwell and Caldwell was also his faculty adviser. Caldwell’s deep interest in ancient Egypt soon led students to sometimes refer to him as king Tut. But he was very friendly and much liked by students.

8 Venable, even while president, had directed several Ph. D. programs in Chemistry and was still going strong in the early 1920s. E. K. Graham had also encouraged graduate work, and had helped in his inaugural address: " . . . the main arch of industry rests on the laboratory."

9 Playwright Paul Green who graduated in 1921, a year ahead of novelist Thomas Wolfe, sometimes referred to it all as "a climate of creativeness" which was generated largely by E. K. Graham, Edwin Greenlaw, C. C. Branson, and Fredrick Koch. Of course Koch did not arrive in Chapel Hill until the end of the school year, and was quite noticeable, but Green insisted on including him anyway.
Chapter VI (1922-26)

At Home in Saunders Hall and the Beginnings of Specialization

In the spring of 1921 the broad outlook for the department of history and government as well as the whole University was unusually encouraging. The General Assembly had just authorized a bond issue of some $50,000,000 for the coming biennium and the University was to get approximately $1,000,000 mainly for new dormitories and classroom buildings. So by commencement 1921 the members of the staff of history and government were all certain that their department would soon have adequate and comfortable quarters in one of the new classroom buildings. Too there were whispers that the new building would be named after W. L. Saunders and would be shared with the new department of economics and commerce and rural social economics.

Of course all of this plus the fact that Wagstaff had been awarded one of the new Kenan leaves for study in England during the coming year and that Concord would soon return from Columbia University and join the staff as a Kenan professor, made considerable departmental planning all the more urgent. Accordingly, Hamilton, having now abandoned all serious thought of taking a position in Washington with the Army, sought diligently to forsee all of the immediate effects and impacts of both the rapidly rising enrollment and the department's move into Saunders hall. In the spring, after much discussion with Wagstaff and Hamilton, he notified President Chase that the department of history and government did not want to use any of its bimannual allotment for supplies until September 1922 when he was looking forward to moving into the new quarters in Saunders hall, and when Wagstaff would be back from his year in England and Wallace Caldwell, as the man in ancient history, would be in Chapel Hill. Hamilton also told Chase that the next full-time member of the staff should be a specialist in modern European history and that everyone should be on the lookout for a good man in that field.

So at commencement time in early June 1921 everyone on the staff, and Connor as well, knew what the principal problems were, and everyone was a bit more excited than usual because the foundations of Saunders hall were being laid. All members of the staff had busy summers ahead. Hamilton went to Chapel Hill and in addition to tending to department affairs and working some on his projected "Selections from the Writings of Abraham Lincoln" he introduced a monthly book review column in the Greensboro Daily News, which he was to handle for the next four years and to become a good friend of Gerald Johnson, who was the editor of that journal and who would soon come to the University and establish a solid school of journalism.

The only member of the staff that taught outside the University in the summer of 1921 was W. W. Pierson, and he taught part-time in the University of Texas anddid considerable research in Texas' big collection of Latin American materials. And this made Hamilton and Wagstaff a little uneasy for they knew that Texas was interested in Pierson. Still the situation was not as dangerous as they suspected because Pierson had become rather deeply attached to Chapel Hill. Actually it turned out to be a good thing for Chapel Hill and the University. For while at Texas Pierson saw quite a bit of a visiting European historian, Charles Hengen, who was quite a bit impressed with the University and with Wagstaff's work, as we shall later see, instrumental in heading him to Chapel Hill.

The only other member of the staff to be outside Chapel Hill in the summer of 1921 was Frank Graham, who had worked as hard as he knew how for the new building program in 1920-21. Graham set forth for the University of Chicago as soon as he completed his spring quarter work. He wanted to do a summer of graduate work under the direction of William E. Dodd, whom he had come to believe was the best man to be found especially for the history of the South. Graham was now firmly convinced that what he wanted to do was to settle down in the history of boys and girls history, especially about the new age of science and industry and the transforming power of steam, gas, and electricity. He was kind and gentle and his personality was strong and magnetic, and he was a great teacher for undergraduates, and would have been for graduate students if he had challenged them more in terms of basic facts. He was something of an artist with words, and he loved to take well-known expressions and substitute a key word which altered the meaning of the whole expression and caught the listener or reader by surprise. He soon decided that he would remain at Chicago for the coming academic year, and work towards a Ph. D. with Dodd. Hamilton wanted him to do so, and gave him a leave with half pay for 1921-22.

Wagstaff, who was scheduled to sail with his family for England in the middle of August, kept in close touch with Connor during the early summer and wrote him on July 8 that he was confident that there was a rather large body of material relating to North Carolina "which someday we are going to get." Connor also told Wagstaff that he himself was hoping to spend several weeks in London in the summer of 1922 in an effort to

1 The four dormitories, which were soon under construction, were Ruffin, Manquen, Grimes, and Manly, and were situated just east of Caldwell Hall and south of the Coker Arboretum. The three classroom buildings were Saunders, Manning, and Murphy, and thus located just south of the Playmaker Building and Bynum hall.
Piereson, who was enjoying his summer at the University of Texas, also had a hand in the overall planning at this time. In mid-August he wrote Hamilton about Chester Penn Higby, with whom he had talked several times during the summer. He described Higby as a bit slow and reserved, but an extremely sound and industrious scholar. He suggested that Higby's name be added to the list of those to be considered for modern European history positions. "I am delighted that he [Higby] could not be among the slate of candidates for the Council of the AHA at the coming annual meeting in St. Louis, and that he himself had been asked to give a paper at the meeting."

Perhaps no member of the staff of history and government in those years was busier than R. D. W. Condit, as soon as he returned on the way to Chapel Hill. In the late winter and early spring of 1921 he had carried on a steady correspondence with several University alumni as well as with Hamilton and President Chase. As spring advanced he was getting a bit homesick, and he wrote M. C. S. Noble on April 23 that he would complete his class work in late May and added: "I shall pack up as soon as possible thereafter and hi me away to the south." While his nine months at Columbia had been very satisfactory in most ways, he had decided he had not to work for a Ph.D. Without doubt he was sure that he would spend more than a year in graduate school, Professor Dunning's critical illness, which became known in the early spring, was to take his place in his life and put an end to all doubts in his mind. Then, too, several well-known historians, including Fox at Columbia and C. M. Andrews at Yale, had written to him that if they were in his place they would not bother about a doctorate. Even Dunning when he became ill asked Connor to help him with his graduate seminar, though there were other students in the seminar who were close to their Ph.D. Professor Fox, with whom he had had a course, wrote him just after he got back to Chapel Hill that he had made a tremendous impression at least as far north as Yale, and added: "It would be a great help to me as well as many others if, now that you have had some time to reflect, you would write me quite frankly how you think our work can be improved."

Connor was of course under contract to give part of his time to the Historiographical Commission until September 1921, and indeed the moment he arrived in Raleigh he was urged by J. B. Bryan Grimes and several others to remain part-time with the Commission for at least another year. Even though Connor had made up his mind to go full-time to the University in September, concern about the well being of the Commission did cause him to work very carefully with both R. B. House, whom he was recommending as his successor, and Marjorie Terrell, the able secretary. Connor obviously felt that the Commission was in a sound and solid condition, and he also had a great deal of confidence in Marjorie Terrell as well as House. Nonetheless he assured Bryan Grimes and all concerned that his interest in the Commission was as deep as ever and that he would be ready at any time to help with any specific problem as well as with the making of overall policy.

Marry greeted Connor upon his return to the state. Collier Cobb, Horace Williams, M. C. S. Noble, and Edward Colwell were among those in Chapel Hill who extended warm greetings. Greenlaw, who was dean of the graduate school and getting frequent offers from institutions across the country, assured him that he was a blessing to the state and a "tremendous asset to the whole University." Gerald Johnson wrote him that he hoped he would join Hamilton in doing the book review section for the Greensboro Daily News, and invited him to make the Daily News' offices his headquarters when in Greensboro. Industrialist Paul Schloss, who asked him for information about the Guilford battlegrounds, and added: "I am glad to address this letter to Chapel Hill. There is a sort of fitness about you being there that pleases me very much." M. R. Davis, the president of Greensboro College, who had been a member of the General Assembly of 1921 and was several years older than R. D. W., could not refrain from giving him some advice. He told him in a personal letter: "H. G. told me of your concerns, and I believe that A. M. Scales and Howard Odum were expressing far too much influence on policy making in the University, and that the department of history should give more attention to Europe and the Far East because "they are a part of it all."
Chapel Hill and whom Frank P. Graham had dated when he was a student soon knew all members of the history staff and, in fact, had a deep interest in history. But much as he enjoyed teaching he was a journalist and newspaper man at heart, and soon it began to appear that Graves was thinking of giving up his professorship and launching a weekly newspaper. So not too many were surprised when in March 1923 the Chapel Hill Weekly made its appearance.

Accordingly in September 1921 when Pierson returned from Texas and Graham from Chicago, they found Graves as well as Connor in the University. And Frank Graham was much surprised to find that Graves had just married Mildred Moses, who had lived in Chapel Hill all of her life and whom he himself had often seen during his student days. Since Graves had seen quite a bit of the world and had a genuine interest in history, he was soon on friendly terms with all members of the staff of history and government, as Hamilton, Wagstaff, and Connor. At one point he even sat down to ask him to comment on policy matters. Pierson’s return to Chapel Hill was a delight to Edwin Greenlaw, dean of the graduate school, because he was pleased to see the number of the history staff increase. In fact, several graduate students, including Fletcher M. Green, who had one of the first of the new Teaching Fellowships in 1921-1922.

Naturally Connor’s presence in Chapel Hill added some new elements and touches to history. No member of the University administration or faculty was as well known across the state as he. For not only had he been a key member of the Board of Trustees for years but he had played a large role in the North Carolina Teachers’ Assembly and had spoken in many community meetings in many counties. Too, he was frequently called on for information or advice by Governor Morrison as well as by Chase and R. B. House.

Perhaps no other member of the staff of history and government worked as hard as Connor during the academic year 1921-22. Each course was a new venture, and he taught several courses including a graduate seminar and a section of the freshman survey, which covered Europe from 1500 to 1921. And to him the business of teaching, especially the teaching of freshmen, was a serious business. Having several courses with him and seen him in action for many years, I am sure that I have known anyone who worked harder with students than he. When he had a set of quiz papers, especially freshmen or sophomore papers, the serious matter could get him away from work and he often filled them with comments and suggestions. For these were

3 Actually Graves was much like Connor in some ways. His mind worked more slowly than Connor’s but he was practical and had good judgment, and among the first moves that he made in the Chapel Hill Weekly was to urge the use of color. He also tried to increase the size of the staff and in some cases, he tried to give more time and energy to the dairying and poultry businesses.

the boys and girls, as he sometimes said, who would be looked to for leadership in the state and nation in the years ahead, and the more they knew about the history of the state and nation the better prepared they would be for the work ahead. One of his favorite comments to students was that the more one knows about the past the better equipped one is to understand the present and to help prepare for the future.

Connor also kept in rather close touch with Wagstaff who sailed for London in the late summer. While their correspondence centered on scarce documents about colonial North Carolina which Wagstaff had agreed to look for in the Public Records Office in London, there were other matters that got into their letters. For example, Wagstaff who was a good business man, could not refrain from giving Connor some advice about real estate in Chapel Hill. He wrote Connor a long letter on November 5, 1921, which did not fit with several matters but ended up with a bit of good every-day advice. Wagstaff wrote: “By this time you will be wishing I would quit, and I will when I have said one more thing. Your letter to Mr. W. H. Hamby about a house in Chapel Hill. Go after a lot right now.” Wagstaff then mentioned some possible houses for the couple; and Connor quick to recognize good advice, soon purchased a lot from Dr. W. R. Watson on the south side of East Franklin Street, and directly across the highway from Horace Williams’ house. Brody Thompson, a well known and much respected builder in Chapel Hill (who also built many houses at Duke University) soon had a house for Connor under construction. In 1948 another historian, James W. Patton, purchased the house from Connor, and Mrs. Correllotta Patton is still living in the house in 1989.

Wagstaff was of course about as interested in documents concerning colonial North Carolina as Connor and had continued the work that had to do considerable searching in the Public Records Office. In the early spring of 1922 he wrote Connor that he would help him a bit when he got to London, and that the cost of copying the items would not be in any sense shocking. Though Connor’s house was under construction, he decided to spend most of July and August in London, and quickly succeeded in getting the promise of enough funds from the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress and the N. C. Historical Commission to cover the cost of copying. He arrived in London in the early summer, a few days before the Wagstaffs we also got to New York. Wagstaff gave him some help about items concerning North Carolina in the Public Records Office, and he brought Wagstaff up to date about many matters in Chapel Hill, and especially about the construction of Saunders hall.

4 Cordyton Spruill, who was soon to be an active member of the staff of history, government, and commerce and to give a course in the history of agriculture, was a Rhodes Scholar working at Oxford at this time.
In fact no matter was more on the minds of the members of the staff of history and government in the spring and summer of 1924 than the possible election of Saunders hall. It was exciting and highly gratifying for it would obviously provide for many years to come adequate and comfortable office and classroom space for both history and government and economics and commerce. Broadly speaking the department of history and government was to have the top floor of Saunders hall and the department of economics and commerce, which always gave some economic history, the second floor, with the large middle room on the first floor used as a special library and reading room for students in both departments. The new program in social work was also assigned a large room on the first floor.

Hamilton in the meantime was not only keeping a close eye on Saunders hall but he was studying departmental matters and doing considerable teaching and writing. He completed his "Selections from the Writings of Abraham Lincoln" and had picked up material for a life of Henry Ford which was to be primarily for boys and thus similar in design to his Life of Robert E. Lee for boys. The book was based on Ford as a gifted mechanic and a good business man with a real desire to promote the welfare of the masses. He was also aware of the fact that Ford had little regard for academicians, and especially for historians. He wrote Ford on March 18, 1922, telling him of his plans for a biography for boys and asking him for facts about certain aspects of his early life. Ford was seemingly flattered, but obviously did not want to be interviewed. He agreed however to answer questions through his secretary. Hamilton quickly sent several questions to Ford's secretary and received in mid-August seven single-spaced pages which Ford had dictated. Encouraged by Ford's response, Hamilton and wife Mary, who loved to write for young boys and girls, soon had a sizable manuscript about Ford. But in the meantime the publisher proved difficult, for a number of others across the country were also doing short biographies of Ford, and the publishing houses were aware of this and hesitant about accepting manuscripts on Ford.

In mid-August 1922 the third floor of Saunders hall was so nearly finished that Hamilton began ordering tables, desks, and chairs, and getting a bit anxious for the staff to show up so that offices could be assigned and work begun on staff and budget matters for the following biennium. By early September all members of the staff, including Wallace E. Caldwell, were present except Frank Graham who had decided in the spring to do another year of doctoral work at Chicago and had been given a leave to the coming year with half pay. Alex M. Arnette of the woman's College in Greensboro was brought in to handle Graham classes. Albert Clark as the departmental instructors were Fletcher M. Green, who had held a teaching fellowship in 1921-22, and Keener C. Frazer, a native of Alabama, who had done graduate work and part-time teaching at the University of Virginia during the previous year. Both Green and Frazer were destined to serve on the University faculty for more than forty years, and both were to be of much help to Hamilton in getting the Southern Historical Collection in business in Georgia and Alabama.

As soon as the staff had settled into its new quarters on the third floor of Saunders hall, Hamilton raised the matter of the budget and staff for the next biennium. And since more than 2000 students had just registered and Edwin Greenlaw and Whately Pierson were whispering that the University would not be able to admit membership in the Association of American Universities, there was considerable optimism about the future, and a feeling on the part of the trustees that the University should ask for what it really needed in terms of both equipment and staff. Accordingly Hamilton, Wagstaff, Connor, and Pierson sketched out rather quickly a budget for the biennium of 1923-25 which called for a greater measure of specialization in teaching fields and for a departmental secretary with a typewriter and a telephone, none of which the department had ever had.

With regard to staff, the budget called for an additional full-time instructor for the survey courses in the history of modern Europe, an additional assistant professor in American history, and an associate professor who would handle the modern Renaissance. In the American history the program had, in the meantime the program had, in the meantime the American history had changed. To the surprise of everyone except W. E. Dodd, the University of Chicago had nominated Frank Graham as its candidate for an Amherst Memorial Fellowship, which provided the holder with two years of study, one year in the United States and one year abroad. Frank was not sure that he could stay away from Chapel Hill for two more years, but felt that he would have to make a run for the fellowship. At the request of W. E. Dodd several people in Chapel Hill, including Hamilton and Chase, wrote the Selection Committee of theAmherst Memorial Fellowships concerning Graham's qualifications, so he had strong support from both Chapel Hill and Chicago. And Graham was informed before too long that he was to be an Amherst Memorial Fellow from September 1923 to September 1925, and he quickly decided that he would spend the first year mainly at the Brookings Institution in

5 Hamilton was discouraged but did not abandon the manuscript. He later enlarged it and Henry Holt and Co. published it in 1927 with the title Henry Ford, the Man, the Worker, the Citizen. It was a well-written, well-organized, and popular book and Ford praised it as a remarkably skilled and gifted mechanic and business man with a deep interest in the masses. The final sentence in the book read: "Today, as always, service is the guiding motive of his life."

6 The salary scale was in flux at this time, but the scale that was used was $4,000 for full professors, $3,500 for associate professors, $2,750 for assistant professors, and $1,850 for $2,000 for full-time instructors.
Washington, and most of the second year at the London School of Economics in England.

So with Graham's assistant professorship vacant, the search was soon on for three men for September 1923. But actually it was not so difficult as it seemed to be. For F. M. Green was quite capable of taking over most of Graham's survey courses, and Albert R. Newsome, who was at the time teaching survey courses in the University of Michigan and well on the way toward his Ph. D., was anxious to get to Chapel Hill. The whole staff knew Newsome and felt that a better man for the new assistant professorship could not be found. For not only was Newsome an attractive man with a pleasing personality, but he had made "A" on every course he had ever had at the undergraduate as well as the graduate level. He had found mathematics, chemistry, and Latin just as easy as history.

While locating and getting a top man in European history was a different matter, it was to prove easier than Hamilton and most of the staff had expected. For just after Hamilton finished work on the history in European history for the country for help, he received a letter from W. W. Pierson who was teaching in the summer school at the University of Chicago, reminding him that Chester Penn Higby of the University of West Virginia was still available, and adding that he did not believe a better man could be found. Hamilton, with growing confidence in Pierson's judgment of scholars, was impressed, and immediately wrote several members of the staff at Columbia University, including C. J. H. Hayes, whose text on modern Europe was being used in History I, and all of them gave Higby strong recommendations.

On March 22, 1923, Hamilton extended offers to both Higby and Newsome. He offered Higby an associate professorship at $1,500 and all but a free hand in the whole modern European field. He told Newsome that all members of the staff had wanted his appointment, and that the department was in a position to offer him an assistant professorship at $2,500 to begin in September 1923. But at the same time he was so concerned about Newsome's future that he advised him to remain at Michigan until September 1924 if he needed to do so to complete the work on his doctorate, or even if his leaving would create a serious staff problem for Van Tyle and Phillips. Higby and Newsome replied promptly. Higby said that West Virginia was offering him a full professorship at $3,600, but asked many questions and really made it clear that he wanted to come. Hamilton conferred with Chase and Chase agreed that the salary offer could be raised to $3,700; and that he could be promoted to full professor in two years. Higby accepted the offer, and on April 21 wrote Hamilton that he had decided to spend the summer in Europe, especially if the University could give him a few hundred dollars to purchase materials on the German Revolution and the early years of the Habsburg Empire. The University found several hundred dollars and Higby spent most of the summer in Europe.

7 Shanks who later married Anne Graham, Frank Graham's youngest sister, spent a fruitful life mainly at Birmingham Southern; Taylor taught at Incarnate Word; I had history I in the autumn term; I was to teach at Furman from 1925 to 1947 and at Western Carolina at Cullowhee from 1947 to 1962; and Gilpatrick at Furman from 1931-65. They were all fine citizens and able teachers.

Meantime Newsome, after talking with Van Tyle and Phillips, wrote Hamilton that everything had been arranged and "the whole family is delighted at the prospect of getting back to N. C. and especially to the University." Frank Graham, who was keeping in close touch with developments in Chapel Hill, complimented Hamilton on getting Higby and Newsome, and expressed the view that the University now had the strongest history department in the south, with Texas as the only close rival.

Hamilton was now pleased at having signed Higby and Newsome, and apparently felt that his staff problems for the coming year were about over. But he was soon to realize that he was very mistaken in more ways than one. Both Higby and Newsome had families and he had a great deal of difficulty finding living quarters for them. Equally disturbing, both F. M. Green and K. C. Frazer changed their plans for the coming year. Green took a teaching position in Georgia and Frazer decided to go to Johns Hopkins for another year of graduate work. So Hamilton was left without a single instructor when the enrollment in history I and II was soaring. Actually he had a much harder time finding three suitable instructors than he had expected. He had in mind several men with M. A. degrees, but when he approached them he found that they had already made plans for 1923-24. He then wrote several people, including Frank Graham at Chicago, C. J. H. Hayes at Columbia, and C. M. Andrews at Yale for help. It took time and energy, but by early September 1923 he had signed three good men - Henry T. Shanks, Rosser H. Taylor, and Delbert H. Gilpatrick. All three were to make substantial contributions to history over the years and to remain rather close to the University and its history department. Hamilton was fortunate to get them.
Some New Developments that Concerned History

I wish to make clear to the reader at the outset that this chapter is centered on a series of developments in the University in the early and mid-twenties rather than on the staff of the department of history and government. Nevertheless all of these issues and developments touched history in many ways and, what was more important still, most of them involved the making of University policies and few members of the faculty were as deeply involved in the making of over-all policy at this time as Connor, Hamilton, Wigestaff, and Pierson. Indeed, I do not believe that any other department had four men who had as much impact on overall policy as these four.

The issues and developments that surfaced most sharply in these years were: (1) the question of co-education at the undergraduate level, and thus the matter of the construction of a dormitory for women; (2) the matter of a University hotel and the coming of the Carolina Inn; (3) the establishment of the University Press; (4) the question of courses in the University of a religious nature; and (5) the establishment of the Institute for Research in Social Science.

The question of the admission of women to the University at the undergraduate level came decisively at this time largely in the form of a new dormitory. While President E. A. Alderman had formally endorsed the enrollment of women in certain professional programs in 1887, women were still not admitted at the undergraduate level, and full co-education was still quite controversial. But in 1921-22 when the decision came for the introduction of four new dormitories and full co-education in the University at Chapel Hill argued that one of the dormitories should be for women students. So the debate was vociferous on the campus and even outside the state. Those opposed to full co-education quickly pointed out, among other things, that there was a state maintained college for women in Greensboro. The student Tar Heel inquired of the University was for men, and as pressure grew for a dormitory for women, the Tar Heel scheduled a student referendum on the question for early March 1923. It reported triumphantly in its issue of March 14, 1923, that of the 1100 students that voted, 973 cast their ballots against a dormitory for women, and that the small number that voted affirmatively were women or graduate and professional males.2 Haywood Parker, well-known alumnus and member of the University’s Building Committee, who lived in Asheville, wrote Connor that he was being flooded with letters from Chapel Hill and various parts of the state about the question of co-education, and that he wanted to talk with him about the matter just as soon as he could get to Chapel Hill. To the best of my knowledge all members of the staff of history and government favored a dormitory for women, and Hamilton and Connor let Chase know this. Connor did not waste any words and his stock reply was: "The State University must not be closed to half of the people of the state." Hamilton felt that Chase was dallying and unsure and wrote him: "If you take boldly the leadership in this matter, the University Trustees will accept and act." A few days later Chase sent a strong statement in support of a dormitory for women to both the Greensboro Daily News and the University Building Committee, and a dormitory for women was soon under construction between the Old and President’s house and the Episcopal church. It was opened for students in September, 1925, and in 1926 it was named Spencer Hall in honor of Cornelius Phillips. The building was dedicated to the attic of South building to ring the old bell at the re-opening in 1874, and whom Governor Vance had called the smartest man as well as the smartest woman in the state.

The Carolina Inn, which opened its doors at Christmas time in 1924, was the work of John Sprunt Hill, graduate of the class of 1889 and well-known banker and business man of Durham. But the Carolina Inn had a background which involved history, rural social economics, and much more. For Hill had always taken a deep interest in the University and at the beginning of the 1920s had even considered financing a co-ed residence halls for the departments of History and Government and Rural Social Economics. He had become impressed with E. C. Branson’s work with people in the rural areas of the state as well as with the work of Hamilton and Connor.3 Branson wrote Hill on December 21, 1923:

2 Some students reported that while women undergraduates attended Harvard University, they were not allowed into the library after six o’clock in the evening. And this may have been true for Julia Spruill was doing graduate work at Harvard in 1928, and she wrote H. D. Connor (Nov. 1, 1928) that she was not allowed in the library after 5:00 p.m. She also said that the library was not as well as the smartest woman in the state.

3 Both Hamilton and Connor felt that Chase wanted to do what was best for the state, but was rather weak and knew little about the state. In fact, Chase nearly always contacted Connor at once when an important matter was emerging.

4 In 1919-20 Branson got more than a thousand requests for information and help of some sort from people across the state.
1920, that he would like a game of golf with him on the afternoon of Christmas day, and added: 'But I'll be frank and tell you that I shall raise the matter of a $250,000 social science building.' However Hill had already become disturbed by what he had heard about Howard W. Odum whose house was being in as a Kenan Professor to develop a department of sociology, and he had discovered that Branson was supporting Odum. This worried him, for much as Hill appreciated the work that Branson had done, and was still doing he never really approved of Odum. And now with prospects good for a state supported and financed classroom building for history and government and economics and commerce, Hill was soon conferring about organizing a Carolina Club to work for the construction of a sizable hotel or inn on the edge of the campus which would provide comfortable quarters for Trustee meetings, University conferences, and much more. In fact Hill had already purchased the land from Julia Graves on which the Carolina Club now stands. And then news came that a Carolina Club failed to work out to his satisfaction in the need for a substantial hotelry to continue to grow, he decided to put up the Carolina Club himself. He employed Arthur C. Haddox as architect, to design a Southern Colonial Inn for the lot, and decided that the new building should bear the name Carolina Inn. It was to have a ballroom, a dining room, and fifty-two rooms for guests. One of its architectural attractions was to be a long colonnaded porch facing Cameron Avenue and modeled after the porch at Mt. Vernon facing the Potomac. The new inn was opened for guests at Christmas 1924. It gave a new dimension to life at Chapel Hill, and it is perhaps safe to say that no other building had contributed so much to the quality of life at the University since 1925 than the Carolina Inn. In 1935 John Sprunt Hill and his family presented the inn to the University, and of course it has since been enlarged.

The item on our list that perhaps had the warmest support from the faculty was the establishment of the University press. For with the enrollment rising rapidly, especially at the graduate level, and University publications of all sorts from the annual catalogues to the Sprunt Historical Monographs growing, there was much talk of the establishment of a full-fledged University press. Too, many faculty members were pointing out that few publications bore the stamp of the University, and thus that the University was failing to get credit for much that it was doing. And, indeed few departments were as affected by and concerned about all of this as was history and government. Hamilton, Pierson, and Connor all played active roles and not only stressed the fact that the South was weak in publishing facilities but sometimes hinted that the publishing houses of the northeastern trend to overlook manuscripts

There is some evidence that Hill would have financed the construction of a classroom building for history and government and economics and commerce if the General Assembly of 1921 had not made provision for three new classroom buildings.

done by southern writers. Most University Trustees readily agreed that the University should have a press, and in March 1922 the University of North Carolina Press was incorporated, and approved as the first item in the University budget submitted to the General Assembly in January 1923.

At the outset the University press had its headquarters in the Carnegie library and librarian L. R. Wilson served as its director. It took over at once the publication of the Sprunt Historical monographs and indicated a strong interest in manuscripts dealing with North Carolina and the south. But of course University publications came first and they were numerous and L. R. Wilson was soon ceiling for help. In June 1923 William T. Couch, an able and well-known student in the University, was named part-time assistant director, and in the following year became as a modest assistant director, and was to play a hand in getting the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial to make a $50,000 grant to the press over a three-year period. Couch was very energetic and resourceful and, as we shall see in the following chapter, soon expressed a willingness to assume the publication of a journal in the field of modern European history, which he did. C. F. Higby of the staff of the News and Daily government was trying to launch. The University press grew rapidly and was soon playing an important role in the work of the University.

The question of courses in the history of the Bible and religion was also a burning one, which had been an intractable one for the years, surfaced rather sharply at this time partly because of the presence of W. E. Caldwell, who had just joined the faculty, and Caldwell was deeply interested in Egyptian and Hebrew history, and he soon made it known that he would give a course on the history of the Bible if it was wanted. And of course Caldwell's proposal raised anew the question as to whether the University should give courses on religion and religious literature; and as to whether such courses if given could count toward a degree. Caldwell's proposal also came as a surprise to W. W. Ransom, who was professor of Latin at the University and who for years had taught a course on the Bible for men (largely University students) on Sunday mornings in the University Memorial Chapel. Most of the students who attended Bernhard's Sunday school classes expressed an interest in Caldwell's proposal. The upshot of it all was that the University faculty set up a committee early in 1923 to study the whole matter, and the committee decided, as expected, that while the University could not give credit for courses of a religious nature.

6 In 1926 the press was moved from the Carnegie library to the ground floor of the Alumni building, where it remained until 1945. It then moved to Bynum hall and remained there until the early 1980s when Brooks hall was constructed to serve as its home.
nevertheless courses dealing with the history of the Old Testament and Christianity could be given without credit.

In reality both Caldwell and Bernard gave considerable attention in their courses to the history of Israel and the development of the Old Testament in various parts of the state; and as a result became surprisingly well known over much of the state, and mothers and fathers across the state sometimes told their sons and daughters as they headed for the University to be sure and take a course with W. E. Caldwell.

Another development at this time that concerned history at Chapel Hill was the establishment of the Institute for Research in Social Science. This Institute was in large measure the work of President Chase, whose ideas had been developed in the early days of his administration as Kenan Professor of Sociology, and also as director of the School of Public Welfare, which E. C. Kropp had helped to create. What Chase conceived as a faculty for several years and his work was rather widely praised across the state, most if not all of the members of the Board of Trustees as well as of the faculty assumed that Odum would work in close association with Branson and his program. But Odum was a very ambitious man and his main interest was in social theory and research. He had professed to believe that groups of young dedicated social researchers would soon provide the data for a solution of most of society's problems. He had immediately begun to work. A program Jessie Steed and Devere Steed had given courses in such matters as marriage, the family, and various forms of recreation. Such terms as social technology and social pathology were freely used, and some feared that Branson's work was being pushed aside. In any case Odum was pressing President Chase for substantial funds for research in social matters of various sorts. Chase was becoming more and more dubious of the quite a number of the members of the Board of Trustees as well as many alumni and faculty members had questions about much of Odum's program. Sensing that all of this could hurt University appropriations, Chase not only began urging Odum to seek funds for his contemplated Research Institute from a foundation or wealthy individual, but also began spending time and some funds in an effort to help Odum get a grant. In fact getting clear hints from some within the University, including business men like Charles Woolen, R. D. W. Connor, and W. C. Cofer, that University appropriations could suffer because of some parts of Odum's program.

7 I had a course with Odum when I was a sophomore, and I sometimes heard students joke about both Odum and Harold Meyer whom he had just added to his sociology staff. Students sometimes referred to Odum as the devil; he often fired both barrels but rarely hit anything; and to Meyer as "professor of fun and frolic" and also as the "play boy;"

Then early in 1924, and happily it seemed for all concerned, the Laura Spellman Rockfeller Memorial announced that it was prepared and ready to give careful consideration to requests for funds for research in the social sciences. Chase and Odum moved fast and Beardsley Ruml, Director of the Memorial's program at Chapel Hill. In the late spring of 1924 the Memorial announced that it would give the University $32,500 annually for three years to be used for work in the social sciences. The Institute for Research in Social Science was quickly set up and, to the mild surprise of Hamilton and D. D. Carroll, was assigned considerable space on the first floor of Saunders Hall.

Since the department of history and government was normally classed with the social sciences as well as with the humanities, history and government as well as economics and commerce, was soon viewed in Odum's new Institute for Research in Social Science which a governing board of the institute and some graduate students, including Fletcher Green, were then given research fellowships, and thus Connor and his colleagues were forced to seek some financial assistance for their graduate students, they nonetheless continued to feel that much of Odum's program was nebulous and offered little of real value. Then, to Odum's sorrow if not surprise, President Chase assured the Board of Trustees that the University would not obligate itself to take over the financing of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the end of the three-year period. So he had to continue his quest for funds and his courtship of foundations. Louis Graves, who sometimes confessed that he really did not understand Odum, wrote in his Chapel Hill columns on March 3, 1925: 'He (Odum) - - - is a past master of seeming to tell you what you want and then leaving you to realize that he hasn't told you anything at all, but have been going about it the whole time that he has obtained large gifts for the University. The amounts mentioned vary all the way from one to twenty million dollars. But for the life of me I can't pin him down to it.' Of course the Institute for Research in Social Science did not get into the University budget until well into the second World War, and interest in it was rather slight at that time.

Another basic matter that surfaced quite sharply at this time and in which some members of the history staff were involved in at least a small way, was the growth of the state for turning the University's two-year medical school into a four-year medical school with a teaching hospital in Chapel Hill, or in one of the larger towns in the central Piedmont area. There is rather solid evidence that the Board of Trustees was on the point of calling for a four-year school when Benjamin N. Janney wrote to Odum as the de facto head of the institute in 1923, proposing a large grant to Trinity College which would, among other things, provide for the establishment of a full-fledged medical school with a large hospital in or near Durham. Connor, who had
supported the idea of a four-year school in the University, but had at the same time worried about the heavy financial load that it would impose for a time on the state, wrote President Few of Trinity College on December 10, 1924, that what the Duke brothers were doing would be a great blessing for education in the southern region. He concluded, "The next quarter century will see the state rise to a position of real prominence in the South and we occupy a strong position in the whole country." And he hinted quite clearly that he felt that by mid-century there could be a four-year medical school and a hospital in Chapel Hill as well as Durham. Connor was sometimes heard to say that the University could not move forward in a sound way unless the State moved forward in the same way.

Few matters in these months and years concerned the history staff as much as the growing inadequacies of the Carnegie library, especially for the storage of basic source records and materials. The Carnegie library had been a great blessing and had served well up to the end of the First World War, but very rapid growth in the early twenties, especially at the graduate level, overtaxed its facilities. In 1923 a committee headed by W. C. Coker, was set up to study library needs and to make recommendations. Needs were obvious and the real question was how best to meet them. There was some talk of enlarging the Carnegie library and even of making South building into a library by restructuring and enlarging it, but most everyone, including Coker, felt from the outset that the best solution would be a large new building on the south side of Folk Place and thus facing Old South. Hamilton, Wagstaff, Connor, and Pierson all agreed that there should be a new building and Hamilton wrote Coker on March 5, 1924, that there should be no thought of enlarging the Carnegie building because it was not only in the wrong place for the University library but was a "fire-trap," and thus unsafe for the storage of valuable documents and records. Hamilton and Connor were already dreaming of large state and regional collections, and wanted plenty of fireproof storage space in the new library. They even asked Chase at this time if it would not be possible for librarian L. R. Wilson to devote more of his time to collecting state and regional records. As soon as the new library building was under construction, Hamilton let Fletcher H. Green, who was a Georgian, and, Keener C. Frazer, who was an Alabamian, know of his hopes and plans for a large regional collection. They kept the secret, but both were bringing family records from their native states as soon as the new Wilson library was opened.

Chester W. Snell, who had served as director of Extension during these years, followed C. P. Higby to Wisconsin in 1929, and Russell Grumman then became director and was to remain so until 1956 when he reached retirement age.
Chapter VIII (1925-28)
Solid Growth at all Levels

Even though history at Chapel Hill was growing in nearly all ways in the middle of the 1920s, we shall nevertheless be able to move a little faster over the second half of the decade, because the overall situation was becoming more stable and more satisfactory. Enrollment, which had jumped from 1160 in 1919 to 2450 in 1925, was now slowing down and there was no real pressure for additional dormitories or classroom buildings for several years. ¹ Most of the building in these years was of a different sort and was financed largely by gifts from alumni and alumnae. The principal structures were the Kenan Stadium (1926-27), the Wilson Library (1928-29), the Patterson-Morehead Bell Tower (1923-30), and the completion in 1930 of Graham Memorial hall which had been under periodic construction since the early 1920s.

Too, staffing problems were fewer and less difficult during the second half of the twenties, partly because of the growth of the graduate school. In September 1925, The Reverend G. A. Whately Pierson, returned to Saunders hall for full-time duty. In 1926 Edward J. Woodhouse, who had taught four years at Yale University and seven years at Smith College, came down as a visiting professor to divide his time between state and municipal government and to help with the new Extension Division. F. M. Green, who had taught at Vanderbilt University in 1924-25, returned in September 1926 to complete work for his doctorate. At the same time Robert B. House returned to Chapel Hill to serve as executive secretary to President Chase, and Albert Ray Newcomb went to Raleigh to replace House as director of the N. C. Historical Commission. Keener C. Frazier, who had taught at the University of Virginia in 1925-26, returned to Chapel Hill in September 1926 as an assistant professor to give courses in international law and government. Newcomb's assistant position was not filled for the year because Hamilton wanted to add F. M. Green to the staff as soon as he completed all requirements for his Ph. D. which he did in June 1927. Also in September, Chester Penn Higby, who had graduated from a northern Illinois and thus near Madison, Wisconsin, accepted a professorship in the University of Wisconsin and was replaced by Mitchell E. Garrett, an Alabamian who had graduated from Cornell University and like Higby was a specialist in the history of France from 1789 to 1815. But staffing for history courses I and II was still below a normal level, and all required of all first-year students, was of course a different matter, and indeed was becoming easier because of the growth of the graduate enrollment and thus the availability of more graduates who had M. A. degrees and were anxious to do some more teaching. Among those who were available for part-time teaching in these years were such stalwarts to be as James W. Patton, Fletcher M. Green, Charles B. Robson, Henry T. Shanks, and C. C. Crittenberg.

While all members of the staff of history and government played substantial roles in most of the significant developments of these years, the endeavor at which all of them worked hardest and most enthusiastically was the building of a strong and sound graduate program. And the graduate program made remarkable headway because many felt that such a program was much needed and would contribute substantially to the work of the whole university. When the institute awarded its first Ph. D. degree in 1926 and by 1930 it had conferred thirteen and the increase was just as spectacular in some other departments including English and Chemistry. We gathered in the new instance of the Carnegie library with bookshelves around the walls of the room loaded with volumes most used by graduate students in history, and with a long table in the center of the room around which a dozen or more students could sit and work much of the time in the late afternoon and evenings every seat would be occupied and no one dared whisper.

But we must now center our attention on the individual members of the staff, and we will begin with R. D. W. Connor because his operations and activities were broader and more varied than those of any other member of the staff of history and government. As an historian and teacher in North Carolina and its history was well known across the state, and this enhanced his influence in a number of ways. It tended to inspire those who were working under him as well as with him, and it also encouraged those who were inclined to make gifts to the University, and the single greatest contribution to history at Chapel Hill during these years was his work with the North Carolina Collection. His presence not only inspired the very able Mary Thornton, curator of the collection, but it helped bring in both materials and funds, and it made it certain that the collection would have adequate space in the new library (Wilson) which was then to be under construction. The North Carolina Collection really began to blossom at this time. Connor's presence also greatly increased the number of graduate students in history and especially those doing theses and dissertations in North Carolina history. I well remember hearing several of them, including Julie Willard, and my brother Herbert Dale, sing their praises of Mary Thornton as well as R. D. W. Connor. In fact, Mary Thornton had gained a vast knowledge of the history of the state, and could have given a solid seminar in North Carolina history.

¹ I entered the graduate school in 1926 and by 1928 I had had at least two courses with all members of the history faculty of professorial rank, and in addition courses that were basically history. (The other requirements of both departments of education, Corydon Spurri, Milton Heath, and Erich Zimmerman in the department of economics and commerce, and George Howe and Gustavus Harrer in Latin.)
Conner was of course nearly always pressed for time, not only because many people outside as well as inside the University visited him, but also because he kept his office doors open to students most of the time. His classes, except for his seminar, were nearly always scheduled for the largest room in Saunders. Theadors had just moved in, and the room was smaller, but Conner, who had been heavier most of the time than Frank Graham's, though Graham was usually said to be the magnet of the department, Conner also continued to get about as many calls for facts about North Carolina and its history from teachers and others across the state as when he directed the Historical Commission, and he got more requests than ever before for speeches, summer teaching, and other types of work. On November 26, 1925, Frederic L. Paxson wired Conner that the American Historical Association was very interested in his book for part of his history and had selected him as director of a special Endowment Campaign and was prepared to pay him well. Conner begged off saying that he had too many students coming into his presence in Chapel Hill. He also called on this at time to identify the North Carolinians who should be included in the Dictionary of American Biography as well as to write the sketches of many of them.

But all work was not pleasant for Conner in these years. He also had worries and embarrassments, and he had both in connection with the writing of his two-volume history of North Carolina. It came about in this way. There was growing talk in the mid-twenties of the need for a substantial history of the state, especially for libraries and public schools. Some suggested that John H. Wheeler's two-volume History of North Carolina had been a much-needed history and was excellently written, but others objected to this because Wheeler's volumes were known to contain a great many factual errors. Judge Walter Clark had reported years before that he had counted more than two thousand obvious errors, and of course no one wanted to undertake to redo Wheeler's work. The number of people across the state, including A. P. Allen, Superintendent of Public Instruction, mentioned Conner as the man who might write a new, more accurate history of the state. This idea gained momentum, and in fact Conner, who was well aware of all of this talk, was already thinking of doing such a history. But before he made a decision the Lewis Publishing Company, which was the financial arm of the American Historical Society of Chicago, and which specialized in publishing local histories, state and city history, biography, and genealogy, entered the picture. The Lewis Publishers proposed a four-volume package which would consist of a two-volume history of the state to be done by Conner, and two additional volumes made up of brief sketches of photographs of several hundred of the most prosperous and well-known citizens of the state to be prepared by members of the Lewis Publishing staff. Conner was to be paid by the publishers for doing the two-volume history, and each person to be included in the biographical volumes was to be paid a fixed and agreed sum and was to get the whole four-volume set at about Christmas time in 1927. It seems obvious that neither Connor nor many of the portrait subjects were very good at estimating the time to examine carefully the documents which they were signing. At the time however Conner did protest mildly about the shortness of the time allowed him to do a two-volume history. But apparently he was assured that he would have plenty of good help and that there would be no problem about an extension of time if it were needed. But certainly Conner did not fully realize how impressed most of those to be included in the biographical volumes were to have him in the picture. Some even thought that it was a quid pro quo for having the historical sections well done and the history of the state which they would get. Obviously if there was a delay in the delivery of the package they would be unhappy. There were of course no serious problems for a time, and Conner worked as hard as ever at many matters in addition to his two-volume history of the state. There were a few letters from many people about many things, and one of the most revealing and pertinent was from the well-known Winston-Salem attorney Burton Craige, who wanted help and wrote: "I know that you are a busy man, but I have about decided that it is useless to seek help from any other kind."

Then in early 1927 the Lewis Publishing Company informed Conner that it would have to have very soon finished manuscripts of one of his three history of the state in order to meet the deadline for the distribution of the four-volume packages at Christmas time 1927. Conner had finished the manuscript for the first volume and was well along with the second volume, but had no chance of having a four-volume manuscript into hand by then. The situation then became tense. Not only did Lewis Publishers put pressure on Conner, but what was more embarrassing to him, some sort of trouble was included in the biographical volumes which had received typed drafts of their sketches and were unhappy with them, and some wrote Conner that they had expected him to do better work than he was doing. Conner was both surprised and saddened, and now realized that the Lewis Company was able to make far more use of his name in connection with the biographical volumes than he had anticipated. He hastened to point out to those who were unhappy with their sketches that he had nothing whatsoever to do with the two biographical volumes or with the business end of matters. He explained that he had already signed a contract with the Lewis Publishing Company to write a two-volume history of the state of North Carolina for which he was to be paid a lump sum. It would be unlikely that he would have the four-volume package which all the portrait subjects were to get. To every one, including B. F. Lewis of the American Historical Society of Chicago, Conner said that the quality of the portraits and the date of their arrival at his desk were of no importance to him most and that really mattered. As the weeks passed there were sharp exchanges between Conner and Lewis, and at one point Conner
told Lewis that the publishing company could withdraw from the contract for his two volumes if it wished. Of course it did not wish to do so.

Early in 1928 Connor, to the surprise of many, accepted an invitation to teach in the summer school of the University of Chicago. He did so not only because he felt he could get more writing done in Chicago than in Chapel Hill, but also because he wanted to come face to face with B. F. Lewis of the Lewis Publishing Company. And apparently both assumptions were sound for he did get a great deal of writing done and Lewis changed his tune after Connor faced him, which he did soon after reaching Chicago. The work went rather smoothly from then on, and with a bit of help from Edgar Knight, Corydon Spruill, E. K. Brown, and two of his doctoral candidates, Julia Spruill and Guion Johnson, he mailed the last chapters of the manuscripts for the rebuilding of a Rural Commonwealth to the Lewis Publishing Company on December 10, 1928. But he had to labor for some time over the proof sheets, and it was, as he told Lewis, full of errors and thus poorly done. The four-volume packages were delivered to all subscribers in the early weeks of 1929.

While Connor gave most of his time and energy during these years to his students and the writing of his twovolume history of the state, he gave some time to many other matters. He persuaded Haywood Parker to bring the papers of his father, who had been an officer in the Confederate army, to the North Carolina Collection in the university library. He corresponded with Angus McLean and Lieutenant Governor Charles Reynolds about recent political issues in the state, and he prevailed upon them to have copies of the materials used in the campaign of 1924-25 sent to the North Carolina Collection. He also corresponded with W. R. Kenan about the Kenan Memorial Stadium, which was formally dedicated on Thanksgiving Day 1927 at the North Carolina football game, and he corresponded with Owen D. Young about the raising of funds for the Walter H. Page Memorial.

Perhaps the most surprising move that Connor made during the mid-1920s was to invite Professors Boyd of Duke and Kendrick of the Woman's College in Greensboro to join him in organizing what he called Better Acquaintance Dinner Meetings for the teachers of history and government in the colleges and universities in the central part of the state. Better Acquaintance Dinners were well attended and apparently greatly enjoyed but they folded soon after President Roosevelt called Connor to Washington to establish the National Archives in 1934. 3

3 I attended most of these dinner beginning in 1930, and I always felt that the women teachers, especially those from the Women's College in Greensboro, enjoyed them most. They were valuable and rather inspiring especially for the younger teachers.

These were also very busy and important years for Hamilton. For he not only spent much time with staff matters, and made, with Connor's assistance, the first concrete move towards the establishment of the Southern Historical Collection, but he did much more. He worked closely with Pierson to get a sound doctoral program in history and government underway; he directed the doctoral dissertations of F. C. Anscamble (1926), F. M. Green (1927), J. A. Patton (1928), H. T. Shankle (1929), and helped Pierson with W. S. Jenkins' dissertation (1927) and Connor with C. C. Norton's (1927) and A. L. Bramlett's in 1928. 4

Hamilton also did considerable writing as well as research. He wrote more than twenty sketches for the Dictionary of American Biography in these years; he revised and enlarged his manuscript on Henry Ford, which Henry Holt published in 1927 with the title Henry Ford: The Man, the Worker, the Citizen. 5 He also published The Best Speeches of Abraham Lincoln and The Best Letters of Thomas Jefferson. His research, in addition to that done for the biographical sketches, centered largely on his great grandfather, James Hamilton, who had served as governor of South Carolina in the early 1830s and as a brigadier general in the Confederate army during the Civil War.

Too, Hamilton carried on a rather heavy correspondence with other historians about a variety of matters in these years. Still the correspondent that he enjoyed most was not a professional historian but was Gerald Johnson of the Baltimore Sun. And that was true not only because Johnson had a genuine interest in history and biography and was full of humor, but also because he himself was a little like Johnson and had a great deal of the journalist in him. On January 3, 1928, Johnson wrote: "I thought you might like to know that I am writing an extensive article on the great writer and his influence on the American literary world and to tell the truth, I do not like most academics." Then when Johnson wrote him again about his second biography of an American Statesman, he wrote Hamilton: "I told you it had just occurred to me that it might not be a bad idea for me to go: some knowledge of the history of the country." He then asked Hamilton to tell him how to do this, and quickly added: "I have got me a new Ford with green and yellow stripes." 6 Hamilton ignored the Ford but obviously.

4 I saw, much of Hamilton in Saunders hall during these years, and he was always moving fast or talking fast, and sometimes doing both at the same time.

5 The book on Ford did not sell as well as he expected and this always puzzled him. Bruse Strowd, famous Ford dealer in Chapel Hill, was fond of Hamilton and made some effort at advertising the book. We graduate students felt that Hamilton had hoped that the book would provide him with considerable cash.

6 Their displays of humor sometimes involved their wives. Johnson in the autumn of 1927, when trying to make sure that Hamilton would accept his invitation to come to Baltimore to
appreciated the invitation to tell Johnson how to get some knowledge of the history of the country. Hamilton wrote him that it would not be easy, but that he could make a start by reading certain volumes of Walter Chauncey's works. He added that he preferred Schouler to Channing.

Pierson returned to Chapel Hill in the summer of 1925 pleased with his year in Latin America, but saddened and a bit worried because of Edwin Greenlaw's decision to go to Johns Hopkins. He, like the remainder of the staff, admired Greenlaw and felt that he had done a remarkably good job with the graduate school. He knew the new dean, James F. Royster, well but felt that he himself would have to give more time and thought to the whole graduate program. In fact by 1927 most of the teaching of the graduate students in history and political science was being conducted by F. W. Green, J. W. Patton, and C. B. Robson, felt that Royster was being overworked and was beginning to suspect that he was being overworked for the dean of the graduate school.

But heavy as was Pierson's teaching and administrative load, he kept in close touch with most of the men in Latin American history across the country and apparently never failed to receive requests from leading universities to teach in their summer programs. Perhaps the Latin American historian that Pierson knew best and wasdest of was J. Fred Rippy at the University of Chicago. He, with Hamilton's approval, had invited Rippy to teach in the summer school of 1925, and Rippy had made a strong impression in Chapel Hill, and had indicated that while he liked teaching at Chicago he was not fond of living there. And with the word soon out that Duke University was planning to add a man in Latin-American history, both Hamilton and Pierson gave Rippy strong support for the position, and he became a member of the history staff at Duke in 1926.

In 1925 Pierson was pleased to be appointed chairman of the committee for the Southern Historical Collection in Chapel Hill, and he and Pierson saw a great deal of each other and soon developed a collaborative teaching plan which was very valuable, especially for graduate students in the two universities who were specializing in Latin American history.

address the North Carolina Society of Baltimore concluded his plea: "As to what Mrs. Johnson will say and do if you do not agree with me, I can only tell you to guess and determine when Hamilton had hinted that his wife Mary did not think that Baltimore was too good a place to live, Johnson wrote back: "I am told that Baltimore is not exactly as bad as she thinks... it is a damn sight worse."

7 K. C. Frazer also saw a great deal of Rippy during these years. Although Rippy returned to the University of Chicago in 1936, he did not forget North Carolina, and spent the last years of his life in Forest Hill between Durham and Chapel Hill, and left his papers in the Southern Historical Collection in Chapel Hill.

Pierson and Robertson also saw something of each other, and exchanged letters fairly frequently. It was sometimes about full-time work as they were of matters concerning the history. In April 1926 Robertson wrote Pierson that he had had no letter for weeks and was beginning to wonder whether he was alive or not. Pierson wrote back at once: "We have had no news of the one nor the other. This anomalous state is to be ascribed to two operations that I have just undergone. One on my nose and one on my tonsils, neither has proved fatal (as yet) but they have left me with no sanguine outlook."

Pierson also revised and enlarged his syllabus for Latin American History, and received inquiries from several publishing houses about any plans he might have for the writing of general histories or monographs. At the end of the 1925-1926 academic year he informed Pierson that he was planning to do such a volume, but he was unable to realize that he could not do much writing unless he reduced his work in the office of the graduate school. He debated, but he soon decided that this was what he wanted most to do. He decided to develop a sound and strong graduate school. Most of the graduate students in history and government felt in 1928 that he would be the dean of the graduate school in the very near future.

Perhaps no member of the staff of history and government was more active in these years than C. F. Highby. He was not a great classroom teacher-not quite in the class with Connor, Hamilton, Pierson and Graham-but he was a solid historian and full of industry and determination. In these years, in addition to his classroom work, he was putting the finishing touches on a textbook covering Europe from 1500 to 1815; urging European historians across the country to join hands in founding a journal in the field of modern European history. In 1926, Highby was a member in the European field at the meetings of the American Historical Association. While none of these suggestions were really new, no one had dared to press them. And Highby now decided that the time had come for action.

On January 4, 1926, Highby wrote R. J. Kerner at the University of Missouri, whom he knew well and with whom he had always discussed much of this, that the time had come to make a determined effort to found some sort of journal in modern European history. He made it clear that he did not "feel entirely hopeless" about getting funds for a substantial journal, but added that a bulletin might be "the first step on the road."

8 In fact both matters had been mentioned at the European dinner at the A.A. meeting at Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1925, and Highby and Kerner had participated in the discussion. I shall treat Highby's efforts here in some detail because I have access to his correspondence at the time. I also had a seminar with Highby and was writing an M. A. thesis under his direction at this time.
He even intimated that he himself would be willing to undertake the production of such a bulletin. Kernor replied immediately, to the effect that, if Wigby on his initiative would furnish full support. Wigby then talked with Hamilton, and Hamilton suggested that he discuss the whole matter with Connor and Chase; emphasizing the need for a bulletin or journal with W. T. Couch of the University press.

With some encouragement from all concerned, Wigby began drafting a plan of procedure which centered on the publication of a professional bulletin or journal, and the development of an enlarged program in modern European history for the next annual meeting of the AHA which was scheduled for Rochester, New York. In mid-January he sent copies of his plan of procedure to some forty or so better known men in modern European history, who began working on a questionnaire to go to everyone across the country giving courses in modern European history. The key questions included their teaching program, their record of research, and their views about a professional journal. He received several replies from those to whom he had sent his first letter, and the second letter was so favorably received by William Z. Clark University, that he returned to his home town to go to Harvard, wrote on January 27: "I have read your letter three times to make sure I was not dreaming—in fact the matter about which you write has been on my mind for a year—I allowed the matter to drop because I saw no chance of raising funds for a journal—I need hardly say that you can count on me for any assistance I can render." Bernedotte E. Schmitt wrote Wigby that a journal should be launched just as soon as it could be financed, and that the important thing was to get moving. "Do not worry as to whether it will be a bulletin or a journal at the outset, that will solve itself." J. Franklin Jameson, who had had a big hand in organizing the AHA and in launching the American Historical Review, wrote Wigby on February 3: "I have taken pleasure in preparing a note for the next number of the Review mentioning the interesting and useful project that you have in mind." Charles Seymour of Yale wrote Wigby that even a good bulletin would create an "esprit du corps" and thus be of real value. Seymour added: "All in the field will be grateful to you and the University of North Carolina." Wigby was also keeping up a correspondence with the German for the annual meeting, aware of the fact that the European people would expect at least two sessions as well as a luncheon at the meeting in Rochester, and pointing out that it would not make much difference if European and American sessions were scheduled for the same hours. Wigby was also telling all concerned that he had located approximately 200 men and women working in modern European history in the country and that he hoped to send his projected questionnaire to them within two or three weeks, and thus to have basic information about all of them soon.9

Higby was a bit surprised at this time when R. H. Lord of Harvard wrote him a second letter which gave serious consideration to the possibility of enlarging the American Historical Review and thus turning it into a review for European as well as American history. Higby was not sure that Professor Lord was serious, and in any event he attempted on at least one occasion to give it a humorous touch by writing Professor Lord that his proposal would just make it easier for the people in American history to lord it over those in European. Higby's correspondence remained heavy, but he got his questionnaire in the mail to some 140 European historians in mid-March, and on April 12 he wrote Professor Fling of Nebraska, Deutscher of Wesleyan, Lingelbach and Coolidge of Harvard, and Anderson of Dartmouth, that his mail drafts would be complete when they returned their questionnaires. Higby also received many letters at this time thanking him for his bulletin, which was entitled "The Presence of Modern European Historians in the U. S." Higby continued to work hard to find a press that would do a journal of modest size for a reasonable sum. He was not only negotiating with W. T. Couch of the U. N. C. press but he was urging E. S. Schmitt to talk with the director of the University of Chicago press.

But in these weeks as Higby worked at many things, he suddenly got a huge surprise, as he expressed it. He got a letter from Frederic L. Paxson, chairman of the department of history at the University of Wisconsin, urging him to teach in Wisconsin 1927 summer school. He suspected Wisconsin might have something more than summer teaching in mind, and was not too surprised when a few days later he received a second letter from Paxson offering him a permanent position with a considerably larger salary than he was getting. Higby had become rather fond of his Madison colleagues and his department, but he was a rather ambitious man and he was born and reared in northern Illinois, and thus fairly near Madison, Wisconsin. He had just finished reading my M. A. thesis, and I soon knew that he and Mrs. Higby were planning to go to Madison in the late spring. October 10, 1927, Higby wrote Hamilton: "One of the big dreams of my life is to get away to U. N. C. and Wisconsin is that I rarely see any of my colleagues here." Higby would never forget Chapel Hill, and he would continue to write Wagstaff, Hamilton, and Connolly long after he had helped set the Journal of Modern European History afloat.10

10 Any one interested in C. F. Higby and the beginnings of the Journal of Modern European History will find a sizable body of material in the Southern Historical Collection in the Wilson library.
The final two years of the decade of the 1920s were about as full of significant developments for history and government at Chapel Hill as the first two years of the decade had been. Of the many developments of these years perhaps the four most important were the firm and solid beginnings of the Southern Historical Collection; Frank Graham’s deeper involvement in the economic and social problems of the state; W. W. Pierson’s increasing role in the University graduate school; and the 44th annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Chapel Hill and Durham in 1929, which tended to underline the fact that the history departments of the two universities and the Durham-Chapel Hill area were attracting national attention.

As we pointed out in the preceding chapter, Hamilton and Conner had decided to announce their plan for the launching and building of a large body of source materials relative to the South, and to be known as the Southern Historical Collection. Just as soon as the new library building was well under construction in the late winter of 1927, they felt that the time had come to bring the project fully into the open, and to begin the search and the drive for records and documents of every sort, but especially for letters, diaries, and papers that were stored away mostly in closets and attics and would soon forever lost unless a real effort was made to save them. Gerald Johnson of the Baltimore Sun, who knew vaguely about it all, may have hastened the formal announcement. In any event, prominent North Carolinians then living in Baltimore invited Hamilton to speak at their annual banquet scheduled for December 10, 1927.

Indeed Hamilton suspected that Johnson had inspired the invitation and wrote him at once accusing him of so doing and stating that he did not know of anything to talk about unless they would be interested in his history of the history of education in North Carolina; a course with Edgar Knight in the history of education in the United States; a course with C. P. Spruill in the history of architectural history; a course with Milton Heath in the history of economic thought; a course with G. A. Harrer on Roman law and its descent; a course with George Howe on the origin and development of the Constitution; and a course with Eric G. King in economic resources. They were all good courses and one learned considerable history as well as much about life in general in all of them. Hamilton had a good knowledge of the course with Noble very vividly largely because he filled the blackboard every day with graphical and historical facts about the state and region. Noble had seen something of a similar nature. He had an unusual sense of humor. A. K. King, who was to play a varied and prominent role in the University for the next sixty years, also taught a course at this time on the teaching of history in the public schools.

Chapter IX (1928-30)

The Southern Historical Collection and the 44th Annual Meeting of the AHA

Frank Graham had returned to Chapel Hill in the fall of 1925 after an absence of two years in London, where he was preparing to return to the University of the United States. He went to London because his work in London had centered on the evolution of the sources of power; wind, water, electricity, oil, gas, and was centering at the time of writing on steam and the steam engine. Graham also made it clear to Hamilton that he was anxious to get back to the classroom. For in these years few things satisfied Graham so much as to get before a large class of students and to talk to them about some key event in American history, or about the impact of the steam engine on the Western world. In March 1926, Hamilton asked Graham to the rank of full professor, pointing out that he was forty years of age, was doing excellent work with students, and was known and admired by many people across the state.

Frank, not too sure that he deserved this promotion, and beginning to get some graduate students in science, bore down rather hard on the books in 1926-27. He was especially conscious of his need for more basic facts if he was to teach graduate students. In the same time he was getting more and more calls to address alumni groups and gatherings of all sorts in the state. While he was begging off from many of these requests, the years 1927-28 were, as he later said, sort of turning and broadening years in his life. He was soon, as we shall note in the next chapter, to become rather deeply involved in labor and management problems in the textile industry in the Charlotte-Gastonia area.

Finally it should be noted that perhaps more history was now being given in departments other than history and government than at any previous time. Between 1925 and 1928 I had a course with Mr. H. E. Johnson on the history of education in North Carolina; a course with Edgar Knight in the history of education in the United States; a course with C. P. Spruill in the history of architectural history; a course with Milton Heath in the history of economic thought; a course with G. A. Harrer on Roman law and its descent; a course with George Howe on the origin and development of the Constitution; and a course with Eric G. King in economic resources. They were all good courses and one learned considerable history as well as much about life in general in all of them. Hamilton had a good knowledge of the course with Noble very vividly largely because he filled the blackboard every day with graphical and historical facts about the state and region. Noble had seen something of a similar nature. He had an unusual sense of humor. A. K. King, who was to play a varied and prominent role in the University for the next sixty years, also taught a course at this time on the teaching of history in the public schools.

11 Graham did not take a Ph. D. degree and he never liked to attend Ph.D. oral examinations.
the founding and development of the nation and country. The formal announcement of the project had at least one immediate result of considerable importance. It marked the first major attempt to bring together family and personal materials and accelerated the collection and care of such records across the whole south. Many university and other collection managers got new ideas and collected with a great deal more vigor and perhaps also more vision.

E. A. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia stated, without too much humor, that he planned to put at least six men in the field to collect Virginians, and indeed he was soon trying to draw Hamilton to Charlottesville.

Thus, as expected, the overall reaction to the launching of the Southern Collection was quite varied. Hamilton received letters of congratulations from many of the better known historians across the country, including C. H. H. Dodge of Harvard, W. E. Dodd of Chicago, E. M. Coltart of Georgia, and U. M. Ellsworth of Michigan. But at the same time, Hamilton was also reminded, usually in a gentle fashion, that all states had active historical commissions as well as many libraries, and that he should thus proceed carefully and do his best to avoid conflicts with other collecting agencies. The Council of the AHA, of which Hamilton was a member, studied his project at his request, and agreed that it should have the full support of the Association so long as it did not collide with another collecting agency with a better claim. Thus praising him but at the same time advising him that he should do his best to avoid competition with other collecting bodies for funds as well as materials. James A. Robertson, who was a close friend of W. P. Pierson, was one of his most ardent supporters and wrote President Chase that Hamilton's projected Collection would become extremely valuable to the whole country and that scholars everywhere were hoping that the University would take good care of Hamilton's financial needs.

While Hamilton and Connor had expected problems, I had a feeling at the time that the problems would be a little greater and more sensitive than they were anticipating. Still there could be no doubt that the Collection would be of great value to the University and the state and eventually to the whole south and country. When Connor was reminded that Duke University was also planning to collect over a sizable area, he hastened to say that he was glad that the collections of the South would be so near each other that all users could move from one to the other quite easily. Hamilton also spent some time during these months trying to decide whether it would be better for him to continue to teach part-time or to give all of his time to the Collection. It is interesting that he would have given up formal teaching altogether at this time if he could have gotten a sizable endowment for the Collection. While Mrs. Danby had given a million dollars to the university, the Collection in 1929, he seemed to feel that he should remain part-time in the classroom unless he could get an endowment of at least $75,000. Of course, he really loved to teach, and even after he retired from the classroom altogether, he sometimes explained that he was still teaching and working for students in a larger and more permanent way than when he was in the classroom.

Naturally there was no question as to what Hamilton would do about the headship of the department which he had held for more than twenty years. And Connor was not surprised when President Chase sent him a letter saying that he was to become the new head of history and government beginning in September. 1929. In the meantime, Hamilton was teaching part-time in the summer school and Connor was teaching at the University of Chicago. They kept in pretty close touch, and Hamilton wrote Connor (July 31, 1929) that "the good old days are about 75 years away but Whitley (Pierson) is happy at the prospect of a large graduate school. I am sure that in the course of time the new library --- will be dedicated in October --- I have done well with the Collection but I hear that President Alderman will put six men in the field this fall to collect Virginians."

At this time Hamilton had a wholly unexpected piece of good fortune. L. H. Jenks of Rollins College invited him to come to Winter Park, Florida and conduct a round-table discussion on recent trends in Southern politics. Hamilton accepted and immediately discovered that the well-known Charles B. Dawney, now in his mid-seventies, was spending the winter at Winter Park and was beginning research for a comprehensive history of education in the state of North Carolina. Hamilton's project was a chemist and minerologist, who had played a key role in the founding of N. C. State College, had taught briefly at the University of Wisconsin, and had served as President of both the University of Tennessee (1887-1904) and the University of Cincinnati (1904-1920), and had served as Secretary of Agriculture in President Cleveland's Administration. Hamilton and Dawney, who had been vaguely aware of each other for many years, now suddenly realized that they had much in common and could very well cooperate to the advantage of both. Hamilton would watch for materials bearing on the history of education in the South and give Dawney easy access to them. Dawney would do his best to get all correspondence materials across the South and especially on education, and route them to Hamilton's Southern Collection. Dawney came to Chapel Hill in the spring of 1929 and had a brief conversation with W. P. Pierson, who had also been in contact with Hamilton. Pierson, who was to die in 1945, was very active for the next ten years, and he was instrumental in putting many diaries and

---

1 Hamilton took the student Tar Heel to task when he stated on January 22, 1926, that the main purpose of the Collection was to provide Hamilton with material to write a history of the South.

2 Hamilton soon managed an interview with Henry Ford, and even tried to persuade him to give a sizable sum to promote the Collection.
boxes of letters to Chapel Hill. He made a solid contribution to the Southern Collection, and the University of N. C. press published his two-volume Universal Education in the South in 1936.

Much else came to Hamilton in these months as he worked with Dabney and tried to decide on the division of his time between teaching and gathering records for the new Collection. He received numerous calls for talks about the Collection; he was named to membership on the Council of the American Historical Association; he was asked if he wanted to be put in line for the presidency of the AHA; and, most flattering of all perhaps, were attractive offers from two well-known universities. In late May 1929 U. B. Phillips wired him that the University of Michigan wanted him for the coming academic year at a salary of $6,500.00 and a light teaching load. Then on June 19 Wilson of the University of Virginia wrote him that Virginia was prepared to give him a special chair at $7,000 or more and a light teaching load. While he never got an offer from either, he was especially proud of the offer from Virginia, and wrote Wilson on December 14 that, while he was still interested in North Carolina, he would take Virginia and that Virginia was the only University that had any chance of drawing him away from Chapel Hill. Hamilton showed President Chase Wilson's letter, and Chase contacted some of the key University Trustees and was told to do whatever was necessary to hold Hamilton. Hamilton then wrote Wilson that he appreciated the offer but could not leave Chapel Hill and his collection. Wilson wrote back: "We understand and your two letters make us more conscious of how fortunate the University of North Carolina is to have you. It is a great advantage to the department of the headship of the department. He sometimes said in later years that when he became free of the headship of the department he felt like a youngster who had just gotten out of school."

Meanwhile Connor, after sending the final batch of the page proof of his two-volume history of North Carolina (The Rebuilding of an Ancient Commonwealth) to the publishers, had agreed to speak again in the summer school of the University of Chicago, hoping, as he said, to get a bit of rest as well as a little extra cash. During the spring he got a large number of comments on his new history and nearly all of them were highly favorable. The one that he apparently enjoyed most was from Professor A. B. Moore of the University of Alabama who, like himself, had done a lengthy history of his native state. Moore wrote to the University of Chicago Publishing Company, and thus had a good idea of what Connor had been through. Moore's assessment of Connor's volumes was highly favorable, and Connor playfully wrote back to Moore: "I shall have trouble getting my hat on in the morning. But your review is worth more than a new hat, and my wife thinks I need a new hat anyway."

But Connor also got a surprising number of letters in these months from historians in the north and northeast wanting to know why Herbert Hoover and the Republican party had done so well in North Carolina in the election of 1928. Connor replied at some length, and had to stress two points. He said that the Republican party had always been rather strong in the state, and that Al Smith (the Democratic candidate) was a Catholic with an unattractive personality. Then in September 1929 Connor took over the headship of the department of history and government. He decided that he could not delegate it, and by then he knew that the department wanted him to do so. It was never very easy to do, but for the first time that Hamilton had been in Chapel Hill most of the summer and had been careful to keep departmental affairs in good order. Perhaps the thing that worried Connor most was that, in this time was that he had been planning to ask for a leave for a part of 1930 to return to England and make a final search for items bearing on colonial North Carolina. He soon decided that he could postpone this for a year and then perhaps get a Kenan leave for the whole academic year 1931-32, which would give him time for considerable work in London. But he was too busy in the autumn of 1928 to do much thinking about the years ahead. For the forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was scheduled for Chapel Hill and Durham. The last days of December, and he had to do considerable planning for the meeting as well as polishing the paper that he was scheduled to give.

But the member of the staff of history and government that was most in the public eye in these years was neither Hamilton nor Connor but Frank P. Graham. As we have already seen Graham had kept close to the classroom from 1925 to 1927 and had even thought seriously some invitational invitations to high school commencements. But it was to be a different story in 1928-29. In these years he not only made more speeches across the state than ever before, but he became actively involved in the North-4 Graham was also being urged by some of his friends and admirers to get married. Perhaps somewhat prophetic of his native state, "Poe Battled of the Law" wrote to Pierson who had just married and his Irish bride, and Pierson wrote back: "I detect quite an element of enthusiasm in your description of the marriage. Perhaps you should go and do it." Pierson wrote back: "I have a teaching fellowship in 1928-29, and had a desk in Graham's office in Saunders hall, so I saw quite a bit of him at close range.
Carolina Library Movement and in the labor problems in the textile industry in the Charlotte and Gastonia areas. He gave the Library Movement a great push, for which he was all at establishing at least one public library in every county in the state, a tremendous push; writing approximately two hundred letters and organizing the state urging support of the Library Movement. On November 6, 1928, he thanked Clyde Hoey, later to be governor of the state, for joining the movement and predicted that there would soon be a public library in every county from the mountains to the seashore.

Then in the early months of 1929 Graham discovered that he was under some consideration for the presidency of at least two educational institutions in the state. In February 1929, when it became known that President Chase would be offered the Directorship of the Social Science Research Council, Graham received a letter from Donald Mckay of Greensboro informing him that he was being considered for the post. On the following day: "I do not want my name presented under any circumstance--- As simple as it is, it is the biggest field that I wish to enter. There is room there for all of our hopes." Then two months later, on April 2, Thomas Hayes of Charlotte wrote Graham that the trustees of Davidson College would soon be looking for a new President, and that many in the Charlotte area saw him as the man for the job. Frank's reply to Hayes was in substance the same as his reply to Mckay. On April 23 Dr. W. B. K. Baxden, warden of the medical faculty, who among other things offered him several attractive offers from medical schools across the country during the 1920s, wrote Graham: "Dear Doc., if you were not here the grass would not be so green; the birds would not sing so happily: and honesty would be on the wane." A week later town manager John Fouchee did his duty and sent Frank Graham a final notice that his county tax was overdue.

Too, there was a relatively new element in Graham's interests at this time which while not overlooked. It was his involvement in the textile industry in the spring of 1929 in the textile mills in Gastonia. Graham's involvement did not surprise his former students too much because they knew that he had grown up in New England where he had a deep interest in the industrial revolution. In his lectures about the textile industry in New England was moving to North Carolina to get cheaper raw materials and cheaper labor. He obviously felt that the textile industry should be better paid and housed and they had to have the right to organize if they wished.

Then in the spring of 1929 Fred Beal, a member of the Communist party and a labor organizer and agitator in New England, came to the large Loray Mills in Gaston County and began organizing a labor union and urging the workers to strike and demand many things, including the unionization of all textile workers in the region. There was soon plenty of confusion and some violence. In early June a collision between workers and police left five persons dead, including Adaholt the chief of police in Gastonia. Beal and some fifteen strikers were arrested and charged with murder. Graham, who had hoped that the provisions of unemployment could protect his people without any violence, now moved deeper into the struggle. He made an effort to find some able lawyers in the state to defend the accused, even though Beal insisted on bringing in lawyers from the New England area; but his principal response was to draft what he called an Industrial Bill of Rights. In this little document he expressed the view that labor should have the right to organize and bargain collectively and that there should be a nation-wide study of the textile industry. Graham also soon delivered the presidential address at the annual meeting of the Conference for Social Service in Charlotte and took both sides to task for committing acts of violence and for failing to study carefully the modern facts of wide industrial organization. Most of the mill operators in the region felt that Graham was making the Industrial Bill of Rights a doctrinaire and had little understanding of the situation. Clyde Hoey had told him that he should remember that the textile industry was a delicate and difficult affair, and his family said that Fred Tillett of Charlotte soon wrote him: "Your fundamental error is that you do not realize that a large percentage of the operators of mills are sincerely interested in the welfare of the people that work in them---if you would go to a textile plant and study the situation carefully you might help us more." Of course it was David Clark, editor of the Southern Textile Bulletin, who criticized Graham most openly and viciously. In any event Graham was no longer beyond the classroom.

H. M. Wagstaff in these years was always kept close to the University and to his classes, though he did serve as president of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. He had watched Graham carefully and was a bit disappointed at the depth of his involvement in industrial and labor matters in Gastonia. Wagstaff was in nearly all respects a social reformer, and I heard several graduate students say in these years that he knew more about all fields of history than any other member of the staff, and I agreed with that assessment. I heard that he had an amazing grasp of the whole sweep of English history and government, he knew a great deal about the history of the continent of Europe from early times on, about its consequences. He could tell you where and how the robin and the whippoorwill built their nests and reared their young, and he could tell you where and how the trees and plants in the Sweet Carolina and explain the processes of growth. I have known him to spend much of an hour in his survey course in English history explaining the role of chance or luck in the scheme of things or in one's life. And though he could be rather dry, students
rarely missed a class for fear they would miss one of his digressions.  

Pierson, always a hard worker, seemed more determined than ever in these years to perform to the absolute limit of his mental and physical strength. He concentrated on Latin American history and political science on the one hand and the operation of the graduate school on the other. J. F. Hippy, whom he knew well, was now at Duke University and the two collaborated in working out a joint program at the graduate level. Mary Walters, with an M.A. from Baylor University, wrote Pierson in July 1928 that she was anxious to do a doctorate in Latin American history and had conferred with members of the history staff at the University of Texas as well as at Baylor, and all had told her that with Pierson at Carolina and Hippy at Duke, Chapel Hill would be an extremely good place to do graduate work in Latin American history, and that she planned to be in Chapel Hill in early 1929. Mary Walters did her Ph.D. but Hippy had a big hand in it, and I think that she felt at the time that she should have a Ph.D. from Duke as well as Carolina. She made an excellent record as teacher and writer at Baylor University and Mary Baldwin College over the years to come.

At the same time, Pierson's work in the graduate office was becoming heavier and heavier. Indeed, most if not all, of the graduate students in history and government felt that he was already making the important decisions. Dean James F. Royston was slowed by health problems, and Pierson became acting dean in 1929 and dean in 1930, when Royston died. Pierson also served as secretary of the Association of American Universities in the late twenties and early thirties, and was apparently largely responsible for the fact that the Association held its annual meeting in Chapel Hill in 1931. Pierson was now both a creative and an administrative force in the University and the graduate students that I knew felt that his load was very heavy.

Wallace A. Caldwell did good work in these years at both the undergraduate and graduate level. Among other things he developed the department's first course in historiography in 1927-28, and this attracted considerable attention in several other departments, especially English, Economics and commerce, and French and Spanish. The course covered in a sweeping fashion the larger bibliographical collections in all the fields of history and government in which graduate courses were given, and each

---

5 I once heard a student say after Wagstaff had spent several minutes on the role of chance in our lives that he would have to change his whole philosophy of life, and felt much the same way. Most of what he had said was rather obviously true, but many people had lived and died without thinking about it. He had pointed out that one chance of being born was staggeringly minute.

Caldwell was also well known and highly regarded in the northeast and had in fact spent all of his summers since 1923 teaching at either Columbia, Cornell, or Michigan. Hamilton now felt that Caldwell was carrying this off campus summer teaching too far, and told him in good time that he would have to give two courses in ancient history at home in the summer of 1928. But professor A. E. Boak of Michigan had already assured Caldwell that he would get a warm invitation from Michigan for summer work and to be sure and come. For the first time Caldwell found out what it was like to collide with Hamilton, and he remained at Chapel Hill in the summer of 1928 and taught in the summer school along with C. W. Ramsdell of Texas, H. C. Mitchell of Maine, T. H. Mann of History, and A. M. Arnette of the Woman's College in Greensboro.

Mitchell B. Garrett, who had replaced Higby in the summer of 1927, was now settling in and concentrating on his classes and on developing a graduate program. He had spent considerable time in Europe, especially in France, and he enjoyed displaying his knowledge of the French language as well as of French history in his upper level classes. But he had never taught in a graduate program, and he worried a great deal about his graduate seminar. In fact he wrote several men in the European field, including F. H. Fling of Nebraska, whom he greatly admired, for advice. Toward the end of the fall quarter he asked me what the biggest difference was between the way he and Higby conducted a seminar. I surprised him by saying that the first thing that Higby did when he started a seminar was to check to see if all members of the seminar had their shoes well polished and their attention to our shoes. He was silent for several seconds, then he said "I was thinking about you getting a job, and he was correct. I then explained that Higby's real emphasis was on research papers to be read before the class, and that he expected so many during a quarter that none of them could be very well researched.

Garrett then said that he felt that one substantial research paper a quarter was sufficient, and I agreed. Garrett's dissertation, that he wanted me to do my first research paper on the Origins of Republican Sentiment in France. I did and it became the subject of my Master's dissertation. Garrett rarely taught in the summer, but nearly always spent a portion of the summer at Cornell. He liked the summer climate there, then too Mrs. Garrett was there. He was always up only a short distance from me. When Mrs. Garrett and Mr. Garret were there in the early summer of 1928 when I first went to Cornell to work in the Andrew D. White Library's large body of materials on the French Revolution, I introduced the elderly historian George Burr, who had helped establish the AHA, and also to Carl Becker. Preserved Smith, and W. P. Bourne,
Bourne was giving a course in the summer school and I audited it. Garrett was a gentle and likable scholar and a very good lecturer and writer, and was fitting into the department very smoothly and comfortably.

E. J. Woodhouse was still trying hard to develop a satisfactory program in local government. He was centering his courses on county and municipal affairs and handling some matters in the rapidly expanding Extension Division. He was attracting students and getting rather large classes, but he knew that he was not doing exactly what most members of the department felt he should be doing. His office on the second floor of Saunders hall was becoming laden with files of newspapers and agricultural journals and his students were watching on and becoming a little better informed about what was going on in the world. Still he was not really comfortable and he felt that the department of history and government was on the way to splitting into two departments.

There were two assistant professors in these years, K. C. Fraser and W. J. Green, and both were to spend their rather long lives in Chapel Hill. Fraser had been given an assistant professorship in 1925 and was now giving all of his time to international law and government. He was an aecent apostle of Woodrow Wilson and hoped that the new League of Nations could lay the foundations for a much more orderly world. Green, who got his doctorate in the spring of 1927, was added to the staff to replace A. R. Nawsom who succeeded K. B. House as Secretary of the K. C. Historical Commission at this time. Green wished to center his teaching on the south, and Hamilton, who was planning to devote more and more of his time to the collection of political materials on the south, wanted him to do so. But from 1927 to 1930 Green taught rather broadly and even gave the departments' first course on the History of the American Frontier.

There was also a growing group of full-time and part-time instructors in these years whose teaching was devoted to history 1 and 2. Best known among them were H. T. Shanks, C. C. Crittenden, C. E. Robson, J. W. Patton, R. D. Meade, T. C. Caughlin, Jr., E. Dodd, Jn., and W. P. Brandon. Most if not all will show up in later chapters.

Finally, we shall conclude the chapter with a brief account of the 46th annual session of the American Historical Association which opened on December 29, 1929, and was centered and housed in the Washington Duke hotel in Durham and the Carolina Inn in Chapel Hill, both of which had opened in 1925. It was generally felt at the time that Hamilton, Connor, and Pierson at Chapel Hill, and Rippy at Duke were the principal magnets in drawing the meeting to Durham and Chapel Hill. Though some of the men in European history felt that Higby, now at Wisconsin, had a large hand because of the effort he had made while at Chapel Hill to launch a journal in modern European history, which was now a reality, actually three other historical organizations the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Agricultural Historical Society, The Society of the History of Science - met jointly with the AHA, and North Carolina had never before had so many historians of one sort or another in its borders.

The sessions of the first day were held in the Washington Duke hotel, on the second day at the university in Chapel Hill, and on the third day at Duke University. The weather was perfect for the meeting and not a drop of rain or a flake of snow fell during the three days. H. E. Bourne, who wrote the summary account of the meeting for the April issue of the American Historical Review, of which he was managing editor, said of the weather: "the members from the far and frozen North, who saw on December 31 the blue sky of Chapel Hill, who gloomed in its sunshine, and who breathed the soft air, will never forget the last day of 1929." Some expressed regrets that they had not brought their golf clubs, and some did play tennis. But while the beauty of the weather became a frequent comment, those of us who had spent our lives in the region, took the nice weather for granted, remembering that every December 31 was not warm and sunny.

The thing that surprised me most at the meeting was the high rating that Hamilton, Connor, Pierson, and even Wallace Caldwell, enjoyed across most of the country. All four of them gave papers, and I heard comments about all of them. But it was Connor's paper, and Connor himself, that really got the applause and the high praise. J. Franklin Jameson, who had played the key role in founding the AHA in 1884, said in his opening remarks that he had attended some forty meetings of the Association and heard many papers, but that Connor's paper was the best he had ever heard. C. P. Higby, who was coming back to Wisconsin, wrote Connor: "in the twenty years that I have been attending meetings of the Association, I have never heard as many enthusiastic comments about a paper." H. E. Bourne, in his summary account of the April issue of the AHA Review, called Connor's paper "penetrating and brilliant -- and the most notable contribution to any aspect of southern history." Indeed there can be little doubt that the attention that Connor received at this meeting helps explain why the AHA supported him so strongly for National Archivist in 1934.

I asked Higby why the AHA meeting was at Carolina and Duke, and he was, in a way, due largely to Hamilton, Connor, Pierson, Rippy, and Boyd, but he added that he had raised both questions as to the sites since going to Wisconsin.

Incidentally there was considerable discussion at the meeting of the construction of a National Archives building in Washington. At the business meeting a committee was set up to continue work on the matter and to let President Herbert Hoover know of this growing interest on the part of the AHA.
Big Staff Changes Amidst Growing Depression

The early weeks and months of 1930 brought some big changes in history and government at Chapel Hill. In mid-January the executive committee of the Board of Trustees agreed to an annual salary of $7,500 for Hamilton provided he would teach during the winter quarter and devote the remainder of the academic year to the building of his projected Southern Historical Collection. Then in February, just as Connor was beginning to face up to the matter of getting someone to take over two quarters of Hamilton’s course work, President Chase submitted his resignation to the Board of Trustees to become effective July 1 so that he could accept the presidency of the University of Illinois. Before the executive committee of the Board of Trustees could set up a committee to begin the search for a new president, the depression had deepened and problems had multiplied. Too, it was all but a certainty that the new president would come from the staff of history and government, and that it would be either Frank P. Graham or aCURRENT. Indeed no one else was to get serious consideration. And this was a very unusual situation for both Graham and Connor were rather happy just where they were, and certainly neither really aspired to the presidency of the University. But Connor, aware that he in all likelihood would have been elected president in 1919 instead of Chase if he had not been disqualified at the last moment because of his membership on the Board of Trustees, now expected that he would have fully as much support as Graham, and many others in Chapel Hill felt likewise. On February 23 Connor wrote his brother H.G., Jr. (Tobe) what he had already said to close friends and known supporters, that he did not wish to be presented in any sense as a candidate, but added: "I will serve to the best of my ability if the Trustees should elect me, but no pressure should be put on them—personally I shall not get worked up over it. My present situation is entirely satisfactory to me and I shall be happy to continue in it. The nearer one gets to the presidency the less attractive it seems." 1

Graham, to the surprise of many alumni, said at once that Connor was the man for the presidency, and that he himself would not be a candidate under any circumstance. And, I think, he was entirely sincere for at least two reasons. First, he was keenly aware that his uncle, Edward K. Graham had all but worshipped Connor and had pinned heavily on him during his years as president and thus to the very end of his life. Secondly and equally important, he knew Connor well and he was sure that in 1 Connor Papers, Box 11, Feb. 22, 1930. Connor told many others including Josephus Daniels, that there should not be any campaign in his behalf. At this time Connor had plans for a detailed biography of Sebulon B. Vance.
most respects Connor was an able man than he was; and indeed felt that Connor was the best person available for the presidency of the University. Connor was, as he put it: "remarkably equipped to be a strong and progressive leader." And as one who had had courses under both of them and had also seen much of both outside the classroom, I felt that Connor was ableer than Graham, and much better equipped to serve as president of the University. And I can also say that just about all of the graduate students in history and government felt the same way. In Connor they saw more depth, keenness, clarity, and balance. But of course the fact that they felt that Connor would make a better president of the University, did not mean that they wanted to see him elected president. For with Pierson seemingly headed for the deanship of the graduate school, some of them secretly hoped that Graham would be elected president of the University so that Connor could remain as head of the department of history and government.

The faculty as a whole was not of course so involved and conscious of the staff of history and government. The late Charles T. Wollen, the highly regarded business manager of the University and a close observer of all important University matters, wrote to me as late as May 27 that he was not so well informed as the other faculty members, and that he "could certainly carry on the work of the University with a minimum of disturbance." E. C. Branson wrote Connor: "You are the man." But Connor did not have the support of all the older faculty. W. deB. MacNider, Kenan professor of medicine, supported Graham and urged him to tell the people of the state that he was Fletcher.

But the decision was not made by the faculty nor in Chapel Hill. The decision was made largely by the alumni and mostly by the elderly alumni of the 1920s. While Kemp Battle of Ruffin and the things that I much admired in Charles Tillett of Charlotte had more influence on Graham than any others, large groups of alumni of the 1920s worked hard to keep him in the running. While many agreed that he had some serious weaknesses, and might be all but lost where business and financial matters were the primary concern, they nevertheless insisted that his magnetic personality and strong powers of persuasion would more than cancel out his shortcomings. Some also stressed the fact that he had played a much larger role in the Citizens Library Movement in 1928 than Connor, and was probably better known across the state. They did not, however, stress the point that he had comforted more homesick freshmen across the campus than Connor, but that had an impact. Neither Connor nor Graham put on any sort of campaign, though the big effort on the part of many of Graham's supporters amounted to a sort of campaign. There was of course quite a bit in the press, especially in the Raleigh News and Observer about the matter.

On the evening of June 8, 1930, as commencement exercises ended, the Board of Trustees met in Alumni hall on the campus to elect a new president. Governor Gardner presided and announced that it would take forty-two votes to elect. The Search Committee then gave its report, listing several well-known personalities in addition to Connor and Graham. On the first ballot the votes were spread, as expected, but Connor with 26, Graham with 20, Archibald Henderson with 10, and Herman Baitz with 7 received the bulk of them. On the fourth ballot Graham was elected, receiving 47 votes to Connor's 31.

Of course, the Trustees wanted to see Graham and hear what he had to say. But he was neither in his home or his office. The Trustees then summoned J. Moryon Saunders, young alum; second in line, and Brother H. E. Peery, who was at the time helping Graham with his quiz papers, and Graham was soon spotted walking across the campus and brought to Alumni Hall. By 5:00 P.M. Graham was so overwhelmed that he did not pretend to make an acceptance speech. About all he did was to repeat what he had been saying for weeks that he wanted to remain in the classroom and that Connor should be the new president of the University. Indeed, he asked Governor Gardner if it was not still possible for his name to be withdrawn and another ballot held. There was no speech of any sort. It was Fletcher and as Fletcher and banker from Halifax, N.C., and my wife's uncle, once told me: "As we Trustees filed out of Alumni hall some of us wondered if we had not made the mistake of our lives."

Connor wrote Graham the next day: "Your election leaves me free for all the things that I much admire in you and that can rely on my sincere and hearty support." He signed the note, "With genuine esteem and affection." Graham wrote back on June 14: "It should have been you for you and Hampton have made me." Dr. W. D. MacNider wrote Graham: "My soul has been singing ever since I heard. Now the power and vision of E. X. Graham will go on." Charles Tillett wrote: "God bless you, the University, and all people of all nations." And on June 27 Fletcher Green, who was then teaching in the summer school of William and Mary College, wrote Connor: "I give away no secret when I say that to the whole department as well as myself it is a relief and a deep sense of satisfaction that you were left with us." The next day D. B. Smith, young attorney in Charlotte, wrote Connor: "--the young

Some of the younger members of the faculty wondered if Mrs. Louis Graves, whom Frank Graham had dated when she was in her late teens and long before she was married, did not have something to do with her husband's warm endorsement of Frank Graham.

Some felt that the Graham name was a factor. A. H. Graham of Hillsboro was on the Board of Trustees and dated when he was a member of the committee set up to recommend candidates. Also the Edward Kidder Graham Memorial building was just being completed and was a matter of much comment.
democracy, who seem to be running things these days, would not be satisfied with anyone except Frank. But as we shall see later, Graham's action for Connor was not in any way lenient.

Graham knew that Connor would be getting a new position, but he was determined to do everything in his power to see that he remained in Chapel Hill. And this was so not only because he regarded Connor as a great asset to the University, but also because he expected to lean on him in difficult situations just as his uncle E. K. Graham had done in the years from 1914 to 1919 and as H. W. Chase had done across the 1920s.

Graham's election to the presidency of the University cleared the way for the department of history and government to settle staff matters for the coming year. And this was not simple, for with Hamilton giving most of his time to the Southern Collection, the reinstatement of the president's chair in the department in the president's chair, it was quite clear that the department had major problems. Connor, who had the warm support of the Southern Collection, was already colleted with a C. C. Crittenden, who had his doctorate from Yale, and could take Graham's key courses, he turned to the matter of salaries. His salary should be used as an example in American history to take the greater portion of Hamilton's courses, or for a specialist in medieval history so that Wallace Caldwell would have more time for the ancient period. While Connor agreed that the department needed some one in the medieval field, he felt, and most members of the staff agreed with him, that an effort should first be made to hire Avery Craven, who was on the rise and whose central interest was about the same as Hamilton's. Too Craven was scheduled to teach in the first session of the University summer school and that had an impact in more ways than one. Graham wrote Connor that Craven's presence together with the growing Southern Collection would make Carolina more attractive and the center of the south. Still, since everyone knew that there was not much of a chance of getting Craven away from Chicago, it was also agreed that a cautious effort should be made at once to locate the best prospect in the field of medieval history. And this effort got underway in the spring.

On June 24 Connor wrote both Chase and Graham that the staff of history and government had just met and was in full agreement that Craven should be offered at once a professorship in the department at an annual salary of $4,500 and more if possible. Both Chase and Graham agreed and Connor told Craven, who was then in Chapel Hill, of the decision, and doubtless expressed a fervent hope that he would accept. Craven left Chapel Hill and certainly felt that the University would be a pleasant place to live and work, but he was rather ambitious and fully convinced that the University of Chicago wanted to keep him and that it had more money and perhaps a bit more prestige than the University of North Carolina. He confessed also that he was impressed by young Robert M. Hutchins who had just become president of the University of Chicago at the tender age of thirty-one. He considered the offer at length, but told Connor on August 11 that he would not be able to leave Dodd and Chicago.

Meanwhile, the effort to locate a good prospect in medieval history had proceeded apace, and Connor, with the support of the staff, was prepared to turn at once to Loren C. MacKinney, who was at the time professor of medieval history at Louisiana State University. MacKinney had seen service in the First World War, had studied in Europe for a year, and had just had his fortieth birthday. He had taken his doctorate at Chicago and was highly recommended by a number of scholars whom Connor knew and trusted. W. E. Dodd wrote of him: "No better men can be had." On August 10, a letter arrived in the hands of Alfred, who found in it a letter and C. C. Crittenden, who had had his doctorate from Yale, and could take Graham's key courses, he turned to the matter of salaries. His salary should be used as an example in American history to take the greater portion of Hamilton's courses, or for a specialist in medieval history so that Wallace Caldwell would have more time for the ancient period. While Connor agreed that the department needed some one in the medieval field, he felt, and most members of the staff agreed with him, that an effort should first be made to hire Avery Craven, who was on the rise and whose central interest was about the same as Hamilton's. Too Craven was scheduled to teach in the first session of the University summer school and that had an impact in more ways than one. Graham wrote Connor that Craven's presence together with the growing Southern Collection would make Carolina more attractive and the center of the south. Still, since everyone knew that there was not much of a chance of getting Craven away from Chicago, it was also agreed that a cautious effort should be made at once to locate the best prospect in the field of medieval history. And this effort got underway in the spring.

On June 24 Connor wrote both Chase and Graham that the staff of history and government had just met and was in full agreement that Craven should be offered at once a professorship in the department at an annual salary of $4,500 and more if possible. Both Chase and Graham agreed and Connor told Craven, who was then in Chapel Hill, of the decision, and doubtless expressed a fervent hope that he would accept. Craven left Chapel Hill and certainly felt that the University would be a pleasant place to

4 C.S. Brigham, president of the American Antiquarian Society, had just asked Connor to speak at the annual meeting, and had told him that former President Calvin Coolidge, would preside at the meeting.

5 Craven wrote Hamilton: "I enjoyed the summer in Chapel Hill more than you know. . . . I love Chapel Hill and the University and I will come to Chapel Hill to stay the moment you can make the right place for me. Chicago made me an offer to get Hamilton or Connor in 1933 when President Roosevelt appointed F. W. Dodd ambassador to Germany, and the University tried again to get Craven in 1934 when Roosevelt appointed Conn National Archivist."
California. And here I felt I had a sudden stroke of good fortune. For I had just returned from Europe where I had spent the summer studying and travelling, and was aware of the fact that Mississippi's famous governor, Theodore Bilbo, had upset matters at the University, and was anxious to give my assistant professorship to one of his young admirers. This not only suited me, but worried me, and when my brother Herbert Dale, who was doing graduate work in the University at Chapel Hill, informed me that Connor was prepared to offer me the instructorship that C. B. Robson had just surrendered, I accepted it without hesitation. So instead of going back to Oxford, Mississippi, I went back to Chapel Hill and joined R. D. Meade and S. H. Barnes as an instructor in the department of history and government. 6

Connor now had a full staff and was too dissatisfied. Too, he realized that in most years the biggest staff problem was in getting competent instructors for history I and II, and he felt that the University had an unmet need for stability in the staff for these courses for first year students. So he began an unburied search for a couple of promising young men and in a few weeks gave them the job of teaching these two courses, and he soon signed Josiah C. Russell and Cecil S. Johnson. Russell was a Harvard Ph.D. and a specialist in medieval history and Johnson was a Yale Ph.D. whose chief interest was in American colonial, and who was at the time teaching at Wake Forest College. Both were to begin work in the University in September 1931. Connor was also aware at this time that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace had a deep interest in K. C. Frazer, who had been doing a great deal of work with international relations clubs in several southern states and indeed was thinking of giving him a sizable grant for study at the Institute for International Law and Relations in Geneva, Switzerland. As expected, he received a grant for 1931-32. As expected, the grant was renewed for years to come, and repeated in the autumn of 1933 and the winter of 1933-34. "If we turn back in public education, we turn back all along the line." He also added that the state could not "pinch its way out of the depression," but would have to "invest, build, and create its way out." He worked hard with the General Assembly in the winter of 1931-32, and through the cut in educational budgets were heavy, many felt that they would have been heavier if he had not spent a great deal of time in Raleigh. Too, a number of his ardent students tried to feel that his leadership of the University minimized the damage that cuts could do. For example, Kemp D. Battle said in a brief speech during the formal inauguration of Graham as President of the University, "I venture to say that the spiritual leadership of this man will be the moral equivalent of an unimpaired appropriation." Graham also took the position

accepted a special chair at Emory University, his Alma Mater, and spent the following three years there. Wallace Caldwell, Loren Mackinney, and Mitchell Garrett continued to cover the ancient, medieval, and modern European fields in good fashion. While all three were doing some writing, they were real teachers and were giving undergraduates most of their time and energy. Perhaps Graham was not harder and most of his classes and his lectures were sometimes, described by graduate students as polished documents. When R. D. Meade, who had been an instructor from 1929-32, heard of Green's move to Emory, he wrote Connor that if Green could be replaced by an instructor, he wanted to be considered. He gave as one of his qualifications that he had been asked to do twenty odd sketches for the Dictionary of American Biography, and that he suspected that he was the only instructor in the whole U.S.A. who could make that statement.

And though the activities and doings of the full-time members of the staff will remain at the center of our narrative, the cut in state budgets had an even greater effect on the University and thus needs to be treated at least briefly. The two problems that pressed hardest and were most baffling for Connor during the 1930s were the growing economic depression and the movement to consolidate in some ways the University at Chapel Hill, the College of Agriculture and Engineering at Raleigh, and the Woman's College at Greensboro. The depression made heavy cuts in both salaries and programs unavoidable, and thus struck hard in an area where Graham was generally judged to be weak, and was certainly lacking in experience. Still, while he was making real determination and was conferring frequently with C. T. Woolslen, D. D. Carroll, and R. D. W. Connor and was insisting that the enrollment was not as deep as it was in the early '30s 6

In fact with the addition of Russell and Johnson in 1931, staff matters were to remain stable until 1933 when F. M. Green
that no full-time member of the faculty would be dropped, and I believe all members of the history staff agreed. In fact the salaries of full professors were cut fully as much as those of instructors. The cuts from 1931 to 1934 were so severe that the University was not to get back to the salary scale of 1929-30 until 1939-40. But I do not believe that the quality of classroom work declined as a result of lower salaries.

Perhaps more painful and disturbing to Graham in these months than budgetary problems was the matter of the consolidation of the University at Chapel Hill, the North Carolina State College at Raleigh, and the North Carolina College for Women at Greensboro. And there is of course much evidence that the two were related. For if there had not been a depression and thus an outcry for a reduction of state taxes, the overwhelming recommendation that Governor Gardner not ask the Brookings Institution in Washington to make a study of state and county governments with a view to improving operations and thus saving tax money, and it was the Brookings Institution that suggested that the consolidation of the three institutions might save the state and the tax payers a bit of money. Then in the fall of 1930, after getting the report of the Brookings Institution, Governor Gardner, who was a graduate of State College, and had a law degree from the University, told President Graham that he intended to recommend to the approaching General Assembly that it provide for the consolidation of the three state institutions of higher education. Graham realized that such a move could lead to constructive possibilities for the future, but he also knew that it was full of possible thorns, and he told the Governor that he was deeply concerned about it and had many questions. Among them was why the institution of the staff of history and government as well as nearly all University alumni, felt that the University had little to gain and much to lose, and that an effort at constructive discussion could cause serious frictions and divisions within the state. But there was also a feeling, which Graham shared, that it would be a mistake for the University openly to oppose it. Then in early January 1931 Graham told the Governor that if consolidation was to be undertaken the faculty of the University felt that it should be preceded by a careful study of the overall situation by a small group of educational experts from out of the state. There was then some discussion of the General Assembly which was then in session, and on March 27, 1931, the General Assembly passed a bill calling for the creation of a committee of three educational experts from other states to study the matter from every angle and report to the New Board of Trustees.

The survey committee was composed of George A. Works, dean of administration at the University of Chicago, Guy S. Ford, president of the University of Minnesota, and Frank L. McVey, president of the University of Kentucky. The survey committee made its report in May 1932 and the central recommendation was that the consolidated university be centered in Chapel Hill, and that the schools of agriculture and engineering be anchored there. The report caused an outcry from North Carolina State College alumni and faculty, and Governor Gardner immediately assured E. C. Brooks, President of State College, that the institution would not be weakened. It was soon clear that the departments of agriculture and engineering would remain in Raleigh and that the report of the Survey Committee would be largely ignored at least in its basic essentials.

Even though the details of consolidation were yet to be worked out, Graham was in a difficult and rather painful position. Remarkably equipped as he was both mentally and emotionally to be fair and to keep the interests of the state in mind at all times, he experienced considerable punishment and the struggle did not subside noticeably until the second half of the decade. David Clark of the class of 1919 and a lawyer in the firm of Charlotte W. Walker, a bitterest critic and foe, wrote President Brooks: "When Frank Graham becomes president of State College as part of the University---I see no future for us." Perhaps the sharpest debate and verbal collision was over the location of the school of engineering. The Survey Committee of Works, Ford, and McVey had closed the school of engineering at Chapel Hill, which was headed by Herman Bauty, who had been invited to join Harvard's engineering staff, as the best in the south and its department of sanitary engineering as one of the best in the nation. While sanitary engineering, which was a small segment of the school of engineering, remained in Chapel Hill and became part of the new School of Public Health in 1936-37, the whole of agriculture and the bulk of engineering went to Raleigh. Herman Bauty remained as chairman of the School of Public Health until 1952 when he was named director of sanitary engineering in the World Health Organization in Geneva, Switzerland. Bauty had a genuine interest in the history of the state and the University, and he will always own the University the land on which the new Kenan Center and Smith building now stand.

8 Much has been said and written about consolidation and I shall not attempt here than indicate a few episodes and aspects that affected history most at the time. I saw a great deal of Herman Bauty, dean of the School of Engineering in the University, as well as Graham and some others who were deeply involved in it all.
Chapter XI (1931-34)

Hamilton, Connor, Pierson, and Graham Settle In And Hasten Administrative and Curriculum Charges

In the early 1930s Hamilton was becoming increasingly absorbed in the building of his Southern Collection. The warm compliment which the University Trustees had given him in early January 1930, when he turned down the attractive offer from the University of Virginia, had helped to set him firmly and decisively on his way. Of course his plans were well known to librarians, historians, and archivists across the south and his efforts were not only generating and stimulating competition, but also provoking some sharp criticism. He reached across state lines. Perhaps his most energetic and violent critic in the early 1930s was Mrs. Marie Bankhead Owen, director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History. She probably would have steered clear of Alabama for a time had not several of her ardent supporters, especially K. C. Frazer and Harry Elrod, publicly encouraged him to move into Alabama. Owen was a native of Alabama and Shanks was now on the history staff at Birmingham-Southern College, and both had been helping Hamilton locate materials. Too, John T. Frazer, brother of K. C. and a prominent churchman in the state, had not only urged Hamilton to come in but had offered to put his own home as well as his car at Hamilton’s service.

Hamilton could not resist the temptation, and in the spring of 1932 he wound up his work in Alabama and began exploring in the Montgomery area. He quickly discovered that Mrs. Owen was indeed up in arms, and was urging the editors of the leading papers in the state to denounce him and all collectors who were carrying records out of the state. Hamilton was not pleased, and indeed had already talked with Connor, Pierson, and Green as well as the Frazer brothers about ways and means of meeting and handling this sort of opposition. On July 18 he wrote Mrs. Owen at some length explaining why he had set out to build a large collection of mainly private and family manuscript materials on the south. He argued that this type of material was being rapidly destroyed in all sorts of ways and was not being much sought by state agencies; and thus that his collection would be a highly valuable supplement to all state collections. He then wrote Hamilton on July 23, that while there was some truth in what he was saying, Alabama nevertheless had first claim to all records of every sort within its borders. "I hope," she wrote, "that you realize that the opposing voice that I am raising with all the Muses of my very good lungs is in behalf of Alabama's own collections.

Both K. C. Frazer and his brother John T. were helping Hamilton and telling him that they did not believe that Mrs. Owen’s attitude would seriously hamper his work. While the building of the collection had become, and was to remain, the center of Hamilton’s professional life, there were other matters at all times. He was much sought for summer teaching over a period of several years, and during he taught in the Harvard summer school in 1931 and later got letters from two Harvard students praising him for being “a teacher of students as well as a professor.” He also took over W. E. Dodd’s summer courses at Chicago in 1933 when President Roosevelt named Dodd ambassador to Germany. But Hamilton preferred to do his summer teaching in the southern area, or at least on the perimeter of the south, so that he could easily combine the teaching with his search for manuscripts. He even made a gesture of justifying his teaching at Harvard by moving slowly across Maryland and Virginia on the way back from Cambridge, and in 1933 when he went to Chicago he wrote Connor (July 25, 1933), that he would leave Chicago in late August and “move very slowly indeed Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee.” Connor, as head of the department, was now so frequently asked about Hamilton’s whereabouts that he developed a sly way of stalling people off. “I think when the inquirers were well known, the one that he used most frequently ran: ‘I have no idea where he is. No one can keep up with him. He is always gathering, everywhere grabbing, hands. The other, which he used sparingly and only with trusted professional friends, ran: ‘He is someplace in the south on one of his nefariously thriving expeditions.’

Hamilton also continued to participate in a modest way in the activities of both the American Historical Association and the Southern Historical Association, even though most of the AHA activities took place in the northeast and thus all but ruled out the possibility of finding documents there. He continued to keep track of even though his interest in professional organizations that centered outside the south tended to decline, there were those who would have liked to have Hamilton as a member of the AHA’s board of directors, such as Mr. Robert Cassen. The example, Professor James A. Robertson wrote him (June 12, 1931): “I have just had the pleasure of voting for you as second vice president of the AHA. I think it is time we elected a president from the south and I know no one more deserving than you.”

Hamilton was, of course, to serve as president of the SHA in 1942-43, but I always had a feeling that he never expected to be, nor wanted to be, president of the AHA.

1 Apparently Dodd, who was now sixty-four years of age, wanted either Hamilton or Connor as his successor at Chicago, but neither had gone to Chicago to live and work. Hamilton also wrote Connor at this time that he could not accept the position on his life why Dodd would go to Germany. Then he added: “Human ambition is a queer thing.”

2 Actually neither Hamilton, Wragstaff, Graham, nor Pierson ever took a deep interest in professional organizations, and all were critical of the recently organized Association of University Professors.
Also in these years Hamilton received an increasing number of calls for information of every sort, and also more invitations to accept positions of his Collection. Many people interested in genealogy and in their family backgrounds sought his help, and presidents of alumni associations, Kiwanis clubs, and principals of high schools across the state sought him as a speaker. For example, Fletcher Gregory, a banker in Halifax, N.C., invited him to talk about his Southern Collection to University alumni in the Halifax area on November 12, which was University Day, and a few days later the Kiwanis Club of Finehurst invited him to come to his convenience and tell them about the Collection. Hamilton, of course, made a special effort to accept all invitations that designated the Southern Collection as the topic for discussion. For not only did he sometimes on such occasions get the promise of a valuable addition to the Collection in addition to the Collection, he explained, with his unique burst of laughter, he did not "have to write a speech or even bother about notes."

One of the things that I remember most clearly and vividly about Hamilton in the 1930s was his habit of coming to Saunders Hall for his liked Rutgers mornings, and joining the others in meetings which Connor largely for the younger members of the staff. They were rather informal and we younger members of the staff were encouraged to mention any problem we might be having, and also to make suggestions for improving the work of the department in our teaching area. And then when the semi-formal part of the meeting was over, Hamilton would almost always take over and relate some of the experiences he had while travelling across the south in search of letters and diaries. We decided he was related usually in very informative, especially when they concerned the techniques which he used when treating with a family. He always made sure that it was kept in mind how he and his associates had gathered records. He said that the most effective approach he had discovered was to know and tell as much as possible about the history of the family—about the grandparents, grandmothers, the great-grandfathers and grandmothers. And to stress the same time how the records contained the family history would be kept in fireproof quarters and made easily available to genealogists and historians, and would thus help to give an element of immortality to the members of the family. Actually Hamilton did not feel that he had mastered the techniques of persuasion, and confessed that he was still working on them.

Hamilton also continued in these years to hope for a substantial endowment. The need for money for the endowment all the time because interest in collecting was spreading and competition was becoming keener. Hamilton felt in the spring of 1930 that he had been part of the Ford Motor Company and interested in what he was doing, and he wrote Henry Ford on June 23, 1930, that he should stop in Chapel Hill on one of his trips to the south. But his hope of getting an endowment from Ford for the Collection was very slight.3

Though we have already sketched Connor's work as head of the department in these years, we need still to look at some of his other activities. The fact that he had worked with the president of the University following Chase's resignation did not pass unnoticed beyond the borders of the state. He was soon discovered that he was under consideration for the presidency of two universities: West Virginia and Rutgers. He quickly discouraged the people at West Virginia, but he did give Rutgers University, which was New Jersey's Land Grant institution, some consideration. largely because it was prepared to pay him a salary well over three times what he was getting. On March 12, 1931, acting president John W. Herriott asked him to meet with Rutgers's Board of Trustees in late March. Connor immediately wrote F. H. Daggett, who had served for several years in the school of engineering at Chapel Hill before going out. As head of its department, for all sorts of information about Rutgers. Daggett, whom Connor knew well, replied at once and at length, stating in substance that the overall situation was good, and that if he was willing to leave Chapel Hill, Rutgers would be a real opportunity for him. Daggett was obviously hoping that Connor would come, but at the same time he was wondering if Connor would be, or could be, happy living and working outside North Carolina. In the meantime a Rutgers's trustee wrote Frank Graham for an assessment of Connor. That was, of course, a great mistake because Graham could scarcely endure the thought of losing Connor, and he began at once to devise subtle ways of putting pressure on Connor to keep him in Chapel Hill. And that probably was not necessary, for deep down Connor did not want to go to New Jersey to work and live in New York. Connor wrote Frank that Graham's appreciation Rutgers' interest in him, but that he had decided to withdraw his name from consideration for the presidency. At the same time he wrote Graham a note, telling him what he had done. Graham wrote Connor early the next morning that he got his note in the late evening, and "instead of going to bed bedraggled and dejected, I went to bed with great faith in what the University stands for—undeafeated and undefeatable."
that he never found time to do a life of Vance was one of the regrets of his life.

Another matter that Connor was thinking about at this time was his proposed trip to England for the coming academic year to make a final check for documents bearing on the history of North Carolina in the colonial period. After removing himself from consideration for the presidency of Rutgers University and completing the staff for the coming year, he began making plans to leave for the British Isles. Actually he did not have any serious worries; for he had confidence in Pierson who had agreed to serve as acting head of the department while he was away, and he also knew that both Hamilton and Wegstaff would have their eyes on departmental affairs. Too, he was sure that C. C. Crittenden and the new instructor, Cecil Sterling, could handle his undergraduate courses competently. Indeed both were soon to ask him for the use of his class lists so they could get something of the flavor of his College classes and class discussions. Of course, he had an idea that there was another big reason, but still he was flattered a bit, and gathered up his notes for them.

The Connors reached London in mid-September 1931 and were kept rather fully informed about events in the University and the state as well as in the department of history and government. On October 25 Mitchell Garrett, always an interesting letter writer, sent Connor a new and optimistic letter telling him among other things that Pierson was handling the department smoothly, that Crittenden and Johnson were giving their best to his courses, and that the students in the courses seemed enthusiastic.

Pierson, who was acting head of the department, wrote Connor several letters about key matters in the department and the University. But his letters were peppered with humor, as well as information, as indeed were most of the letters that passed at all times between Pierson and Connor. Pierson wrote on December 23, 1931: "It is the season -- and where other than in England could you get such gaiety!--a report on the state of the department. Well you can allow your unseasonable fears to abate--with the assurance that the department is intact and doing business at the old stand." But then he was serious and observed: "The depression holds, and both social and political morale are low. It is a matter of fact that here and there the machinery of the department is in some disarray. It is a matter that accompanies high levels of economic depression, as it well here." On May 24, 1932, Pierson wrote Connor another long letter in which he described the situation in the department, and which began: "Knowing that the department is intact and that all is well."

Connor was also getting letters from several other people in Chapel Hill and across the state. C. C. Noble wrote him twice and slipped some humor as well as information into his letters. The substance of Noble's first letter was that the depression had not passed and that "banks are breaking right and left." In the second letter he wrote, "I am glad to see that this letter is due to the radio. My latest information is that Josephus Daniels will or will not run for governor." President Godfrey replied a few days later in a letter of May 23, 1932: "I. New York banks were demanding a balanced state budget, and that salary cuts for the year would have to be around thirty percent. While he was not pleased to have to make such reductions in salaries, he nevertheless took the cuts in stride, and said that the state budget should be kept balanced. And he also wrote his brother Tobe that his salary was less than one-fourth what Rutgers University had offered him; but that he belonged in North Carolina and would make out and go happily about his work.

Connor enjoyed his study and travel in Europe, and was pleased with the fact that he had been able to visit other institutions, including the Huntington Library in California, while abroad. He returned to Chapel Hill in the summer of 1932 just as the process of consolidation was getting underway, and discovered that many members of the faculty were feeling uncertain about what they would be named chief executive officer at Chapel Hill. He had doubted the wisdom of consolidation from the point of view of the whole state, and in fact had known to say that the University was the only one of the three institutions that had any thing to lose. In any event, he did not want to be the chief executive officer at Chapel Hill whatever the title might be. He wrote Josephus Daniels on September 28 to see to it that his name did not get up there the Trustee Committee that was to name a chief officer. In fact, Connor told the Trustee Committee on December 13, 1932, that he was not sure that a chief executive officer was needed in the Chapel Hill unit, but if there was to be such an official it should be either R. A. Wilson or Horace Payne. He later agreed that Robert B. House, whom he had known for many years, and who at the time secretary to President Graham, had substantial ability and balance and would be all right as head of the Beta Kappa group, and Pierson replied with a wink and a smile that he had to work hard on the speech, and added: "Only the Irish can dash off eloquent addresses between classes."
administrative official. And of course House was soon named Dean of Administration, and the title was changed to Chancellor in 1945.

Connor now got more requests for information and help of all sorts than ever before. A. R. Newsome, fearing that the coming legislature would cut the N.C. Historical Commission's budget heavily, urged Connor to write some of the more influential legislators in the commission's behalf. Connor did so and Newsome was soon reassured and feeling much better. President McConnell of Davidson College asked Connor for his opinion as to the four most important legislative events in the history of the state. Connor soon obliged: (1) adoption of the state constitution in 1776, (2) chartering of the University in 1789; (3) creation of the N.C. Railway Company in 1849; and (4) abolition of slavery in 1865. But perhaps the two request for help that surprised Connor most came from outside the state. On one occasion, the Swiss President Konrad K. K. Konrad that he wanted to be named minister to one of the smaller countries, such as Switzerland, and asked him to write President Roosevelt in his behalf. He explained: "It is conceded that your wise and sober judgment will carry weight with the President elect."

But perhaps the most unusual request for help that Connor received at this time came from Dunbar Rowland, who was head of the department of archives and history in the state of Mississippi. Rowland wrote Connor on March 30, 1933, reminding him that the building to house the National Archives was nearing completion and that a national need was anticipated, he then told Connor in clear words that he himself wanted the position and that he was richly qualified for the position. Connor wrote President-elect Roosevelt and the two North Carolina senators. He then told Connor what should go into the letter to the President, and asked Connor to send him a copy of his letter to the President. Four days later Connor replied, telling Rowland in polite language that the type of letter which he suggested to President Roosevelt would damage his cause. Connor agreed, however, to ask some of his more influential friends to write to his (Rowland's) behalf. What prompted Rowland to make this strange move I do not know, but I suspect that he felt that Connor would have strong support for the position of National Archivist, and that if Connor wrote Roosevelt he would eliminate himself.

But no member of the staff of the department of history and government was busier than W. W. Pierson. He had played a key role in getting the Universities to hold its annual meeting in Chapel Hill in 1931; he served as lecturing head of the department of history and government during Connor's absence, in 1932; he was dean of the graduate school which was growing rather rapidly in spite of the economic depression; and he was seen as the individual who would largely decide whether or not history and government was to become two departments.

Indeed, I felt at the time that Pierson was decidedly overworked, and I often wondered which was getting the greater benefit of his time: the graduate school or the department of history and government. He was a great teacher as well as a first rate administrator, and I tried to help him in every way possible, but I was still young and inexperienced, and I fear that I did not do very well. But I am glad that I tried. I admired him immensely.

Another development in these years which had considerable impact on the department of history and government and which still lingers clearly in my mind, was the growing agitation for a self-study program with a view to basic changes in the curriculum. Actually from the very beginning of Grant's presidency there was quite a bit of talk in the departments of sociology, rural social economics, and in economics and commerce, about the need for basic changes in both the administrative structure of the University and in its program. Notable spokesmen for change were C. W. Preul, Samuel H. Nicks, Harold D. Meyer, and Howard V. Odum. But Preul's desire was to do it from the other side. He explained: "We are trying to conclude that second and third year students were not getting enough attention, and that there should be a General College that would center its attention on freshmen and sophomores and would form something of a separate unit for both administrative and instructional purposes. Hobbs, Meyer, and Odum professed to feel that foreign languages, mathematics, and history were getting far too much of the students time and that social ideas, problems, and theories for little. While a large part of the faculty agreed with Preul that freshmen and sophomores should be treated differently, quite a number were not convinced that the creation of a General College was the best way to go about it. But with respect to the expansion of the programs in sociology and social welfare at the expense of some other departments there was plenty of doubt and opposition. 3

5 When Pierson retired as dean of the graduate school in 1954, the department of history in the University ranked in the top ten in the country in the number of doctoral candidates in political science had not been separated from history in 1935, the department would certainly have been near the top; if not at the top, in this respect.

6 I confess that for me, at that time a young instructor who had gone from a freshman to a Ph.D. in the University of North Carolina, this agitation and discussion seemed to be motivated largely by personal ambition. I tried to figure out without much success why anybody would be interested in such a discussion. And some time after this the instructional program in the University when I was a student was better for the majority of students than the program of 1990. But thousands of man-hours have been spent over the years supposedly improving the overall program. I hope I am mistaken.
In any event in response to this agitation, President Graham on March 9, 1934, appointed a faculty committee, headed by mathematician Allen W. Hobbs and to be known as the Central Committee for Integration and Action. Graham, unconvincing and a bit bewildered, hoping to hit a proper balance and to satisfy just about everyone, explained: "Any well ordered plan will require not less intellectual toughness but more; will base itself firmly on these and bring itself more closely in touch with socio-economic needs." After several discussions during the spring and summer of 1933, this Central Committee met in the autumn and made a number of recommendations, the most important of which were (1) that a General College be established with its own dean and administrative structure to handle freshmen and sophomores; (2) that there be three administrative divisions of the social sciences, the natural sciences, and the humanities; (3) that there be an integrated and interdisciplinary course for first-year students; (4) that one of the existing college of liberal arts be restructured and labelled the College of Arts and Sciences. The only one of these broad recommendations that had any real substance was the only one that concerned history in any significant way, was the call for a General College with its own administrative structure and curriculum. It stated ambitiously that the primary aim of the General College curriculum should be to give the student an appreciation of man's cultural heritage---and an understanding of the organization and functioning of modern society. Too, it placed real stress on teaching and the selection of teachers, and stated: "emphasis shall be on interest in and enthusiasm for material instruction, and manifest willingness to devote personal attention to individual student needs."

Too, at this time just as the debate got going, President Graham got his first urgent call from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration to help with the work of the new Consumer's Administration. He shared with Governor Graham, with the advice and backing of the Board of Trustees, replied that University matters required all of his time, Frances Perkins the energetic Secretary of Labor, joined with Hugh S. Johnson a key figure in the National Recovery Administration, in urging Graham to accept the task to serve the nation. Then in mid-October Hugh Johnson wired Governor Ehringhaus that the work for which Graham was wanted was basic to the whole N.R.A. program, and that the University should allow Graham to give part of his time to the nation. The Charlotte Observer complained that the Roosevelt administration----is trying to grab this able, popular--public servant for some national task."

Meantime faculty meetings centering on the matter of administrative and curriculum changes became more frequent and ever more explosive. I shall never forget the expression on several faces near me during one of the sessions of the Autumn of 1933 when S. H. Hobbs, a member of the staff of rural social economics, arose and said: "I could plow just as straight a furrow before I had French as I could after." No one arose to challenge this grave assessment, but I and several others sitting nearby, heard a young French teacher whisper: "I could plow a much straighter furrow before I had sociology I than I could after."

It was, of course, the call for an interdisciplinary course in the division of the social sciences to replace history I and II that concerned history and the history staff most. Most all, if not all, members of the staff of history and government were rather well satisfied with history I and II, and no one was at all sure that a more valuable course for freshmen students could be developed. Nor was there much fear on the part of some members of the staff that an interdisciplinary course would weaken the departments' position in the curriculum. In early May 1934 a sub-committee was formed with L. C. Mackinney as chairman to decide on the scope and content of the new course and to give it a title. After a series of discussions in the summer of 1934, several members of the committee begged off and it was wisely became a committee of four--Mackinney, Spruill, C. B. Robson, and R. B. Vance. It soon became evident that the course would bear the title of either Modern Civilization or Social Sciences or a combination of the two. Spruill, who would soon be named dean of the new General College, insisted that the course should bear the title Social Science so as to underscore firmly the fact that it was interdisciplinary and under the control of three (soon to be four) departments. All concerned soon agreed that the full and official title should be Social Science: Introduction to Modern Civilization. 7

Then came the hard matter of working out the approximately one hundred assignments for the three quarters and the location and making available good readings for the daily assignments for no one knew of any volume or set of volumes that would serve as add-on assignments or the three quarters. At this point some members of the committee proposed that each member of the staff from each of the three participating departments give an experimental section during the coming year. But there were no volunteers for experimental sections. Too, when Conner heard of the proposal, he warned strongly against it, stating that the course would be extremely difficult to develop and unless it was worked out with great care it would fail at the start. So in the late spring of 1934 the committee of four decided not to attempt to get the new course into operation until September 1935.

It was at this point that Graham and Spruill told me that they wanted me to join the committee working on the course, and indeed to serve as executive secretary of the course and thus to

7 Most members of the staff of economics and commerce agreed with the desire of the staffs of sociology and rural social economics that the course be listed in the catalogue and schedule as social science rather than Modern Civilization.
take the lead in developing it. I was surprised and a little shocked, because I not only knew that it would be a difficult and time-consuming job but I was not sure that a better course could be developed than the one we already had. Graham apparently felt the same way, but he told me that a majority of the faculty had voted for the new course and it had to be put in operation. I joined the committee and began planning and developing the projected course. The coming year was to be one of the busiest and most strenuous of my life.

Too, I suspect it was one of Graham's busiest and most exciting. For not only was his University work very heavy and full of new developments, but Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt were beginning to feel that Graham could be of help to them in several ways. For he not only had plenty of ideas about economic, educational, and social matters, but his friendliness and personal magnetism had an impact on opponents and tended to win them over. The Roosevelts were responsible to a considerable extent for his increasing involvement in New Deal measures, and thus for his increasing absence from the University and Chapel Hill.

Chapter XII (1934-35)

The Mid-Thirties and Changes Galore

The mid-1930s brought a number of important changes in history and government at Chapel Hill. Connor went to the National Archives; Graham came under increasing pressure for service in Washington; A. R. Newsome, H. T. Leffler, and J. C. Crittenden replaced Newsome as director of the N. C. Historical Commission; an interdisciplinary course, entitled Social Science: An Introduction to Western Civilization - replaced history I and II; the department of history and government was broken into two departments - history and political science, and there was much else.

The change that came first and perhaps attracted the most attention nationally was Connor's move to Washington to serve as the country's first national archivist. As we have already noted the idea of a large structure in Washington to house the nation's most important documents and records had been a matter of considerable discussion, even at the annual meetings of the AHA, for several years. In the mid 1920s President Calvin Coolidge, though a true apostle of economy, had asked Congress to appropriate funds to purchase a site for such a building. In 1926 Congress had appropriated $1,000,000,00 for a site; in September 1931 ground had been broken, and in February 1933 President Herbert Hoover had laid the cornerstone for a large structure.

Then after the laying of the cornerstone, quite a number of historians became deeply interested, and some even sought to put a bit of pressure on Congress and also on President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had always been something of a historian at heart. The elderly and highly respected J. Franklin Jameson, who was Chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, took the lead. He got in touch with Congressman Sol Bloom and Bloom took a real interest and soon had a bill before Congress which called for the establishment of National Archives of the United States. Jameson, now all but convinced that Congress would act and anxious to see an able and commanding historian chosen as archivist, alerted the Executive Council of the AHA, of which Charles A. Beard and Conyers Read were chairman and secretary respectively. On May 20 the Executive Council ventured to make a list of the men best qualified to serve as first National Archivist. Their list, though very short, contained the names of two North Carolinians - R. D. W. Connor and A. R. Newsome. The Council also made the point that W. E. Dodd, whom Roosevelt had just named Ambassador to Germany, might be able to get the President's ear and should be kept fully informed of all developments.
On May 28, Jameson, after much conferring, wrote both Read and Connor. To Read he said: "Connor is a man of affairs who knows how to deal even with politicians. He is and makes the impression of a man of power. He will be entirely acceptable to the Senate." To Connor he said that Congress was on the point of passing a bill which would provide for the establishment of a National Archivist with an annual salary of $10,000. He then explained that the Executive Committee of the AHA was prepared to support him for archivist if he would agree to serve. Connor, who was planning to do some teaching at the University of West Virginia in the late spring and early summer, replied that he appreciated the confidence that the Executive Council showed in him, but that it would mean a big change in his plans and he needed time to consider it. He added that he expected to be in Washington briefly about June 17 and should be able to come to a decision by then.

Meantime, on June 1, Read wrote Jameson that professor Linglebach of Harvard and Roy Nitkiss of Stanford informed him that Connor would be "ideal for the job." Jameson wrote President Roosevelt on June 5 that history people everywhere were deeply interested in the National Archives Project, and that the Executive Committee of the AHA was hoping that the National Archivist would be a person of great ability and with a genuine interest in history. On June 12 Connor was in Washington and talked with both Jameson and Read, and on June 18 he wrote President Frank Graham telling him about the whole matter but asking him to keep it secret. Graham sent Read a letter on the whole story. Graham "spilled the beans in Chapel Hill" as Connor expressed it in a letter to Hamilton on July 12. Next everyone told Connor that no one could take his place in the University, and expressed the hope that he could, in spite of everything, soon return to Chapel Hill. So by mid-July 1934 it was settled that Connor was the candidate of the AHA, and this gave him a commanding advantage over every other candidate. Waldo Leland wrote Connor on July 16: "I am confident that the strength of the AHA will put you over." Jameson was well pleased and continued to direct the campaign. He wrote W. E. Dodd that he could use Connor's name if he wished to mention the matter of an archivist. Connor wrote President Roosevelt a four page letter on July 14 telling him that Connor was a man of affairs as well as a solid scholar, and indeed quite suitable for the position of the one candidate that the Executive Committee of the AHA knew about. Solon Buck who had considerable support for the position of archivist, wrote President Roosevelt that he was no longer a candidate but was supporting Connor. Josephus Daniels and quite a number of others wrote the President; and Jameson wrote Connor on July 27: "It is an enviable thing to have such friends as you are shown to have."

Connor returned to Chapel Hill at the first of August and began to make plans to teach a full schedule in the fall quarter. On August 12 Jameson wrote him that Daniel C. Roper, Secretary to

1 Connor had remained in his office in Saunders hall until well into June, and none of us had really noticed anything. My office was adjacent to Connor's but I did not know a thing until Graham informed镀f Pierson and Waggstaff. I do recall, however, that either W. S. Jenkins or X. C. Franer said to me just before Connor left for Morganton, West Virginia, that he seemed to have something pressing on his mind.
President Roosevelt, had just informed him that the President was very impressed by what he had heard about Connor, but that it might be some time before the President could get around to making a decision. Then, on September 27, just as Connor was getting his full-time teaching schedule for the following year, he received a letter from W. H. McIntrye, assistant secretary to the President, inviting him to come to Washington for a conference with President Roosevelt at 11:15 A.M. on October 3. In the early afternoon of October 3 Connor wired wife Sadie: "Matter settled. Tell Terrell only. Be home Friday morning." Then in the evening he wrote Sadie a letter describing in some detail the high point of the President's speech when the President said in high gear to appoint you Archivist of the United States. There are two qualifications. The appointee must be a good Democrat and must have the endorsement of the historians. The historian replied: "I can qualify as to the first, but I do not know about the second." The President replied: "I do and I am going to appoint you." He then told me to come to Washington and I could arrange matters at Chapel Hill, and that he would want to talk with me at some length as soon as I was settled in Washington.

Connor now got letters galore, as he once expressed it. Dr. W. deB. MacNider wrote him: "For you to be in Washington will be good for the state and the whole South." A. K. King wrote him that he wanted him to know that he was "the greatest teacher he ever had." J. F. Jameson and Congress Read wrote him that they were sorry for the University of North Carolina; that Washington and scholarship across the country would be strengthened. Max Farrand, director of research at the Putnamm Library and Art Gallery, wrote him that he thought Washington and scholarship across the country would be strengthened. Max Farrand, director of research at the Putnamm Library and Art Gallery, wrote him that he thought Washington and scholarship across the country would be strengthened.

Connor had returned to Saunders hall on October 5 and had begun to make arrangements for a fairly early departure. But the immediate departmental problem was not too great because W. M. Pierson, who had been a member of the department for twenty years and served as acting head in 1932-33, was willing to step in as acting head again. And Hugh T. Leifer, a native of Coosago with a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania and a staff at N.C. State, was not only willing but anxious to come over three afternoons a week to help with Connor's courses. The big problem lay ahead and consisted of even more than getting a new department head and replacing Connor in the classroom. For Connor's loss was the fourth major loss since 1929, and Pierson, Wagstaff, and Graham were all keenly aware of that.

Then in late October, as Connor left for Washington, Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, informed Graham that she and President Roosevelt wanted him to serve on the New Council on Economic Security which was in the process of formation. Graham agreed to serve on the new National Council and at the same time he asked if I could help him resolve the problems facing the department of history and government. Even though the committee was interdepartmental and included Hamilton, Pierson, and Edgard Knight, it was understood that Hamilton, Pierson, and Wagstaff would take the lead. The discussion from the outset centered around A. R. Newsome, secretary of the N.C. Historical Commission, Avery Craven, chairman of the department of history at the University of Chicago, and Fletcher Green, then at Emory University. After some six weeks of discussion, Wagstaff was asked to prepare a summary of the committee's views. On November 19 he gave the members of the committee and President Graham his assessment of the problems and his recommendations for action. His principal recommendations were that A. R. Newsome be brought in to head the department; that C. E. Crittenden be recommended to succeed Newsome as secretary of the N.C. Historical Commission; that Hugh T. Leifer be added to the history staff; that another effort be made to get Avery Craven, and if he could not be moved from Chicago to take over F. M. Green's position at Emory. Wagstaff also recommended that the department of history and government be restructured into two departments—history and political science. Finally he assured everyone that W. M. Pierson was quite able to serve as head of the new department of political science as well as dean of the graduate school.

All members of the interdepartmental committee as well as members of the staff of history and government were satisfied with Wagstaff's recommendations, but there was a feeling that Connor should see them before any moves were made. And since the AHA was to hold its annual meeting in Washington in late December, and Wagstaff, Pierson, and Hamilton were planning to attend, 

---

2 Connor was scheduled to address the American Antiquarian Society meeting in Massachusetts on October 18, but he soon decided that he was too busy and begged off. He did send the address which he had prepared, and it was read at the meeting and later published by the society.

3 A copy of Wagstaff's report, which is dated December 1934 and lists the meeting in Massachusetts as late December, is in the records of the department of history and government. It is not signed, but I know it was done by Wagstaff. I talked with him more than once while he was writing it.
there was no problem here. In fact Connor congratulated Wagstaff on his good work, but did say that he hoped that Crittenden would become a little less academic when he went to Raleigh as Secretary of the N.C. Historical Commission, and had to deal with the legislature as well as with all sorts of people. He also said that he felt that Dumas Malone should receive careful consideration for Hamilton's courses if both Craven and Green proved to be unavailable. Connor also took a sizable group of historians on a tour of the National Archives building, and then invited Hamilton, Wagstaff, and Pierson to his Washington residence to see Sadie and have dinner. Wagstaff was not feeling very well, and left Connor's party rather early to get a full nights sleep. But after a brief nap, he felt rested and decided he would write Connor a note of thanks. He wrote:

I have enjoyed it all, especially your talk on the value of the Archives for historians. The Archives building is a gem of construction. The whole capital is magnificent in the wealth of its public buildings. No other capital can equal it. Your general statement is of course the more significant because the presence of the Archives is greater and the critics will be fewer. My greatest hope is to do much for the University and my family until its time to retire, and then to return to the country, to the soil from which I sprang, in semi-isolation amidst growing things and with plenty of birds and beasts around. I'm getting sleepy and Pierson has just come in.

In the early weeks of 1935 Wagstaff and Pierson kept in close touch with President Graham and Green, and carried out the new decisions rapidly. While no one expected any real problem in getting Newsome and Lefler to Chapel Hill, everyone realized it was a blessing inasmuch as the chances of getting a job in Chicago were very slim, and that Green might also be hard to move. Pierson, Wagstaff and President Graham decided that Hamilton would be the person to approach Craven, and Hamilton did so at once. Craven again expressed his affection for Chapel Hill and the University, but pointed out that he had been at Chicago for many years, and that he was chairman of the department, and that W. E. Dodd was American Ambassador in Berlin and thus out of the picture at Chicago. In early July, as Newsome took over the headship of the department, Green let Hamilton know that he would return to Chapel Hill if he could be assured of a satisfactory teaching field and a top regular salary. President Graham and Newsome went over the negotiations with Green and assured him in writing that his teaching field would include all courses concerning the history of the south, including the longennes of the Civil War and Reconstruction which had been made famous by J.M. Hamilton. In mid-July President Green agreed to return to the history staff, but said that he felt, as did the people at Emory, that he was morally obligated to teach at Emory until the spring of 1936. 4 President Graham and Newsome agreed.

In the meantime Hugh Lefler, who had been on the history staff at N.C. State since 1926 and was a specialist in American colonial and early American history, had just been added to the staff for full-time service. Lefler, who would for another quarter do some afternoon teaching at N. C. State, was known as a gifted undergraduate teacher who expected and enjoyed large classes.

So now with Crittenden in Raleigh as secretary of the N. C. Historical Commission and Green to remain at Emory for another year, Newsome was faced with the task of getting some one to fill in for Green for the coming year. And Newsome felt at least vaguely, that to get a competent man at the professional level at this late date would be a difficult if not delicate matter. He was aware of the fact that Green had been assured of the field of southern history and that he should not think in terms of a permanent appointment. He might find a good man who could and would move into American diplomatic and recent American history. Who was another professor might be added soon. The first person that Newsome mentioned in this connection was E. E. Sydnor, who had been head of the department of history at the University of Mississippi for several years, and who was at the time teaching in the summer school at Duke. I had taught under Sydnor's direction at Mississippi in 1929-30, and Newsome asked me many questions about him. I told him that Sydnor was able and had many good qualities and that he would be fortunate to get him. 5 Newsome immediately offered Sydnor a visiting professorship for the coming academic year. But aware that he had little chance of getting him for that year, Newsome offered to several other well-known historians, including Dumas Malone and J. W. Thompson, about his need for the coming academic year. Sydnor reported immediately that he was immediately available Mississippi for the coming academic year and could not swing free.

In the meantime both Dumas Malone and James W. Thompson mentioned Howard L. Beale as a rather widely known historian with considerable experience in teaching and research. Beale, a Harvard Ph.D. of 1927, who had taught briefly at Harvard, Chicago, and New York universities, seemed a good prospect to Newsome. So on July 30, 1935, Newsome offered him the position.

Actually there were two other reasons why Green wanted to remain at Emory until the spring of 1936. Mrs. Green (Mary Frances) was passing in September and had also felt he would have a difficult time finding suitable living quarters for September 1935.

I remember thinking to myself, you could get him without a doubt if you could offer him a permanent position. For Sydnor was a highly successful professor at Mississippi, and had said to me in 1930 that he would like to be a member of the staff at either North Carolina, Virginia, or Duke. And of course Duke was already on the point of making him an offer.
with the fall quarter only a bit more than a month away, Newsome wrote Beale asking him if he could come as a visiting associate professor for the coming academic year at a salary of something over $3,000.00. Beale replied at once that two other universities had just made him better offers and that he was really not technically free, but could easily become so if the University of North Carolina could make him a definite offer. It was a strange letter, but Newsome, with the fall quarter near and rather good recommendations of a sort from both Malone and Thompson, decided to offer Beale a visiting professorship for the coming year at something over $3,000.00. Beale accepted immediately in a rather long letter, stating among other things, that his professional advancement meant more to him than "a few hundred dollars."

But Beale did not let Newsome alone for the following month. Rather he wrote Newsome two long letters where, among other things, the names of the students who would be in his seminar in the fall if he (Newsome) could get him federal funds for an assistant. Newsome wrote back that he would not be in any seminar until registration was completed, but that he did know one good graduate student, Van Woodward by name, who was working on Tom Watson, and that he would make a special effort to get Woodward into his seminar. Newsome also assured Beale that he would do his utmost to get some federal funds for an assistant for him. Newsome was already a bit surprised, but Beale played up to him in every way he knew how, and it was more than a year before Newsome fully realized that Beale was going to be a source of trouble in the department.6

In concluding this chapter we must center on two other developments which had been underway for some months and which were to have rather heavy impacts on history in the University in the years to come. The first of these was the gradual mapping of the projected interdisciplinary courses for first year students which was one of the key items in the new General College curriculum; and the other development was the gradual restructuring of the departmental history and government into two departments - history and political science.

As we pointed out at the end of the preceding chapter, work on the newly projected interdisciplinary course in the social sciences for first year students had begun in the autumn of 1934 and the course was to go into operation in the autumn of 1935. As executive secretary of the committee I had immediately discovered that the members of the committee set up to map out the new course were in essential agreement that the first and second quarters should be very similar to history I and II which had been in the curriculum for some sixteen years, and that the third quarter should be a substantia syllabus for each of the three good books that were to be used in the course. The assignment in the syllabus was to contain a brief analysis of the topic, indicate the pages to be read in one or more of the several texts to be used; and to give the authors and titles of a few of the better books dealing with the topic. It was obvious from the outset that several copies of each text would have to be made available to the students. The student would not be required to purchase any book, but would be given a copy of the syllabus and assessed a modest book fee. The fees would then be used to purchase multiple copies of all texts and to add books for parallel readings as fast as possible. That meant of course that we would have to have a large reading room with plenty of bookshelves, tables and chairs. After some (nagging with Rain) the University librarian, agreed to assign us just such a room on the main floor; and all of this was not only to get first year students in the habit of using the library but also to begin laying the foundations for a General College or undergraduate library. And it was here and at this time that C. P. Spruill began to hint that an undergraduate library was needed.

Since the course was interdisciplinary and thus under the ultimate control of four departments (the department of political science was soon to emerge) it had its own small budget, which would become operative in September 1935, when the course was scheduled to begin functioning. D. D. Carroll and C. F. P. had worked out the initial budget in the autumn of 1934 to cover the academic year 1935-36. It provided for a staff of one full professor, two associate professors, one assistant professor, and two full-time instructors. But the University enrollment was steadily rising, and thus from the beginning there were some part-time instructors, who were mostly advanced graduate students drawn from the four departments.

Of course, the biggest task that had to be performed to get the new course in operation was to work out the three syllabi. Work on the syllabus for the first quarter got underway in the

6 There are many hundreds of Beale letters in the departmental files for the years that he was here. I expect his letters are more numerous than those of any of the other members of the staff combined. He apparently typed all of his letters and saved carbons of all of them. Pages are single-spaced and margins are narrow.
late autumn of 1934, and I spent most of the time that I could spare from my classes until the mid-summer of 1935 working on it. It covered the main lines of western development from Greek and Roman times to the American, French, and industrial revolutions. It was the most difficult of the syllabi, but I got some help from W. M. W. MacKinnon, M. B. Garrett, C.B. Robson, and J.C. Russell. When the fall quarter opened in September 1935, there were 900 copies of the syllabus in Saunders hall ready for the incoming freshmen students.8

The syllabus for the winter quarter, which covered western civilization from the French and American revolutions through World War I, was prepared during the fall quarter, and the syllabus for the spring quarter, which centered on contemporary political, economic, and social problems, was prepared during the winter quarter. This third syllabus was always the easiest to prepare because the staff members from the departments of economics and commerce, political science and sociology did much of the actual writing. But to find satisfactory text material for this final section proved difficult, and as we shall point out in the next chapter we soon began writing a collaborative volume to serve as a text for the third term.

And finally in this chapter we must write briefly of the division of the department of history and government into two departments, one centering on history and the other on government and political science. Actually the division did not surprise anyone on the upper floors of Saunders hall, for not only had Wagstaff proposed such a separation in his report on the needs of the department, but sentiment for it had been growing since 1930, especially among the younger members of the staff. R.C. Frazer, C.B. Robson, W.S. Jenkins, E.J. Woodhouse, and P.W. Wager, all of whom taught courses in government and politics, had mentioned it frequently in my presence. No one in the department really argued against it. So it was not to create any tension or to be very much of a problem.

To the best of my memory and knowledge the first real step toward separation was taken in the spring of 1932 when the department of history and government set up a committee to try to discover why some other schools and departments continued to add courses that dealt largely if not entirely with subject matter of a historical and governmental nature, and thus that clearly belonged in the department of history and government. I heard a great deal about the deliberations of this committee at the time from Frazer and Jenkins, and got the impression that all members of the committee were inclined to support a new department to be called political science. The arguments in support of a department of political science that I heard most frequently were: (1) that the department of history and government had become too large and diverse to be operated effectively and efficiently; (2) that a department of political science would provide the basis for more and better work in government and politics in the University; (3) that it would check if not end the growing tendency of the law school and some other schools and departments to add courses that were political and governmental in nature; and (4) that it would make for a better graduate program by providing doctoral candidates a minor as well as a major. Though the department of political science was not formally and officially established until the spring of 1936, it existed and functioned as a department in nearly all respects from September 1935. Of course, from the standpoint of staff members, the two departments remained deeply intertwined for many years. For example, Wagstaff continued to give time to British governmental and constitutional affairs; and Pierson, though he was head of the new department, gave nearly all of his teaching time to the history of the Latin American countries.

8 I had a Chevrolet coupe at this time, and I hauled the 900 copies of the mimeographed syllabus (about 250 copies at a time) both to and from the Chapel Hill printery on North Franklin Street, where they were bound in heavy cardboard.
Chapter XIII (1935-1940)

Rapid Growth, Rebuilding the Staff and the Threat of War

The second half of the 1930s brought a number of important changes in both the departments of history and government and the University as a whole. The most important change at the University at large was a slow but steady rise in the enrollment; a very substantial building program; the establishment of the General Colleges and also the School of Public Health. The overall enrollment, which had fallen from approximately 3,100 in 1936 to 2,800 in 1934, rose rather rapidly across the second half of the decade and reached 3,900 in 1939. The building picture was even more striking. There had not been a new building on the campus from 1930 to 1936, but from 1936 to 1940 there were thirteen new buildings and some six renovations or enlargements.¹

Of course the big change in the departments of history and government was largely structural and was swift and smooth. Though the separation into two departments was not formalized until the spring of 1936, there were for all functional purposes two departments from September 1935, with Pierson as head of the new department of Political Science, as well as dean of the graduate school. But in some ways the two departments remained quite interwoven for years. For example, several courses were listed in both departments and graduate programs were very often dovetailed. Fortunately the break did not pose any real difficulty for Newsome, who was still in the process of settling in as head of history and had his hands full of problems of various sorts. For he not only had to do a great deal of rebuilding in the whole American field, but he had become rather deeply involved in archival matters at the national as well as the state level. So as registration for the fall quarter drew near there was much that was still new to him and he was asking Wagstaff and me questions about procedures and other matters. I was having to tell him that I could not help very much because the new social science course for first year students was just going into operation and it was keeping me on the run.²

¹ New construction included six dormitories - Alderman, Kenan, McIver, Stecy, Alexander and Whitehead; and also Lenoir hall, Woolen Gymnasium, Rosenau hall, Wilson hall, and the Power plant. Buildings renovated or enlarged were Alumni hall, Caldwell hall, Gerard hall, Bynum hall, Abernathy hall, and the Carolina Inn, which John Sprunt Hill had just given to the University.

² The two circumstances that I remember most clearly about the registration of September 1935 were the long lines of freshmen students that formed on the first floor of Saunders hall to get copies of the syllabus for the new social science course, and of meeting and talking briefly with professor D. H. Buchanan, who had just been added to the staff of the department of economics and commerce, and who was to give half of his teaching time to
done an excellent job in preparing for it. About $1,200.00 was soon made available for the survey and North Carolina received approximately $600.00 for its share. Newsome and Crittenden took the lead and got Dan M. Lacy, who was a doctoral student in the University at Chapel Hill, to organize the survey. Crittenden and Lacy moved fast and N.C. was one of the first states to complete its survey.

Meantime the other members of the history staff were giving Newsome hearty support, and Wagstaff was probably more active in departmental matters than ever before. This was so largely because of his long service in the department and a feeling on the part of members of the staff that he had the best understanding of it all. Newsome himself shared this feeling and leaned heavily on Wagstaff when important matters were at stake. But to the best of my knowledge Wagstaff was never called upon to any administrative position in either the department or the University. Hamilton and Connor felt that professional assistance was being overdone and that the Association of University Professors was doing more harm than good. He even sometimes hinted that he felt that the AHA was giving too much time and attention. Too, there was in these years considerable pressure on him from a number of prominent alumni as well as many of the older members of the faculty to write a history of the University from 1807, where K.P. Battle left off and where he himself came to the faculty, to the present. He began gathering data for such a work and also wrote several interesting short stories on week ends in these years.

Perhaps the members of the staff who were most satisfied with their positions serving in Providence, Rhode Island in 1936, the Society of American Archivists was formed and Newsome was elected its first president.3

In the meantime Newsome also joined with Luther H. Evans of the Works Progress Administration in an effort to get a survey of the archives of the federal government underway at the state level. On December 2, 1935, after considerable discussion, such a survey, Newsome wrote Harry Hopkins of the W.P.A. that the planned survey would be of real value, and that Luther Evans had the new freshman course. He had taught for several years at Kuhlman over the years in Japan and had just published The Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India. He was the first person to say to me that a war between Japan and the United States was in the making.

3 Actually Newsome served three terms as president, and both Connor and Crittenden also served as president during the 1940s. Newsome was less widely praised for his work on the AHA. Several well-known scholars, including Waldo Leland and A.P. Kuhlman, wrote him that no one else in the nation could match his grasp of archival matters.
Green. Beale, who had been brought in hastily as a visiting professor so that Green could remain at Emory University for the academic year 1935-36, had soon decided that he wanted to remain in New Orleans. He had worked hard during the coming months in an attempt to impress President Graham as well as Newsome. He had stressed his acquaintance with many well-known historians, such as William E. Leisenegger, and suggested that he had asked him if he would like to develop courses in American diplomatic and cultural history, thus pointing to areas where Newsome felt there should be additional course work. Then in the early spring of 1936 he told Newsome that he had attractive offers from Smith College and Ohio State University (though both were one-year positions). Newsome then conferred with House and Graham and offered Beale a professorship and thus tenure. Newsome wrote F. M. Green on May 22, 1936: 

"You will be interested to know that we have made arrangements to have H. K. Beale as the chairman of the department member of the staff. I am glad to report that Beale will develop courses in American diplomatic and cultural history and take over the recent American field. But Beale is not the same Beale that was on tenure until last year. He has apparently agreed to teach diplomatic and cultural history in order to get tenure, and now that he has tenure he became his real self and soon he told Newsome that he had decided to keep the course on Civil War and Reconstruction. Newsome, aware that both he and President Graham had assumed Green in writing that his field of teaching would include all courses on the south, including the course on Civil War and Reconstruction, was embarrassed and sensed the possibility of trouble within the department. But he hoped to "in spite of promises" he could meet with Green and Beale and work out a satisfactory division of courses. And he might have had Beale and Green who are basically compatible types, but they were not and serious friction, if not collision, was but all too likely."

Also in the early summer of 1936 Beale had persuaded Scribners and Sons to publish a manuscript which he had just completed and which was entitled "Can American Teachers be Free?" It was a strange and carelessly done manuscript and in the late summer when it appeared in print there were new threats of legal action against Beale. He was deeply in trouble if not surprised, and wrote his trusted friend Professor Merle Curti on November 3, 1935, that much of what he had written was "not good," and that he was beginning to wish he "had never heard of the book." 5

4 Since Beale was to have a rather heavy and largely negative impact on the department for the next decade, I shall give him considerable space at this point.

5 Beale to Curti, Nov. 3, 1936, History Dept. Records, Box 4, SHC. There are scores of Beale letters in 1936 in this box. I last saw Beale at this time. He wrote me a letter for the student Tar Heel about the new Modern Civilization course that was full of obvious factual errors. I went to his office and pointed them out to him, and I did not think that a historian should have some respect for facts. He

He naturally worked hard to prevent these matters from getting to Chapel Hill, and he succeeded remarkably well. By early 1937 he felt that he was out of danger of being sued, though both Heinz and the New York Board of Education were still interested in bringing suit. There were soon new bursts of egoism. He wrote Paul K. H. that the AHA had to be reformed and given new life; and he told Voit Gilmore, editor of the student Tar Heel, that he was all wrong about many things and to come by his office and he would see him straight. Beale would soon write President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull telling them what American policy should be in both Europe and the Far East.

Green in the meantime had returned to Chapel Hill in time to teach in the second term of the summer school. Having already spent many years in the University as a graduate student and teacher, he settled in easily and quickly. His research interest was centered in the history of the south, and he was now well known in historical circles across most of the country. Beale's position as chairman of the department at Chapel Hill played a big role in the establishment of the Southern Historical Association, and was at the time serving as its secretary and treasurer. The fact that North Carolina and Georgia had led in memberships at this time was due in no small measure to his influence. He had hesitated to leave Emory, and of course both Hamilton and the rapidly growing Southern Historical Collection had been powerful drawing cards. Hamilton was delighted for he felt that Green's presence in the University would contribute greatly to the development of the department. But Beale was quite right because Green as well as the Collection attracted graduate students, and in the next thirty years he would direct over a hundred masters theses and thirty-nine doctoral dissertations.

But Green was quite surprised when he arrived in Saunders hall in June 1936 to find that Beale, about whom he knew little, was scheduled to teach the course on Civil War and Reconstruction in the coming year. Newsome was embarrassed and apologetic, but assured Green that Beale was a widely known scholar who had agreed to center his teaching on American diplomatic and cultural history, and that the three of them could get together and agree on teaching fields and courses. Actually Newsome did continue to remind Beale that he and President Graham had promised Green the courses on the Civil War and reconstruction, and Beale had not protested. But then in the early spring of 1937, after he became convinced that neither Heinz nor the New York Board of Education was going to bring suit against him, he not only told Newsome that he could not give up the course, but told him that he was finding American diplomatic history difficult and distasteful and he would not continue to teach it. This seemed much perplexed and I did not torture him further, but I was not sure that he was a strange person with plenty of weakness and problems.
course created another serious problem. For Newsome and Graham had not given Beale a professorship, which meant tenure, until he had agreed to center his teaching on American diplomatic and cultural history. In 1935, Newsome now began to talk more about problems, and he talked with Wagstaff and Pierson, as well as Green.6

Also at this time in the late weeks of 1935 and the early weeks and months of 1936, the new interdisciplinary course in Social Science for first-year students came into full operation. Some called it social science and others modern civilization; and while in reality it was more the latter than the former, it was in the schedule and the catalogue as social science 1-2-3. With more than 800 students enrolled in some 25 sections, it was a rather large program with a somewhat diverse staff. It was operating fully as smoothly as had been expected. The element of surprise that was most frequently mentioned was the large and already well-stocked reading room on the main floor of the Wilson library. Of course this reading room with its numerous copies of multiple texts and maps and for the course of parallel reading, had been made possible by the fact that the Carnegie Foundation had responded promptly and generously to the request that Spruill, Newsome, and I had made early in 1935 for funds for texts and library materials of various sorts. Too, the fact that the course was interdisciplinary and departed from the norm quite a bit, tended to attract attention well beyond the borders of the campus. Indeed to the surprise of everyone, including the members of the staff, a call came to the University administration in late September 1935 from the Secretary - president of the newly founded Southern Historical Association, for a session centering on the course at the association’s first annual meeting in November 29-30 in Birmingham, Alabama. President Graham and dean Spruill came to me with a building at once and told me of Coulter’s request, and then told me to think about speaking at the Birmingham meeting and to write a paper about the new course. I was working hard trying to get the new course in sound operation, but I obeyed orders and read a hastily written paper about the new course at the first annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association. The session was well-attended and the aspect of the course in which the audience was most interested was the reading room in the Wilson library with its numerous copies of several texts.

And that was as it should have been, for the reading room was the most valuable part of the course. It was not only getting the students in the habit of using the library as soon as they entered the University, but it was giving them easy and

comfortable access to a large and growing number of valuable books. With the funds we were getting from the Carnegie Foundation, and the dollar a quarter book fee collected from each student, we were able to add books to the reading room rapidly. By the autumn of 1936 many students other than those enrolled in the social science sections were coming to the room to use the parallel books, and in the late afternoons and evenings the room was nearly always filled to its seating capacity. The course also served in these years to bring several to the history staff who were to make major contributions in both teaching and administration over the years to come. As we have already pointed out, J.C. Sitterson joined the staff as a part-time instructor in September 1935. In October 1936 R.D. Heade received an offer from Randolph Macon college which he wished to accept, and J. L. Godfrey, who was then working toward a doctorate at the University of Chicago, was notified that the staff to take Heade’s courses. Then in the summer of 1938, J.C. Russell was awarded a grant by the American Philosophical Society for his research on American history at the University of Texas, and for the coming academic year he was told that the staff to take Russell’s courses. During the final two years of the 1930s Newsome worked a little differently. His interest in archivists, especially at the national level, receded and his interest in his native state grew noticeably. He published The Presidential Election of 1932 in North Carolina, and began to work more on maps centered on the state and its people. One was a set of large maps of the state designed primarily for use in the public schools, and the other two, which were in collaboration with Hugh T. Leffler, were to be histories of the state of North Carolina designed for students at different ages and levels.

Newsome found the Denoyer-Geppert Map Company willing to join with him in producing a set of ten large maps of the state, maps that were a guide and with a guide or manual, to sell for $22.50 per set. In the summer of 1937 sets were available and they were much praised and obviously of real value for students of history and geography. After looking at one of the sets with its tripod, the president of Denoyer-Geppert wrote: “It is perfect and you are the best man with whom we have ever

6 Green and I lived in adjacent houses on Laurel Hill Road for more than thirty years, and thus saw each other frequently outside and inside Saunders Hall. Few students ever saw Green as much as Beale’s constant effort to get in touch with all incoming graduate students and tell them where to live and what to do when they arrived in Chapel Hill.

7 Morwy would remain a member of the staff until 1944, when he would go to the west coast (Mills College and UCLA) for many years, but would return to Chapel Hill as a William Rand Kenan professor in 1967.
worked. Public school principals and superintendents were so pleased with the tripods that most of them increased (doubled in most cases) their original orders. Although Newsome and Lefler began working on their projected texts in the fall of 1938, both had heavy teaching schedules, as well as many other chores, and they did not hope to have finished manuscripts before the end of the year. Too, enrollments in history at both the graduate and undergraduate levels were rising and this meant more work of various sorts especially for Newsome. For example, in early March 1939, the graduate office sent him some seventy applications for the three teaching fellowships that were available for history graduate students, and he had to spend several days evaluating them.

Too, Newsome was engaged in a number of time-consuming matters outside the department. He was a member of the Society of American Archivists from 1936 to 1939, and even the preparation of these three presidential addresses took time. His address that year was delivered in the annual meeting in Springfield on October 15, 1938. In which he attempted to set out the principal objectives of the society, was so widely praised that many historians as well as archivists across the country sought a copy. Newsome was also very active in the North Carolina Literacy and Historical Society, and he joined hands with Connor in persuading Harry Hopkins of the FWA to designate the old section of Halifax, North Carolina, as a national park, and also in helping to locate a gifted person to head the new Franklin Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. In February 1939 he gave a series of talks over the radio entitled "A Broad View of North Carolina History," and immediately after that the preparatory work for the North Carolina Garden in the University Park urged him to do a map showing the most historic roads of the state. 8

Actually Newsome was performing extremely well and was liked and respected by the members of the staff and about all those across the state who knew him. H. K. Beale was his only serious possible successor, unfortunately he misjudged Beale as well as the staff's attitude toward Beale. He continued to believe that Beale would settle down and work well with students, and that the members of the staff would then overlook his unfortunate traits. In fact, in the opinion of several members of the staff, including Mackinney, Lefler, Hamilton, and Green, Newsome went much farther in encouraging and supporting Beale. They not only pointed to the written promise that had been made to Green concerning the course on Civil War and Reconstruction, but they also pointed out that Beale was not given a professorship, and thus tenure, until he had agreed to center his teaching on

8 After Connor went to the National Archives and abandoned hope of doing a life of Zebulon B. Vance, Virginia, and unexpectedly had to do the job. He was also instrumental in getting the volume on the New South in History of the South series assigned to Vann Woodward.

American diplomatic and cultural history. Newsome was of course aware of that, and thus Beale's refusal to even give courses in American diplomatic history put him in a very difficult position.

Newsome also permitted Beale to impose on him and to take an inordinate amount of his time. Even when Beale was out of Chapel Hill, Newsome was far more than any other member of the staff, he not only wrote Newsome an amazing number of long letters, but he asked him to perform all sorts of chores, from keeping his car ready for instant use to going into his attic and searching in his luggage for pajamas, garters, suspenders, and the like, and to send all of his findings to him as quickly as possible. Newsome also failed to call Beale to order when Beale left Chapel Hill in late December 1937 without reporting any grades for the fall quarter. This dereliction of duty not only created problems for several students as well as the people in the registrar's office, but prompted Allen W. Hobbs, well-known mathematician and dean of the college of Arts and Sciences, to write Newsome a rather unpleasant letter in spring 1938, urging him to note this incident to K. Beale. 9 Nor was Beale's ardent wooing of incoming graduate students in American history very fruitful. Most of the new students were going to Green, Newsome, and Lefler, and Newsome was soon having a difficult time getting enough students in Beale's seminar to justify its continuation. Green wrote his friend Thomas Clark, at the University of Kentucky, in late August, 1940: "I have been literally worn to a frazzle for the past year with theses and dissertations."

Finally, in this chapter we must set out some of the contributions of Hamilton, Pierson, Graham, and Connor, for all four still bear heavily on the University. The fact that the New South in History of the South series was not given to Beale was one of the others. He had become quite well-known in historical circles across the whole country both as a teacher and a collector of records. While he retired altogether from classroom teaching in the University in 1925, he often went to the Library, who were teaching and also continued to do some summer teaching at other universities. And he was never without offers from far away universities partly, no doubt, because of the Southern Collection. In fact he invariably sought to do considerable collecting in connection with his distant summer teaching. For

9 Perhaps no act on Beale's part in these years caused Newsome more embarrassment and pain than Beale's letter to the editorial staff of the American Historical Review in the early spring of 1940, in which he reported that he had three graduate students with dissertations in progress, and created the impression that this was the whole story at UNC. Newsome actually twenty-two doctoral dissertations in progress, and Newsome wrote Conyers Read and tried hard to get the facts in a later issue of the journal.
example, he taught at U.C.L.A. in the summer of 1935 and on the way back to N.C., he spent considerable time searching for materials in Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee. He got the W.P. Later in his life, at the time of this book, he had struggled a great deal to find good maps. By 1935, he was going to North Carolina. But then he proceeded to ask for maps of the South. Hamilton did quite a bit of checking for him in the Southern Collection. Over the years Douglas Freeman, who was now working on his "Lee Lieutenants," probably sought his help more often than anyone else. Hamilton sometimes said when letters and requests for information piled up: "I have been riding the roads so wildly that your letter could catch up with me, but now I have it." Waldo Leland, now Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, wrote him in October 1938: "Do you know since you know nearly everybody - Mr. Crowe Patridges of Atlanta?" Hamilton knew Patridge and gave Leland all the facts that he wanted about him.

But Hamilton still had plenty of both critics and foes, and every time he ventured into Alabama he encountered both. Mrs. Owens of the Alabama State Archives continued to threaten him and accuse him of taking materials that belonged to her and to Alabama. At this time professor Henry Shanks, his former student and colleague, and now at Birmingham Southern College, wrote him that Hanna Elliott was telling all who would listen that Poultner had stolen Bishop Elliott's diary and carried it off to North Carolina. And Shanks added, "You doubtless know that some here think you have both horns and a tail." But Hamilton continued in these years to get materials from Alabama, and Henry Shanks and Kenner Frazer helped him do it. Hamilton also continued to get considerable help from the underfunded Charles Dabney, but the person outside North Carolina that Hamilton enjoyed most was his long-time friend Amory Craven who was still at Chicago. Craven sometimes signed his letters to Hamilton "old dog himself." And Craven wrote Hamilton on February 4, 1939, after getting an attractive offer from the University of Virginia: "Should I take it? Have you any more chance of making history at Virginia a real thing than Virginia has of making me into a gentleman?"

In these years Whately W. Pierson probably reached the peak of his long and creative career in the University. Perhaps no other man on the staff covered as much ground as he, and it might be figuratively but truly said of him that he had his right hand in the new department of political science, his left hand in the department of history, and both of his feet in the graduate school. He was a splendid lecturer and he loved to teach, but as head of the department of political science and dean of the graduate school, he had trouble finding time for the classroom. Still he usually taught three courses a year in Latin American history and politics, and he kept in touch with the leading scholars in Latin American history in Latin America and the United States. He also remained quite active in the work of the Association of American Universities, and indeed was soon to serve as its secretary.

Though Pierson's deepest interest was probably in the graduate school, his interest in Latin America and its history was not far behind. As we pointed out in the preceding chapter, he and J. Fred Rippy, Latin American specialist at Duke University, had been collaborating on a graduate level for some years, and he was very sorry when Rippy accepted a position at Chicago in 1936. While John Lanning proved a worthy successor to Rippy at Duke, he and Pierson worked to any extent. Pierson turned more to his neighbor Sturgis Leavitt of the department of romance languages in the University at Chapel Hill. He and Leavitt were soon involved in a number of matters and projects, including a substantial grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, probably in collaboration with Duke, for the purchase of source material in Latin American history; the establishment of an Institute for Latin American Studies in the University at Chapel Hill; and of inviting a large number of Latin American political and business leaders to a month-long conference in Chapel Hill.

Then in late 1939 the Rockefeller Foundation, to Pierson's great delight, indicated that it was prepared to make a joint grant of $58,000.00 to the University of North Carolina, Duke University, and Tulane University to be used over a five-year period mainly for the purchase of research material on Latin America. Then in the summer of 1940, President Graham and the University Trustees approved the establishment of an Institute for Latin American Studies at Chapel Hill, and plans were soon underway to invite a hundred or more Latin American business leaders and scholars to Chapel Hill for a month-long conference in the summer of 1941. The departments of political science, romance languages, and history were to serve as hosts. Pierson had not much too hard during the summer, but he was delighted all the same, and felt that the conference was a success and that it even gave a boost to the newly established Institute for Latin American studies.

Too President Graham did much more in a direct way for history in the University in these years than to support Pierson and Leavitt in their efforts to boost the study of Latin America and its history. Indeed, when he was in the presence of members of the history staff, he was even sometimes heard to say that doing so was always one of them, and that even when he passed Saunders hall he had a desire to go in. He sometimes
asked about the new social science course for first year students, and especially about the reading room in the Wilson library.

Still it was economic and social problems across the country with medical matters at Chapel Hill that got most of Graham's time and energy. He pressed for such things as federal aid to education, interracial cooperation, and higher pay for workers and their right to organize. Nor were Frances Perkins and Hugh Johnson the only ones in Washington who called on him. Both Eleanor Roosevelt and the President kept an eye on him. They sensed that there were and would continue to be situations in which he, partly perhaps because of his personality, could be of real help to them. And there can be no doubt but that Graham contributed quite a bit to the development of the New Deal, especially to the Social Security program and the system of federal aid to education. In September he attended Graham to a committee to study vocational education, and the committee struggled much with the matter of federal aid to education.

In June 1938 when Roosevelt turned to youth and its economic problems, he again looked to Graham for help. And indeed it was at this time that R.D.W. Connor, then National Archivist, and Graham had consecutive conferences with President Roosevelt. Connor related it in this fashion. He said he had an appointment with the President (and of course he had quite a number between 1934 and 1941) and he appeared at the Oval Office at the appointed time, but was told that he would have to wait perhaps for several minutes because the President was conferring with a little gentleman with whom he loved to talk. Some ten minutes later, he was ushered to the President's office. He came face to face with the little gentleman with whom the President loved to talk, and it was Frank Graham. The President did not even know was in Washington. Connor said it happened just that way, and that he was pretty sure that it was the first time two former professors of history in the University who had been well qualified for the key administrative positions. But he was not quite surprised at the flood of applications that quickly poured in, and most were of course accompanied by supporting letters of recommendation. On January 12, 1935, he wrote Harold Carlton of Rockboro, N. C., who had just applied for a position and whom he had had in class in the University a few years earlier, that she should not resign her position in the public school system because he already had approximately fifty applications for every position available in the University. He also explained that he could not allow his personal preferences to enter into the matter of appointments.

11 I saw something of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in Chapel Hill. I talked at some length with her on one occasion when President Frank Graham invited my wife and I to dinner. Mrs. Roosevelt gave for Mrs. Roosevelt. She did not conceal her esteem for Frank Graham.

gave Bailey strong support in keeping the department of sanitary engineering at Chapel Hill and also in moving toward a school of public health. Many in Chapel Hill gave Graham much of the credit in getting Milton Rosenau, who had established the school of public health at Harvard University in 1922, to retire at Harvard and come to Chapel Hill and help with the building of a full-fledged school of public health around the department of sanitary engineering. With the help of Rosenau, Bailey soon had a solid school of public health centered around sanitary engineering, and he directed it until 1952 when he was called to direct sanitary engineering in the World Health Organization in Geneva, Switzerland. Too in these years Graham also made it quite clear that he had his heart on a four-year medical school in the University with his teaching hospital in Chapel Hill. He courageously opposed the Council of the American Medical Association when it sought to eliminate the two-year medical school to go across the country. He had an interest in this matter, and of course his hopes were to become a reality in the late 1940s.

We come last to R.D.W. Connor who continued as national archivist until the summer of 1941, and thus remained immersed in many types of archival work during these years. In the early pages of this chapter we summarized Connor's role in the founding of the Society of American Archivists. Here we shall tell something of his work in the National Archives in Washington, his relations with President Roosevelt, and his continuing connections with the University and the state.

Of course, Connor's first big task in Washington was to assemble a competent staff. He announced at the outset that he would hire only someone who was right for any position, and he asked a few historians and archivists across the country, including J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo Leland, and Roulhac Hamtramck, to help him in locating people who were well qualified for the key administrative positions. But he was not quite surprised at the flood of applications that quickly poured in, and most were of course accompanied by supporting letters of recommendation. On January 12, 1935, he wrote Harold Carlton of Rockboro, N. C., who had just applied for a position and whom he had had in class in the University a few years earlier, that she should not resign her position in the public school system because he already had approximately fifty applications for every position available in the University. He also explained that he could not allow his personal preferences to enter into the matter of appointments.

12 Rosenau purchased the George Howe house on Laurel Hill road as the remained of his life there. I lived nearby and saw Rosenau several times a day. He loved to talk and listen. He sometimes invited me to stop in when I was walking by his house in the late afternoon.
centralizing and classifying the archives." President Roosevelt now accepted Connor's decision and the matter came to an end.

President Roosevelt also sought Connor's advice and assistance in connection with two important matters in these years. When some of his department records for early years were being moved into the new building for safer keeping, some highly valued records were found to be damaged and at the same time President Roosevelt discovered that some of his own letters and records were in a state of deterioration. These discoveries lead both the President and Secretary of State Cordell Hull to turn to Connor for help, and the response from Connor and his staff was so satisfactory that Roosevelt wrote Connor on March 15, 1930: "I have never seen such a fine piece of work," and he added that he would soon send him more letters and papers to be treated with the same expertise.

More important still, Connor was to play quite a part in the founding of the Roosevelt library at Hyde Park. Roosevelt had written in the mid-thirties a personal and confidential memorandum concerning a private library and apparently now gave Connor a copy of it, but told him that the whole matter was to be kept in strict secrecy for the time being. In the memorandum the President had explained that he had a vast array of books, letters, and papers of all sorts, and that he felt that all of it should remain together near his home, and perhaps at Hyde Park. Then on December 1, 1938, the President invited a group of about eighteen, which included Frank Graham as well as Connor, to lunch in the White House, telling them that he wanted to discuss in confidence a matter in which he felt they would be interested and would be able to make helpful suggestions. The President set out in some detail his plan for a library at Hyde Park, and sought and got considerable discussion. He then asked Connor, "Are there any of you present on December 17, and indicated that he hoped to get close to a decision about it all. This time the discussion lasted for more than three hour, and there was apparently agreement on all basic points.

Then on January 5, 1939, Connor and Leland again lunched with the President, and the discussion was largely confined to the question of the name of the library. For the President was apparently not sure that the new library should be called the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, and was suggested other names. But Connor and Leland, feeling that the President was merely trying to be modest, found objections to all of his other names, and insisted that it should be Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. Roosevelt finally agreed and the discussion was over. Connor was soon asked to give a paper about the new library at the October 1939 meeting of the Society of American Archivists, and was also asked to speak at the laying of the cornerstone of the new library on November 18, 1939. The cornerstone ceremony was broadcast and Connor received many requests for copies of his speech.

13 Some of Connor's close friends did tell him that they were not going to write in support of the President unless he himself requested an appraisal.

14 Duke University conferred an Honorary Doctor of Law on Connor on June 3, 1935, and Professor Le Prade served as Connor's councillor and guide.
In the meantime Connor had kept in fairly close touch with Raleigh and Chapel Hill, and Crittenden, Lefler, Hamilton, Green, and several others had written him now and then for advice and help in their first contact with a variety of matters for which they were responsible. Lefler, who was planning to do some research in London in the summer of 1916, wanted to know about many things, and Connor sent him letters of introduction to several British scholars and government officials who could give him real help. Crittenden, who rarely failed to consult Connor when any new thing occurring to the N. C. Historical Commission was in the air, let Connor know all about the growing talk of a new building at the State Capital designed to serve as a museum as well as a new home for the Historical Commission. Connor was, of course, deeply interested in all this, and gave Crittenden a number of valuable suggestions.

Most of Green's and Hamilton's contacts with Connor had to do with his return to the University. For like most people in Chapel Hill, they were anxious to see him back in his home on the East Franklin Street. In 1937 when the news got about that New York University had made librarian Robert B. Downs a very attractive offer, Green and Hamilton felt that Connor might be willing to return to Chapel Hill as director of the University's libraries. But when they approached President Graham, he did not encourage them and even hinted that he felt that Connor would be on his way back to the University before too long. No one on the history staff knew at this time, to the best of my knowledge, that Burton Craige, well-known lawyer in Winston-Salem and son of former governor Locke Craig and warm friend of the University, had written President Graham in mid March 1937, that he was planning to endow a professorship in history and jurisprudence in the University, and that he would like for it to be first used to bring Connor back to Chapel Hill just as soon as he had gotten the foundation like to a position on a firm foundation of a firm foundation. Connor of Craige's letter, and Craige and Connor had talked shortly thereafter, and Connor had assured Craige that he would plan to return to the University in the very early 1940's. 15

Connor was also involved in much more at this time that concerned Chapel Hill and the state. For example he had quite a hand in getting the Works Progress Administration to help with the rebuilding of the Bennett House and the landscaping of the grounds which mark the point where the military and civil authorities of the Confederacy surrendered; he addressed the University alumni association in Washington and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; he spoke at a memorial service at Duke

15 Connor was a bit bothered by Craige's insistence that it be a chair in jurisprudence as well as history. He told Craige that he would have to do quite a bit of work in jurisprudence before he would feel real comfortable teaching it. But Craige assured him that he already knew a great deal more jurisprudence than he realized.

University for historian W. K. Boyd; and he served on the committee set up by the Society of American Archivists to develop a curriculum for the training of archivists. And in 1938 when Dean Cornwell, well-known mural painter of Kentucky and New York was engaged to do a mural for the Chapel Hill post office, he was told to seek Connor's advice as to what it should depict. Connor had responded without much hesitation: "William R. Davie laying the cornerstone of the Old East building in 1793." And today as one enters the old post office building from Franklin street, the mural may be seen on the west wall. 16

And as always there were plenty of instances of fun, humor, and warm friendship. Here are two typical examples. On the day after Christmas in 1936 dean A. W. Hollins wrote Connor: "I have just received a box of cigars form a friend in Cuba. I do not smoke, and I want you to enjoy them" Connor wrote back: "it shall get a double joy – the cigar and if you thinking of me in this way." Shortly thereafter Connor wrote his good friend Oscar Coffin who was head of the school of journalism in the University, and had just written him that his fiftieth birthday was peeping around the corner and that he was beginning to feel his years. Connor wrote back: "So age has sprinkled your head with the silver of fifty years. . the step becomes less elastic, the full upward swing gradually drops to a safe form circle, the dows stroke less it snap, the eye is less sure, the putting wrist fails in its sending. . . "
Chapter XIV (1939-1942)

War In Europe Again and a Divided History Staff

As we noted in the preceding chapter the international situation was having an increasingly heavy impact on the department of history. In 1938 Hitler's Germany had absorbed Austria and Czechoslovakia, and was soon making plans to move into Poland. Then in the early spring of 1939 England and France, deeply disturbed, gave Poland a guarantee of military support in the event German forces struck into Polish territory, thus effectively giving Russia as well as Poland a promise of support in the event of a German thrust to the east. Hitler's Germany was not too impressed by the guarantee, and after negotiating a nonaggression pact with Russia, struck into Poland near dawn on September 1, 1939. London and Paris quickly warned Berlin that unless German forces were immediately withdrawn from Polish territory, they would have to declare war on Germany, which they did on September 3.

The following twenty-eight months that intervened before the Japanese attack on American ships and planes at Pearl Harbor, were replete with rather intense discussion and debate in the University, and especially in South building and Saunders hall, as to what American policy should be in both Europe and the Far East. President Graham, who had finally gotten in the marine corps in World War I, did not conceal the fact that he supported President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull in giving strong backing to France and Britain, and that he regarded Hitler as a tragic man whose National Socialist program was a threat to the forces of progress across the world. While no two members of the history staff felt exactly alike, the majority were in essential agreement with Graham. Perhaps L. C. Mackinney and H. K. Beale were at the extremes and thus furthest apart. Mackinney, who had fought in the trenches in the First World War, was already calling for all possible aid to Britain and France short of war, and arguing that the defeat of Britain and France would mean, among many other bad things, the end of democracy in the European world for a long time. Beale, on the other hand, was arguing that the United States should remain completely neutral in all respects and refrain from any sort of military training. His central and capital argument was that American involvement in the war would mean the end of democracy in the world. W. E. Caldwell, H. B. Garrett, H. M. Wagstaff, J. L. Godfrey, H. T. Keller, and F. H. Green leaned in varying measures to the Mackinney position, while J. C. Russell, Cecil Johnson, George Howry, and Ray Newsome were closer to Beale's position, though no one of them was as violently opposed to some form of military training as was Beale.

Soon after the outbreak of war in Europe Beale, Godfrey, Howry, and George Thomas formed a panel to discuss American policy to interested groups in Chapel Hill and near-by
communities and towns. Also at this time Houston Buchanan, who was a member of the staff of economics and commerce, but was giving much of his time to the social sciences, especially to first year students, was beginning to whisper that Japan was perhaps more of a threat to the United States than was Germany. Still more ominous of the history staff felt that the Japanese were in Europe and that Japan would not dare attack American possessions in the Pacific. Nevertheless, Newsome, Garrett, Wagstaff and I did feel rather strongly that much more attention should be given to the history of Russia, Japan, and China especially in the twentieth century. But we had to face the fact that there was no one on the history staff qualified to give courses in these areas. We felt, however, that Buchanan should be encouraged to give all of his classroom time to the history of the Pacific and the Far East.

Then on May 10, 1940, the war in Europe underwent a big change through which had a big impact on the University and history in the University. On that day Germany's armed forces, having cleared all possible dangers to the north, struck west with full force. In a matter of hours, Belgium, and Luxembourg had been overrun and France's Maginot Line penetrated at its southeastern end. German tanks and troops were rapidly encircling the British and French forces that had gone north to the support of Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg. France's situation was immediately desperate and the British moved to evacuate their troops from the continent at Dunkirk as fast as possible. On June 4, with the British withdrawal at Dunkirk going as well as could be expected, Winston Churchill the British Prime Minister, reasoning that France would have to soon surrender, said in the House of Commons: "We shall defend our island whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender."

Frank Graham and Loren Mackinney, both of whom had seen military service in the first World War, had sensed the worst and were now anxious for the University to expand its Naval ROTC unit and move as rapidly as possible to an extensive program of physical conditioning and training. While the history staff was divided on the matter, the majority led by Mackinney, Wagstaff, Garrett, and some of the younger ones, were in agreement with Graham that the time had come for the University to begin preparing for the worst.

Then on June 7 Judge John J. Parker of Charlotte, with Graham's full support, asked the University's Board of Trustees to form a committee of eight, with Governors Gardner and Ehringhaus as members, to consider the question of military training in the University system and report to the full board as soon as possible. Ten days later as German tanks were moving near Paris and the German air force was turning its full power on British cities, H. K. Beale wrote Newsome: "I get back to find Washington so war-mad it is alarming. Where are we to turn? Four days later he wrote Newsome again reporting that he and John Dewey and William D. Miller, and some others had signed a protest against compulsory military training, because it would, he said, destroy the democratic system. He added: "I do hope you will help on this and express yourself to Congress. My work on Theodore Roosevelt is languishing while I work night and day on this." A few days later Mackinney, knowing that Beale had written President Roosevelt, wrote the President: "I am one of those who heartily approve of spending all possible aid to Great Britain...the continuance of democracy in Europe depends on the defeat of Hitler's Germany."

Newsome, though he was far from agreeing with Mackinney, was obviously worried about what Beale might do, and he wrote him on July 9 that he had decided to abstain from any part in the action. This, in turn had a big impact on the University and history in the University and that if the government, state or federal, called for military training the University would not support it. He then added: "We felt that there could be no resistance and that he should be more careful. However, on January 11, 1941, Newsome did write Senator Josiah Bailey, who strongly supported aid to Britain, that he felt that it would be a great mistake for the United States to become engaged in the war, and added: "Under Roosevelt it appears that the U. S. is the most loyal and dependent colony Britain has..." But three days later: Bailey wrote Newsome a four-page letter, devoid of humor, that shook him. Bailey stressed the fact that Rusk just won a third term and that Willkie, the Republican candidate, had joined with Roosevelt in urging "all aid to Britain short of war." Meantime on August 11 the Board of Trustees asked for the institution of a system of physical training in the University as soon as possible, and to be continued until nation-wide military training could be provided. President Graham then asked the Trustees to set up a committee to consider the feasibility of University controlled airports at both Chapel Hill and Raleigh. The Trustees immediately informed Graham that there would be no opposition to the development of the two airports, and that they would help in getting funds from the federal government. In the late fall work on the two airports was underway.

In fact, the University at Chapel Hill already had a small airport northeast of the town on the southeast edge of Professor Monroe's 600 acre tract of land, which he already had already prepaid he intended to leave to the University. The tiny 1 Of course quite a number of people at this time felt and feared that Britain would not be able to withstand Germany's air power, and would soon surrender rather than see London and most of the old world in the country smashed and millions of civilians killed.
airport was used mostly by private planes, but its very existence facilitated matters. President Graham asked W. D. Carniaich to superintend, and to press Bob Williams, and C. N. Whitakers, and an assistant professor of aeronautical engineering, to bring in help with the construction of a substantial airport. Work was soon underway on a lengthy runway, and the rough and winding dirt road from the town of Chapel Hill to the little airport was being straightened as much as possible and covered with crushed rock and tar. At Bolin Creek, a huge culvert was built with a wide concrete bridge over it.

Indeed there was soon talk of the possibility of a large airport. Because Chapel Hill was the largest town on the Coastal Plain, the Naval Academy was founded, and the Naval Academy was founded, was born in North Carolina; that Josephus Daniels was secretary of the Navy during the first World War. North Carolina had supplied five of the ten vice admirals of the navy over the years; and that four of them were graduates of the University. Too, all of this, plus the University's rather large nearby acreage, helps explain why the University was soon to be selected as one of the four universities in the nation for Naval Pre-flight training.

But another fact that gave a fresh and sizable boost to history in the University at this time was the return of R. D. W. Connor to Chapel Hill. As we pointed out in the preceding chapter, attorney Burton Craige of Winston-Salem was very anxious to see Connor return to the University. He had told President Graham as early as 1937 that he was prepared to endow a chair in his name.奔he had enough for us to spend $150,000. The support, he added, that if Connor did not teach a single class but just came to Sanders Hall for a few hours a day and sat around and talked with students, "he would be worth $20,000 a year." Graham was quite impressed and soon talked with both Craige and Connor and worked out a plan for Connor's return to Chapel Hill sometime in the very early forties.

Thus on September 13, 1940, as German bombs continued to rain on London, Graham wrote Connor: "I have told Newsome to put an additional professorship in his budget for the coming biennium. I have not told anyone except Newsome and Dean House." Connor immediately wrote Graham: "Let us go back to the situation and that the plan was satisfactory to him and not to worry about it. Thus on June 10, 1941, Graham wrote Connor that he had talked again at length with Craige, and that Craige was satisfied.

with everything, but did not want any announcement of the new professorship for the moment. Graham also said Craige had added: "I'm very glad I said something about your coming to Chapel Hill as soon as he is available. All of the details can then be arranged in ten minutes." Connor immediately informed Graham that he would try to see President Graham about the enlargement of the little airport. Work was soon underway on a lengthy runway, and the rough and winding dirt road from the town of Chapel Hill to the little airport was being straightened as much as possible and covered with crushed rock and tar. At Bolin Creek, a huge culvert was built with a wide concrete bridge over it.

Indeed there was soon talk of the possibility of a large airport. Because Chapel Hill was the largest town on the Coastal Plain, the Naval Academy was founded, and the Naval Academy was founded, was born in North Carolina; that Josephus Daniels was secretary of the Navy during the first World War. North Carolina had supplied five of the ten vice admirals of the navy over the years; and that four of them were graduates of the University. Too, all of this, plus the University's rather large nearby acreage, helps explain why the University was soon to be selected as one of the four universities in the nation for Naval Pre-flight training.

But another fact that gave a fresh and sizable boost to history in the University at this time was the return of R. D. W. Connor to Chapel Hill. As we pointed out in the preceding chapter, attorney Burton Craige of Winston-Salem was very anxious to see Connor return to the University. He had told President Graham as early as 1937 that he was prepared to endow a chair in his name.奔he had enough for us to spend $150,000. The support, he added, that if Connor did not teach a single class but just came to Sanders Hall for a few hours a day and sat around and talked with students, "he would be worth $20,000 a year." Graham was quite impressed and soon talked with both Craige and Connor and worked out a plan for Connor's return to Chapel Hill sometime in the very early forties.

Thus on September 13, 1940, as German bombs continued to rain on London, Graham wrote Connor: "I have told Newsome to put an additional professorship in his budget for the coming biennium. I have not told anyone except Newsome and Dean House." Connor immediately wrote Graham: "Let us go back to the situation and that the plan was satisfactory to him and not to worry about it. Thus on June 10, 1941, Graham wrote Connor that he had talked again at length with Craige, and that Craige was satisfied.

See for example, The Greensboro Daily News, January 12, 1941. The Raleigh News and Observer and the Durham Morning Herald also discussed the matter.
heard the news of Connor's return, he wrote Newsome that he was shocked and puzzled and wanted the facts in the case. Newsome wrote him on August 15, 1941, stressing the fact that President Graham, Wagstaff, Hamilton, Pierson, Green, and many other members of the faculty as well as many prominent people across the country had signed for Connor's early return. Then on August 14 Beale, who was then at the family's summer resort at Thetford, Vermont, wrote Newsome another of his long single-spaced letters, which began: "Thanks for your letter. You see the various people I have been seeing could not understand a University and a department that are run by an administration dictatorship at the top and departmental dictators under it." He then made an array of charges, rumors, and guesses mainly about Connor and Graham, that have to be read to be believed. Above all he insisted Newsome go to the campus so that there would be some semblance of order from top to bottom. That Connor had not only been a failure as director of the Archives, but had been a failure at just about everything in William and that just at the time Beale was happy to see him and Sadie go. The letter finally ended with a sort of detailed and scolding demand for Newsome to please get his own house in order at the University and into his office on the third floor of Saunders hall.

Newsome was now upset but he had great capacity for remaining calm. He wrote Beale on August 15th that he and Mrs. Pittman, the departmental secretary, were able to round up enough help to get his new filing cabinet to his office on the third floor of Saunders. He then added that there was nothing involved or dictatorial about Connor's decision to return or of Graham's new appointment. He hoped of bringing his back to campus and then wrote: "You certainly picked up an interesting array of rumors in Washington. Your informants certainly have lively imaginations." For his part, Newsome was hoping desperately that Beale would get a position elsewhere, but he was too kind to put real pressure on him.

Another aspect of the matter that worried and embarrassed Newsome was that Beale was in the office in Saunders that Connor had occupied over many years, and he knew that most of the history staff wanted Connor to return to his old office. Still Newsome felt that he could not ask Beale to take another office, and he wrote Connor on August 15 that he and Lefler had already agreed on a full teaching schedule for him, but that the matter of an office was still to be worked out. "Pierson and the people in political science want you in Caldwell hall and we want you in Saunders, but we can cut off an office from 314 and the administration will agree to this." Connor, however, did not approve of reducing the size of the best classroom in Saunders hall, and knowing what the problem was.

really was and quite peeved about it, he wrote Newsome: "Suppose you give me a large well-equipped air-conditioned office in Saunders hall and a large well-equipped air-conditioned office in Caldwell, with secretaries included." Newsome sent him his schedule for the fall quarter and told him that Pierson and the political science staff was already pleased and that his name was on it in Caldwell hall. So when the fall quarter opened Connor was back in the classroom but not in Saunders hall.4

At the time of Connor's decision to return to Chapel Hill the European war was spreading and the international situation was becoming more tense at many points. Hitler, worried about Soviet moves in the eastern Balkans and seeing little hope of a British surrender, decided in the fall of 1940 that the surest road to London was by way of Moscow. So in the spring of 1941 German armed forces overran the Balkans and were soon smashing into the Russian Ukraine. On May 21, 1941, a German submarine sank the Robin Hood, a United States merchant ship, and in mid-August Churchill and Roosevelt met on the Newfoundland coast and formulated the Atlantic Charter, which was a statement of common objectives for the Pacific, Japan, and China. Meanwhile the Japanese army, supported by the advance of German forces into Russia, were moving deeper and deeper into the Pacific as well as into China. Indeed there was at least one member of the faculty who felt at this time that the danger of war with Japan was far greater than with Germany.

I well remember an afternoon in early August 1941, when I was revising the syllabus for the freshman social science course and went to see Houston Buchanan in Bingham hall to get help on the assignments on Japan and the Far East. After working over the assignments for a couple of hours on the subject of the global war situation. Buchanan observed at once that the United States would soon be involved in the war, and that Japan represented the far greater danger than did Germany. He then quickly added that he was all but convinced that the Japanese would strike suddenly across the Pacific before the end of the year, and without a declaration of war. I also felt that the Far Eastern situation was full of danger and that Japan might go to war, but I did not believe that she would do so without a declaration of war. Buchanan's reply to this was that in the war with Russia in 1904-5 Japan struck without a declaration of war, and felt that it paid off by giving her substantial initial advantage, and that she would do so again. He also observed that such was the way the Japanese tended to operate. I then said to him that if he felt as strongly about the situation as he professed, he should get in touch with

4 Another department matter that came to the surface at this time was J. C. Russell's charge of plagiarism against L. C. Mackinney. He did not have the facts to support his charges and soon enough the university was pleased and went telling Russell that he should find a position elsewhere.
Secretary of State Cordell Hull. He smiled and said: "How do you know I haven't?" I did not know and still do not know.5

Even though the Japanese blow at Pearl Harbor was several months away, international problems pretty much dominated the conversation in the University. Dean Graham as well as Louis Graves, editor of the Chapel Hill Weekly, felt that it should be that way. Graham was telling dean R. B. House and controller W. D. Carmichael to think and plan more and more in terms of training programs for students. I lived near Carmichael and saw him almost daily, and he was beginning to say: "we must be ready to go." In late October 1941 a German submarine sank the U. S. destroyer Ruben James off the coast of Ireland, and most of the people in the country were apparently thinking much more about Germany and the Atlantic than about Japan and the Pacific. But disturbing as was the international situation in both Europe and the Far East, matters and doings in the University and the department of history had not changed very much so far.

However there was a new item that was getting increasing attention. It was the University's 150th birthday, and there was growing talk of a substantial sesquicentennial celebration to reach its climax in 1946. M. W. Wagstaff, the oldest active member of the history staff, had already started work on a history of the University from 1907, which was the point where K. P. Betts had ended his history of the University. On September 19, 1941, Newsome had written both dean House and president Graham that the history department had made arrangements to reduce Wagstaff's teaching load so that he would have a better chance of having his history of the University available in 1945 when the sesquicentennial celebration was to reach its peak.

Connor had also become involved in the planning immediately after getting back to Chapel Hill, and was now being urged to do a documentary history of the beginnings and early years of the University. So at this time it was fairly certain that in spite of the war there would be quite an effort for a substantial celebration and that the history department and staff would be deeply involved in it. Connor, like Wagstaff, would later be given some relief from classroom teaching so that he would have more time for his projected documentary history. As we shall see later nearly all members of the history staff would soon be involved in some way in the sesquicentennial work.

Too, in the early autumn of 1941, there was much else going on in the University that concerned history. In early October Newsome wrote Senator Reynolds that he had acted correctly in opposing changes in the Neutrality Act, and he himself was hoping for an ultimate British victory, he did not consider

---

5 Of course, Buchanan was called to Washington soon after the Japanese struck American ships at Pearl Harbor. So I suspect that he had already been in touch with the State Department.
Chapter XV (1942-1945)

World War Again and Its Many-sided Impacts on History and Historians in the University

Four days after the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, and the impact of this second broad struggle on the University and history in the University was to be greater in nearly all respects than the first had been. And this was so not only because President Frank F. Graham was to be used more by President Franklin D. Roosevelt than his cousin Edward K. Graham had been by President Thomas Woodrow Wilson, but also because the University was much better prepared to help fight a war on December 7, 1941, than it had been on April 7, 1917.

Immediately after the attack at Pearl Harbor President Graham called for a much more strenuous conditioning program, and for a search by all departments for new ways and means of promoting the war effort. Then on January 12, 1942, President Roosevelt appointed Graham to the newly formed War Labor Board, which was destined to play a very substantial role in the whole war effort. Graham soon found that he was expected to be with the War Labor Board the greater part of about every week. His extensive absence from the University worried University Trustees but dean House and controller W. D. Carmichael, with plenty of help from several of the older members of the faculty, especially L. R. Wilson, R. D. W. Connor, W. W. Pierson, W. C. Coker, and D. D. Carroll, kept the University moving rather smoothly.1

Of course the war created many problems at the departmental as well as the administrative level; and this was true mainly because many of the younger faculty members wanted to get into some branch of war service as soon as possible. J. C. Sitterson, G. E. Howry, C. O. Cathey, J. R. Caldwell, W. M. Geer, A. B. Dugan, and some others, were talking at once of entering some branch of war service. Newsome and I wrote to several of the newly established draft boards in an effort to keep the younger members of the staff with their classes at least until the end of the spring quarter. J. R. Caldwell expressed the feeling of many of the younger ones when he asked Newsome to tell him what he should do, but at the same time explained: "I am ready for anything—a gun or an instructorship."2

1 As expected there was soon considerable pressure on Graham, especially from the Trustees, to return full-time to the University, but President Roosevelt refused to accept his resignation from the War Labor Board.

2 The authors of American Society and the Changing World, which had just come off the press and was designed for use as a text for the third quarter of the social science course for first-year students, were pleased at this time to have a letter from the Carnegie Foundation informing them that the Foundation was
The development in the early months of the war that perhaps affected and concerned the whole University most was its selection as one of the four universities in the country for Naval Pre-flight training. It was selected primarily because it had a little airport ready for use and some 1600 acres of fairly open land, though undoubtedly Frank Graham and R. D. W. Connor had quite a bit to do with it. The University agreed to provide living quarters for at least 1800 trainees, and set apart ten dormitories, the Woollen gymnasium, Lenoir dining hall, and the whole area of land southeast of the Morehead-Patterson belltower and the Kenan stadium for Naval Pre-flight use. At the same time the Navy Department made plans for the construction of several new buildings on the campus and the renovation of some others. The renovation section included a hospital (new Health Services); a Naval ROTC Armory (just west of the chemistry complex); and a Hospitality House (now Monogram Club) across the road from the Forest Theater. The two major additions were the reconstructions of Caldwell hall for both offices and classroom use, and the construction of a fire escape at each of the dormitories taken over for the housing of Pre-Flight trainees.

The Pre-Flight trainees were selected with care and the physical training was rigorous. They were taught every known life-saving device, and it was easy to bed and early to rise. About one cadet in every four failed in some part of the training program and had to be replaced. Favorite sayings among the cadets when they were at rest were “I think if I survive all of this ability to fly without wings,” and, especially when talking to regular students and faculty members, “Have you heard that the Navy is going to move this old University to the seashore? During the Pre-flight program required a great deal of space for both housing and physical training. In addition, there was no staffing problem as yet in history or in the social science course. J. C. Sitterton and G. W. Mowry were the only full-time teachers in the part-time instructors, had a branch of war service, there was not as yet a staffing problem at any level. For the social science course we had added Earl Pomeroy, who had a family and was thus not likely to be drafted, as a full-time instructor, and graduate students Clyde Dunn and Bennett Wall, both of whom would become well-known in the years to come, as part-time instructors. Moreover, since the Pre-flight program did not involve or require any real academic work, there was as yet no staffing problem at any level. The older members of the faculty felt, and I think with reason, that they could contribute more to winning the war by working hard sending copies of the new book to all International Relations Clubs in the country.

But staffing matters changed in the spring of 1943 when the Naval V-12 program came to the campus. This program with its nearly 2000 students, made heavy demands on the academic as well as the physical side of the University. Since its principal purpose was to provide mainly academic programs, was assigned 17 fraternity houses, 5 sorority houses, and sections of several classroom buildings. Swain hall, which was at first used as the Naval Armory, was now renovated and turned into a cafeteria for V-12 students. There were also about 800 women students at this time and many of them were preparing for positions in the WACS and the WAVES.

Moreover, in the late summer and early autumn of 1943, just as the full V-12 program was getting under way, the Area and Language Program was added, bringing in another 250 men, mostly in their thirties and early forties, to be trained to follow the footsteps of allied troops as they moved through Germany, and to help prepare the way for allied occupation forces. Thus their primary needs were for training in the German language, the geography of the Rhinelnd, and the history of Germany in the twentieth century. The direction of this program fell largely on C. B. Robson of the department of political science. And this was all to the good for Robson had not only spent considerable time in Germany and had a good command of the German language, but he was also a hard worker with good administrative ability. I taught in this program for a time, one in the geography of the Rhinelnd and the other in the history of Germany in the twentieth century. It was the only time I taught a course when most members of the class were older than I was. In fact, I got a physical thrill of the course in geography from two men in the class who had spent more time in the Rhinelnd than I had. I urged them to speak out from the平台. The course in the Language program, sent to all students in the class.

Those three programs - Pre-flight, V-12, and Foreign Area and Language - had an enormous impact on Chapel Hill as well as the University giving to both a military appearance and atmosphere. Connor was now Professor C. M. Andrews of Yale on April 6, 1943. “This place looks more like a military encampment than a university campus. . . with the reveille followed by sharp commands long before sunrise, we feel we have landed in a new world. Civilian students, women as well as men, had to do considerable searching for living quarters. It also meant more business for barbers and shoe shiners as well as hard and long hours for most members of the University staff.

To quite a number of changes had to be made in the history curriculum to fit the special types of training with the regular academic program. Perhaps the biggest change was the development of a new two-semester course treating the backgrounds
of the war mainly for V-12 students. There were soon approximately thirty sections of this course, and with many other courses, the schedule became hectic. Garret Green, MacKinney, Lefler, Sitterton, and Godfrey all had very heavy classroom loads. The situation became more acute in the spring of 1944, when Sitterton went to the Washington as a policy analyst, and Harvard University prevailed on F. M. Green to teach there in the summer of 1944 and the fall and winter terms of 1944-45. Garrett wrote Rose Mclean of Emory University at this time: "We aren't doing bad, but our teaching load is heavy. I haven't attempted to do any writing for many months, and I shall not for many more months, I fear." My own course on Europe between the two world wars went to the sitting capacity of the second largest classroom in Saunders hall, and remained so for a long time. In 1944 the Department had the largest enrollment of any department in the University, and A. K. King of the school of education was giving nearly all of his time to the survey course in American history.

In fact by the summer of 1944 the staffing problem was becoming critical, and so many departments that I was authorized to raise weekly teaching hours in all departments from fifteen to twenty, and also to largely eliminate breaks between the terms. To the best of my memory there was only one one-day break at Christmas in 1944. Also at this time both Newcomb and I got letters from J. W. Patton, then head of the history department at N. C. State University, begging for graduate students who had had enough work in American and European history to teach survey courses in those fields.

Of course staff shortages had many other effects and one was to put more women in the classroom. In 1944 women outnumbered men in the service enrollment, and Julia Spruill, Eleanor Godfrey, Caroline Daniels, Wallace, Lela (Carla) and Jane Zimmermann were soon teaching in the Freshman Social Science course. It was no longer a men's University, as most students had insisted it was in 1923 when I first came to the campus.

But of course, the big and transforming development in the summer of 1946 was on the military front. All began moving toward in both Europe and the Pacific and victory seemed a certainty within a reasonable time unless the Grand Alliance fell apart or the scientists produced some tool overwhelming power. And since neither of these was to happen and the war was to end in the summer of 1945, we must center once again on the history of the history staff, and even remember that the University's hundred and fiftieth birthday was at hand, and that the history staff would be expected to play a sizable role. I will begin with the doings away from Chapel Hill and in some branch of war or military service for they have been the most neglected. They were in all cases upper class students and all were totaled and destined to make themselves known in the academic world in one way or another in the years ahead. They were J. C. Sitterton, G. E. Mowry, C. O. Cathey, J. R. Caldwell, and W. M. Geer. At the end of the war all except Mowry would return to the history staff for locum tenens service, and Mowry himself would return to the staff in 1967, after some twenty-three years on the west coast. Thus, all would be back on the staff when retirement age arrived and all would continue to live in Chapel Hill as professors.

Sitterton left the classroom a second time in April 1944 for war service. This time he served approximately two years on the Policy Analysis and Records Branch of the War Production Board in Washington, D.C. At my request he has explained his assignment in these words:

"As the nation faced the task of defense preparations in 1940 and 1941, it was found that the existing records of World War I experience were too incomplete and too poorly organized to provide guidance for the emergency of 1940-41. With U. S. entrance into the war, officials urged that provision be made for a thorough recording and analysis of World War II administrative experience for use in possible future emergencies. Accordingly, the War Production Board in July 1942 authorized the Policy Analysis and Records Branch to establish and carry out a program of records preservation and classification and of analytical studies of industrial mobilization." Thus, as a member of the Policy Analysis staff, Sitterton prepared a number of policy analysis studies and also had primary responsibility for the section on reorganization of the economy from war production to peacetime production in Industrial Mobilization for War 1940-1945, which was published by the U. S. Government Printing Office in 1946. Sitterton's work was solid and rather extensive.

Mowry, who had volunteered for service in the spring of 1942, was sent to Camp Lee in Virginia and soon took on the task of writing a history of the Quartermaster Corps. This assignment both surprised and disappointed him, and he soon wrote Newcomb and myself that he was thinking of asking to be released from the service so that he could return to the University and help with the teaching of the V-12 students. But his dissatisfaction with his assignment apparently became known at Mills College in California, and the college made him a very tempting offer in the spring of 1944. Since he was not sure that he would be able to get advanced courses in American history at Chapel Hill, he wrote Newcomb about the offer from Mills College and for advice. Newcomb was hoping to find room for Mowry as well as Sitterton, but the institution did not produce first. Then while he was studying the possibility of adding Mowry, Mills College raised an offer to include a special chair, and Mowry accepted. He then spent most of the twenty-two years of his life at Mills College, the University of Iowa, and UCLA.

---

3 Bennett Wall, who was a Ph.D. candidate at the time and who was to make quite a mark as a historian in the years that followed, writes over Sitterton's survey classes for the remainder of the term.
But successful and pleased as Mowry was in these years, he never forgot Chapel Hill. He hinted to me more than once when I saw him at AHA meetings over these years that he was thinking of coming back to Chapel Hill to live after he retired. Then in 1956 while he was working and continuing intensive work at Chapel Hill, the department of history offered him a Kenan professorship in 1967. He accepted and taught again in the University for the next thirteen years. After retiring he continued to live in Chapel Hill, and he remembered the history department quite generously in his will. I have many memories of George Mowry, but the one that is clearest and most vivid in my mind is of that afternoon in early September 1938 when常德on spruill, dean of the General College, and I met Mowry and talked with him near Sauder Hall and decided rather quickly to give him an instructorship for full-time teaching in the freshman social science course. He fully justified our early faith in him.

The two men on the staff who were most deeply involved in the war in a military way were C. O. Cathey and J. R. Caldwell. They were not instructors in the war in the sense of the war instructors in the freshman social science course in 1941. Both had gone into the armed services soon after Pearl Harbor, and we in Chapel Hill had not heard much from either of them over the passing months. Cathey was in the Caribbean region, mainly in Jamaica and Puerto Rico, until the early spring of 1944 when he returned to the mainland with the rank of colonel. Then in November 1944 his army unit at Fort Arthur in Texas was ordered to Europe. There he was rather close to General James Van Fleet, and served as Adjutant General of the Third Army Corps for a time. Then in the spring of 1945, after suffering a severe injury in his back, he returned to the United States and to Fort Bragg. He was discharged from the army in early March 1946 and he came directly to Chapel Hill to complete work for his Ph.D. Actually, and to his surprise, he found himself immediately in the classroom, substituting for Hugh Leffler, who had been over-worked and given a sick leave for the spring quarter of 1946. In the fall of 1946 Cathey was added to the staff as a part-time instructor, and he moved rapidly to his Ph.D. and full-time teaching.

J. R. Caldwell was also deeply involved in the war and saw extensive service in a combat zone. He left the classroom in late March 1942 and during the following year received training at Fort Jackson, South Carolina; the Keesey Air Field in Biloxi, Mississippi; the air base at Salt Lake City, Utah; and the officer Candidate School in Miami, Florida. He was commissioned a second lieutenant and sent to Pauling, New York, to be trained for cryptographic work with the air force. In the summer of 1943 he was assigned to the Army Ground Communication Service and ended up as captain and cryptographic officer in the China-Burma-India Field of operations. He spent some twenty-nine months in the India-Burma border, and it was there that he made his major contribution to the war effort. In September 1945 J. R. Caldwell returned to Saunders hall and full-time teaching, and he soon had a doctorate and was to win the Tanner award for excellence in teaching, about as often as the rules would permit until he retired in 1977.

William M. Geer, who had taken an A. B. at the Citadel and an M. A. at Emory, was beginning doctoral work in the University at Chapel Hill when the Japanese air force struck at Pearl Harbor. Since he had had considerable military training at the Citadel, his first desire and hope was to become a member of the staff of history and government at the U. S. Military Academy at West Point; and with rather strong recommendations from Newsome and Green, he was soon at West Point with the rank of captain. He was immediately asked to assist with the selection of new staff for the department of history and government. Naturally he looked first to advanced graduate students in history that he had known in Chapel Hill. He soon wrote Newsome that he had secured Jake Ward and Jack Kendrick, two solid doctoral candidates who were working with the department at Newsome and Green; and that he was hoping and planning to have a real "U. N. C. Unit" in the history department at West Point. Geer was very satisfied with his position at West Point, remained there throughout the war, and returned in 1946-47, he served as historian with the Department of State in Washington. In September 1947 he returned to Chapel Hill to continue work toward a doctorate in history, and to serve as part-time instructor in the freshman course in social science. Like Caldwell, he was to win more than one Tanner Award for excellence in teaching in the years ahead.

Perhaps no one who had taught history in the University, and still teaching the kinship of American history, has attracted so much attention across the state and beyond during the war years as Frank Graham. And of course this was so largely because of his membership on the War Labor Board in Washington, D. C., most every week from Monday morning until Friday afternoon. Few people in either the University or the state realized how much President Roosevelt valued Graham’s work at this time, especially in helping to keep labor leader John L. Lewis within reasonable bounds. There was even a growing demand across the state and within the Board of Trustees in the early months of 1946 that Graham resign from the War Labor Board and give all of his time to the University system. Indeed in midsummer 1944 Graham sent a letter of resignation from the Board to President Roosevelt. But the President refused to accept his resignation and urged him to continue to divide his time between

4 Graham was, of course, regarded as a warm friend of labor. But he felt at the time that Lewis was much too interested in getting strong support for himself and his union. With Graham the only important post was losing the war. In 1946 at the Harvard Law School, Oxford, and universities across the country, including Harvard and Princeton, conferred honorary degrees on Graham. But John L. Lewis has disapproved of referring to Graham every now and then as that "sweet little SOB."
the Board and the University system, which he did until the end of the war. And this meant of course that the details of student work, at Chapel Hill, remained largely in the hands of R. B. House and W. D. Carmichael.

And in concluding this chapter we must take a quick look at the members of the staff who had remained in Chapel Hill and close to the classroom during the war. As we have seen the V-12 and the Are and Language programs, plus a bit of attention to the University's sesquicentennial celebration, had kept all members of the staff quite busy. In fact many were surprised at the way enrollments in the courses in ancient, medieval, and early modern European history held up. In looking back I feel that it was so not only because W. E. Caldwell, L. C. Mackey, and W. B. Garrett were good teachers, but it was because each had published a text in his field on the eve of the war that had become rather widely used and had thus caught the eyes of many students. Some men were at the time receiving compliments on their texts from teachers and scholars in Europe as well as the United States.

The members of the staff whom I felt worked hardest, and certainly the one that suffered most, was Wagstaff. For not only was his son Gilbert killed in action in the Pacific in the autumn of 1944, but he had been pressed to do a history of the University from 1907 to the present as an item in the sesquicentennial celebration, and he had labored hard at it. Soon after his son's death, Wagstaff wrote his friend, H. D. Bates, at Wilson, N. C., who had known his son Gilbert: "He was so life-loving, so spirited and forceful, it is barely possible to realize that he will not be coming back home. Yet I have the great satisfaction of knowing that he was doing what he wanted most to do.  

Wagstaff continued to work long hours during the late spring and summer, but in the early summer in Europe was drawing to a close, he suffered a severe nervous condition, and in May passed over "the great divide" as newsmen say of death. Connor said of him, "never there was a better or truer man." 5 Fortunately Wagstaff's passing did not create a serious staff problem for both J. C. Russell and J. L. Johnson were well grounded in English studies, and Wagstaff had been regarded as a superb teacher, took the key courses, including "the history of the British constitution."

The members of the staff who were at this time doing most to enlarge the graduate program were Orser even more than Newcombe, for Orser probably had a deeper interest in the graduate program than any other member of the staff, and he also had more going for him than any one else on the staff. His field was the history of the south and Hamilton, who had decided to pursue his graduate work, now remained largely in the hands of R. B. House and W. D. Carmichael.

And in fact Hamilton was one of the first in Chapel Hill to know that Green was not overly enthusiastic about what he found at Harvard. In a note Hamilton on July 24, 1944, I have not been here very long, but I'm pretty much fed up with Harvard, and I'm beginning to long for Chapel Hill." And just about everything he said in the letter indicated that he had no desire to live in Cambridge. He also said that he had been spending considerable time in the Harvard library and had been much surprised to find that the scarce and valuable magazine, The Non-\n
5 Wagstaff's death was a matter of great sadness to Professor C. P. Higby at Wisconsin, who was still thinking of returning to Chapel Hill to live after he retired, and to take walks with Wagstaff again in late afternoons in Battle Park.

6 Green and I lived in adjacent houses, so I saw much of him outside as well as inside Saunders hall. Whether he received an offer from Harvard I do not know. I never asked him and he did not tell me. But my guess is that he did, but soon decided that he much preferred to live and work in Chapel Hill.
institutions, and that he would seriously consider going elsewhere unless he was given more help with the grading of undergraduate papers and unless Beale and Russell were made to behave.

Cecil Johnson, who became acting dean of the General College when Corydon Spruill entered the Quaker Master Corps in late 1942, was now having to give most of his time to administrative work. But he was teaching a large number of advanced students for which he had taken over the two courses in American diplomatic history in 1939 when Beale had refused to continue them. He was very sincere and deeply devoted to all of his work, and made an effort to stay on good terms with everyone.

Godfrey, who had completed work for his doctorate in 1941, was now carrying a heavy load and getting strong support from students. He was shifting his time and attention more and more to English history and government, and was being thought of as a successor to Wagstaff who was now giving much time to the history of the University since 1907, and was also approaching retirement. The in the early spring of 1945, when Wagstaff’s health broke, he died unexpectedly. Godfrey immediately took over the greater part of Wagstaff’s work. In the summer of 1946 when J. C. Russell went to the University of New Mexico, Godfrey found himself in command of the whole field of English history.

H. K. Beale was still on leave and was to remain so until September 1946. Nevertheless he was, as always when out of Chapel Hill, torturing Newsome with frequent long letters about all sorts of matters, including now the doings of his two-year-old son Howard Kennedy, Jr. Newsome was now hoping rather fervently that both Beale and Russell would soon be able to find suitable positions elsewhere. He was also becoming keenly aware that he had gone much too far in supporting Beale and making excuses for him.

As for me, I was working a lot of hours but was not contributing very much. I was spending most of the time I could spare from my classes, which was now very little, keeping the social science course moving in orderly fashion, and in making out order cards for additions to the Wilson library and for the social science library, which was now the most extensively used by V-12 students. I was also telling dean House, controller Carnichael, and also Graham, though I saw him rarely, that I felt very strongly that more attention should be given to the recent history of Russia, Japan, and China. For with Houston and Cass in Washington, the Far East was not getting much attention, and there was as well as Europe an area that V-12 students needed to know something about.

Finally in this chapter we must treat briefly Rouillac Hamilton and R. D. W. Connor, the two men who had probably contributed most to history in the University, though David Swain, K. P. Battle, H. M. Wagstaff, W. W. Pierson, and F. G. To_Version were not far behind. Hamilton had been surprised and shocked by the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor and he wrote his two sons that they should soon enter some branch of military service, which they did. Hamilton himself seemed to work harder than ever on his Southern Collection, and the addition of gas and tires did not handicap him greatly. He guarded his gas carefully, asked the Strowd Motor Station in Chapel Hill to keep him in mind when fairly good second-hand tires showed up; and he was also making more use of both the bus and the train than ever before. Too, his Collection on the basement floor of Wilson Library was quite large and constantly growing, and when gas ran low he used his time classifying and arranging materials so they were more accessible to students. He did manage a trip to the south from August 10 to November 5, 1945, and returning to Chapel Hill, he wrote Avery Craven at Chicago in obvious delight: "... I have just returned with the biggest haul of my career."

But much as Hamilton enjoyed working on his collection, he took some time for other matters. Professor Bell I. Wiley sent him a copy of a letter of his "Life of Johnny Rebel" and told him that he was having trouble finding a publisher. Hamilton liked the manuscript and wrote Bobbs-Merrill Publishing Co., and Wiley soon thanked Hamilton and told him that the manuscript was in press. R. D. Meade, then professor at Randolph-Macon College, wrote Hamilton that his Judah Benjamin, Confederate Statesman was in print and selling well in Virginia, and then asked: "How about a life of Patrick Henry?" Hamilton wrote him that there was room for a new biography of Henry, and to go to it Hamilton was also awarded honorary degrees by both Washington and Lee University and the University of the South at Sewanee in the spring of 1942. When he was informed by Francis P. Gaines of Sewanee that he had been single for many years, he replied that a degree from Washington and Lee would be "a laurel crown which he would joyfully wear." He labelled Sewanee's award "Gibson's Joy" because Sewanee was his alma mater and Gerald Johnson had been chosen to deliver the commencement address and to see him get the honor.

Hamilton also received another honor in 1942 which he was not very enthusiastic about, mainly because he felt it would take too much of his time. The members of the Southern Historical Association elected him vice-president, which meant that he would be president in 1943. This worried him for at least two reasons. He felt that the annual meetings should be suspended until the war was over; and he was not sure that they would want him to take the time to write a presidential address and go through the other routine that would be imposed. He sought advice from Connor, Pierson, Newsome and Green, but of course it was the executive committee of the SNA who would have to decide, and it was divided. J. W. Patton, who was secretary-treasurer of the association and whose doctoral program Hamilton had directed, perhaps helped and comforted him most; and in fact was largely responsible for the decision not to have a formal meeting in
1943. However Hamilton did finally write a brief presidential address for publication in the SHA journal.

Another historian that Hamilton kept in close touch with in these years was Douglas S. Freeman, well-known editor of the Richmond and the University, and perhaps best known for his four-volume Life of Robert E. Lee. Freeman called on Hamilton several times for bits of information about the south. And on June 1, 1943, Freeman with the Southern Historical Collection in mind, wrote Hamilton: "If you have done all of this with so little money, we in Virginia ought to thank God that you did not have more cash... We are grateful to you and we intend to emulate you." To the best of my knowledge Hamilton could not think of any good reply to Freeman. But a few weeks later, when his former student and friend, Harold Shanks, was named dean of the newly established Institute at Birmingham-Southern College, he congratulated Shanks and at the same time urged him to watch his steps, explaining about half serious and half jokingly that political activity is an insidious poison that has ruined more good men than anything I know. 7

Of the many letters that came to Hamilton in these months, the one that perhaps excited him most and that he talked about most came from Avery Craven in mid-July 1944. Craven explained at some length that he and Mrs. Craven were seriously considering coming to Chapel Hill, or the Chapel Hill area, to live as soon as he retired. Hamilton wrote back on July 24 that he was delighted and that he felt that the Cravens could not find a better place to spend the remainder of their lives. Then with equal enthusiasm he added: "I have just had the most successful and most interesting experience. I have not only nailed down my material and arranged for its going down to the Wilson Library, but also have learned much about the history of the University of Texas for a short term in 1942, but the documentary history and advancing years were about to put an end both to summer teaching and even to attending professional meetings. On January 13, 1944 he wrote R. C. Martin, president of the Society of American Archivists, that he would probably not be able to attend any more meetings, and explained: "My wife to Princeton (the last meeting) convinced me that my place for the duration of the war is in my swivel chair in my study in Chapel Hill." A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota made a desperate effort to get him for the summer of either 1944 or 1945, and so it came about that his teaching load could be one course on "anything he wished to teach or talk about." Connor was tempted and flattered but soon

7 Hamilton also received at this time numerous compliments on his article entitled "On the Importance of Unimportant Documents" which was published in The Library Quarterly of the graduate school of the University of Chicago in July 1942. Hamilton also taught in the University of Chicago summer school of 1942.

University he was immediately placed on several committees and the Administration called on him to play a major role in planning for the sesquicentennial celebration and indeed to do a documentary history of the early decades of the University for the centennial. Also calls from outside the University were numerous. He served as president of the Society of American Archivists in 1941-42 and was being pressed to serve another term as president even before he had his presidential address written. 8 He was soon named to serve the state committee which was being formed to decide the type of memorial that should be placed on the capital square in Raleigh to honor Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson, the three presidents who were born in the state. Even C. C. Crittenden was soon putting all sorts of questions to him about archival matters in the state, and Fred Shipman, Director of the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, began to press him for detailed information concerning the beginnings of the Roosevelt Library. Shipman especially wanted to know if Roosevelt changed his mind about the library he was building. On May 1, 1943 Connor got a modest request: for help that surprised him a bit but also pleased him. Solon Buck, who had succeeded him as National Archivist, wrote him that Marjorie Terrell, his long-time secretary who was still at the Archives, had been very unhappy ever since he left Washington, and that he did not know how to handle her. Connor doubtless chucked, but he was not displeased because he felt that Miss Terrell could be of real help to him especially in connection with his projected documentary history of the early years of the University. Miss Terrell returned to Chapel Hill in early May 1942, and was soon serving as secretary of the political science department and helping Connor. She openly confided that she had made too many suggestions to Solon Buck about handling the National Archives, but also confessed that she got very homesick for Chapel Hill.

8 Connor's presidential address was modestly entitled "Adventures of an Amateur Archivist," and it was widely and highly praised. See Connor PAPERS, Boxes 18-19. SHC.
replied that he could not make the trip. 9 Connor also felt at this time that he should tell C. C. Crittenden that he was pressing much too hard for a new building for the Department or Division of Archives and History. He now began saying to Crittenden: "Yes, but wait until the war is over and won. Then we can push it."

And it was in the autumn of 1944 that Connor began to remind his friends more and more that the years were telling on him. Burton Craig, who was aware of this, wrote him on November 1, 1944, that he should reduce his working hours and sleep "about two hours each day after lunch and about ten hours every night." But eight days later Connor wrote President Roosevelt that while Republican Wendell Willkie was a good and able man he and Sadie had "dreamed a very short Highland Fling" in the imagination of his fourth victory as President of the nation. Then indirectly in 1945 Connor's doctor told him that he should go to Philadelphia at once for his heart operation. Many, including Pal and Nansome, tried to cheer and comfort him. Wagstaff, who was soon himself to cross the great divide, as he often expressed death, warned Connor to have the strength and courage to face it. This morning the Woodthorpe arrived in Chapel Hill bellying across the woods. Except for Mr. Roosevelt death and your absence from Chapel Hill it would have made the day for me." Nansome wrote Connor on April 1: "Don't give your teaching a thought. My bat may be weak but I'll step into the box and swing it with all of my might until you are able to return." Connor lost considerable weight, but he recovered from the operation fully as rapidly as was to be expected. By early June he was again getting about for various sorts of information. On June 16, 1945, Shipman wrote him again about the beginnings of the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. He especially wanted to know who was responsible for the rules and regulations governing the operations of the library. Connor replied in considerable detail, stating in substance that to the best of his knowledge Roosevelt simply thought of the library at Hyde Park as a place for the housing of his important papers and documents, and that he had shaped the plan and form of the library very carefully but never thought of it as a memorial.

To the surprise of many Connor also took a real interest in the German prisoners of war that were now stationed at Camp Butner in south Granville county. He joined with Senator Josiah Bailey, congressman Carl Durham, and several faculty members in urging that a select group of the German prisoners be shown around the region and encouraged to renounce National Socialism and work for a democratic system when they returned to Germany.

Chapter XVI (1945-1950)
The War's End and Extensive and Roaring Growth

The second World War, like the first, had a heavy and many-sided impact on the University and history in the University. Above all it set the stage for rapid growth at many points and in many areas. And little of this came as a surprise to many, and especially not to those whose memories reached back to World War I. I remember hearing Roulac Hamilton, W. W. Pierson, R.D.W. Connor, and yes President Graham and Louis Graves of the Chapel Hill Weekly, speculate at this time on what was most likely to come in the weeks and months ahead. All of them obviously had the aftermath of World War I in mind, and all were not only convinced that students would rush to the University at Chapel Hill in greater numbers than ever before, but that there would soon be a shortage of about everything from dormitory rooms to instructors, including Graham and Conntor, and that a four-year medical school was all but a certainty in the very near future. For a goodly number knew that Graham had set his heart and had been telling the American Medical Association that the University's two-year school was not to be struck down but was to be built into a four-year school with a large hospital and much more.

Yet, even though rapid growth in several areas was generally anticipated, it sometimes took surprising forms and directions. One minor surprise, which came immediately and caused some concern and worry, was the enrollment of a number of former students who had married while in the service. There was now a need of apartments or small houses rather than dormitory rooms. Harry Comer, secretary of the YMCA, and W. D. Carmichael, vice president and financial officer of the University, quickly joined with Louis Graves and his Chapel Hill Weekly, the housing families across the country-side as well as those in Chapel Hill and Carrboro, to help with the housing of these former students and married widows. Fortunately the federal government stepped in at once and a number of prefabricated houses, quonset huts, and wooden barracks were brought in from Camp Butner in Granville county, which was being rapidly evacuated, as well as the federal government stepped in at once and a number of prefabricated houses, quonset huts, and wooden barracks were brought in from Camp Butner in Granville county, which was being rapidly evacuated, as well as

9 Connor was also flattered when Adelaide Fries, who had just heard of his map for The Road to Salem had won the Blue Ribbon for 1945, wrote him: "Most of the credit for The Road to Salem ought to go to you. ...without you it would never have been written."

1 For many years across the late 1950s and the 1960s, a row of one-story wooden barracks stood just north of Manning hall and thus between Saunders hall and the present Hamilton hall. They were used for many purposes but mainly as offices.
Archives for the year: "No special news here except that we are trying to absorb in the University about 3,000 more students than we have space and equipment for. We have the classroom and laboratory facilities for about 4,000 but not for 7,000, and the University needs to enlarge its facilities as quickly as possible. Graham is becoming aware of this, but he has so many other matters on hand that he cannot give it the time and attention it needs."

Nevertheless Graham was working hard and with the help of many, especially W. D. Carmichael, Louis Graves, and W. W. Pierson, he was doing better than Connor realized. Work was already underway for four new dormitories (Cobb, Alexander, Winston, and yes, Connor); plans were being made for the enlargement of the Wilson library; and the outlook for a four-year medical school and a large hospital to go with it was brighter than ever. Moreover Graham had been more impressed by the report which the state-wide committee appointed by governor Brodie had submitted to study the state's needs than Connor. For the Broughton committee, like the governor Hoey committee of 1937, had recommended a four-year medical school and a substantial teaching hospital at Chapel Hill. In short, too, Graham had been more impressed than Connor by the rumor that the Bowman Gray family was prepared to endow a hospital in Winston-Salem. While Graham, of course, had no intention of accepting any proposition for a four-year medical school which required the separation of the teaching hospital from the science departments of the University, he did nevertheless feel that the Bowman Gray offer would encourage the State Legislature to give serious consideration to a four-year medical school at Chapel Hill. Actually, in March 1947 the State Legislature did pass a bill which provided for a four-year medical school with a 400-bed hospital, at Chapel Hill and some more. So when the other construction projects of the late 1940s, including the

2 Crittenden immediately wrote Connor that he could easily understand why Solon Euch and the people in the National Archives had gone out of their way to get him to Washington, and had then so tied his hands that he could not do anything. Connor, obviously feeling that Crittenden was exaggerating a bit, wrote back: "... before your leave is up you will discover that all big organizations have their problems, and that Raleigh is a better place to live than Washington."

3 Of course many in addition to Graham and Connor were instrumental in getting this building program underway, but I believe that those who were in and around the University from 1937 to 1947 will agree that Graham and Connor were near the center of all that. This is not just to express the state and many who were not physicians, including Kaye Kyser of the "Kollege of Musical Knowledge," were very active in support of the medical program.

Morehead Planetarium, the Ackland Art Museum, and additions to the Wilson library and Manning and Lenoir halls, are added, it is obvious that the most extensive construction program in the history of the University was underway.

Natural the segment of growth that concerned the history department and its staff most directly and deeply was the growth in student enrollment. For the enrollment went to 6,800 in 1946-47 and to 7,400 in 1947-48. While this virtual doubling of the student body during the two years following the war, had an enormous impact on all departments, few if any felt it as much as history. For the enrollment in history and freshman social science more than doubled, history majors approximately tripled, and graduate applications rose sharply. I felt at the time, and still do, that this very sharp increase in history was due in part to the fact that the two near wars in slightly over two decades had caused many of the younger generation to feel at least dimly the need for more study of the basic facts and forces of our nation's development. But it was usually serious at this time. Some members of the staff also felt that the establishment of the Waddell Memorial Fellowships provided a bit of additional stimulation at the graduate level.5

Too, students, at least those whom I knew well, seemed more anxious than ever for courses on Russia, the Middle and Far East, and even Latin America. And this was a difficult and serious problem because the department did not have trained staff for courses on these areas, and the chances seemed very thin that this would be possible within the next few years. Fortunately Houston Buchanan of the department of economics and commerce, who had taught courses in the Far East in the late thirties and early forties, returned to Bingham hall shortly after the surrender of Japan and agreed to give about all of his courses in the Far East. This was helpful, but the pressure for offerings on Russia, especially in the Soviet period, was growing. Even mathematician Allen W. Hobbs, who was

4 In 1948-49 the enrollment began to decline, and it fell to 5,800 in the autumn of 1951. It then moved up slowly but fairly steadily from the twenties through the fifties and reached 6,600 in the fall of 1960. It then moved up much faster across the 1960s. History majors were well over 500 by the mid-sixties, and thus above what they were in 1950 even though the overall University enrollment is about double what it was in 1945.

5 Nellie Waddell, daughter of L. R. Waddell, set up in 1945 a $54,500 fund to be used to promote graduate work in history in the University. The history staff decided in the autumn of 1945 to take the money in the form of faculty grants to help steady needs graduate students who had the M.A. degree and had demonstrated real interest and ability. Among those who held Waddell fellowships in the late forties were G. B. Tindall, Dewey Grantham, Carolyn Daniel, Robert Lively, Porter Fortune, and Mary L. Giles.
dean of the school of arts and sciences, was telling president Graham as well as chancellor House, that there should be a course on Russia in the twentieth century. At the same time alumnus Donald Green, who was assistant secretary of the Army, and soon to be president of the University, was telling W. D. Carmichael, whom he knew well and saw frequently, the same thing. So in the early 1946 I was told that it had been decided in South building in the fall quarter of 1946. I was heavily loaded and not really prepared to give a course on Russia, but I began work on the Russian language and read some sort of a course on Russia in the twentieth century in the fall quarter of 1946. I also continued to give this course until 1957 when the department was able to add Clifford Foust, a Chicago Ph.D. and a specialist in Russian and Chinese history.

Moreover, another thing that this sudden jump in the enrollment did was to create a staffing problem in both American history and the freshman social science course. With George Howry now at Mills College, J. C. Sitters was out at the War Production Board, Green, Lefler, and Godfrey with heavy schedules and getting some feelers, if not offers, from other institutions, and Howard Beale still on leave. Newsome was very worried about staff matters. He was telling me about all the problems and urging me to try to get in touch with all former graduate students who could possibly teach survey courses. I was of course already doing that because I too was also wondering how we were going to find staff for the many sections that would be needed in the freshman social science program.

But soon the staffing situation at the survey level was looking a little better, mainly because C. O. Caldwell, and a goodly number of other former graduate students wrote that they were planning to return to Chapel Hill the minute they could take off their uniforms. Too, I happened to hear about whom Newsome was much worried, wrote in March 1946 that he had changed his mind and would leave the War Production Board in time to teach the second summer session if he was needed. Newsome was very pleased and quickly put him on the schedule for the second summer term. Still the staffing problem in the social science course for this year students was rather different from what it had been before the war mainly because we now had so much more on advanced graduate students. Yet this was rarely a misfortune for the new students. Most of the hundred of students had been in some branch of military service for two or three years and were thus rather mature and thoroughly disciplined and even in a bit of teaching. I think I never had more than one student at this time to tell me that his teacher had been in the army and fought in Europe and that the whole class was impressed and working hard.

We must now focus our attention more directly on the individual members of the history staff. And perhaps we should look first at K. H. Beale because he had been and still was the source and center of a divisive situation that troubled the staff and hurt the whole department. Since he could not bear to teach long hours anywhere he had asked for military service. He had been given his commission as soon as possible after the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor and was to remain on leave until the war was over. After working a few months on the West coast with Japanese-Americans, he had returned to his parents house in Washington and spent his time doing research and writing Newsome long letters about all sorts of matters, but mainly about his own views and activities; and more recently about the doings of his young son Howard K. II. Newsome, who was as always working long hours, was now hoping that Beale would get a position elsewhere. And indeed in the spring of 1944 he had felt for a short time that his hope might become a reality. For he had been informed by Edward K. Graham that it was the secretary of Cornell University’s history department and knew Newsome well. But he needed to be searches for a good professor in American history. Newsome had immediately pointed out Beale as the most suitable for the position as an uninterested and conscionable would allow, and had encouraged Rouhac Hamilton and Cornwell to do likewise. But E. K. Graham soon informed Newsome that Cornell had received so many unfavorable reports about Beale from various historical scholars that Cornell could not give him serious consideration.

Then in the summer of 1946, just before Beale was to return to the University from his four year absence, Newsome decided to make an allout effort to get the staff to stand tall and accept him. Accordingly on August 20, 1946, he addressed a lengthy letter to the whole staff saying in substance that Beale was a widely recognized scholar and an asset to the department, and that the members of the staff should overlook his unfortunate qualities and work with him for the good of the department. But he then went too far and sought to balance the bad by the good, insisting that Beale should face the possibility that they were probably just as responsible for the divisions and troubles as Beale. Just about everything in the department liked Newsome, but few everyone felt that he had misjudged the situation and had gone much too far in defense of Beale. Indeed, Hamilton, Connor, Pierson, McDowell, Johnston, and Lefler, as well as Green and Lefler, not only disagreed with Newsome but were very surprised at the contents and tone of his letter. Most said immediately that there would have to be a reply to his letter. The next was soon a reply on paper. It was rather calm but firm, stressing the fact that there had never been any confusion, discord, or strife in the department until Beale came, and that Newsome that he had not only misjudged the situation but had gone much too far in defense of Beale. The letter was signed by Cornwell, Lefler, Mackinney, Garrett, Lefler, McDowell, Godfrey, and Pegg. Green, whose differences with Beale were sharpened, felt that he should not sign, but of course it was well-known that he was in full agreement. The letter was not really harsh but it put Newsome in a very uncomfortable and trying position. He told Beale, who was now on the campus, about
it all and urged Beale to return history 154 (Civil War and Reconstruction) to Green, hoping that would ease the situation. Though Beale pussyfooted a bit, as MacKinney expressed it, he soon told Newsome that he would not surrender the course.

Meantime Roulbac Hamilton, who had given all of his time to the Southern collection for some ten years, but obviously knew a great deal about the situation in the department, was asked by President Graham and dean House, to comment on conditions in the department. Hamilton agreed and as was his habit, he did not pull his punches. He wrote Newsome a rather long letter on October 2, 1946, which began: "I was amazed at your letter. I can't imagine anything less calculated to bring harmony in the department." He then made it clear to Newsome that he regarded his letter to the staff as a defense of Beale and a totally unfair attack on other members of the staff. He also reminded Newsome that Green did not agree to leave Emory and return to Chapel Hill in 1935 until he had been assured in writing by President Graham as well as the head of the department that he would have history 154. Hamilton then centered more directly on Beale, and wrote: "I read the damnable letter that he wrote about Connor's return, and I was forced to the conclusion that he is a stench in the nostrils of decent men."

Thus Newsome's letter to the staff got him into an even more difficult situation. He, like most other members of the staff, was now hoping that Beale would soon get a good offer from another university. And fortunately for all concerned, in Chapel Hill at least, that was soon to happen. Partly if not largely through the efforts and doings of professor Vann Woodward, who was at the University of Wisconsin, Beale accepted an attractive offer from Wisconsin in the summer of 1947. Both Woodward and Curri knew Beale and all as well as anything he was under at the University of North Carolina. Beale had accused Newsome of unfriendly acts and wrote President Graham and Chancellor House on December 24, 1947, that his resignation from the history staff would be effective on September 1, 1948.

While Beale's approaching departure brought sighs of relief to many, it could not heal the wounds that Newsome had suffered. He and I lived on Laurel Hill road and I saw him frequently in his home or yard as well as in Saunders hall. He was a good man and a solid and able scholar, and to the best of my knowledge everyone on the history staff liked him, and was now ready to help him forget Beale and all the troubles he had spawned. After signing a contract with Wisconsin, Beale turned to Wisconsin, Biddle quarter of 1948. Kilgberg was energetic and friendly and had a deep interest in students at all levels, and was destined to remain on the staff for the remainder of his teaching years.

Newsome then turned to the Latin American field which W. W. Pierian had handled for more than thirty years. Kilgberg was a great teacher and he loved the Latin American field, but the

regain the full respect of the members of the department. And this cut deep and went a long ways in bringing on the emotional problems that began to appear in the months ahead. On May 28, 1948 Newsome wrote a graduate student who had just failed his preliminary doctoral examination: "I suspect that you may wonder if you were not a victim of the internal departmental situation. You do not know how burdensome that situation has been upon me, and how glad I am for brighter prospects ahead, but I do not believe it was a factor in your case." Newsome was never quite himself again despite the efforts of most of the staff to help him forget.

However he worked hard and rather effectively during the next two years to strengthen the department. With the enrollment rising and the General Assembly of 1947 making more funds available, he began to add considerable to the staff. In the next few years, he added a graduate student who had just failed his preliminary doctoral examination: "I suspect that you may wonder if you were not a victim of the internal departmental situation. You do not know how burdensome that situation has been upon me, and how glad I am for brighter prospects ahead, but I do not believe it was a factor in your case." Newsome was never quite himself again despite the efforts of most of the staff to help him forget.

Then, with Newsome now taking the lead, the staff decided that, with Sitterson and Cathey available for additional courses, it would be better to add two or three at the assistant professor level rather than to get a full professor to replace Beale and this was, I think, a wise decision. For the undergraduate enrollment was heavy and what was most needed was two or three energetic young assistant professors. I hope that Newsome would willingly take large classes and work hard and closely with the students. And this point of view prevailed and a search was soon on for full assistant professors; one in American history, one in Latin American and one to divide his or her time between modern European and the fresman social science course.

Newsome then contacted Frank W. Kilgberg, who had done graduate work in the department in 1942 and was at this time close to his Ph.D. at UCLA where his father was a well-known professor of American history. Kilgberg accepted Newsome's offer of an assistant professorship in American history and joined the department for the fall quarter of 1948. Kilgberg was energetic and friendly and had a deep interest in students at all levels, and was destined to remain on the staff for the remainder of his teaching years.

Newsome then turned to the Latin American field which W. W. Pierian had handled for more than thirty years. Pierian was a great teacher and he loved the Latin American field, but the
Too, another young man destined to make history at Chapel Hill for many years to come made his appearance at Chapel Hill in 1948. C. C. Crittenden wrote Newsome on March 30, 1948, that W. R. S. V. Low was working toward a doctorate at Yale University, had just applied for a position with the Department of Archives and Manuscripts that he would thus like to be offered to Powell. Newsome wrote Crittenden (April 2) that Powell was a good man with real initiative and power of concentration, and that "even when he was an undergraduate he had real interest in historical records and archival work." Crittenden took Powell, but in 1951 when Mary Thornton had to step down as curator of the M.C. Collection in the Wilson Library, Powell returned to Chapel Hill and directed the collection until the early sixties when he was added to the history staff largely to help LeFler with the survey courses in North Carolina history. He was a man who proved himself a solid archivist and teacher, and a prolific writer.

Before turning to the activities and doings of the other members of the history staff in these years, we should and shall look briefly at Frank Graham. For even though Graham had many interests in the fire and was making a deep impression at the Johns Hopkins University, he was not to the University and its history department. Indeed, in the early autumn of 1946 he said many things that he expected to spend the remainder of his life in Chapel Hill. But the outside world would not leave him alone. In October 1946 he was appointed Chairman of the Board of the Oak Ridge Institute for Nuclear Studies and in December Harry Truman appointed him to the new Committee on Civil Rights. These two committees took some of his time but did not interfere too much with his work as President of the University. However in September 1947 it happened again. President Truman and Secretary of State George Marshall asked him to serve as the United States representative on a three-man committee being formed to seek a solution of the cOllsion problems in Indonesia in the Indonesian Archipelago between the Netherlands and the indigenous groups who were hoping to regain political control of the islands. Graham was greatly surprised at this call from Washington, but as usual he tended to listen especially when both the President and the Secretary of State called him. He agreed to go to the Archipelago, and the Trustees agreed to give him an indefinite leave. In early October President Truman formally appointed him a member of the new United Nations committee for Indonesia, and Graham asked Professor Henry Brandis of the University law faculty to serve as his assistant; and he and Brandis were soon on their way to the far-off island that had been more or less a U.S. U. had just made Patton an offer, but as he told those close to him, Chapel Hill was the place where he wanted most to spend the remainder of his life.

The Committee of Three had its report, with which Graham was pleased, in the hands of the United Nations Security Council in New York in mid-February 1948, and in March Graham was back in Chapel Hill. Though he resumed the duties of president of the
University system, he spent some of his time and energy working with the national committee on Civil Rights. He was of course a convinced proponent of civil and human rights and felt that racial segregation in the country should be dismantled as rapidly as was feasible. But he was far from being a communist sympathizer as some contended he was. Indeed he was just about as deeply opposed to Soviet actions as those of Hitler and Mussolini.

Then in early March 1949, just as Graham appeared to be getting settled again in South building and in some real command of University matters, Senator J. M. Nelville Broughton died and Governor Kerr Scott asked Graham to finish out Broughton’s term. Graham agreed to take the vacant Senate seat thus leaving the presidency of the consolidated University vacant. W. W. Cammack, who had served as acting president until November 1945 when the Trustees named Gordon Gray, well-known University alumus and Secretary of the Army at the time, to the presidency and thus as Graham’s successor,9

Graham’s entry into the Senate not only ended his presidency of the University. It also provoked considerable speculation and speculation concerning his gifts and qualifications for a political career. Two men, Roulhac Hamilton of the Southern Historical Collection and Gerald Johnson of the Baltimore Sun, who had known Graham well over the years, exchanged lengthy letters at this time concerning Graham’s qualifications. Though the letters were tinged at times with humor, they were nevertheless rather penetrating and revealing. Both agreed that Graham was a "bundle of paradoxes,” that he had a magnetic personality, that he expected you to agree with him and that he had more difficulty than was generally realized in tolerating disagreement. Johnson even suggested that Graham had been such a good Princeton student that it was possible for him to pretend to be a candidate of the democratic party for the presidency in 1952. Then he added: "Yet there is no denying the fact that it was possible for Roulhac Hamilton, Graham, Piereson, and Garrett retired or planned to retire. I shall abide by that decision at least as far as matters of the history staff are concerned. And if we take them in order of length of service, Hamilton and Piereson will come first for we have already noted the passing of Waystaff during the early months of the great war. We shall not need to treat Hamilton or Piereson at length for Hamilton reached his seventieth year in the summer of 1947 and formally retired at that time and Piereson had concluded his courses on Latin America to H. L. Bierck shortly thereafter. So while both were working about as hard as ever and making extensive contributions to history in the

8 Warren Asbhy would have done an even better life of Graham if he had, in his extensive interviewing, spent some time with Roulhac Hamilton, Fletcher Green, A. K. King, and Corydon Spruill. These four knew him best. I also had two courses with him, shared an office with him in Saunders hall for a year and saw him fairly frequently in all sorts of situations and circumstances over the years and even after he retired.

Graham, now in his mid-sixties, and thus near retirement age, sought no further official connection with the University. He had a number of offers of various sorts, but his interest was in the United Nations and spent most of the remainder of his active life in New York working on international matters. Nevertheless, he always regarded Chapel Hill as his home and in the late sixties he returned to Chapel Hill and spent the remainder of his rather long life with his sister Kate Sanders who resided in Ship Sarders and who had a red brick house on Gilmour road.8

As I indicated in the preface I intended from the outset to conclude this work, at least so far as personalities were concerned, near the middle of the twentieth century. For it was in 1950 that it was possible for people like Roulhac Hamilton, Graham, Piereson, and Garrett retired or planned to retire. I shall abide by that decision at least as far as matters of the history staff are concerned. And if we take them in order of length of service, Hamilton and Piereson will come first for we have already noted the passing of Waystaff during the early months of the great war. We shall not need to treat Hamilton or Piereson at length for Hamilton reached his seventieth year in the summer of 1947 and formally retired at that time and Piereson had concluded his courses on Latin America to H. L. Bierck shortly thereafter. So while both were working about as hard as ever and making extensive contributions to history in the

9 The fact that Graham was now in his mid-sixties and thus near retirement age made him more inclined to accept the Senate seat.
University, there was no changes of importance in the nature of their work in these years.

Hamilton comes first and is also easiest to treat for as one of his friends said of him at this time and with much exaggeration: "If he is not at home at the table or in bed, he is at the Southern Collection on the bottom floor of Wilson Library." Historian Douglas Freeman, famous in his book "Volume Life of Robert E. Lee," summed it up a little differently but quite accurately in a letter to Hamilton on August 28, 1948: "I have just read of your retirement, but it is a joke for you cannot stay away from the Southern Collection, and you will not be permitted to stay away from any part of the South. Blessings on your retirement. Actually Hamilton did not give quite all of his time to the Southern Collection in the Wilson library. He received frequent calls for information of various sorts from historians and students of the southern region. So he managed to find time to help everyone who called on him. He was immensely pleased with the way J. W. Patton was handling and expanding the Southern Collection and he did not have to say so. He also got honorary degrees from Virginia and South Carolina, and on May 11, 1951, the Friends of the Library in Chapel Hill gave him a "Thank You Party," and L. B. Wilson read the eulogy. Hamilton died in 1960 and was buried in nearby Hillsborough where he was born and had spent his early years.

Pierson probably gave as large a proportion of his time and energy to the University's expanding graduate program as Hamilton did to the Southern Collection. Indeed the work became so heavy that Pierson announced in 1947 that he would have to give up the courses in Latin American history which he had taken for more than thirty years. However, he still gave some course work in Latin American politics and international relations, and probably did more in some other ways than ever before. Pierson was still secretary of the Committee to the Secretary of American Universities, a member of the board of editors of both the Hispanic American Historical Review and the American Political Science Review, and of course a member of several regional bodies and numerous University committees. Thus he worked long hours and was much admired in the world of both American and Latin American scholarship. Pierson was perhaps best known for his administrative ability, and he would be called on twice in the years ahead (once in 1956 and again in 1960) to serve as acting chancellor at the Woman's College in Greensboro while the search was on for new chancellor. And in collaboration with F. C. Gill he wrote and published across the length and breadth of Latin America, the best known perhaps was "Governments of Latin America" (1956).

Connor, who was a friend and match wits with both Hamilton and Pierson, was the same age as Hamilton but the years were telling on him more than on Hamilton. He was far from the Connor of the twenties and thirties, and this ebbing of his strength pained those of us who had known him and worked with him in the earlier years. While he continued to give most of his working hours to his projected documentary history of the early years of the University, he was called on to do much else. For example in 1948, he got calls to do summer teaching at all the state universities, including Chicago, Columbia, Yale, and Minnesota. But to all he said about the same: "Long journeys are too much for my old man; I miss them but I can't miss them." However, in August 1947 he did accept a warm invitation from C. C. Crittenden to ride with him to Maneto to see a performance of Paul Green's "The Lost Colony," which he had never seen. In a letter on March 4, 1947, to Solon Buck, who was still director of the National Archives, he said: "Classroom work and examination papers yield to nothing. . . ." He sought to respond to calls from serving governors that were directed to him, and on February 19, 1948, he wrote H. H. Todd, a young instructor in his history class at Embry College, a long letter about issues and developments which he felt should have most attention in a survey course on the history of North Carolina. He was also elected president of the North Carolina Historical Association in December 1948. Two other matters that got his full attention were the proper placing of the portrait of William R. Davis in the lobby of the old building in Chapel Hill; and the placing of the Capitol grounds in Raleigh of the memorial statues of the three presidents of the United States who were born in North Carolina. At the request of president Graham and Chancellor House, Connor retired from the classroom in the autumn of 1948 so as to have all of his time for his projected documentary history of the founding and early years of the University. He also at this time sold his house on East Franklin street to J. W. Patton, and built a much smaller house on East Rosemary street. A stroke and massive heart attack ended his life on February 24, 1950. There were few who felt that R. D. W. Connor was the most gifted man they had ever known.

W. K. Caldwell, M. B. Garrett, and L. C. MacKinney, three of the next five historians to come to the history staff after Connor, were so much alike and had so much in common that I cannot distinguish the urge to know and become more of these during these years. Yet their places of birth and early years made their likenesses and similarities a bit surprising. For Caldwell was born and reared in Brooklyn, New York; Garrett in rural Alabama; and MacKinney near Lake Crystal, Minnesota. True, Caldwell and Garrett, who were probably most alike, did have some things in common during their early years and experiences. Both had degrees from Cornell University and thus had had courses in history with the same professors. Too, both had married while at Cornell and thus had spouses who had grown up in New York.

But different as their early backgrounds were, all three had come together in Saunders hall in Chapel Hill and had become friends in adjacent fields of history and immediately becoming colleagues and friends with much in common. Each had spent considerable time in Europe and had become a rather good linguist; each had come to feel that work with students outside as well as inside
the classroom was what teaching was really about; each had written a text covering his teaching field and liked to believe that the text impressed his students and encouraged them to work hard. He never had much the chairmanship over the history department in the University of New Mexico in 1915. Caldwell also had two real interests outside Saunders hall to which he gave some time during these years. He loved to lecture to church groups across the state on the history of the Bible and early Christianity, and he had been for years an ardent and active mason, and his masonic activities probably reached a peak in these years. In 1931, he was named grand master of masons in North Carolina, and was also awarded special medals by the masonic lodges of Maine and Connecticut. W. E. Caldwell retired from the faculty in 1960 and died a few years later. Henry C. Boren was then invited to take over the field of ancient history, and now he, after nearly thirty years of productive work, is planning to retire.

Mackinney stayed even closer to the classroom in these years than Caldwell had. I often felt that he enjoyed the classroom more than any other member of the history staff. One thing he insisted on doing that surprised and annoyed some of his colleagues was to bring his phonograph to Saunders hall for a couple of days every term and play medieval music for his students. He kept the classroom door closed but the music could be heard in the hallway and even in adjacent classrooms. This would sometimes provoke threats from other members of the staff, but the good-natured Mackinney would only laugh and say: "But my students need it, and I love it, and beg me to do it." During the middle ages after J. C. Russell left for the University of New Mexico in 1946, J. L. Godfrey, who took over Russell’s courses in English history, was not too happy about Mackinney teaching in his place. Mackinney retired at the beginning of the 1960s and Frederick C. Behrends, who had just completed his Ph.D. with Mackinney, took over. Mackinney has retired from the field, and is still an active and member of the staff.

Garrett was the best writer of the three, and was at this time doing a text on Europe since 1815 with J. L. Godfrey lending a sizable hand. Garrett was now nearing retirement age and he announced in 1947 that he did not intend to give any new graduate students, and of course this substantially increased my load at the graduate level, and I was soon directing Mackinney's students and persons else on the staff except F. M. Green. Garrett had great admiration for France, and a sort of affection for Paris, and he wanted to spend a few weeks more in the city before he retired. Before he retired he had his son move into the B. House on June 2, 1948, about this desire and asked if a Kenan leave for the spring quarter of 1949 was a possibility. His final sentence was, "If there is a possibility, I shall submit a formal application; otherwise I shall subside and go on quietly with my knitting." He had to go on quietly with his knitting, but he soon said to me that since he could not go to Paris he would just have a larger vegetable garden in the spring and summer of 1949. One day in the administration of the departmental secretary if she would like to have some fresh vegetables. She replied, "If you have more than you can use." He quickly replied: "I have enough vegetables in my garden to feed a village." Garrett retired in 1952 and for the remaining years of his life he and his wife spent their summers near Thicke, New York, where his wife was born, and the winters in Alabama where he was born. Garrett's last book had nothing to do with the French Revolution, but was a historical novel centering around his birth place in Alabama. George V. Taylor was brought to the history staff in 1952 to take over Garrett's course work and the form the beginning of the French Revolution to the end of the "first" Empire. Taylor has given some thirty-seven years of solid service to the history department and the University, and he is now himself on the verge of retirement.

F. M. Green, who was awarded a Kenan professorship in 1945, was probably the most active and energetic member of the staff in these years. While his graduate students, and he always had more of them than any other member of the staff, came first in his thinking and planning, he was quite active in all aspects of historical work. He had already served as president of the Southern Historical Association and was soon to serve as president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. In 1945 and 1947 these universities, Kentucky, Emory, and Maryland made rather determined efforts to draw him away from Chapel Hill. Each offered him a larger salary than he was getting. Thomas Clark, the University of Kentucky, whom he knew well, made him the offer that tempted him most. Green had been teaching at the University of Missouri in the summer of 1946, he wrote Roulhac Hamilton about the Kentucky offer and asked him for advice. Hamilton, who was a very anxious for Green to remain in chapel Hill, wrote Green a long letter centering on graduate programs. He ended up by telling Green that his greatest strength lay in the direction of graduate students that tended to pour over much of the students would continue to pour to him at Chapel Hill, but that it would take him years to get a high level group at Kentucky. "My opinion is that you would be wise to stay put."

Then as we indicated earlier, when it became clear that Beale would get an offer from Wisconsin, the administration's consent made Clark the best offer the University administration would approve. Clark expressed a deep interest, and Green began looking for a suitable house in Oxford. The house he purchased or rented. Mensime Clark had told the administration at Kentucky about it all, and Clark soon wrote Green that Kentucky had promised things that he could not leave Lexington. Green was disappointed but did not let it worry him.
While Green was handling the most graduate students in these years, Lefler was handling the most undergraduates. For, as always, Lefler’s classes were large and students were also much in the habit of going to his office. On March 8, 1946, Newcomb wrote to Lefler: ‘I am teaching as many more students than anyone else in the department, and I had neither a graduate course nor a seminar the summer of ’45. I discussed with him that he had taught nearly twenty years without a bit of time off. He then added: “It looks as though I am something of a slave and a sucker.” Newcomb knowing that Lefler was handling a very large number of students and was often conferring with students until late in the afternoon, was very sympathetic. Aware that C. O. Cathey would be out of the army before the opening of the spring quarter and that he could handle Lefler’s survey sections in both North Carolina and United States history, Newcomb informed Lefler that he could have the spring quarter off for some much needed rest.

Lefler appreciated this leave very much but he was too fond of the classroom to take much time off, and indeed was soon working several hours each day in his office writing and even writing with students. And I confess that I have not seen anyone who did as much writing and editing as Lefler without letting it interfere noticeably with his work with students. Lefler was quick to respond to students and always had more of them, came first. Yet he did a great deal of writing and editing.

Sitterson returned to Chapel Hill from the War Production Board in the early summer of 1946 and taught in the second summer term. In his research and writing he had been largely in American economic history and since every course he should be teaching in American economic history, Sitterson was seen as the director of the staff best qualified and equipped to give such courses. In fact Newcomb had given his approval to the matter of a two-quarter survey with Sitterson as well as for the staff, and it had included it in the schedule for 1946-47.

Sitterson was also scheduled for a course in the history of the Latin American countries in the national period as well as for a section in the sophomore survey in American history. Then in 1948 when Beals left for Wisconsin, Sitterson had also specialized on the course in the history of the United States since 1897, and soon added a graduate course in as well.

Sitterson was also active in many matters outside the classroom. He collaborated with James Pessler and others who had worked in the War Production Board in writing the lengthy publication entitled Industrial Mobilization for War. He served as secretary-treasurer of the Southern Historical Association from 1947 until 1950. He helped the State University to serve as dean of its division of Arts and Sciences, explaining that he was too interested in teaching and writing to go into administrative work. Yet in the years ahead he would serve both as dean of Arts and Sciences and Chancellor at Chapel Hill.

Godfrey, of course, had his hands full and overflowing in these years with new courses. For with Wagstaff’s death in the spring of 1945 and J. C. Russell’s departure for the University of Missouri in the summer of ’46, the English history field was left almost to the whole field of English history and government. While Mackinney gave him some help by taking over most of the advanced work on medieval England, Godfrey still had all of Wagstaff’s courses including the constitutional history of England and the work on the Commonwealth and the empire. Godfrey also began at once to put more stress on graduate work in English history than Wagstaff had done. And this was both possible and feasible for Wagstaff had always put stress on building the library in the English field. But the result was that the English field was much richer in source materials than the French, German, and Russian fields, thus making it easy and feasible for Godfrey to develop a sizable graduate program. Godfrey was also helping Garrett with his projected volume on Europe since 1815, which was published in 1947.

As for me, my contribution was quite modest, though like everyone else I was working rather long hours about every day. In addition to my classroom work, which now included a course on the history of Russia in the twentieth century and a graduate seminar on Europe during the same years, I was devoting most of my energy and energy to the course for first year students, which was now rarely called by its full name and title which is social science: Introduction to modern civilization. The sharp expansion of the University’s overall enrollment had dealt the staff of this interdisciplinary course, a half hour lecture course, a heavy blow. Buchanan, J. C. Sitterson, C. B. Robson and Paul Wager were now needed for advanced courses in their own departments. So it was now clear that we were spending our strength and energy heavily for staff on advanced graduate students than ever before.

But fortunately this was not as bad as it might seem, for all four departments now had a much larger number of mature graduate students than ever before, and most of them had been in some branch of military service and were willing and anxious to face young boys and get in a bit of teaching for the experience as well as the cash. And luckily there were at least three graduate students in history, C. O. Cathey, J. W. Caldwell, and W. H. Geer, who had taught in the course in 1942 before entering military service. All now worked hard and contributed to this course in various ways, including the supervision of new part-time staff. Indeed, all three were destined to spend all of their teaching years in the history department, and were to be joined by two more students who had taught in the course in 1946-47, namely, G. B. Tindall, J. L. Snell, and F. A. Ryan. Moreover there was another graduate student at this time, Carolyn Andrews (Wallace) who would give many long years to the Southern Historical Collection. Other

So even though there were about twenty part-time instructors in the freshman social science course in these years, some of them helped, especially J. R. Caldwell, with the staffing problem and this enabled me to devote considerably more time to locating and purchasing the necessary library materials. In fact it was not until Caldwell began helping with the location of books for the reading room in the Wilson library, and he was to help more and more as the years passed.

So those of us who directed the social science course felt justified in using some social science funds for graduate materials for several reasons: We also had about 25,000 of the best books available for parallel reading at the freshman and sophomore level. A growing number of graduate students wanted to major in twentieth century European history and the Wilson library was rather weak in basic research materials for that subject. Lastly, the freshman social science course had far more funds at this time for the purchase of maps and books than the history department. On October 18, 1946, A. T. Newsome wrote to me to find out the members of the history staff concerned the departments allowance for library materials for the year, and pointed out in the note that the social science course had a much larger budget available for library materials than the history department, and would use much of it for books in history. "He and I will work together to achieve maximum use of both funds." In 1946-47 the modern civilization course added several thousand volumes to its reading room, and also gave the history department sizable sums for both maps and books. Too, C. P. Spruill monitoring my interest in this and told me at the time that the social science reading room was laying the foundation for an undergraduate library which was much needed.

Of course finding the best titles and filling out the order cards was quite a job. We not only went through the catalogues of all the major companies and book dealers in Europe as well as the United States, but we went through various sections of most of the important journals in economics and political science as well as history.

I would also like in this connection to pay a few words of tribute to Gordon Gray, who was soon to become president of the University, and to Gregory Lounz who was the owner of a sizable book store in New York. Gordon Gray had collected and sent to the University, unboxed and available in the Wilson library. With the help of graduate students John L. Smell and Josephine Mathis, I succeeded in doing this in 1947. Then in the spring of 1951, Gordon Gray, who was then president of the University, knowing that I was planning to go to Europe in the summer, gave me a sizable sum of money to be used to add on to the Bowman Gray collection. I confess that I spent much more time while in Europe locating and purchasing research materials for the Wilson library than I did researching for my own dissertation. Gregory Lounz, whom I first met in 1945 in his sizable book store in New York, helped us in many ways over a period of some fifteen years. His wide knowledge of European materials on twentieth century Germany was incalculable. We would meet at his store, have tea, and the trustees would come to him, and within a few months his people in Europe would provide his New York store with copies, and he would soon have them on the way to Chapel Hill.

Too, we must mention some of the contributions which other departments and schools made to history in these years. In economics and commerce (business administration after 1950) it was still largely Houston Buchanan and Milton Heath who contributed most of his historical knowledge. Buchanan continued to give most of his time to the economic history of China, Japan, and India, while Heath gave most of his time to the history of economic thought in Europe and the United States of America. King, who contributed most. Knight continued to cover much of Europe as well as the United States in his courses on the history of economics. His five volume History of Economic Institutions in the South before 1860 appeared between 1949 and 1954. King, though he was becoming increasingly involved in administrative work, mainly in the office of the graduate school continued to teach courses in history as well as courses in the art of teaching history.

The department of political science also made substantive contributions, largely through the efforts of W. W. Pierson, C. B. Robinson, and A. Jenkins. Pierson, even though his work as dean of the graduate school was heavy, continued to give lecture courses on Latin American history until 1946 and a seminar until 1947. Robinson continued to serve as chairman of the department and to center his classroom work on the political and economic affairs and operations of the Western European states.
But the political scientist who probably made the most unusual contribution was W. R. Jenkins. He had worked long and hard as a graduate student with Roulhac Hamilton, R. D. W. Connor, and W. W. Pierson and had become deeply interested in the preservation and reproduction of governmental records, or in microphotography as he sometimes expressed it. He was even suggesting to close friends by the late thirties that the impact of microphotography could be as great as that of the printing press. But the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor had shocked him and he had immediately volunteered for service, and had spent most of the war years as administrator of civil affairs on Eniwetok Atoll. But soon after the Japanese surrendered he was back in Chapel Hill teaching and working at a microfilming project that had the Library of Congress and the University at Chapel Hill working together. The project was completed in 1951 and bore the title of State Records Microfilm Project (SRMP). It consisted of about 1700 reels which if in print would have made many hundred sizable volumes.

Jenkins received a number of compliments for his part in the filming project, and he was soon saying that the governments of Europe could and should do something of a like nature. And in fact he was asked in 1958 to speak at the Fourth International Congress for Archivists which was scheduled for Stockholm, Sweden, in late August 1960. He accepted the invitation, and went to Europe in early June 1960 so that he would have time to visit the public record offices of several countries and discuss microfilming matters with them. In his address at the Stockholm conference, he said among other things: "... it is my feeling and faith that we have an opportunity to strengthen the forces of international cooperation across the world."

This concludes my survey of history and historians in the University from its founding up to the early 1950s. But since my active association with history in the department goes back for more than sixty-five years, I would like in concluding to make a few brief comments regarding history in the University since 1950, especially during the last fifteen years. Some developments have become noticeable in these years that I think would worry most if not all of the men and women who built history into the University curriculum, including F. M. Green, J. W. Patton, and M. T. Leffler as well as K. P. Battle, Roulhac Hamilton, H. M. Wagstaff, R. D. W. Connor, W. W. Pierson, F. P. Graham, and some still living. In my judgment the department needs very much to examine carefully and critically a sizable number of its nearly 200 courses from the viewpoint of the needs of the great majority of students. I fear that too many of the courses are of a borderline nature and consist largely of something the professor wants to talk about rather than what the great majority of students need or even want. Namely a fairly substantial knowledge of the main facts and currents of the past. To put it a little differently, there is now far too much emphasis on writing and publishing and far too little on teaching and working with the students. AS Frank Graham and R. D. W.