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RICHARD CASWELL'S MILITARY AND LATER PUBLIC SERVICES

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On account of the British invasion of the Southern states during the latter half of the Revolutionary War, the years 1780 and 1781 were critical for North Carolina from the military point of view. On January 29, 1780, General Benjamin Lincoln, commander of the American forces of the Southern department, wrote to Governor Caswell from Charleston that a British fleet of "140 sail" had left New York on December 24 with a large number of troops on board under the personal command of Sir Henry Clinton. Some reported that there were as many as 10,000 men embarked on this expedition, although the actual number turned out to be 8,500. Their object was the capture of Charleston, then the subjugation of South Carolina, and ultimately the conquest of North Carolina. Savannah, Augusta, and the interior of Georgia were already under the control of the British. Lincoln informed Caswell that the militia of South Carolina preferred to stay at home to protect their families from the Indians on the western frontier, rather than to march to the relief of Charleston,¹ and he stated that the defeat of the British plans of conquest depended largely on the exertions of the people of North Carolina. Furthermore, he requested that with all possible dispatch the full number of 3,000 militia be sent forward as authorized by the assembly at Halifax on October 18, 1779.² In April, 1780, the assembly again ordered Brigadier General William Caswell to hurry forward 700 additional militia for the relief of Charleston, but that city had already surrendered to the British before the arrival of these troops. With the capture

¹ *State Records*, XV, 348.

² *State Records*, XV, 330.

of Charleston on May 12, nearly all of the North Carolina Continentals were taken prisoners of war, a loss which left the state without any reliable defenders.

To meet this critical situation Washington, on April 16, had dispatched from headquarters at Morristown Baron Dekalb with 1,400 Continentals from Delaware and Maryland, hoping to check any further progress of the British, although the doom of Charleston had already been foretold by Lincoln. Baron Dekalb was delayed for several weeks in Virginia, waiting for wagons and reenforcements from that state, so that it was not until June 20 that North Carolina was reached. After a short rest at Hillsboro, the Continentals were forced to halt at Wilcox's iron works for want of provisions. In the meantime the assembly of North Carolina had voted, May 10, that 4,000 militia should be raised and marched to South Carolina under the command of Caswell, who was appointed major general of all the state troops when his third term of governor expired.³ Extraordinary exertions were deemed necessary to meet the danger of invasion to which the state was exposed.

According to the plans of Clinton and Cornwallis, General Leslie was to take Petersburg, Virginia, where many supplies were stored; and from this base he should make incursions into North Carolina to prevent troops from going to the aid of South Carolina. Cornwallis, after subduing South Carolina, was to march northward in the autumn of 1780, and expected that the British army would be supplied out of the abundant crops, especially in the western part of North Carolina. He had sent instructions, therefore, to the Tories to remain quietly at home gathering in the harvests until the British came to their assistance. Then these loyalists were to rise and join in the speedy conquest of the state. But Cornwallis was disappointed when he arrived in Charlotte, September 26, after the victory of Camden. He had been assured by former Governor Martin and others that large numbers would rally to the British standard. But the total destruction at Kings Mountain, October 7, of Ferguson's force which had been sent into the western counties to raise recruits, thwarted the plan for the general rising of the Tories, and made it advisable for Cornwallis to retreat to South Caro-

³ *State Records*, XIV, 811.

lina. This postponed the second invasion of the state until the following January, which gave time to collect the American forces for defense. Then began the masterly retreat of General Nathanael Greene culminating in the battle of Guilford Courthouse, March 15, 1781, which induced Cornwallis to withdraw to Wilmington and finally to leave the state, as he marched on to Virginia and to his downfall at Yorktown.

The details of the part played by Caswell in these military preparations may now be presented, considering first his march into South Carolina and the battle of Camden on August 17, 1780. Caswell notified Governor Abner Nash on June 1 that he would establish his recruiting camp near Cross Creek because of the great importance of guarding the stores there, which were in danger of seizure. The unpromising conditions under which the fighting organization had to be built up may be inferred from his report that there was not a soldier nor a firelock nor a wagon in that whole region.⁴ Six days later he again informed Governor Nash that he was distressed on account of the militia coming in so slowly. He urged that £20,000 be provided for the purchase of supplies in Wilmington, which port was threatened by an attack on the part of the Tories who were marching in that direction.⁵

Caswell marched the militia to the camp of the Continentals at Coxe's Mill about the middle of July. A difficulty which made Baron Dekalb consider a retreat advisable was the desolate country, known as the pine barrens, extending many miles in front of the army. Over these sandy wastes, infested with the insect pests of summer, it would be next to impossible to move the troops and baggage without great hardship and delay. These natural obstacles were magnified by the shortage of wagons and by the large number of women and children who insisted on riding. These considerations seem to have been sufficient to justify Caswell in moving the militia to the Yadkin Valley, where the crops were fine. But since he did not wait at Coxe's Mill until the arrival of General Gates on July 25, some writers prefer to explain his decision as an unwillingness to cooperate with the Continental officers and a desire to reap personal glory by inde-

⁴ *State Records*, XIV, 828.

⁵ *State Records*, XIV, 841.

pendent action. However, this criticism should rather be aimed at General Gates, who failed to consult his officers about the route to be chosen, especially since they were more familiar with the country than he was.

On June 13 Congress had appointed Gates to succeed Lincoln in command of the Southern army. Washington, who preferred Greene, had not been consulted regarding this appointment. Caswell received a letter from Gates asking him to bring with him General Griffith Rutherford and General H. W. Harrington to Coxe's Mill on July 27, for a meeting of all the general officers to plan the campaign and to determine the route that should be followed. But, without waiting for this consultation, Gates ordered that the march begin on an hour's notice, selecting, on his own responsibility, the most direct course across the pine barrens toward the advanced post of the British on Lynche's Creek near the Cheraws in South Carolina. Colonel Otho Williams, the adjutant general, protested against this precipitate and ill considered march, telling Gates that the officers thought it would be better to go through Salisbury and Charlotte, where the large number of sick soldiers and women and children could be left. Gates told Williams that he would confer with the officers when the troops halted at noon, although there is no record that the conference was ever held.

When Gates reached Kimborough on July 29 he sent letters to Caswell and Rutherford requesting their opinions as to the designs of the British, to which Caswell made answer the next day from Anson Courthouse that the information received from many sources did not agree. Nevertheless, he expressed the belief that all the British forces would be collected at their headquarters in Camden, where he expected that either a stand would be taken or a retreat to Charleston would be ordered. He had planned to meet General Rutherford the next day five miles from the Cheraws, at which point they were to be joined by General Harrington. He said that his men and teams were worn out for want of rest. Also, he agreed with Gates that all of their forces should be combined so that they might act together or separately as circumstances necessitated.⁶ Again, on August 2, Caswell notified Gates that the wet weather of the preceding

⁶ *State Records*, XIV, 514.

three days had stopped the mills from grinding so that the troops did not have meal for more than half rations for the day. He added that General Rutherford and General Gregory agreed with him that they should march to Anderson, South Carolina, at which place General Butler had been directed to join them as soon as possible, leaving the wagons behind to bring on the meal later.⁷ The next evening he notified Gates that the militia would join the main army at Anderson, according to their arrangement. He added that he had gleaned both sides of the Pee Dee River for forty miles without finding a grain of corn or wheat.⁸

Yet even if he had been unable to find a grain of corn, his operations on the Pee Dee had not been in vain, as is shown in the following letter from the former governor, Josiah Martin, written on August 18, at headquarters in Camden, to Lord George Germain:

The North Carolina militia under General Caswell spread terror and intimidated all the ordinary and extraordinary spies employed by lord Rawdon to a degree so great that every channel of intelligence failed him, which I could hardly have believed had I not been a witness to the fact, considering the number of our friends in North Carolina interested to keep us advised as to the enemies movements, and considering the assiduity of lord Rawdon in gathering information from all quarters.

Colonel Williams tells of Gates arriving at Caswell's camp on August 5 and finding it in confusion. Caswell was trying to get rid of his heavy baggage, so that he could move more rapidly. The women and children were sent to Charlotte with the baggage. Then the main army came up with Caswell's forces at the crossroads on Deep Creek, and they marched on to Little Black Creek with Dekalb commanding the right wing and Caswell the left. This put Caswell third in rank, a position with which he seemed well satisfied.

Colonel Williams also described how he and some officers made an inspection tour of the camp that night and found the sentinels alert on the right wing among the Continentals, but all quiet along the left wing among Caswell's militia, so that they rode unchallenged to the tents of the officers, who complained of

⁷ *State Records*, XIV, 522.

⁸ *State Records*, XIV, 525.

being disturbed by "gentlemen calling at such an unreasonable hour." This incident illustrates well the characteristic lack of discipline prevailing among the militia generally.

Gates ordered the infantry under Caswell and Porterfield, with a detachment of cavalry, to pursue the British, but this expedition did not get started until the next day. This cavalry, according to Josiah Martin's report to Lord George Germain, forced the pickets to retire on August 9, and on the next day shots were exchanged. On the twelfth the British expected an attack, as Caswell's camp was only three miles away, but this did not take place.

The main army left Lunche's Creek on August 10, and four days later halted at Clarmont or Rugley's Mill, where it rested for two days. On the fourteenth General Stevens came up with 700 militia from Virginia, thus increasing Gates's eagerness for an attack. The American officers had reconnoitered the region toward Camden and had selected a strong position on Sander's Creek, five miles north of the British, who would be forced to make an attack as soon as their supplies were cut off by Marion and Sumter. Gates thought he had a good chance to win a victory, as his number was twice as great as that of the British. However, half of the 6,000 Americans were sick; moreover, Williams said that two-thirds of this number were militia who had never been exercised in arms, a weakness which proved to be fatal, as they could not maintain their organization under fire.

The information of the movements of Gates was delivered in Charleston to Lord Cornwallis, who had been in command of the British army since the departure of Sir Henry Clinton on June 5. Cornwallis determined to reenforce Rawdon at Camden, where he arrived at four o'clock on the morning of August 14, after a swift march of 150 miles in three days and nights. He regarded an immediate encounter necessary, since his communications with Charleston could be easily cut off. Therefore on the evening of August 15 he began his march from Camden northward. At two-thirty on the morning of the sixteenth the advance guard was unexpectedly fired on by the Americans, who had begun their march toward Camden at ten o'clock that same night.⁹

⁹ *State Records*, XVI, 50.

Military experts say that Gates made the best possible deployment of his army. On the right Baron Dekalb commanded the two divisions of the Continentals from Maryland, who were joined by the Delaware regulars and Dixon's regiment of militia from North Carolina, with these regiments extending from the Maryland troops to the road. The 800 yards on the left between the road and the swamp were covered by Caswell's militia in the center in three brigades commanded by Gregory, Rutherford, and Butler, flanked by the 700 militia from Virginia under Stevens. Armand's cavalry was in front on the left, while General Smallwood commanded the 400 Continentals from Maryland, as a reserve. Cornwallis ordered Colonel Webster to begin the attack and concentrated on the two Maryland brigades. As the British came on firing and huzzaing, the Virginia militia broke and fled in a panic, exposing Caswell's militia to attack both on the flank and in front. They immediately gave way without firing and threw away their arms in their terror. Gregory's brigade held their ground for a short time, but soon fled in uncontrollable fear, though Caswell and Stevens did all in their power to rally the panic-stricken mob. The British then wheeled on the left flank of the Maryland and Delaware regulars and Dixon's militia from North Carolina.

Colonel John Williams, who was an eye witness of the rout of the militia, wrote: "He who has never seen the effect of a panic upon a multitude can have but an imperfect idea of such a thing. The best disciplined troops have been enervated and made cowards by it. Armies have been routed by it even where no enemy appeared to furnish an excuse. Like electricity it operates instantly and like sympathy it is irresistible where it touches."

When General Smallwood's brigade moved up to take the place of the militia, the Americans were outnumbered by about 1,300 British regulars to about 1,000 Continentals, who could not prevent the flanking movements. After the cavalry under Tarleton had charged in front and flanks, the bayonet charge of the infantry gave a complete victory for the British. The fighting lasted about an hour, during which about 300 Continentals were killed and Baron Dekalb was fatally wounded. General Rutherford was later taken prisoner, but very few of the militia were

lost as they had fled without firing a shot, escaping into the woods and swamps.

Major McGill wrote to his father soon after the battle of Camden:

I was there with Genl. Gates, who perceiving the militia run, Rode about twenty yeards in the rear of the line to rally them, which he found impossible to do there; about half a mile further, Genrl. Gates and Caswell made another fruitless attempt, and a third was made at a still greater distance with no better success. . . . the Enemy's Horse came and charged our rear. The men to their Immortal Honour made a brave defence, but were at last obliged to give ground, and are allmost all killed or taken. . . . We owe all our misfortune to the Militia; had they not run like dastardly cowards, our Army was sufficient to cope with theirs, drawn up as we were upon a rising and advantageous ground.¹⁰

Gates and Caswell made three unsuccessful attempts to rally the terrified militia, and finally at Clermont tried to form them into some kind of order for a retreat, but Tarleton's cavalry pursued them and drove them off the road. Gates and Caswell then rode on that night sixty-five miles to Charlotte, attended only by their aides. While Caswell remained to collect the militia and organize some resistance to the British invasion, Gates went on to Hillsboro to meet the assembly about to convene there.

Colonel H. L. Landers pronounces as "cruel and unjustifiable the contumely heaped upon Gates whose only mistake was his confidence in the fighting spirit of his army, which was betrayed by the militia."¹¹ The temporary loss of popular favor endured by Caswell seems even more unjustifiable, especially when it is remembered that all the officers, from Washington down, condemned the militia as unreliable.

In spite of his illness, Caswell seems to have done all that could have been justly expected of him in the days immediately following the discouraging defeat at Camden. From Salisbury he informed the governor that he had ordered the troops to repair to Charlotte to repel the British invasion. Also, he called out the militia of Rowan, Lincoln, and Mecklenburg counties to gather at Charlotte where he was to go on August 20. He would put General Butler in command of the forces and then he would go

¹⁰ *State Records*, XIV, 585.

¹¹ H. L. Landers, *The Battle of Camden*, p. 62.

on to Hillsboro to meet the assembly there. He requested that a ton of lead be sent to Charlotte and arms and cartridges to replace those which the militia had thrown away in their panic.¹² When the assembly met at Hillsboro on August 23 vigorous measures were adopted to repel the British. A specific tax on produce authorized the seizure of a part of the crops for the use of the troops. Half of the militia of the state was called out and the towns of Charlotte, Salisbury, and Hillsboro were designated as assembling places. W. L. Davidson was appointed brigadier general of the Salisbury district in the absence of General Rutherford, although General H. W. Harrington held this position for a time and spoke of resigning when he was displaced. General Davidson established his camp ten miles south of Charlotte on McAlpine's Creek, and twenty miles from the Waxhaws, where Cornwallis was encamped on October 21.

After arranging the militia in Charlotte, Caswell probably reached Hillsboro soon after the assembly convened there, but he did not tarry long at that place. He hastened on to Ramsay's Mill in Chatham County where he had requested Colonel Jarvis, Colonel Sewall, and Colonel Exum to meet him with their regiments of militia. On September 3 Caswell and General Jethro Sumner, conducting this brigade of 800 men, began the march to Salisbury, which they reached a fortnight later. In the meantime General Smallwood had proceeded to Davidson's camp near Charlotte, where he remained until the middle of November. At that time General Nathanael Greene arrived to take command of the southern department, replacing General Gates, while General Smallwood left North Carolina to return to Maryland in order to settle a controversy with an officer as to which of them had precedence over the other.

It seems that Caswell's health grew worse, so that, unable to keep the field, he left General Sumner in command of the camp on the Yadkin. However, his withdrawal may have been due in part to the action of the assembly in appointing General Smallwood to supersede him as major general of the militia of the state. This appointment on September 12 caused a great deal of jealousy and disappointment among both the Continental and militia officers. General Jethro Sumner had expected to succeed

¹² The Governor's Letterbook.

Caswell as major general of the militia, and offered his resignation to Gates when Smallwood was appointed. Gates submitted Sumner's resignation to the Board of War for their consideration. On October 12 the Board wrote to Sumner that they would not undertake to justify the policy of the assembly in requesting Smallwood to command the militia.

We shall not undertake to justify the Policy of the General Assembly in their request to General Smallwood, thereby impliedly tho' not directly superseding Major General Caswell in the Command. You, Sir, was invited by the Assembly, with your Officers, into the Service under Gen'l Caswell, which you were then pleased to accept. General Caswell's Situation at that time prevented him from taking the Field. General Smallwood, whose Military Fame is great, was about returning to Maryland to equip his Troops, to prevent which, however impolite, he was desired to stay and command our Militia, with the Rank he then bore, not suggesting it could affect your Honour or the Officers of the Line, when his Continental Rank was superior to yours, and your having accepted a Command under a Militia Major General.¹³

On October 26 Governor Nash received notice from Caswell that he had resigned, as he regarded the resolutions of the assembly on September 12 as having dismissed him from the command of the militia.¹⁴ In answer to this statement the Board of War informed the governor: "A separate command would be acceptable to General Caswell, not subjecting him to the command of any but the commander-in-chief of the southern department. We therefore recommend a separate command for Major General Caswell."¹⁵

When the next assembly met at Halifax, the house of commons informed the senate that a committee had been named to act jointly with the senate for the purpose of explaining the ambiguous resolutions of September 12 concerning Caswell, which had been construed much to his prejudice.¹⁶ It was agreed that "There had been sundry and sufficient reasons why Major General Caswell could not immediately take the field and that Brigadier General Smallwood, being the oldest officer in the southern department, should command the militia of the state in his absence."¹⁷ Furthermore, the assembly expressed the high sense

¹³ *State Records*, XIV, 425.

¹⁴ *State Records*, XV, 131.

¹⁵ *State Records*, XIV, 435.

¹⁶ *State Records*, XVII, 746.

¹⁷ *State Records*, XVII, 670.

of appreciation they had then and "still have of the merits of General Caswell and of his singular services to the state."¹⁸

Caswell had been elected a member of the senate, and on February 2 he brought in a bill which was passed substituting for the Board of War a council extraordinary to advise the governor.¹⁹ Caswell, Allen Jones, and Alexander Martin were appointed the members of this council to meet the crisis at the time when Cornwallis was invading the state. The assembly also restored Caswell to the rank of major general in command of the Continentals as well as of the militia.²⁰ The records do not support Judge Schenck in his assertion that Caswell shared the jealousies of some of the militia officers in depriving the state of the services of the most experienced Continental officers during this period of dire need. Proof that Caswell was on good terms with the Continental officers is furnished in a letter written by Archibald MacLaine, a political opponent, to Thomas Burke on February 9, 1781, in which he said:

The British hold Wilmington. Cornwallis is at Salisbury, and God only knows how we shall extricate ourselves. The militia officers are not to be counted upon. We have called into service the continental officers of whom Caswell has the chief command, and they obey him with alacrity.²¹

Also, General Greene desired the Continental officers to repair to Caswell's camp at Halifax to receive his orders and to assist in arranging and commanding the troops. In writing to Colonel Ashe on February 21, General Sumner professed a willingness to comply with this request of General Greene, but in spite of his profession he stayed at his home in Warren County and never went to the camp at Halifax near by. Since it was expected that Cornwallis would march through Halifax on his way to Virginia, General Greene wished Caswell to make his camp at that town, which was important for several reasons. Caswell's absence from the battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15 was probably due in part to this plan for him to remain at Halifax to block any possible march of Cornwallis in that direction, and in part to his continued bad health. However, he did send val-

¹⁸ *State Records*, XVII, 746.

¹⁹ *State Records*, XVII, 635, 662.

²⁰ *State Records*, XVI, 6.

²¹ *State Records*, XXIII, 534.

uable aid to General Greene in provisions for the army and a brigade of 1,500 for which Greene waited before making his attack. The next word about Caswell's activities in meeting the British menace was on April 6, when he requested the governor to have an officer at each of the district headquarters to assist in getting out men to complete the Continental battalions, in which work most of the officers were then engaged.

The only clash that took place during Cornwallis' march from Wilmington to Halifax was on May 6, at Peacock's bridge on the Cotechney River, when Colonel David Gorham's 500 men were scattered in a skirmish with Colonel Tarleton's cavalry.²² After a brief rest at Halifax the British marched on to Petersburg, Virginia, where they arrived on May 20.

For several weeks thereafter, prominent Whigs in North Carolina did not dare sleep in their homes. Their plantations were often plundered, their cattle stolen, and their women outraged. To check these depredations and outrages Caswell resorted to stern measures of repression, of which Major Craige, commander of the Tories at Wilmington, complained to Governor Nash on June 21.²³ Great terror was aroused especially in Duplin County where Captain Doherty reported that the tumults were worse than elsewhere because of the draft riots. The Tories there had not been subdued early in June, but the quelling of these riots was the last military service performed by Caswell in the year 1781.

In evaluating Caswell's military services during the Revolution, it may be said that he was not pre-eminent as a commander, for he did not plan or execute independently any military operations of major importance, and he showed no such remarkable skill in handling men on the field of battle as he did in civil affairs or in political life. Yet, on the other hand, he did not deserve to be blamed for the failure of the militia to stand their ground at the battle of Camden.²⁴

Soon after that Caswell went on a journey to the frontier settlements, leaving his son William, the brigadier general of the New Bern district, to defend the people against the Tories. The Whigs rallied in several counties and restored a measure of order. The records do not make it clear whether that western

²² *State Records*, XV, 456.

²³ *State Records*, XXII, 1024.

²⁴ *State Records*, XV, 479.

trip was due to the large land interests which he acquired in Sullivan and Washington counties at that time, or whether he went mainly for the purpose of pacifying the Indians who were then renewing hostilities after a long period of quiet. It is likely that both of these motives influenced him to follow his pioneering inclination to go west. He refers to this journey in a letter addressed to Judge David Campbell of the Washington district dated February 23, 1787. Also he may have thought that such a trip would improve his health, which had been on the verge of a break-down for several months. He repeatedly mentioned "giddiness in the head" and a disorder of the stomach which was partially relieved by vomiting and purging, and which may have been biliousness, a common ailment in the eastern counties, though rare in the back country. Furthermore, the depletion of his financial resources, caused by years of public service together with the inflation of prices, must have made Caswell feel keenly the need of engaging in some private enterprise that would remove the pecuniary embarrassments endured by his family. The new lands of the west which were then so eagerly sought by settlers and speculators offered the most promising field. In view of the hostilities with the Indians on the frontier, Caswell's journey to the west in 1781 cannot be explained as an attempt to escape danger, but must rather be regarded as an acceptance of the most perilous situation.

The later years of Caswell's public service naturally divide into two periods of three years each. During the first period, from May, 1782, until May, 1785, he served the state as controller general, and during the second period, from 1785 until 1788, he continued his public career as governor.

Hardly had he finished his work as major general of the military forces when the voters of Dobbs County elected him to represent them as the member of the state senate. On April 18, 1782, he took his seat in that body.²⁵ Immediately he was chosen speaker, a position to which he was unanimously reelected in 1783 and again in 1784.

For some years following the Revolutionary War one of the most insistent and intricate questions to be dealt with was the

²⁵ *State Records*, XIX, 9.

adjustment of the disordered finances of the state and the settlement of the accounts with the Continental treasury. For this task the assembly on May 6, 1782, elected Caswell controller general.²⁶ The forgeries and fraudulent accounts made in 1786 by many prominent officials, including the state treasurer, Memucan Hunt, which Caswell discovered and exposed, proved the wisdom of his selection.

Governor Alexander Martin hinted at the great difficulties involved in straightening out the financial tangle when he notified Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance for Congress, that Caswell had been appointed controller general "to examine our various and perplexed accounts, that they may be reduced to some kind of order, if possible, before submitting them to the scrutiny of the continental commissioners."²⁷ The controller's work was so slow and tedious that more than two years elapsed before Governor Martin, in 1785, notified Congress to send representatives to North Carolina to settle these accounts with Caswell.²⁸

Another phase of the controller's duties was to see that the quartermasters, commissaries, and others who had furnished supplies to the troops within the state should have their claims properly adjusted.²⁹ At the session of 1783, on request from both houses, Caswell submitted his accounts as governor for the three years of the war. This report was examined by a joint committee of which Thomas Person was chairman, and on May 8 this committee reported that it had found the accounts and vouchers to be "Just, fair and correct." This approval of the committee was endorsed and concurred in by both houses.³⁰ However zealous Caswell may have been in saving money for the state, the General Assembly seems to have been very tardy in rewarding him for his services. Even when his last term as governor was expiring, he found it necessary to make a final appeal to the assembly to make good his personal losses in salary, due to the depreciation of the currency.

The work of the controller also involved the examination of muster rolls and commissions, to make certain that the soldiers

²⁶ *State Records*, XIX, 119, 122.

²⁷ *State Records*, XVI, 341.

²⁸ *State Records*, XVII, 112.

²⁹ *State Records*, XIX, 226.

³⁰ *State Records*, XIX, 264, 216, 196.

and officers of the Continental line were duly paid.³¹ In addition the controller was required to inspect the certificates and to make proper allowance for their depreciation in paying the officers and men. In the year 1781 interest-bearing certificates had been issued to the amount of \$260,000 for the purpose of paying the bounties to the volunteers. In 1785 the controller's report showed the amounts due on certificates both to the soldiers and to the commissioned and non-commissioned officers for the years 1781, 1782, and 1783.³² In presenting to the assembly on December 14, 1785, the accounts for the three years in which he had served as controller, Caswell presented the vouchers.³³ A committee of which John Spicer was chairman, after examination, reported that the accounts for the three years were supported by vouchers as required by law.³⁴ The proper adjustment of the various claims, both between the state and the Continental treasury, and also with individuals within the state, must have given the controller no small amount of trouble, since the public accounts during the war had neither been kept accurately nor preserved carefully. Also, no military chest had been established in North Carolina as had been done in other states, and proper credit had not been allowed the state for meeting the expenses of the militia while serving in Virginia or South Carolina, or on the frontier against the Indians. From 1780 until 1784 no part of the quota of war debts had been paid by North Carolina, and in May, 1784, to meet this obligation, the legislature passed an act ceding the lands beyond the mountains to the United States, but William R. Davie and Hugh Williamson, the delegates in Congress, advised a repeal of this act, partly because the quota of the state was not known at that time.

Before taking up the consequences of this cession act, it may be best to mention the election of Caswell again to the office of chief magistrate of the state. He had been a candidate for governor in 1784, but was defeated by Alexander Martin, for reasons given in a letter which he wrote to his son William on May 4. He said that Martin had received sixty-six votes to forty-nine for himself. The Edenton and Halifax members had voted for

³¹ *State Records*, XX, 128.

³² *State Records*, XVII, 470.

³³ *State Records*, XVII, 348.

³⁴ *State Records*, XX, 90.

Martin because they declared that Caswell "had crammed him down their throats last year and now they were determined to keep him there." The western members had supported Martin for "interested motives" and were joined by some men from the Cape Fear region, who with the aid of the representatives from the west counted on establishing a district court at Cross Creek and then getting the capital of the state located there. Those from New Bern and the Duplin district generally voted for Caswell.³⁵ In November, 1784, however, he was elected governor by large majorities of both houses. The installation ceremonies were observed on May 13, 1785, at Tower Hill, one mile from Caswell's home at Kinston. In the address of the speaker of the house, William Blount said that the highest mark of public regard had been conferred on the governor. With what tact and faithfulness he discharged the responsibilities imposed on him appeared in his dealing with the three major problems of his administration: (1) the insurrection of the "State of Franklin"; (2) the menace of Indian attacks; and (3) relations with the federal government.

When the act ceding the western territory was repealed in November, the general assembly adopted measures to meet the complaints of the settlers on the frontier. A new military district was established for the protection of the western counties against the Indians. John Sevier, successful Indian fighter and the popular hero of the back country, was appointed brigadier general of this district. Also, an additional judiciary district was formed beyond the mountains to satisfy the settlers who complained that the laws had not been enforced among them and that the courts were not held regularly. To meet another complaint of the settlers, namely that Governor Martin had not appeased the hostility of the Indians by paying them for their lands, in December, 1784, Martin appointed Colonel William Blount and Caswell as commissioners to make a treaty with the Cherokees.³⁶

In the meantime the inhabitants of the western counties had taken affairs into their own hands by setting up an independent government. When Caswell became governor in May, 1785, an impasse had already been reached by reason of a threatening

³⁵ *State Records*, XVI, 958.

³⁶ *State Records*, XVII, 110.

manifesto in which Governor Martin called on the Franklinites to return to their allegiance to North Carolina and a counter-manifesto of Sevier refusing to obey this order. Sevier reminded Caswell how pressingly Congress had requested the cession of the western territory ever since the year 1780, and stated that the necessity of protecting themselves from the common enemy that always infested that part of the world had compelled the people of Franklin to act as they had done. He said that forty people had been murdered by the Indians since the act of cession, and yet it was denied that these murders had been committed because of delay in delivering the goods to compensate the Indians for their lands. Nevertheless the Cherokees had stated in frequent "talks" that if these goods had been delivered there would have been no hostilities.³⁷ In replying to Sevier's letter of May 14, Caswell promised that the goods would be delivered to the Indians, and accordingly, on September 13, he notified Colonel Blount that he would join the three commissioners appointed by Congress in making a treaty with the Cherokees and the Creeks at Fort Rutledge, South Carolina, in October. He would have the goods transported to Fort Rutledge and would give instructions to Blount to distribute them and to make a report of the treaty so that it could be submitted to the legislature.³⁸

Caswell thought that, by giving the inhabitants of the west time to grow calmer, they would return to their allegiance to North Carolina. Therefore, affairs were allowed to run on smoothly through the year 1786. In October Sevier informed Caswell that honorable terms would be accepted. Accordingly, in January, 1787, the legislature of North Carolina offered pardon to all who would return as loyal citizens, while the taxes for the past three years would be remitted. Factional strife broke out afresh in the spring and summer of 1787, however, and party feeling became so bitter that bloodshed was expected. The assembly of the state of Franklin threatened to imprison or fine any officers who accepted commissions from North Carolina or issued any orders in the name of that state. Bounties of a section of land in the Great Bend were offered to those who would

³⁷ *State Records*, XVII, 446.

³⁸ *State Records*, XVII, 516.

enlist in the militia to resist the authority of the old government. Colonel Anthony Bledsoe on May 4 advised the governor to send an address calling on the people to return to their duty to North Carolina, as his influence was great with all the principal men of the west.³⁹

On May 31, replying to Colonel Bledsoe's letters, Caswell informed him that he had stated matters to the inhabitants of the western counties in such a way that they must be obstinate indeed if they did not see the necessity of uniting against the common enemy.⁴⁰ This address to the people of the west was so full of the spirit of good will and forbearance that a quotation from it may be given to show the governor's attitude:

Friends and Fellow Citizens: I have received information that the former Contention between the Citizens of those Counties respecting the severing such Counties from this State & erecting them into a separate, Free and Independent Government, hath been again revived notwithstanding the lenient & salutary measures held out to them by the General Assembly in their last Session, & some have been so far misled as openly & avowedly to oppose the due operation & execution of the Laws of the State, menacing & threatening such as should adhere to the same with violence; and some outrages on such occasions have been actually Committed whereby sundry of the good Citizens of the said Counties have been induced to signify to Government their apprehensions of being obliged to have recourse to arms in order to support the Laws and Constitution of this State.

And notwithstanding the conduct and Behaviour of some of the refractory might Justify such a measure, yet I am willing to hope that upon reflection and due consideration of the Consequences which must issue in case of the shedding of blood among yourselves, a moment's thought must evince the necessity of Mutual Friendship and the Ties of Brotherly love being strongly cemented among you. You have, or shortly will have if my information is well grounded, enemies to deal with which may require this cement to be more strong than ever; your whole force may become necessary to be exerted against the common enemy as 'tis more than probable they may be assisted by the subjects of some foreign power, if not publicly they will furnish arms and ammunition privately to the Indian tribes to be made use of against you, and when your neighbors are so supported and assisted by the Northern and Southern Indians, if you should be so unhappy as to be divided among yourselves what may you not then apprehend? I dread the event.

³⁹ *State Records*, XX, 682.

⁴⁰ *State Records*, XX, 709.

Let me entreat you to lay aside your party disputes, they have been as I conceive and yet believe will be if continued, of very great disadvantage to your public as well as private concerns whilst those disputes last. Government will want that energy which is necessary to support her Laws & Civilization in place of which anarchy and confusion will be prevalent & of course private interest must suffer.

It certainly would be sound policy in you for other reasons to unite. The General Assembly have told you whenever your wealth and numbers so much increase as to make a separation necessary they will be willing the same shall take place upon Friendly & reciprocal Terms; is there an individual in your Country who does not look forward in expectation of such a day's arriving. If that is the case must not every thinking man believe that this separation will be soonest and most effectually obtained by unanimity. Let that carry you to the quiet submission to the Laws of No. Carolina, till your numbers will justify a General application & then I have no doubt but the same may be obtained upon the principles held out by the Assembly, nay 'tis my opinion that it may be obtained at an earlier day than some imagine, if unanimity prevailed amongst you.

Altho' this is an official Letter, yet you will readily see that it is dictated by a friendly and pacific mind, don't neglect my advice on that account, if you do you may repent it when 'tis too late, when the Blood of some of your dearest and worthiest Citizens may have been spilt and your Country laid waste in an unnatural and Cruel Civil War, and you Cannot suppose, if such an event should take place, that Government will supinely look on and see you Cutting each other's throats without interfering and exerting her powers to reduce the disobedient.⁴¹

There was no exaggeration as to the imminent peril from the Indians, as every account showed that the savages meant to carry on a general war that summer, while they were to be supplied with arms and ammunition by the subjects of European powers. Especially desperate was the crisis in the Cumberland district, where the settlers were abandoning their lands in fear of being exterminated. The greed of the Franklinites for the Indian lands was the chief cause for this situation.⁴²

Colonel James Robertson, the leader of the Cumberland settlement, in June and July sent to Governor Caswell accounts of the Indian outrages and asked for help. He said that the Spanish were doing all in their power to arouse the savages against the Americans. They had offered rewards for the scalps of Americ-

⁴¹ *State Records*, XX, 707.

⁴² *State Records*, XX, 653.

ans, and had urged the Creeks, the Choctaws, and the Chicasaws to go to war. The people requested the governor's aid, knowing his good intentions.⁴³

These troops had been dispatched for the defense of the Cumberland as early as February, but they did not reach Nashville for several months, having been delayed east of the Blue Ridge by the Franklinites, who were probably afraid that these forces might be used against themselves. On June 2 Caswell urged Major Thomas Evans, commander of these forces, to hasten to the Cumberland where Brigadier General Shelby would assist him. He said that he had furnished the contractor with £1,000 with which to purchase supplies.⁴⁴ And again, on August 13, he ordered Major Evans to go forward immediately as the General Assembly had directed, without waiting to cut roads.⁴⁵ It was not until October that these troops reached Nashville.⁴⁶

After the arrival of these troops on the Cumberland, the attacks of the Indians appear to have subsided. Also, the state of Franklin collapsed on March 3, 1788, when Sevier's term of office expired. The General Assembly of North Carolina passed an act of oblivion and pardon for all, and accepted Sevier as a member of the senate at Fayetteville. He was restored to the rank of brigadier general of the Washington district with all the honors and emoluments of that office. This was followed the next year of 1789, by the second act of cession of the territory which was later admitted into the Union as the state of Tennessee. And thus came to a peaceful conclusion an episode in the history of the state which might easily have developed into a civil war, if Governor Martin's policy of intimidation had been continued. Much bitterness and bloodshed was prevented by Caswell, whose intimate and first-hand knowledge of the country beyond the mountains and whose kindly sympathy and understanding of the frontiersmen made a reconciliation possible.

Turning now to federal relations during this period, it appears that North Carolina was more willing to support Congress than most other states were. The amendments to the Articles of Confederation proposed by Robert Morris were favored by this

⁴³ *State Records*, XX, 721.

⁴⁴ *State Records*, XX, 714.

⁴⁵ *State Records*, XX, 730.

⁴⁶ *State Records*, XX, 787.

state, but failed to get votes of the number of states necessary for adoption. Again, with reference to the peace treaty of 1783, Caswell supported Congress in protesting against its violation both by the British authorities and by the states of the Confederation. On January 20, 1785, the governor wrote to the delegates in Congress that remonstrance should be made to the British, demanding reasons for the infractions of the treaty in holding the military posts on the lakes. He favored raising an army to capture these posts by force, if satisfaction was not given, and publishing a manifesto to the world for so doing. He realized, however, that prudence, caution, and address were called for in handling this matter.⁴⁷ Likewise, when President Arthur St. Clair notified Caswell that Congress regretted that, in some states, too little faith had been accorded the treaty although national honor and good policy demanded it, Caswell replied that he would present the matter to the General Assembly at the earliest possible date, feeling confident of the approval desired.⁴⁸ According to the recommendation of Congress, the treaty of peace was ratified by North Carolina in November, 1787, and thus became a part of the laws of the state.

Caswell responded favorably to the request of John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, that retaliatory duties should be imposed by the states on British vessels. Therefore in November, 1785, the assembly levied a duty of five shillings a ton on vessels from countries refusing to make treaties of commerce with the United States. Also a duty of twenty per cent above the regular tariff schedule was charged on goods not manufactured in the United States. In referring to the legislature the several acts and resolutions of Congress, Caswell said:

I cannot however omit requesting your particular attention to the several recommendations of Congress, the propriety and necessity of which I presume I need not urge as I flatter myself every Member of the Legislature will conceive it his duty to pay that respect to the Grand Federal Head of our Republican Empire, and give them that dispatch that their Importance required.⁴⁹

But Congress had already lost respect both at home and abroad, and from that time on delegates were frequently absent-

⁴⁷ *State Records*, XVII, 427.

⁴⁸ *State Records*, XX, 668.

⁴⁹ *State Records*, XVII, 270.

ing themselves from its sessions. As private affairs prevented some gentlemen from attending Congress, the governor hoped that conditions might be remedied in the future by consulting them before appointments were made.⁵⁰ These absences, especially of the delegates from North Carolina, were also due in part to the inability of the state to pay their salaries or expenses — a matter to which the governor called attention. He suggested to the assembly that it would be some inducement for the delegates to undertake their duties if some persons were appointed to purchase produce with the treasury notes which could then be sold abroad for hard cash. William Blount had notified Caswell in July, 1786, that he would sit in Congress only on condition that he was paid in hard cash.⁵¹ Blount and Timothy Bloodworth were the only two who had promised the governor that they would accept appointments, and Bloodworth resigned in 1787.⁵² Richard Dobbs Spaight had already resigned, while Samuel Johnston and Sitgraves had declined to serve.

For various causes there had been "a general uproar in the Assembly" because of the loss sustained in connection with the purchase and sale of tobacco to the value of £36,000 set aside by the legislature in 1785 for the payment of the state's share of the foreign debt. The sum paid for the tobacco was £37,757, or a little more than the law had authorized, while the price allowed, fifty shillings per hundred, was more than twice the market price. Also, there was some loss of weight in handling the tobacco, and the bankruptcy of Constable, Rucker, and Company prevented the delivery of part of the amount purchased. To straighten out this scandal the governor was instructed to sell all the tobacco for the public, the proceeds to be applied on the state's quota of the French and Dutch loans.⁵³

In 1786 new attempts to amend the Articles of Confederation were made at the Annapolis trade convention, and in these attempts Caswell cooperated by appointing five delegates. But the only one who attended was Hugh Williamson, who reached Annapolis the day of adjournment. The recommendation for a general convention to be held at Philadelphia the following May,

⁵⁰ *State Records*, XXI, 992.

⁵¹ *State Records*, XXI, 992.

⁵² *State Records*, XX, 151.

⁵³ *State Records*, XX, 451.

for revising the Articles of Confederation, was accepted by the General Assembly and five more delegates were appointed.

When Caswell was elected one of these delegates to the constitutional convention, it was provided that in case he could not go to Philadelphia, he should appoint a substitute for himself and for any others who could not attend. As his health made it impracticable for him to attend the convention, he notified the General Assembly on November 2 that he had appointed William Blount to take his place and Hugh Williamson to take the place of Willie Jones, who had declined to serve.⁵⁴ In selecting Blount and Williamson, who were in favor of making a stronger constitution than the Articles of Confederation, Caswell showed more friendliness for the purpose of the convention than has generally been credited to him. These appointments left Alexander Martin the only one of the delegates from North Carolina who was opposed to any material changes in the federal government. The other two delegates, Richard Dobbs Spaight and William R. Davie, were both advocates of strengthening it. Spaight reported on May 13 that the Virginia delegation was the only one that had arrived in Philadelphia, but all of the representatives from this state had gone forward in May.⁵⁵

Caswell's correspondence with the delegates during their stay in Philadelphia showed a practical support and sympathetic encouragement of their work. Writing to them on July 1 that he had drawn on the state treasury for allowances for four months, he said:

. . . Your Task is arduous, your undertaking is of such magnitude as to require Time for Deliberation and Consideration, and altho' I know each Gentleman must sensibly feel for his own private concerns in being so long absent from them, Yet the future happiness of the States so much depends on the determination of the Convention I am convinced your wishes to promote that happiness to your Country are such as to induce you to attend to the completing this business if possible. Any thing I can do which may tend towards making your stay agreeable shall be most chearfully attended to & I shall be most happy at all times in rendering you service or receiving any communications or advice from you. . . .⁵⁶

⁵⁴ *State Records*, XX, 128.

⁵⁵ *State Records*, XX, 627.

⁵⁶ *State Records*, XX, 729.

Hugh Williamson reported that of the five delegates appointed, he and William Blount would continue until the end of the convention. He thought that they had met the difficulties of the state with a firmness that should call forth the thanks of the people. But, as if doubting that due appreciation would be given, he consoled himself with the observation that they had added to the happiness of millions.⁵⁷ On November 2 Caswell submitted to the General Assembly the proposed constitution and a letter supporting it from the deputies of the state. The constitution provided that the voters of each state should choose a convention to consider its ratification. Accordingly, the General Assembly called a convention to meet on July 21, 1788, at Hillsboro.⁵⁸

The campaign for the election of members of this convention was one of the most exciting in the history of the state. On the Federalist ticket from Dobbs County were the names of Richard Caswell and his son, Winston; his brother-in-law, John Herriage; James Glasgow, then secretary of state; and Benjamin Sheppard. Opposed to these well known men, experienced in public affairs, were five obscure men on the anti-federalist ticket. When a group of men gathered on Saturday night to receive the election returns, the intense feeling grew to consternation as the count went on. The total number of votes cast at Kinston was 372, and the tabulation of the first 282 ballots showed that the anti-Federalists were leading by nearly forty votes over Glasgow and the other federalists. Feeling that Dobbs County would be disgraced by putting "preacher Baker before Governor Caswell," the Federalists decided on a daring plan to prevent further counting of the votes. Candles were put out and in the darkness the ballot box was forcibly taken from Sheriff Benjamin Caswell, who had been knocked down. Benjamin Sheppard, one of the Federalist candidates, gave his approval to the riot by saying: "Well done, boys, now we will have a new election." Next morning the box was found near the jail broken open and the ballots scattered. Both sides picked up ballots and claimed favorable results.

The governor, Samuel Johnston, called for a new election to be held on July 14 and 15. The anti-Federalists refused to take

⁵⁷ *State Records*, XX, 765.

⁵⁸ *State Records*, XX, 128.

part and only 85 votes were cast, electing the Federalists without opposition. Accordingly, Richard and Winston Caswell, James Glasgow, Nathaniel Lassiter, and Benjamin Sheppard were given certificates of election.⁵⁹ The convention's committee of elections reported on July 23:

The sitting members from the county of Dobbs should vacate their seats as it does not appear that the majority of the county approves of the new election under the recommendation of the Governor, nor was there any evidence before the committee by which they could determine with certainty which candidates had a majority of the votes of the other election. The committee is therefore of the opinion that the first election is void as well as the latter.

This report was accepted and Dobbs County was not represented, so that Caswell took no part in the debates of the convention which failed to ratify the Constitution.

This action left North Carolina out of the Union, as a sufficient number of states had already ratified the Constitution providing for the organization of the new government. Public opinion in the state underwent a rapid change, however, and many petitions were sent to the next General Assembly asking that a second convention be called. Therefore Caswell moved on November 17, 1788, that a convention should be called to reconsider the Constitution.⁶⁰ This motion was adopted, and the second convention was called to meet at Fayetteville on November 16, 1789. In the meantime Congress had recommended ten amendments which removed the most serious objections to the Constitution. Consequently, when the delegates assembled at Fayetteville, the Constitution was ratified by a majority of 118, and the convention adjourned on November 22. Although Caswell did not live to see this act completed which made North Carolina a member of the Union, having died six days before the convention assembled, he was probably assured of the successful consummation of his efforts by the change of views among the people and the political leaders. He was in close touch with these leaders, for he had met with them at Fayetteville when the General Assembly had convened on November 3, at which time Caswell was elected speaker of the senate for the last time.

⁵⁹ *State Records*, XX, 2, 5.

⁶⁰ *State Records*, XX, 514.

On November 5 Caswell was paralyzed and remained speechless until his death on the following Tuesday, November 10. A joint committee of both houses was appointed to arrange the details of the funeral, and the General Assembly adjourned to go to Kinston in a body to take part in these last rites.⁶¹ His grave, two and a half miles from Kinston on the Tower Hill road, is in the family burying ground of a half acre, reserved in his will, near the "Red House."

In his will Caswell referred to the death of his eldest son William, on whom he had depended for assistance throughout most of his public career. Also, his last years were saddened by the mysterious disappearance at sea of his second son Richard. This occurred as late as 1784 or 1785, as Richard Caswell, Junior, was a member of the House of Commons in April, 1783.⁶² It was thought that he was captured by the pirates who were then at war with the United States.

Caswell was elected governor of the state seven times, a number that has never been equalled by any other chief magistrate in the history of North Carolina. During the trying years of the Revolutionary War probably no other man in the state exerted more influence for the success of the American cause. With all his practical organizing ability, he had the power to inspire others with high aims and the desire for independence, after the first ardor of enthusiasm had begun to cool. But his most long-continued and paramount influence was exerted in legislative halls as a statesman. Throughout his whole public career from 1754 till 1789 he was a member of the house of commons or of the senate, except while serving as governor, and even then most of his accomplishments depended on his success in securing the cooperation or approval of the legislature. Twice he was a member of the Continental Congress, and four times a member of the provincial congress, presiding over the last one, which drew up the first constitution of the state.

Probably Caswell was the most versatile and gifted North Carolinian of his time. He was undoubtedly a devoted patriot who sacrificed his own personal gains for the good of the state. No other man in the history of North Carolina has been rewarded with more varied and exalted honors.

⁶¹ *State Records*, XXI, 221, 588.

⁶² *State Records*, XX, 62.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE SOUTH IN 1912¹

By ARTHUR S. LINK

The momentous schism in the Republican party which occurred at Chicago in June, 1912, probably decided the outcome of the presidential campaign. When Theodore Roosevelt, defeated by William Howard Taft for the Republican presidential nomination, led his angry followers out of the convention hall, he made it clear that he would accept the presidential nomination on the condition that a new party be organized. Accordingly, a call was issued for a convention of Roosevelt's supporters to meet in early August to organize the Progressive party.²

The Progressive convention which assembled in Chicago in August, 1912, was one of the most remarkable political gatherings the country had witnessed. Social and economic reformers, disgruntled politicians, representatives of big business, idealists, and sundry others made up the motley crowd. Roosevelt was also there, feeling like a "Bull Moose."

In his "Confession of Faith," his keynote address to the Progressive convention, Roosevelt came out squarely in favor of a positive social democracy and championed practically every social and economic reform that had been proposed and had failed of accomplishment in the country. He emphasized the necessity for a central government powerful enough to regulate effectively the trusts and interstate corporations, determine fair minimum wages and hours for industrial laborers, and in every way possible exert its influences to safeguard the welfare of the people. Social justice, political reform, a sort of state socialism, and moral regeneration were the Bull Moose candidate's chief themes. "We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord," shouted Roosevelt as he concluded his keynote to a convention that resembled an old-fashioned religious revival more than a political convention.³

¹ Research on this article was made possible by a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

² The literature on the Progressive party is voluminous. Henry F. Pringle's *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1931) and *Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (New York, 1939) are particularly good. The most recent and exhaustive work on the subject is George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (Madison, Wis., 1946). There is abundant material on the presidential campaign of 1912 in the Theodore Roosevelt Papers (manuscripts in the Library of Congress); hereinafter cited as Roosevelt Papers.

³ *New York Times*, August 7, 1912.

Southern editors, like their colleagues throughout the country, had always given Roosevelt priority on the front pages of their newspapers. And now this new third party constituted a threat to Southern Democratic solidarity, for from the very start Roosevelt and the Progressives emphasized the national character of their organization and extended a hearty welcome to Southerners to join with them in their fight for social justice. Roosevelt began the campaign by specifically declaring that the Progressive appeal was made "equally to the sons of the men who fought under Grant and to the sons of the men who fought under Lee, for the cause we champion is as emphatically the cause of the South as it is the cause of the North."⁴ The colonel was almost pathetically anxious to break the solid South. "Really if I could carry one of the eleven ex-Confederate States," he wrote, "I should feel as though I could die happy."⁵ And he expected in 1912 to capitalize upon the discontent of Southern businessmen and manufacturers with the new progressive leadership within the Democratic party. All that was necessary, he thought, was that the Progressive party should be completely disassociated from Republican traditions.⁶

After Roosevelt set forth his political and economic program in his "Confession of Faith" some liberal Southern editors observed that many of his proposals were eminently desirable and that he was undoubtedly sincerely interested in the welfare of the people. His proposals to establish minimum wages and hours, for example, evoked warm praise from at least two progressive newspapers.⁷ But liberal Southern editors in general declared that although Roosevelt's suggestions were commendable, they were either impossible of solution or impracticable in theory. Sincere progressives, these editors declared, should rally behind Woodrow Wilson, the only progressive candidate who could bring about the reforms the nation urgently needed.⁸

Most Southern editors, however, had few kind words to say for the third party and its candidate. Perhaps they were determined

⁴ *Charleston News and Courier*, June 24, 1912.

⁵ Roosevelt to John M. Parker, July 15, 1912, Roosevelt Papers.

⁶ Roosevelt to the members of the Progressive National Committee, undated letter in Roosevelt Papers.

⁷ *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 7, 1912; *Mobile Register*, August 7, 1912.

⁸ *Dallas Morning News*, August 8, 1912; *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman*, September 26, 1912; *Nashville Tennessean and American*, August 10, 1912; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 7, 1912; *Mobile Register*, August 7, 1912.

to assail the prophet of the New Nationalism on any pretext. Several editors objected to him personally: they resented his obvious egotism and political methods. For example, Roosevelt's utterances sounded to one editor like the "caterwauling of monster alley cats,"⁹ while other editors feared that the Progressive candidate was endeavoring to "carry out his treacherous ambition to destroy the government created by the founders,"¹⁰ or to force a wild brand of resurrected populism or unmitigated socialism upon the country.¹¹

Henry Watterson was guilty of the severest diatribes against the Progressive candidate. Old "Marse Henry" had quarreled with Wilson during the pre-convention Democratic campaign and had become one of his bitterest critics prior to the New Jersey governor's nomination. But since it was not exactly politic for him to continue his attacks against the Democratic presidential nominee, the old Kentuckian turned the full fury of his seething wrath against the colonel. Even before the Baltimore convention, "Marse Henry" had devoted one full editorial page of the *Courier-Journal* to a detailed and serious argument attempting to prove that Roosevelt was insane. How else, he asked, could one explain "The devilish streak of viciousness, the ignoble malignancy, the illogical intensity and inaccuracy of the lunatic?"¹² Roosevelt presented, Watterson later wrote, "the hideous spectacle of an ex-President, bawling like a drunken harlot from one end of the land to the other."¹³ The old editor was in his happiest role as a maligner and carper and spent the summer lambasting the Progressive candidate.¹⁴

Like Watterson, other Southerners utterly threw to the winds all discretion and temperance of judgment and completely went off balance in their denunciation of Roosevelt. Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina expressed the sentiment of many Southern Democrats when he wrote, "It seems to me that the Devil has more to do with the world now-a-days than God Almighty." Otherwise he could not understand how "a crazy liar and all-

⁹ *Wilmington (N. C.) Morning Star*, September 10, 1912.

¹⁰ *Chattanooga Daily Times*, August 7, 1912.

¹¹ *Montgomery Advertiser*, August 8, 1912; *Louisville Times*, August 7, 1912; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, August 7, 1912.

¹² *Louisville Courier-Journal*, May 7, 1912.

¹³ *Louisville Courier-Journal*, May 23, 1912.

¹⁴ One of the best of these editorials is in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, August 24, 1912.

round scoundrel like Roosevelt" could deceive so many people.¹⁵ Even the responsible *Nashville Banner* charged that Roosevelt was without moral scruples and that he would "violate any law, overthrow any established usage, disregard his own plighted faith, or stab his nearest friend."¹⁶ Another usually sane editor likewise wrote that the colonel was a "big, burly fellow, with the muscles of a thug, the voice of a bull of Bashan, and the assurance of a brass monkey."¹⁷

But unreasoned personal prejudice was not the only reason Southerners objected to the Progressive movement and its leader. The lily-white movement within the new party and its relation to the South alternately frightened and amused Southern Democrats. Theodore Roosevelt meant to make a direct personal appeal to the Southern people to break away from Democratic traditions and to join with him in what he thought was his movement for social and political regeneration. Many Negroes both in the North and in the South looked to him as their deliverer and hastened to join the Progressive ranks. But, manifestly, if the Progressive party was to gain a considerable number of adherents in the South, it had first of all to divorce itself from the Negro voters who, in the deep South at least, constituted the backbone of the old Republican party. This much was clear to John M. Parker of New Orleans, Roosevelt's chief Southern political adviser, who warned the colonel that "this should be a white men's party, recognizing the superior ability of the white man and his superior civilization." The South, Parker added, "cannot and will not under any circumstances tolerate the Negro, and my firm belief is that a plank on these lines, diplomatically arranged would be productive of immense good."¹⁸ In other words, the Progressive party had to be "lily-white" or a "white man's party" if it was to make any progress in the South.¹⁹

¹⁵ B. R. Tillman to F. E. Barber, August 5, 1912, Tillman Papers (manuscripts in the Library of the University of South Carolina).

¹⁶ *Nashville Banner*, April 29, 1912.

¹⁷ "He is a great exaggerator," the editor added, "a great prevaricator; a great pilferer of other men's ideas; a great braggart; a great dodger; a great kicker when things don't go his way; a great baby when some bauble is given him; a great spender of other people's money; a great hand at being on both sides of every issue; a great hand at inventing facts to suit the occasion; he has a great lust for power." Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, April 25, 1912.

¹⁸ J. M. Parker to Roosevelt, July 24, 1912, Roosevelt Papers; published in A. S. Link (ed.), "Correspondence Relating to the Progressive Party's 'Lily White' Policy in 1912," *Journal of Southern History*, X (November, 1944), 481.

¹⁹ See also Julian Harris to Roosevelt, August 3, 1912, Roosevelt Papers; published in *Journal of Southern History*, X (November, 1944), 488-490.

Roosevelt, however, was at first loath to take any conspicuous stand on the issue for fear of alienating many Negro voters in the North. In the latter part of July he announced that the problem of the composition of the several state delegations to the national convention would have to be settled by the various state organizations.²⁰ This effort to side-step the issue was entirely unsuccessful because in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi rival white and Negro Progressive parties were organized and each sent a delegation to the national convention claiming to be the legitimate representatives of the party. And when these Negro delegates actually appeared in Chicago to contest the seating of the white delegations, there was nothing left for Roosevelt to do except take a definite stand on the question.²¹

As a consequence, before the assembling of the Progressive national convention, Roosevelt, in a letter to Julian Harris,²² set forth his position with regard to the Negro and his relation to the Progressive party. The traditional Democratic policy of setting whites against Negroes, and the Republican practice of setting Negroes against whites had led to an almost ruinous situation, Roosevelt asserted. Since the Civil War, Republican delegates from the South had been largely Negroes who were easily bought and more easily controlled; the Progressive party could not deal with these black politicians from Dixie. The colonel made it plain to the country that the Progressives would appeal "to the best white men in the South, the men of justice and vision." By placing the Progressive movement in their hands from the outset, "we shall create a situation by which the colored men of the South will get justice as it is not possible for them to get justice if we are to continue and perpetuate the present conditions."²³

In the meantime the Progressive provisional national com-

²⁰ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, July 28, 1912.

²¹ George E. Mowry, "The South and the Progressive Lily White Party of 1912," *Journal of Southern History*, VI (May, 1940), 240.

²² Editor of *Uncle Remus's Home Magazine* (Atlanta) and one of the few prominent Southern Roosevelt men.

²³ Roosevelt to Julian Harris, August 1, 1912, Roosevelt Papers; published in A. S. Link (ed.), "Correspondence Relating to the Progressive Party's 'Lily White' Policy in 1912," *Journal of Southern History*, X (November, 1944), 481-488.

mittee was endeavoring to decide the question as to whether the white or Negro delegations from the South should be seated. The contest between the rival Georgia delegations was so bitter that the state was allowed to go unrepresented. The white delegations from the other deep Southern states were seated. And when the Progressive convention assembled at Chicago a few days later, Roosevelt revealed to an astonished South that his dictum against the Negro in politics pertained only to the would-be black Bull Moosers from below the Potomac. The convention on August 6, 1912, adopted the report of the credentials committee which excluded every Negro delegate from the South; but Negro delegates from the North were cordially welcomed by the Bull Moose leader who declared in a fulsome tribute to Northern Negroes that since they "had won the respect of their communities" and were "the peers of the white men," the Progressives by admitting them were setting a high standard for the Southern states "to which we hope that our colored brethern [from the South] will come up."²⁴

Few Southerners believed that Roosevelt was sincere in his policy of North-South racial discrimination. They believed that it was simply a bid for Southern Democratic support on the one hand and Northern Negro votes on the other. "The great Bull Moose leader has summarily ejected the black mooses that hail from the sunny land of Dixie from his herd," one editor humorously commented.²⁵ Southern Democrats did not let Roosevelt forget, furthermore, that his convictions regarding the place of the Negro in Southern politics were of too recent an origin not to warrant suspicion. They recalled the Crum incident, the suspension of the Indianola, Mississippi, post office, and the Booker T. Washington dinner at the White House. The colonel never once intimated that he had changed his democratic views concerning Negro-white relations in general, but Southern newspapers implied that he had and when he dined with two Negro Progressives in Providence, Rhode Island, Southerners were

²⁴ "Extract from Mr. Roosevelt's Speech at the Coliseum, August 6, 1912. On the Negro Question." Typed MS in Roosevelt Papers.

²⁵ *Nashville Banner*, August 6, 1912.

assured that Roosevelt still endorsed "social equality" for the races.²⁶

The lily-white policy of the Progressive party was not the only basis for Southern criticism of Theodore Roosevelt. His Southern critics charged that he was a pawn in the hands of the trusts. That George W. Perkins of the harvester and steel trusts was Roosevelt's chief financial supporter was bad enough, Southerners declared. But when Senator Robert M. La Follette made known the fact of the rapid growth of trusts during the years of the Roosevelt presidency, Democratic critics could with some reason declare that the Bull Moose had been no consistent enemy of the trusts.²⁷ They insisted, moreover, that Roosevelt as President had proved unfaithful to his promise to support the Constitution when he allowed Morgan and Gary to incorporate the Tennessee Iron and Coal Company into the United States Steel Corporation. Josephus Daniels extravagantly labeled this act "The greatest crime that has ever been committed by any president of any Republic."²⁸ Southern editors generally ridiculed the Progressive candidate's promises that he would effectively regulate the trusts if he were elected President. They thought that instead the trusts would control Roosevelt.²⁹

The disclosures of a Senate investigating committee in the fall of 1912 furnished Southern critics with new ammunition to fire at Roosevelt. It was revealed authoritatively for the first time that the railroad magnate, Edward H. Harriman, had contributed personally \$50,000 and had collected \$200,000 for the Roosevelt campaign fund in 1904.³⁰ To make a bad situation worse for Roosevelt, it was further revealed that John D. Archbold gave \$100,000 for Standard Oil and that George W. Perkins gave \$50,000 for the

²⁶ *Providence Bulletin*, August 17, 1912; *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 2, 1912. On the other hand, the *Charleston News and Courier*, August 12, 1912, and *Columbia (S. C.) State*, August 10, 1912, commended Roosevelt's seeming conversion to the Southern viewpoint on the Negro's place in Southern politics.

Josephus Daniels' pronouncement on the issue was a plain statement of the prevailing Southern conviction regarding the Negro in politics. Out of her bitter experience, Daniels wrote, the South had evolved certain paramount convictions. The region was seeking not merely a sectional policy, but a national policy on the subject of the race question. The South would attain security, Daniels added, only by the general acceptance of a national policy embodying Southern racial ideas and practices. If Roosevelt would emancipate the South, the *Tar Heel* editor insisted, he should recognize the justice of the Southern claim "that the subjugation of the Negro, politically, and the separation of the Negro, socially, are paramount to all other considerations in the South, short of the preservation of the Republic itself." This, he asserted, was the "*Anglo-Saxon instinct of self-preservation*," more profound than reason and deeper than experience. *Raleigh News and Observer*, October 1, 1912.

²⁷ *Raleigh News and Observer*, September 7, 1912.

²⁸ *Raleigh News and Observer*, October 6, 1912.

²⁹ See the *Chattanooga Daily Times*, September 10, 1912; *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 20, 1912; *Houston Post*, August 18, 1912; *Little Rock Arkansas Democrat*, August 17, 1912.

³⁰ *Louisville Times*, October 3, 1912.

New York Life Insurance Company. Roosevelt branded as false Harriman's statement that it was at the colonel's request that the railroad executive collected a quarter of a million dollars from Wall Street; and he declared that he knew nothing whatever about the Standard Oil contribution, but vigorous rebuttals from the men involved placed Roosevelt in a suspicious light. Southern editors, in "righteous anger," endeavored to paint his past record in the darkest colors and most sinister light. One critic was particularly harsh. Roosevelt was, he declared, a "wolf in sheep's clothing, — a decoy duck, an emissary of legalized piracy masquerading as a reformer."³¹ An Arkansas editor thought Roosevelt was "not only the biggest hypocrite alive, but is entitled to all the other epithets that may be applied to an ungrateful master and subservient public servant."³²

The Progressive candidate's allegations that the Democratic and Republican parties were boss-ridden and boss-controlled puzzled Southern editors,³³ many of whom thought that Roosevelt himself was the most arrogant political boss in the country. They pointed, furthermore, to the obvious fact that William Flinn of Pennsylvania, a ring-leader in Bull Moose councils, had the reputation of a corrupt and unscrupulous politician. Southern Democrats also objected to the high degree of governmental centralization envisaged in the New Nationalism. One editor saw the struggle between the New Freedom and the New Nationalism as "*a conflict between a government of delegated powers and a government of absolute powers, between Anglo-Saxon law and Roman law, between Democracy and Socialism.*"³⁴ Southern progressives and conservatives alike voiced their opposition to Roosevelt's proposals for a protective tariff, the benefits of which were to be distributed to all the people. They feared that with his proposed Tariff Commission, his Trust Commission, and his numerous other suggested commissions, Roosevelt would inaugurate a regime of government by commission for the nation.³⁵

³¹ Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, July 7, 1912.

³² Little Rock *Arkansas Democrat*, August 22, 1912.

³³ Roosevelt to Eugene Thwing, July 16, 1912, Roosevelt Papers; see also T. Roosevelt, "Platform Insincerity," *Outlook*, CI (July 27, 1912), 660-662.

³⁴ *Atlanta Journal*, September 1, 1912.

³⁵ *Atlanta Journal*, September 29, 1912; *Birmingham Age-Herald*, July 12, 1912; *Raleigh News and Observer*, August 7, 1912; *Dallas Morning News*, August 8, 1912; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 7, 1912; *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, July 29, 1912; *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman*, September 26, 1912.

Despite the impression of an apparent unanimity of feeling against Theodore Roosevelt and his Progressive program that one gets from the Southern newspapers, there was considerable difference of opinion at the time as to the actual strength of the new party in the South. The *New York Times* attempted to probe Southern political inclinations by gathering from leading Democrats in the region their opinions as to whether Roosevelt would carry any of the states below the Potomac. The Southerners replied almost unanimously that they had no fear that the Progressives would make serious inroads in their respective states.³⁶

But in every Southern state except Oklahoma a lily white Progressive party was organized. In Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia — states in which the Republicans were normally respectable minorities — the rise of the new party only caused a division within the Republican ranks, but in Georgia, Arkansas, and Alabama thousands of enthusiastic Bull Moose supporters worked for Roosevelt's election.³⁷ In the remainder of the Deep South the third party made little progress. It was in that section, according to one Mississippi editor, like the proverbial Panamanian army, a force with several hundred generals and but two privates.³⁸ At least two Southern newspapers, the *Memphis News-Scimitar* and the *Burlington (N. C.) State-Dispatch*, espoused the Progressive cause, but only two men prominent in Southern life — John M. Parker of New Orleans and Julian Harris of Atlanta — advocated Roosevelt's election.

Roosevelt himself felt that he had a great personal following in the South who would rally to his support if he could only deliver his appeal to them.³⁹ He determined, accordingly, to carry the fight to the heart of the enemy, to make a campaign tour in the South. Roosevelt opened his Southern campaign "swing around the circle" at Little Rock where he addressed a session of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association on September 24, 1912. He confined himself largely to a discussion

³⁶ *New York Times*, August 19, 1912.

³⁷ In Georgia Roosevelt polled 22,010 (16.14% of the total vote), and Taft polled 5,190 votes (4.27% of the total vote). Arkansas gave 21,673 (17.66% of the total vote) to Roosevelt, and 24,297 votes (19.62% of the total vote) to Taft. Roosevelt polled 22,689 (19.26% of the total vote) and Taft 9,731 votes (8.26% of the total vote) in Alabama. *World Almanac*, 1916, *passim*.

³⁸ *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, September 24, 1912, quoting *Jones County (Miss.) News*.

³⁹ There can be no doubt that Roosevelt was something of a popular idol with many Southerners. The numerous letters written by Progressives in the South to their leader testify to this fact. See, for example, James M. Williamson, Jr., to Roosevelt, June 7, 1912, and M. F. Anderson to Roosevelt, May 7, 1912, both in Roosevelt Papers.

of flood-control on the Mississippi River and offered the startling suggestion that the equipment used to build the Panama Canal be transported to the Mississippi Valley once the Canal was completed, and "then we will have flood prevention, water conservation and river traffic."⁴⁰

At Memphis on September 26 the colonel addressed a crowd of almost 5,000 persons at a meeting of the Interstate Levee Association and advocated a broad policy of flood-control which would include every phase of soil reclamation, the building of reservoirs for the storage of flood waters, reforestation, the generation of electrical power from the water power accumulated, and the completion and strengthening of the levee system. At the state fairgrounds he braved a pouring rain to shake hands with a crowd estimated by the local newspaper at 17,000.⁴¹

In his two addresses at Little Rock and Memphis, Roosevelt had carefully avoided a discussion of politics, but at New Orleans on September 27 he set forth plainly his political appeal to the South. There was popular enthusiasm a-plenty and the crowd gave the colonel a welcome that must have gladdened his heart. His Southern manager, John M. Parker, introduced Roosevelt with an impassioned plea to the Southern people to cast aside the fetters of political tradition and to join in the movement for economic and political regeneration. The colonel emphasized the necessity for Federal control of the Mississippi and its levees, advocated protection for the cane and beet sugar industries, and pleaded for the abolition of what he called "artificial political lines" in the South. "I come here not to ask you to follow me," he declared, "but to ask you to join me."⁴² It was in the interest of the South, he said, that he had come into the region to make his appeal in behalf of the Progressive party. "I want you to feel free to vote as your conscience inclines you to. If we win I want you to take your share in steering the wheels of the nation. I am less engaged in pleading my cause than in pleading yours." He ended his address by appealing to Southerners who believed as he did to disregard tradition and join in the new political crusade.⁴³

⁴⁰ Little Rock *Arkansas Democrat*, September 25, 1912.

⁴¹ Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, September 27, 1912.

⁴² New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, September 28, 1912.

⁴³ Louisville *Courier-Journal*, September 28, 1912.

Roosevelt made a similar appeal in Montgomery on the morning of September 28,⁴⁴ but in Atlanta, during the evening of the same day, he launched an attack upon Woodrow Wilson before an audience numbering more than 10,000. He charged that Wilson had grossly and deliberately misrepresented his views in his campaign speeches and that the New Jersey governor was totally ignorant of present-day thought on political and economic questions.⁴⁵

The Progressive candidate continued his "swing around the circle" in the South by going to Chattanooga for an address on the evening of September 30,⁴⁶ and concluded his Southern tour with an address in Raleigh on October 1. At Raleigh he recalled North Carolina's history and declared, "with such a history behind you, I think I have the right to come here and appeal to you to join us in the greatest movement for regeneration that you have seen or will see, as I believe." He further declared that the South, with "its old and native goodness," had the opportunity to aid in political regeneration. "I wish to see the South," he concluded, "come back into its position of national importance which it formerly had, and which by right it should have."⁴⁷

The tumultuous reception Roosevelt received in every Southern city in which he spoke could not have failed to increase his hopes of capturing at least one Southern state, for his campaign proved one very definite thing: that, despite the onslaught of press and politicians, Roosevelt was popular with the Southern people. Woodrow Wilson himself could have received no warmer welcome.

Roosevelt found, however, that it was his misfortune that people often shout one way and vote another and he got only a small minority of the votes in the South. Why did the Progressives fail in their effort to win the support of Southern progressives and liberals? Roosevelt received little support from Southern liberals mainly because their own leader, for whom they had long been struggling, was now the Democratic presidential nominee. Southern progressives were generally convinced, furthermore, that Wilson was a true progressive leader

⁴⁴ *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 29, 1912.

⁴⁵ *Atlanta Constitution*, September 29, 1912.

⁴⁶ *Chattanooga Daily Times*, October 1, 1912.

⁴⁷ *Raleigh News and Observer*, October 2, 1912.

whereas many of them thought that Roosevelt was an opportunist and a demagogue. These liberals stood to gain everything politically should the Democratic candidate become President of the United States, and they were naturally unwilling to desert the candidate for whom they had been fighting, to become the advocates of an obviously lost cause. Southern conservatives, on the other hand, opposed Roosevelt for different reasons. Although some of them might look with favor upon his protective tariff policy, they viewed with suspicion and distrust his program of social, political, and economic reform. Wilson was too "radical" to suit their tastes, but even he was not as "radical" in their eyes as was Roosevelt.

After the furor and name-calling of the campaign had given way to a serious consideration of Roosevelt's mission, however, progressive Southerners must have agreed with the editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* who wrote that the Progressive candidate was not a "vulgar charlatan, or a cheap demagogue," but that he was a spokesman for the discontent of the American people. The idealism of the Progressive movement, the editor concluded, still lived and reigned. There was no defeat at Armageddon, for Woodrow Wilson's dream of the ideal republic might yet be realized if all good men set their hearts and their hands to the great work of reconstructing the American commonwealth.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 6, 1912.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEW BERN

A HISTORY OF THE TOWN
and
CRAVEN COUNTY, 1700-1800

By ALONZO THOMAS DILL, JR.

PART VII NEW BERN DURING THE REVOLUTION

¶ *The Sword is now drawn, and God
knows when it will be sheathed.*

—JAMES DAVIS, May 12, 1775.

In 1771 the people of Craven County fought to uphold a government resting upon royal administration. Four short years later they shed life's blood to destroy it. What was the reason for this change of heart? Superficially, it appears arbitrary, capricious and illogical. Actually, it presents less of a contradiction than it seems. To the people of Craven County the Regulation was not entirely a test of loyalty to the British crown. They fought for Tryon and defended him from his critics partly because of personal attachment to a friend and benefactor but mostly because they abhorred the attempt of the Regulators to ride roughshod over representative government. Long before Alamance, they were becoming alienated from British rule for much the same reason. Anarchy in Hillsboro, high-handedness in London — neither was tolerable when it jeopardized the security and prosperity so hardly won from a land which little more than half a century before had been a perilous and unproductive wilderness.

The Stamp Act and its troubles in 1765-1766 brought unrest and uncertainty to the town. From arriving skippers, merchants and shipowners learned with anxiety of vessels seized in the West Indies for want of stamp papers.¹ They read with apprehension in the local press of higher underwriters' premiums, after outbursts in New Hanover, for voyages to Cape Fear.² The wheels of business slowed ominously. "Tho' the people here are peacable

¹ Dispatch from New Bern to the *London Chronicle*, April 1-3, 1766. Reprinted in D. L. Corbitt's "Historical Notes," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II (1925), 388.

² *Colonial Records*, VII, 168 ff.

and quiet yet they seem very uneasy discontented and dejected," wrote the Reverend James Reed. "The Courts of Justice are in a great measure shut up and tis expected that in a few weeks there will be a total stagnation of trade."³ Nor did the inhabitants always bear thus meekly with the impositions of their overseas government, for in November, 1765, the angry New Bernians "try'd, condemn'd, hang'd, and burn'd" in effigy the crown-appointed stamp distributor, Dr. William Houston.⁴ When at last the act was repealed, these rumblings of revolt gave way temporarily to genuine gratitude. A public banquet and ball were held to celebrate the occasion.⁵ Ill will and resentment were in part scored off by the beginning of the Palace and the assurance that New Bern at last was to be the undisputed permanent capital. Yet all was not serene between the people and the British government. The passage of the Townshend Acts in June, 1767, brought renewed indignation, and the town must have witnessed some heated public denunciations of this fresh instance of British misrule. An account of one has survived. The assembly which convened in October, 1769, probably in the schoolhouse, reconvened after Tryon's dissolution, which he had pronounced in order to prevent the adoption of non-importation resolutions, in the Craven courthouse and proceeded, as a convention, to boycott British-taxed goods in defiance of the governor's displeasure.⁶ By April, 1770, and perhaps prior to this date, the Sons of Liberty were active in New Bern.⁷ The full membership is not known but it is certain that Richard Cogdell, later chairman of the committee of safety, was prominent in the counsels of this organization, from which grew the seeds of revolt and separation.

On August 11, 1771, Tryon's successor, Josiah Martin, arrived in New Bern by boat from New York to the roar of a salute by the cannon at the Palace and the Union Point Battery.⁸ It must have been something of a surprise to him to find such a splendid building as the Palace awaiting his occupancy because he re-

³ *Colonial Records*, VII, 154.

⁴ *Colonial Records*, VII, ix (prefatory notes), 125.

⁵ R. D. W. Connor, *History of North Carolina: The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods* (Chicago and New York, 1919), I, 330.

⁶ *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, December 8, 1769. Reprinted in R. D. W. Connor, "John Harvey," *The North Carolina Booklet*, VIII (1908), 21-26.

⁷ John Neufville, chairman of the General Committee, Charleston, "To the Sons of Liberty in Newbern," April 25, 1770; Richard Cogdell Papers, 1761-1784, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁸ *Virginia Gazette*, September 12, 1771; *Colonial Records*, IX, 16.

marked immediately that the town "is . . . made extremely delectable by the accomodation [*sic*] provided at great charge to the Province according to the elegant taste of M^r Tryon." ⁹ Here indeed was a left-handed compliment. Martin no doubt admired the "elegant taste" of the building, but by slipping in that blistering phrase, "at great charge to the Province," he leaves no doubt as to his opinion on his predecessor's extravagance. Martin found New Bern at the height of its pre-Revolutionary prosperity:

. . . I see this little town or rather village of New Bern [he wrote] growing very fast into significance in spite of the great natural difficulties of the navigation leading to it and its importance will I hope become greater as the spirit of improvement that begins to dawn among the neighboring planters some of whom are going upon the culture of Rice and Indigo shall diffuse itself. The bad navigation however of the river Neuse and the bar of Ocracock, will much retard its growth and can never be effectually improved until this Province shall be in circumstances to employ £100,000 Sterling under the auspices of some such Genius as M^r Brindley¹⁰ to whom I am persuaded it would not be a very difficult task and I do think it would then soon become a City not unworthy notice in the great and flourishing Empire of my Royal Master.¹¹

New Bern was at this time far from being a city; not even the genius of James Brindley could have made it one, despite Martin's sanguine observation. But it was losing some of the aspects of a village. In 1773 was passed an act which provided for the first fire engine and the first town police force — yes, and even the first speed law.¹² This act empowered the town commissioners to assess a tax up to two shillings per £100 of town property to buy a water engine with ladders and buckets and to establish a fire company. It forbade children or idle and disorderly persons to fire off guns and pistols in town. It prescribed a ten-shilling fine for driving a horse and cart "immoderately." Finally, it empowered the commissioners to engage two or more watchmen to be paid out of the funds arising from the two-shilling tax, and

⁹ *Colonial Records*, IX, 19.

¹⁰ James Brindley (1716-1772), the illiterate Derbyshire engineering genius, who constructed near Manchester the first important English canal and began the great system of inland navigation in the midlands. In all he laid out or superintended 365 miles of canals, of which the most important was the Trent and Mersey, known as the Grand Trunk. *Dictionary of National Biography*, VI, 345.

¹¹ *Colonial Records*, IX, 281.

¹² It was introduced by Christopher Neale. *Colonial Records*, IX, 445, 505; *State Records*, XXIII, 916-918.

thus began the colonial archetype of the modern professional police force, supplanting the system of volunteer civic patrollers.

Despite this promising prospect, Martin's administration was doomed from the first to ill fortune. Typical of its tragic tenor was the death of one of his children from yellow fever before he had been in New Bern a month.¹³ In 1775 another of his children died.¹⁴ Everything seemed to go wrong in this ill-starred administration. The school encountered difficulties. Scarcity of money and dearness of board forced Master Tomlinson to dismiss his assistant.¹⁵ Enrollment dropped to only thirty scholars, and these of town families, because of the high cost of living for out-of-town students. A dissenting minister opened a school at Wilmington, which took away from Tomlinson six Wilmington boys.¹⁶ To climax these troubles, the trustees — most unfairly, it seems — quarreled with Tomlinson in regard to the punishment of the children of two of the board members, for which Reed blamed "the excessive Indulgence of American parents."¹⁷ Poor Tomlinson was forced out of his position, and the school seems for a time to have suspended operation. Tomlinson remained in New Bern, continuing as lay reader for the parish, but soon went to Rhode Island for his health.¹⁸ Evidently he returned, for it is undoubtedly his epitaph which appears on an ancient stone in Cedar Grove Cemetery: "In memory of Thomas Tomlinson who departed this life on the 24th of September, 1802. Aged 70 years." There is nothing to tell how he spent the latter part of his life. Perhaps he farmed his brother's lands near New Bern, living quietly and in some justifiable bitterness.

Political matters fared no better than the school. The governor and assembly reached a deadlock on the court law proposed in 1773. The colonial merchants wished this law to carry a clause by which their right to continue to attach American property owned by English merchants would be assured. To this the crown had unwisely instructed Martin not to agree, and as a consequence American loyalty was put to a severe strain. Once

¹³ *Colonial Records*, IX, 32; *Virginia Gazette*, November 14, 1771.

¹⁴ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1117.

¹⁵ *Colonial Records*, IX, 6.

¹⁶ *Colonial Records*, IX, 239.

¹⁷ *Colonial Records*, IX, 238 ff. "The Rules of the School," of the Norfolk (Va.) Academy, March 26, 1787, provided for a committee of aldermen to sit on trial with the master in disciplinary cases to "prevent odium falling on the principal alone."

¹⁸ *Colonial Records*, IX, 305, 317, 318.

again the people of New Bern assembled to pass resolves.¹⁹ Once again judicial proceedings were curtailed and trade began to slacken. Isaac Edwards, of New Bern, who had been Governor Tryon's secretary, wrote bitterly:

The Mother Country has not of late discovered any great desire to promote the wish of her children, much less to mitigate or relax the mandates of her Sovereign & Supreme power, & if I judge aright her children in this our dear Country have too sacred a regard to what they esteem their unbounded Birthright, tamely to surrender it to the Command of any Tribunal under Heaven.²⁰

This state of mind, long in coming and reluctantly arrived at in the conservative town of New Bern, was the tinder of revolt. By the middle of the following year the tinder had caught. "All America is in a most violent flame," wrote the Reverend James Reed, "and every good man would forbear as much as possible adding the least Fuel to the Fire."²¹

But the fire would not die down. On July 21, 1774, the inhabitants of Wilmington met and passed resolutions calling for a provincial congress to be held at Johnston Courthouse for election of delegates to a general congress in Philadelphia.²² On August 9 a mass meeting for a similar purpose was held in the courthouse in New Bern. Delegates were elected — but the suggestion of the Wilmington citizens that the congress should meet in Johnston County was quietly ignored. New Bern was not to be deprived of this exciting convention. Accordingly, the notices which went out telling of the meeting proclaimed New Bern as the place for the congress and August 25 as the date.²³ The leaders in this call for the congress were James Davis, Abner Nash, Isaac Edwards, Joseph Leech, Richard Cogdell, Richard Ellis, James Coor, David Barron, and John Green. Leech and Cogdell, plus Lemuel Hatch, were chosen as the county's representatives; while Nash and Edwards were selected to represent the borough.²⁴ While Martin protested ineffectually, the congress gathered as scheduled.²⁵ But where did it meet? Cer-

¹⁹ *Colonial Records*, X, 827.

²⁰ *Colonial Records*, IX, 680.

²¹ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1015.

²² *Colonial Records*, IX, 1016-1017.

²³ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1026-1027.

²⁴ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1042.

²⁵ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1029-1030.

tainly not in the Palace assembly room, for that would have been a petty and needless defiance. The governor's invitation to the council to hold themselves aloof from the congress by being his guests at the Palace seems to make it certain that the delegates met either at the courthouse or the schoolhouse.²⁶ With Nash, the able advocate, Leech, the soldier, and Cogdell, the organizing politician and patriot, in their delegations, New Bern and Craven County were well represented in this first assembly chosen independently of royal authority. And no more fiery exponent of American rights could be found among the members of this body than Isaac Edwards, who alone of them all went so far as to urge condemnation of Martin's attempt to obstruct the gathering of the people's representatives. Of him Martin wrote that he had been "the most zealous and forward" in promoting the congress.²⁷ Unfortunately for the colonists' cause, Edwards died only five months later.²⁸ (He "persued to the last the same undutiful conduct," said the governor.)²⁹ Thus did untimely death, as in the case of Perquimans's John Harvey, who outlived him only three months, prevent Edwards from seeing the fight for freedom won.

In accordance with the recommendation of the congress, a safety committee was organized for the town and county, with Cogdell as chairman. Early in 1775 it was active in soliciting supplies for the relief of blockaded Boston. The merchants John Green and John Wright Stanly were named to collect and ship stores such as corn, peas, and pork to Salem.³⁰ Propagandistic activities were also begun. At a meeting in March, for example, the committee passed resolves exhorting the people "to remain firm and steady in the common cause of Liberty."

Be sensible, O Americans! of your danger [the committee wrote]; let that unite you together as one Man and cease not to implore the great Disposer of all things to assist and crown with success the Councils of the General Congress [in Philadelphia].³¹

Governor Martin raved at these "atrocious falsehoods" designed

²⁶ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1056.

²⁷ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1056-1057.

²⁸ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1196.

²⁹ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1224.

³⁰ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1196.

³¹ Signers of this circular were Richard Cogdell, Abner Nash, Richard Blackledge, Farnifold Green, John Fonveille, James Davis, Edmond Hatch, James Coor, Jacob Johnston, Jacob Blount, Joseph Leech, Alexander Gaston, and William Bryan. *Colonial Records*, IX, 1143-1144.

to "stimulate the people to revolt." ³² According to Martin, they were "the composition of a M^r Nash," whom he paid the compliment of calling "an eminent lawyer but a most unprincipled character." This "unprincipled character" was chosen, along with James Davis, to represent the borough in the second provincial congress, which over two protesting proclamations of Martin convened in New Bern on April 4.³³ The day after it had begun, the governor ordered John Bryan, sheriff of Craven, to read out upon the floor still a third interdict against this meeting.³⁴ But, he noted in wrath, "not a man obeyed it nor have I heard that any animadversion was made upon it except by a worthless fellow named James Coor [of the Craven delegation] . . . who told the Sheriff that he had read the proclamation and might now carry it back to the Governor."³⁵

Up to this point the North Carolinians had maintained their allegiance to the mother country, however strained it was. The second provincial congress had even made a point of stressing that its intent was not seditious.³⁶ But with the news of the battle of Lexington, which arrived in New Bern on May 6, armed revolt became inevitable.³⁷ The formation of independent militia companies was immediately begun.³⁸ James Davis wrote in his *Gazette*:

It is now full Time for us to be on our Guard, and to prepare ourselves against every Contingency. *The Sword is now drawn*, and God knows when it will be sheathed.³⁹

"Civil Government," moaned Martin, "becomes more and more prostrate every day."⁴⁰ In apprehension he dismounted the Palace battery, and, observing this, the committee of safety with Abner Nash as spokesman called upon him to demand the return of the guns to their carriages.⁴¹ Martin slyly gave as his excuse the need for repairs to this artillery, which had been used at Alamance, in order to fire salutes on the approaching birthday of

³² *Colonial Records*, IX, 1155.

³³ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1145-1146, 1177-1179.

³⁴ Bryan was sheriff from 1772 to 1780.

³⁵ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1212-1213.

³⁶ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1198.

³⁷ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1237.

³⁸ Saunders says mistakenly that it was not until June 8, 1775, that this was done, though actually the militia were being organized by May 18. *Colonial Records*, IX, 1256; X, xxix (prefatory notes).

³⁹ *The North Carolina Gazette*, May 12, 1775.

⁴⁰ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1256.

⁴¹ *Colonial Records*, X, 41.

the king! The committee retired, by no means deceived, and thereafter the Palace and Martin's every movement were closely watched.⁴² Meantime, the committee prepared one of its most effective revolutionary contributions. This was a lengthy circular letter which was spread far and wide over the province.⁴³ It advocated the formation of militia companies and advised precautions against slave uprisings. It warned against the Tory "association papers" which the governor had begun to circulate in an effort to counteract the committee's activities. "Some very few Ignorant People in this Country" were won over by these papers to the British cause, the letter admitted, but these had been "convinced of their Error" and "with indignation tore off their Names, and now look with Horror on the Trap that was laid for them." This letter was literally a call to arms for all citizens:

The People of *America* are therefore now driven to this fatal Extremity—either they must tamely submit to Slavery . . . or they must resolve firmly and manfully to Maintain those Rights, which God gave, and the Constitution warrants.⁴⁴

Seeing the collapse of British authority, Martin fled to Fort Johnston at Cape Fear, leaving in the Palace his staff of servants, who at his parting instructions spiked the Palace guns. It was from his point of view a wise precaution, for already the committee of safety was laying plans to seize this artillery and turn it to patriot uses.⁴⁵ The date set for this was June 23, election day, an occasion always heartily and seldom temperately observed. At the appointed time a crowd gathered at the Palace—"a mob . . . inflamed with liquour," writes Martin, thinking the event impromptu and alcoholically inspired—and demanded of the servants the keys, though they were orderly and did not attempt to seize them by force.⁴⁶ They did, however, take the dismantled cannon and bring them to the courthouse at Broad

⁴² *Colonial Records*, X, 43.

⁴³ "Proceedings of the Committee / for the Town of *Newbern*, and / County of *Craven*, May 31, 1775." Pamphlet in the archives of the Moravian Church at Winston-Salem, N. C., listed by the WPA Historical Records Survey and privately reprinted by Douglas C. Murtrie (Chicago, 1938).

⁴⁴ At least one safety committee, and doubtless many more, seem to have acted favorably on and followed the suggestions in the Craven committee's resolves. On June 10 the Pitt committee went on record as approving them. *Colonial Records*, X, 15.

⁴⁵ Richard Cogdell to Samuel Johnston, June 18, 1775, Hayes Collection transcripts, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁴⁶ *Colonial Records*, X, 45.

and Middle streets.⁴⁷ "Several ship guns" were taken at about the same time from Samuel Cornell, whose Tory leanings were known to the townspeople.⁴⁸ Nor were these all of the acquisitions in arms. Three swivel guns mysteriously disappeared from his Excellency's private boat.⁴⁹ They were used only for ballast, he protested vainly. Yet somehow they ended up at Richard Ellis's wharf — and ultimately, no doubt, at the gunwales of an American privateer. However, powder and shot were sadly lacking. Cogdell wrote that there were only some 150 pounds of gunpowder in the town, whereas ten times that amount could be easily used.⁵⁰ In the fall of the year, the abandoned Palace yielded some badly needed powder, shot, and other artillery equipment. A quantity of these supplies was found buried "under a fine bed of cabbage on Palace Square and concealed in the Palace cellar, evidently by the governor's servants."⁵¹ Needless to say, this discovery was put to good use, and patriot propaganda made the most of the possibilities of discrediting Martin over his "dark depositum" and "infernal magazine."

Behind all this early revolutionary activity was the committee of safety — that "engine of sedition," in Martin's phrase, tirelessly working for the cause of American freedom. Richard Cogdell's house on Middle Street was its headquarters, and here the members gathered to conspire grimly and courageously against an empire with their lives as the forfeit of failure.⁵² The committee took strong steps to insure united support of their cause. On June 17, 1775, it was resolved that all those who failed within five days to sign "articles of association" pledging their loyalty should be deemed enemies.⁵³ We may well imagine the picture of sunburnt planters and worried merchants, trooping into Cogdell's house, where the articles were kept, to sign them and so commit themselves to the American cause. Even before the June 22 deadline, Cogdell reported the articles "generally

⁴⁷ *Colonial Records*, X, 66, 145. One of these, minus its carriage, has been set up beneath a marker on East Front Street, where it may be seen today.

⁴⁸ Alexander Schaw to the Earl of Dartmouth, October 31, 1775, Dartmouth MSS transcripts, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁴⁹ *The North Carolina Gazette*, July 7, 1775.

⁵⁰ Richard Cogdell to Samuel Johnston, June 18, 1775, Hayes Collection transcripts, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁵¹ *Virginia Gazette*, October 21, 1775.

⁵² *Colonial Records*, X, 464. Cogdell's house was on the northern half of Lot 81 nearly opposite the church. Craven Records, Will Book A, 218-219.

⁵³ Richard Cogdell to Samuel Johnston, June 18, 1775, Hayes Collection transcripts, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

signed in this county." To maintain popular sympathy for the cause, the committee made the governor the target of constant attacks, most of them written by the brilliant Abner Nash, whose clever messages were an ineluctable problem for Martin and his helpers. Time and again the governor's letters were intercepted and his designs held up to be cursed or ridiculed. In one of these the governor had denied inciting the slaves to revolt, saying nothing could justify such a course *except*—and this exception was tellingly emphasized by Nash and his associates—"the failure of all other means to maintain the King's Government."⁵⁴ Seizing upon this omnipresent fear in every planter's mind, the committee immediately passed resolves calling Martin "a soul lost to every sense of the feelings of humanity." In other letters Martin had written for "a good tent" with a royal standard and for arms and ammunition from Boston.⁵⁵ These the committee promptly published, with appropriate comment, as proof of the hostile intentions of the governor, with whom all communication by any citizen was strictly forbidden.⁵⁶ The effectiveness of this and similar propaganda brought many a private malediction from Martin upon Abner Nash, whom he commended, unintentionally, for "his skill and dexterity in misrepresentation and perversion of the truth."⁵⁷ When in September, 1775, the provincial congress set up district committees of safety in addition to the town-county ones, no fewer than four Craven men were named to this new body: Richard Cogdell, James Ellis, Dr. Alexander Gaston, and the silversmith William Tisdale.⁵⁸ For Nash and James Coor were reserved the special honor of serving as members of the newly created provincial council. The new district committee continued its headquarters at Cogdell's, apparently meeting there on every occasion until in May, 1776, it was disbanded and authority centralized in a provincial council of safety, to which James Coor again was named.⁵⁹

The activity of men like Nash, Coor, and Cogdell in behalf of the patriot cause should not obscure the fact that there were many persons of Tory leanings in the town and county, ranging

⁵⁴ *Colonial Records*, X, 137-138a.

⁵⁵ *Colonial Records*, X, 16, 105-106, 152.

⁵⁶ *Colonial Records*, X, 87, 139-140.

⁵⁷ *Colonial Records*, X, 271-272.

⁵⁸ *Colonial Records*, X, 214-215.

⁵⁹ *Colonial Records*, X, 581.

from passive sympathizers like James Reed to open and ardent royalists like the witty and charming chief justice, Martin Howard. Soon after the governor's flight, the faithful Reed encountered the stern wall of patriot disapproval. Visited by three members of the committee of safety, Reed was asked, over "a dish of coffee," to preach a sermon on a fast day that had been designated by the Continental Congress as an occasion of prayer for the American cause; and this request the clergyman refused, reminding the deputation that as a missionary maintained by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel he was forbidden to take sides in civil disputes. Furthermore, he told them,

It is established maxim in this province that parsons have no business with politicks. With your politicks I never did nor ever will intermeddle. And if you will acquaint me in whom the civil Government at present is vested, I will take special care to give them no offence. You pretend to be strenuous assertors of liberty; pray let me have a little liberty as well as yourself, at least liberty to be peaceful and quiet and do my duty.⁶⁰

The fast day, scheduled for July 20, 1775, was held as planned — but with a member of the committee reading "a very animating and spirited discourse" in lieu of Reed's sermon.⁶¹ On the day following the vestry was asked to suspend the parson and stop payment of his salary. Reed wrote a pointed letter explaining his position which James Davis published in his paper, and the committee of safety vigorously replied to it:

We think Sir that pure religion and civil liberty are inseparable companions, and that it is your particular duty as a Missionary as well as a minister of the gospel, and of this Parish, to enlighten mankind, to inculcate from the pulpit, the unerring principles of truth and justice, the main props of all civil government. The great Bishop of St. Asaph, in a sermon preached before the Society of which you are a Missionary, says, "it is the proper office of a preacher of the gospel of peace to point out the laws of justice and equity, which must ultimately regulate the happiness of states as well as individuals." . . . The august and venerable body that compose that society approved this discourse. . . . Here then, Sir, we hope you will find a full answer to your instructions as a Missionary, which were never meant to restrain your religious zeal when the fate of nations was depending, but only

⁶⁰ *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, August 11, 1775.

⁶¹ *Colonial Records*, X, 115-116.

to check those little narrow politicks, in which the clergy are sometimes found to intermeddle.⁶²

After his suspension, Reed confesses he "lived very retired for two or three months."⁶³ During that time, intimations were given that the parishioners wanted him back, so in November he returned to the pulpit — "and flatter myself," he wrote, "shall meet with no more interruptions."

Until 1777, no concerted action was taken in the county against Tory sympathizers. In the summer of 1775, it is true, the committee of safety ordered all of them disarmed and their guns turned over to the militia.⁶⁴ But they were allowed to remain on in their customary pursuits, more or less unmolested. Open Tory sympathizers, however, felt the pressure of public disapproval even before the battle of Lexington. Thomas MacKnight, of Currituck, who withdrew from the second provincial congress, complained that an attempt was made to drive him from his lodgings in New Bern.⁶⁵ However, he found himself not without partisans, for he inserted a notice in the press publicly thanking "the Inhabitants of Newbern in general, and more particularly . . . his friends" for "continuing their wonted civilities."⁶⁶ As time went on, the people became less tolerant until in the summer of 1777 a drive was begun to clear the Tories from the county. At a single session of the county court, Thomas Haslen, Robert Jamison, Andrew Mack, John Owens, James Barzey, Edmund Wrenford, and John Edge Tomlinson were placed under huge bonds (in Haslen's case, £5,000) to be forfeited unless they left for Europe or the West Indies in sixty days.⁶⁷ The well-to-do Tomlinson and Rigdon Brice, a Tory agitator, were thrown summarily into jail, as were many others of their persuasion. Chief Justice Howard was summoned to appear before the court, but wrote the clerk haughtily refusing to do so "as a subject of the King of Great Britain." Not all successfully indulged in such defiance, and a stay in the jail often brought a change of heart. Robert Orme, who like Howard had refused to appear, was

⁶² *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, August 11, 1775.

⁶³ *Colonial Records*, X, 428.

⁶⁴ *The Cape Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), September 1, 1775; *Colonial Records*, X, 158.

⁶⁵ *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II (1925), 506.

⁶⁶ *The North Carolina Gazette*, April 14, 1775; *Colonial Records*, IX, 1227.

⁶⁷ Craven Court Minutes, June, 1777.

thrown behind bars — and three months later, at the next term of court, took the oath of allegiance to the colonies.⁶⁸ Edmund Wrenford was ordered to leave town on Thursday, June 12; on Saturday, June 14, he took the oath. On Wednesday, September 10, Zebulon Rice refused either to swear allegiance or to post bond — but on the following day he recanted completely his Tory principles. Fear of Tory agitation among the slaves led the court to forbid all assemblages of blacks “in this Critical and Alarming time.”⁶⁹ As the war wore on, tolerance wore thin, and in time it became possible to be haled before the justices simply for “speaking and spreading false and dispiriting News” about the Continental armies.⁷⁰ During the year 1777 Tories by the boatload left New Bern, taking with them such of their worldly possessions as they could carry. In July and October two large vessels sailed from the port laden with a number of Scottish families, and aboard one of these was Martin Howard with his wife and daughter.⁷¹ The *Gazette* wrote of these human cargoes:

They are mostly Gentlemen of Considerable Property, which they have acquired in America, and have it chiefly on Board, and chuse to risk every consequence rather than acknowledge the freedom of a Country which has been so remarkably propitious to the People of their Nation.⁷²

As a matter of fact, the Tories were able to carry with them very little, and the plight of some who had been well to do, yet fell overnight into poverty and banishment, is extremely touching. By legislative acts the property of Tryon and Martin, Samuel Cornell, John Alexander, James Green the mariner, and Alexander McAuslin the merchant, was confiscated; and since their chief wealth consisted of real estate, they were left with little or nothing.⁷³ Cornell was more fortunate in this respect than most Tories. Though he had fled to New York earlier in the war, he was given permission by Governor Richard Caswell in December, 1777, to return to New Bern and take away his mov-

⁶⁸ Craven Court Minutes, June, September, 1777.

⁶⁹ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1777.

⁷⁰ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1780.

⁷¹ *State Records*, XI, 743, 790.

⁷² *The North-Carolina Gazette*, July 25, 1777; *State Records*, XI, 743.

⁷³ *State Records*, XIX, 672; XXIV, 263-264, 424-425. This James Green is not to be confused with James Green, Jr., the patriot.

able property, his servants and family.⁷⁴ The granting of this unusual privilege led a New York friend of Cornell's to write, upon his return there, that "there are some people in the world on whom fortune is never tired of lavishing her favours — and he is one of the lucky few."⁷⁵ Even so, Cornell lost heavily and, of course, could save nothing of immovable property such as his house and wharf and the distillery he owned on Lot No. 8.⁷⁶ The case of Martin Howard is a good illustration of what loyalty to the British crown cost these men. During stamp act riots in 1765 in Rhode Island, his former home, Howard had lost his house and furniture, which were destroyed by the demonstrators; and when the Revolution came he was forced to abandon his plantation on Neuse River, thus a second time losing his property out of allegiance to his king.⁷⁷ The estate of more than £12,000 which John Edge Tomlinson had so frugally built up was entirely lost to him and by 1779 he was declaring himself — "Hard Money" Tomlinson — "reduced to a Very extreme Degree of want."⁷⁸ The case of James Green the mariner is an interesting one. He sold his property and bought a vessel and a cargo of corn, thinking to escape with his wealth in this fashion. However, an American law prohibiting trade other than war supplies resulted in the seizure of his cargo. Jumping his bond, he slipped away to Antigua, where a British man o' war seized his vessel under an act of Parliament prohibiting trade with the colonies!⁷⁹ Thus was this Tory caught between the millstones of the war laws of two continents.

Most piteous of all was the case of poor James Reed. Tradition says the small boys of his congregation, protesting his royalist sympathies in a small-boy way, "would vehemently beat the drum at the church door, and shout, 'Off with his head!'"⁸⁰ The conflict in the heart of this faithful parson, torn between duty

⁷⁴ *State Records*, XI, 690-692, 698, 700.

⁷⁵ Enclosure, John Cruden, Jr., to William Cruden, January 28, 1778, in William Cruden to Lord Dartmouth, February 21, 1778; Dartmouth MSS, transcripts in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁷⁶ *State Gazette of South Carolina* (Charleston), November 24, 1785; *State Records*, XVI, 333; XIX, 357; XXIV, 444.

⁷⁷ British Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Bundles 96, 120; transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁷⁸ British Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Bundle 123; transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁷⁹ British Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Bundle 119; transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁸⁰ L. C. Vass, *History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C.* (Richmond, 1886), p. 78.

to his king and to the people he had so long lived among, must have hastened his end. Late in 1777 he died — “weary of living,” as he wrote some years before his last illness, “in this land of perpetual strife and contention.”⁸¹

With the war came profound changes in the life of the town. Gone were many of the principal merchants, and others not heretofore so prominent rose to take their place. Everywhere there was excitement, and the spirit of revolution reigned unchecked in the celebration of such public events as the new holiday, July Fourth, or the glorious victory over Burgoyne. Then did the great guns of the town’s armed merchantmen roar forth in triumph as their owners “seemed to vie with each other in a contest who should do the most honor to the day.”⁸² Such occasions called for the convocation of the council and assembly at the Palace, the display of the Continental flag, torchlights and bonfires, and a gathering of the town’s gentlemen aboard their vessels to drink toasts to “the bright morning star of this western world.”⁸³ There was a constant coming and going of troops, and the flurry attending the brief visits of such gallant soldiers as Light Horse Harry Lee or Crazy Jack Stewart, the hero of Stony Point.⁸⁴ Normal activity was uncertain; even so established an institution as the newspaper was affected, with James Davis complaining that if his son Thomas went into the army — “my chief hand in the Office,” he called him — he would be forced to suspend publication.⁸⁵ Prisoners of war of every rank and state filled the town, from the paroled Lord Charles Montague and General Donald McDonald to the lowliest deck-swabbers.⁸⁶ Besides the usual runaway slaves and ne’er-do-well debtors, the jail fairly bulged with the motley flotsam of these troubled times — drunken French adventurers, suspected spies, English and Irish captives, and seamen of many parts of the British Empire, some perhaps the savage wretches known as “man o’ war’s men.” Feeding them and preventing their escape was quite a problem, considering the prevalent high prices and

⁸¹ Craven Court Minutes, December, 1777; *Colonial Records*, IX, 815.

⁸² *State Records*, XIII, 187.

⁸³ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, supplement to November 7, 1777; July 10, 1778; *State Records*, XIII, 456.

⁸⁴ *Colonial Records*, X, 1039; James S. Biddle, editor, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle* (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 143-145.

⁸⁵ *State Records*, XIII, 259.

⁸⁶ *State Records*, XV, 764; XVI, 740, 743.

the limited capacity of this prison, over which a guard of as many as fifty men was sometimes necessary.⁸⁷ Not all of these strangers were undesirables, however, for some were allowed to remain at liberty on parole and even "contracted a small acquaintance" in the town, which they found "most agreeable to them."⁸⁸

New Bern at this time was the most populous town in the state with some 150 dwelling houses and about 600 inhabitants, according to the best contemporary estimates.⁸⁹ Crowdedness and violence were the impressions a traveler might retain of this busy place:

On our arrival, excessively wearied [writes a Rhode Islander], and needing repose and shelter, we wandered in pursuit of quarters, from street to street, and were turned from tavern to tavern, every house being filled by French adventurers. At one of these taverns, kept by one T———[?], we were repulsed by the landlord with so much rudeness as to produce a severe quarrel in the piazza, where we stood soliciting quarters. . . .

The next morning Harwood proceeded to a barber shop to be shaved. I soon after started in pursuit of the same barber. I had not gone far before I met Harwood, his pace somewhat quickened, and with one side only of his face shaved. He soon informed me that the barber had been impertinent, that he had knocked him down, and left him sprawling on the floor.⁹⁰

To avoid further trouble, the two travelers agreed to separate and thus did they leave this tumultuous town.

The Frenchmen they encountered at the taverns had begun to fill New Bern early in the course of the war. Many were seamen, some deserters from French ships. Others were officers and soldiers, patriots of the highest type, and there was a steady coming and going of these by the middle of 1777. In June of that year, a party of officers sent from France by Benjamin Franklin and headed by the Chevalier d'Erford, a lieutenant colonel, stayed in New Bern a week before proceeding to Philadelphia with the

⁸⁷ *State Records*, XIII, 336; XIV, 333; XXII, 960; Craven Court Minutes, September, 1777. This jail stood on the northwest corner of Broad and Craven streets—the site of the present-day courthouse. It is shown on Sauthier's map of 1769. See also *North-Carolina Gazette*, May 25, 1795.

⁸⁸ *State Records*, XV, 154-155.

⁸⁹ F. X. Martin, *The History of North Carolina* (New Orleans, 1829), II, 395; W. C. Watson, editor, *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York, 1856), pp. 37-39.

⁹⁰ W. C. Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson*, pp. 39-40.

assistance of Governor Caswell and Richard Ellis, the Continental agent.⁹¹ The engineers De Cottineau and the Chevalier de Chambray also stayed in New Bern while engaged in work on coastal fortifications.⁹² So sizable was the French population that a French officer of the Continental armies recruited six men among them for the troops fighting under Washington.⁹³

Less than a year later, the state began to plan to draft these ever-increasing aliens. In April, 1778, the assembly approved the scheme of Colonel Chariol de Placer to raise a regiment at New Bern to consist of eight fifty-man companies, chiefly from among the Frenchmen who were natives of the West Indies and who had come to the port towns of the Carolinas and Virginia.⁹⁴ Chariol set up headquarters in the house of a "Mrs. Edouard," then vacant.⁹⁵ With the Baron de Bonstettin, of Charleston, as lieutenant colonel, Sureau-Duvivier as major, and John Council Bryan as commissary, Chariol began recruiting in Wilmington and proposed soon to go to Williamsburg.⁹⁶ The descent of these voluble, gesticulating Frenchmen upon the town resulted in both tragedy and comedy. Charles Biddle, the Philadelphia ship captain, who in his reminiscences has left such a good picture of revolutionary New Bern, relates an amusing encounter with one of them. This man, evidently of French-Irish descent, was named Alexander Louis O'Neal (O'Neill?), and Biddle met him at his lodgings in the tavern of "Mr. Rainsford, an honest seaman, who kept the best house in Newbern."⁹⁷ Because Biddle knew a little French, his acquaintance fastened himself upon him, bombarding him with a staccato account of his life and his hopes to serve the cause of American independence. To get rid of him, Biddle introduced him to Colonel Chariol and went to bed. The talkative Frenchman soon returned to wake the exasperated Biddle out of a sound sleep, telling him excitedly of his plans to become an officer.

⁹¹ *State Records*, XI, 486-487, 493-495.

⁹² *State Records*, XII, 620; XIII, 126-127.

⁹³ *State Records*, XI, 508.

⁹⁴ *State Records*, XII, 634, 692-693; XIII, 119, 122.

⁹⁵ *State Records*, XIII, 130. Was this the house of the widow of Isaac Edwards? Lot No. 105 on East Front Street, when offered for sale some years after the Revolution, was described as the site of Isaac Edwards' dwelling house, so this may have been Chariol's headquarters.

⁹⁶ *State Records*, XIII, 129, 220 ff, 231-232; XXII, 948.

⁹⁷ James S. Biddle, editor, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, pp. 111-113.

The next day [writes Biddle] I saw Chariol, who was a very pleasant, good fellow. "Ah! Mr. Biddle! where you pick up Mr. O'Neal?" I found he had been as tired of him as myself. . . . Chariol soon after procured him a commission [as captain⁹⁸], and I have no doubt he was a good officer. My friends in Newbern used to say I wanted to get O'Neal appointed a general officer, that he might make me one of his aids.

So sizable a population of aliens was bound to lead to misunderstanding. Curiously enough, the trouble came just after the news of the treaty of alliance with the French arrived in New Bern on May 25, 1778.⁹⁹ The treaty was posted beneath a display of French and American flags, and the usual festivity was held. The *Gazette* writes that "Universal joy appeared in every countenance . . . and the evening [was] concluded with great good humor and social mirth."¹⁰⁰ However, James Iredell, who seems to have seen the celebration, called it "poor and trifling," with only "a dry huzza to the King of France and one to the United States."¹⁰¹ Iredell's account probably was the more truthful for only three days later a serious riot occurred. The cause of it was the contention of John Davis, ship captain and son of James Davis, that Chariol's recruiting sergeant had enlisted a young French servant bound to him by indenture, though Davis appears to have produced no papers to prove his claim.¹⁰² The fiery-tempered young Davis then picked twenty seamen from his ship, armed them, and sent them "running about the Town" in broad daylight, seeking Chariol's sergeant, who prudently fled before the mob. At the head of this band of armed men was the equally fiery-tempered father, whose *Gazette* of the following day was to carry such a glowing account of the celebration of the French treaty! And he it was who threatened, when the young servant was not delivered up, "to put every Frenchman to death in town, or drive them out of it."¹⁰³ That night the seamen surrounded the schoolhouse, in which the French recruits apparently were quartered, and "beat and abused" Chariol's men with cudgels. The "indentured" servant, one Julian Laborcet, was

⁹⁸ *State Records*, XXII, 948.

⁹⁹ *State Records*, XIII, 425.

¹⁰⁰ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, May 29, 1778.

¹⁰¹ Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell* (New York, 1858), I, 392-393.

¹⁰² *State Records*, XIII, 142-143.

¹⁰³ *State Records*, XIII, 142, 429-430.

captured and jailed to await a hearing by the county court. But the court on June 10 decided he was not legally bound and freed him.¹⁰⁴ So ended the controversy — and with it the plan for recruiting the French regiment. Advertisement for enlistees was carried on subsequently in a Charleston newspaper, but it seems to have met with little success.¹⁰⁵ The New Bern paper said it was “impossible to complete such a regiment here, where only a few stragling [*sic*] French sailors could be picked up.”¹⁰⁶ In August the assembly disbanded the men, while Chariol, saying he intended to return to France, petitioned for personal reimbursement of £10,000 he claimed to have spent on the regiment.¹⁰⁷ He received an order for about one-third of that amount, but whether he was able to collect this compensation from a needy state at war does not appear.¹⁰⁸

Despite the failure of the French regiment, New Bern was said to be “a good stand” for the recruiting of American troops, and from the population of Craven County came many a soldier who served at Germantown, Brandywine, Eutaw Springs, Ninety-Six, and other battles of the Revolution.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the county gave to the cause such leaders as Brigadier General William Bryan, Captain John Daves, who distinguished himself at Stony Point, and the Continental surgeons Isaac Guion and William McClure. Yet New Bern was not the center of a great deal of military activity. As in Tryon’s time, there was a magazine in the town and, in addition, a hospital, which seems to have cared for sick rather than wounded soldiers.¹¹⁰ Only a small garrison was necessary, and the number of troops in the town at any one time probably never exceeded 200.¹¹¹ Since attack by water rather than land was regarded as the more probable, New Bern’s chief protection consisted of a small river fort and, for a time, an armed vessel which anchored near it.¹¹² This fort, which was at Hanging Point (after the Revolution called Fort Point), was ordered to be erected late in 1775 and apparently was completed

¹⁰⁴ Craven Court Minutes, June, 1778; *State Records*, XIII, 144-145.

¹⁰⁵ *Gazette of the State of South Carolina* (Charleston), July 29, 1778.

¹⁰⁶ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, August 28, 1778.

¹⁰⁷ *State Records*, XXII, 762-763.

¹⁰⁸ *State Records*, XXII, 947.

¹⁰⁹ *State Records*, XIII, 82. These battles are specifically mentioned in certain affidavits made before the Craven County Court in the 1820's.

¹¹⁰ *Colonial Records*, X, 415, 687.

¹¹¹ *Colonial Records*, X, 243, 273.

¹¹² W. C. Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson*, p. 39.

by the middle of the following year.¹¹³ Named Fort Caswell in honor of the governor, it was supposed to have been garrisoned by a captain and twenty-four men, whose guns commanded the approach to the town by the Neuse.¹¹⁴ The armed vessel was the *Pennsylvania Farmer*, a brig or brigantine which Joseph Leech, Richard Ellis, David Barron, and others had fitted out in 1776 at the request of the provincial congress.¹¹⁵ With sixteen guns and a crew of 110 men to enable the manning of prizes, the *Farmer* was at first designed to prey on the Jamaica trade, but so many delays were encountered in procuring shot, canvas, and other supplies that she remained idle at New Bern through the year.¹¹⁶ This vessel lay in the river off James Davis's plantation at Green Spring, and this irascible gentleman bitterly complained of the depredations made in his fields by the *Farmer's* "Crew of Banditti," who raided them, it seems, to obtain green corn for their shipboard fare.¹¹⁷ James Coor referred to this small army of seamen as "healthy men all anxious to adventure."¹¹⁸ But Davis, in whose cornfields they had already taken many a prize, pictured them as rowdy idlers. Their morning ration of a pint of rum, he said, "kept them continually drunk and ready for any mischief, especially as they consist of men of all nations and conditions, English, Irish, Scotch, Indians, Men of Wars men and the most abandoned sett of wretches ever collected together."¹¹⁹ Firing off cannon to halt river craft and sometimes yelling quips and insults to the passengers of a passing ferry, the crew got so out of hand that their behavior probably was the cause of the decision to reduce the number of guns to eight and the complement to forty men so the *Farmer* might make a merchant voyage instead of a raiding cruise.¹²⁰ Subsequently the *Farmer* made one or two such voyages to the West Indies, bringing in a cargo of salt on one occasion, but the trouble it cost the state to maintain her seems to have outweighed her usefulness, and she was ordered to be sold to private interests.¹²¹ As for her military or naval value, it was confined to the period in which the vessel was

¹¹³ *Colonial Records*, X, 351, 416, 557-558.

¹¹⁴ *State Records*, XIV, 96.

¹¹⁵ *Colonial Records*, X, 352, 629, 630, 637, 728; *State Records*, XV, 72.

¹¹⁶ *Colonial Records*, X, 831, 833, 836, 848, 877, 926.

¹¹⁷ *Colonial Records*, X, 836.

¹¹⁸ *Colonial Records*, X, 833.

¹¹⁹ *Colonial Records*, X, 835.

¹²⁰ *Colonial Records*, X, 964.

¹²¹ *State Records*, XII, 244, 419, 623, 641, 745-746; XIII, 217; XVIII, 805; XXII, 939.

stationed at New Bern — quite in contrast to the high hopes held for her as a raider.

The real contribution of New Bern to the Revolution lay in a maritime rather than military way, for through the port were brought quantities of supplies for the Continental armies. Just before and during the Revolution, shipping expanded greatly. The increase in such trades as navigator, mariner, blockmaker, sailmaker, and shipwright testifies to this growth.¹²² Revolutionary commerce was necessarily restricted in nature, but it flourished and built up some comfortable fortunes. Soon after the outbreak of fighting, the export of produce was subjected to licensing so that the importation of salt, arms, and ammunition could be required.¹²³ The failure of the state with the *Pennsylvania Farmer* only emphasizes by contrast the success of private individuals such as John Wright Stanly, Richard Ellis, David Barron, and John Green in equipping privateers and letters of marque. So active were they in this kind of sea warfare that at times "the people in Newbern" nearly outbid the army for gunpowder "for the use of their privateers."¹²⁴ *Heart of Oak*, *Buckskin*, *Sturdy Beggar*, and *Bellona* — these gallant little fighters were incredibly slight to face the stormy Atlantic, and their armament, usually ten or twelve cannon, stood no chance in a toe-to-toe encounter with a British man o' war. Speed was their only ally, and fast sailing the difference between life and death. Yet, though there were great dangers and difficulties, there were great profits, too. In May, 1776, a court of admiralty was set up in New Bern with Christopher Neale (later William Tisdale) as judge, and before it was brought many a prize to enrich both shipowner and seamen.¹²⁵ Even without reckoning on prizes there were profits enough. Two hundred per cent of the prime cost of cargoes from France and one hundred per cent for cargoes from the French West Indies were considered by the shipowner as a moderate price for a shipload of war necessities.¹²⁶ Some of these necessary imports, besides arms and ammunition, were Osnaburg cloth, medicines, and goods, facings

¹²² Mention of these begins to be frequent about this period, for the first time, in the Craven court apprenticeship proceedings.

¹²³ *Colonial Records*, X, 471, 474.

¹²⁴ *State Records*, XXII, 604.

¹²⁵ *State Records*, XI, 416; XV, 78; XXII, 894; *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II, (1925), 512; *Colonial Records*, X, 634.

¹²⁶ *State Records*, XI, 358-359; XXII, 744.

and trimmings for uniforms.¹²⁷ For the ordinary cargoes of molasses, rum, and sugar, three for one was not an excessive price.¹²⁸

The voyage of the armed merchant ship *Cornelia*, owned by Spyers Singleton and others, is perhaps a typical one of the period. An account of it has survived in the reminiscences of Charles Biddle (1745-1821), brother of the naval captain Nicholas Biddle, and himself no mean seadog. This Philadelphian, who spent some years in New Bern, tells of his troubles as captain in fitting out his ship:

Owing to many disappointments, I could not get her ready to go down the river until the month of August [1778]. I had six iron and fourteen wooden [i.e., dummy] guns, and seventy men, not more than five of whom could be called seamen. I lay three weeks down the river exercising the crew in working the ship, sending them down the yards and topmasts, and doing everything I could to make them useful and prepare them for action. I had a tally upon all the running rigging with what it was called written on it. By this means they were soon useful. As there were several cruisers off the Bar, I wanted to be prepared as well as it was possible before we left Newbern.¹²⁹

Twenty days the *Cornelia* waited for cargo at Ocracoke, finally sailing from there on September 22. In order to train his inexperienced crew, Biddle would lash the hand pump of the ship's casks to the main topmast, so that whenever his men wanted a drink of water they would have to go aloft to fetch the pump! "For the first five or six days, many of them would come upon deck," wrote the skipper, "look up wistfully at the pump, but rather than go aloft would go down again."¹³⁰ Under patient teaching the crew learned their way about. Once they were called to battle stations believing they were about to be engaged. "I was much pleased," wrote Biddle, "to find how readily they went to their quarters. It convinced me they would fight well if brought to action."

In a few days the *Cornelia* barely missed running into two British letters of marque and passed two others off St. Kitts. The *Cornelia* "made all the show we could with our men and

¹²⁷ *Colonial Records*, X, 821, 825; XIII, 373.

¹²⁸ Some cargoes imported into North Carolina at this time brought seven and even twelve for one. C. C. Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina 1763-1789* (New Haven, 1936), p. 143.

¹²⁹ James S. Biddle, editor, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, p. 110.

¹³⁰ James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, p. 114.

wooden guns," and the bluff worked. The Britishers did not presume to fight. Later the captain of one of them, saying he thought the *Cornelia* was a Continental ship of twenty guns, was laughed at in port for not attacking her. Biddle and his men arrived safely at St. Eustatia, their destination, and took aboard a valuable cargo as well as a pair of six-pounder cannon to augment their armament. On the return voyage a curious incident occurred. They sighted a sloop flying British colors, so the *Cornelia*, too, ran up the union jack hoping to lure the vessel to close range. When the two approached, and as the *Cornelia* hauled down English colors to fire, the "Britisher" did likewise — and turned out to be an American privateer from Charleston.¹³¹ In giving chase to a small British cruiser off Cape Look-out, the *Cornelia* sprang the head of her foremast and put into Beaufort November 16, 1778.

The very slight manner in which our small vessels were built at that time [he writes later], particularly in the Southern States, occasioned the loss of many lives. Many of the vessels that were sent to sea were not sufficiently secured to sail with safety in a river.¹³²

The only casualty of this profitable trip was the first mate, who was killed by the bursting of a gun as the ship saluted in entering the harbor. The voyage ended quite romantically, for Biddle thereupon married Hannah Shepard, daughter of Jacob Shepard, a retired New Bern merchant who had been living in Beaufort for his health. A year later she bore a son named Nicholas in memory of that gallant Continental captain, who had been killed in the blowing up of the frigate *Randolph*, but this child died in infancy.¹³³ Biddle made one more voyage, this in the large sloop *Eclipse*, 14 guns and 70 men, to St. Thomas.¹³⁴ Afterward he was elected by a large majority to represent Carteret County in the assembly, but he sat only in the May session of 1780, and returned to Philadelphia on June 1.¹³⁵ He later became vice president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

Most famous of the Revolutionary shipowners was John Wright Stanly (1742-1789), who came to New Bern about

¹³¹ James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, pp. 114-115.

¹³² James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, p. 141.

¹³³ James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, p. 127 and footnote.

¹³⁴ *State Records*, XIV, 70. James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, pp. 121-126.

¹³⁵ *State Records*, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, pp. 142, 146.

1773.¹³⁶ Born in Charles City County, Virginia, he had failed in business in Honduras and had been imprisoned in Philadelphia for debt.¹³⁷ Along with the good fortune which he at last met in New Bern, he acquired a reputation for unfailing generosity. Soon after arriving, for example, he made a certain contribution to the Masons of the town, which their minutes "gratefully acknowledged . . . tho' [he was] not a member of the Lodge" at the time.¹³⁸ William Attmore, who made Stanly's acquaintance after the Revolution, wrote of him:

One circumstance deserves to be recorded to his honour—Altho' brought to Philadelphia from Honduras a prisoner arbitrarily; and on his arrival sent to goal by the person who brought him by force yet upon his gettin into affluent circumstances, he generously relieved the pecuniary distresses of that very person afterwards; the more meritorious, as upon a settlement of Accounts with that Man, it was found that he owed him nothing, but on the contrary that person was in his Debt.¹³⁹

In 1773 Stanly married Ann, the daughter of Richard and Lydia Cogdell; and six years later he purchased from the merchant Thomas Ogden the four lots at Middle and New streets on which he erected, at a cost of \$20,000, the home which still stands today.¹⁴⁰ As a result of the war trade, he acquired much valuable property, including a large wharf and distillery on the Neuse waterfront and a plantation with some sixty slaves. He held interest as part or sole owner, at various times, in eleven Pennsylvania letters of marque, and he was probably the principal owner of the North Carolina sloops *Lydia* and *Success*, the brigantine *William*, and the privateers *Nancy* and *General Nash*.¹⁴¹ The last-named vessel was perhaps the most successful of the New Bern commerce raiders. Captained by Stanly's brother, Wright Stanly, the *General Nash*, a twenty-gun ship of war, took two brigs in 1780 which were said to be the most valuable prizes ever carried into a North Carolina port.¹⁴²

¹³⁶ Earliest mention of him as a property owner is in Craven Deed Records, XX, 375-376.

¹³⁷ Stanly family prayer book, presented to the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, by Mrs. W. T. Delamar, of Raleigh.

¹³⁸ Minutes of St. John's Lodge, April 5, 1773, Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.

¹³⁹ Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII (1922), 17.

¹⁴⁰ Craven Deed Records, XXIV, 32. Lida Tunstall Rodman, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," p. 16; Craven Records, Will Book A, 198-199.

¹⁴¹ C. H. Lincoln, compiler, *Naval Records of the American Revolution 1775-1788* (Washington, 1906), pp. 237, 246, 253, 276, 319, 321, 325, 348, 359, 452, 453, 476; *Colonial Records*, X, 832; *State Records*, XI, 778, 813; XIII, 364.

¹⁴² *State Records*, XIV, 645, 650, 748; XV, 68-69, 71-72, 150.

Stanly sold an immense quantity of war necessities to the Continental armies, but toward the end of the war he wrote that the approaching peace "has inclined me to devote my whole attention to the winding up of my concerns in Trade and preparing for a more general and extensive Feild."¹⁴³ Did he mean by this that he was devoting more attention to public affairs? For in the year following he was made a trustee of the New Bern Academy and in the year after that he was unsuccessfully nominated, for the first of several times, to the Council of State.¹⁴⁴ He was named to several other important positions by act of assembly, but on June 1, 1789, at the age of only forty-seven he died.¹⁴⁵ His wife outlived him barely a month.¹⁴⁶ The Masonic Lodge committed his remains to the earth, and the press described him as having been "a warm and steady patriot," with "the most tender sympathy for the indigent and distressed."¹⁴⁷ To his credit Stanly never forgot that he too once was poor.

The trade of Stanly and his fellow-merchants did not go unmolested by the British. In September, 1777, two Tory brigs and a sloop — one of the brigs a quite formidable vessel, the other mounting ten or twelve guns — slipped inside Ocracoke Bar and played havoc with the commerce there.¹⁴⁸ The *Sturdy Beggar*, 14 carriage guns and 100 men, the *Pennsylvania Farmer*, 16 guns and 80 men, and the *Heart of Oak*, 10 guns and 50 men, were said by the *Gazette* to be ready to sail in quest of the raiders.¹⁴⁹ The *Sturdy Beggar* had only just been fitted out, as witness this proud little newspaper advertisement:

NEW BERN August 4, 1777.

Wanted immediately for the celebrated and well known Brig of War, *Sturdy Beggar*, under command of James Campbell, Esq; now fitting out at this place for a short Cruize against the Enemies of the Thirteen United States, a few good Seamen and Marines. The *Sturdy Beggar* is allowed to be the handsomest Vessel ever built in America, is completely furnished with all kinds of war-like Stores, Ammunition &c. is remarkable for fast sailing, having never chased a Vessel but she soon came up with.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ J. W. Stanly to _____ [unknown], February 20, 1783, Miscellaneous Papers, series I, vol. I, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹⁴⁴ *State Records*, XVII, 311; XVIII, 114; XIX, 466; XXIV, 607.

¹⁴⁵ *State Records*, XXIV, 720, 821.

¹⁴⁶ *The State Gazette of North-Carolina* (Edenton), July 23, 1789.

¹⁴⁷ *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, June 18, 1789.

¹⁴⁸ *State Records*, XI, 624-625.

¹⁴⁹ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, September 19, 1777; *State Records*, XI, 774.

¹⁵⁰ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, August 8, 1777; *State Records*, XI, 747.

It appears, however, that all three of these vessels were not at the time available. The *Pennsylvania Farmer* narrowly missed running alone into the Tory cruisers, in which case she would have been sunk or taken; and the *Beggar* was delayed when one of her lighters sank in Adam's Creek.¹⁵¹ Joseph Leech recommended the sending of one of Edenton's armed vessels to reinforce New Bern's. Were it not for these ships, he wrote, "we might look for the enemy up to the Town every hour."¹⁵² Fortunately the Tories seem to have stayed near the inlet, "for," said the *Gazette*, "'tis supposed the fat Mutton on the Banks has been the chief temptation to this desperate Manoeuvre." A company of militia was dispatched to the banks in an effort to prevent the livestock which grazed there from falling into the hands of the enemy.¹⁵³ This company, under command of Captain Enoch Ward of Carteret County, boarded at night and captured, while she lay in Cape Lookout Bay, a thirty-ton schooner bound from the West Indies to New York "with Fruit and Turtle for Lord Howe."¹⁵⁴ A year later Ward and some of his men, having finished their service with the militia, repeated this feat while serving as marines on Biddle's ship *Cornelia*. The victim of this second night surprise was a privateer of eight guns and fifty men.¹⁵⁵ When brought to Beaufort, the privateer captain said that if they had not been taken unawares, a hundred men could not have captured his vessel. And Ward had only fifteen!

Such a quantity of supplies was passing through Ocracoke that the British became quite concerned. Returning to New York from his flag of truce visit to New Bern in December, 1777, Samuel Cornell reported on the matter to Josiah Martin, who promptly wrote British authorities in London that

. . . the contemptible port of Ocracock . . . has become a great channel of supply to the rebels, while the more considerable ports have been watched by the King's ships. They have received through it . . . very considerable importations.¹⁵⁶

Another correspondent wrote from New York as follows:

¹⁵¹ *State Records*, XI, 623-625.

¹⁵² *State Records*, XI, 625.

¹⁵³ *State Records*, XI, 775.

¹⁵⁴ *State Records*, XI, 787.

¹⁵⁵ James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, p. 113.

¹⁵⁶ *State Records*, XIII, iii-iv (prefatory notes), 367-368.

Mr Cornell informs us that there is an amazing quantity of goods brought into N^o Carolina, and that Virg^a & Maryland are supplied from that quarter—

. . . the Rebell Army have received every necessary in that round about way, and the insignificance of the place (Oacrecock) prevented Lord Howe from sending Vessels to Cruize there—Whatever it might be formerly all the Tobba^a [tobacco] of James River in Virginia is shipped from it now.¹⁵⁷

Much of this trade was between North Carolina and continental France or the French West Indies. Some of it was carried in North Carolina vessels—the 200-ton *Harmony Hall*, of New Bern, for example, made regular voyages overseas and sold passenger fares to French ports.¹⁵⁸ But most of it seems to have been borne by vessels of the French merchant marine, without which the supplies could not have been kept coming in quantity. Large vessels, some of them snow-rigged, arrived in late 1777 and 1778 from such ports as Nantes and Bordeaux, and from the Indies, bringing (besides arms) dry goods, sailcloth, cordage, glass, hardware, shoes, drugs, salt, needles, buttons—in short, many of those items which Great Britain formerly had supplied.¹⁵⁹ So busy was this “contemptible port” that early in 1778 as many as six vessels dropped anchor in one day at New Bern alone, as witness this item from the *Gazette*:

Yesterday arrived here the sloop Heart of Oak, Capt. Denison, from Martinico, Schooner Sam, Capt. Davis, from St. Eustatius, a schooner from Bermuda with Salt, a French schooner from Hispaniola, two Schooners from the Northern States, and a French Snow is arrived at the Bar from Cape Francois.¹⁶⁰

As appears from the foregoing, salt was a most important commodity in this trade. The revolutionary government made every attempt to encourage its manufacture on the coast from sea water. Richard Blackledge, the New Bern merchant, was subsidized in 1776 to erect kettles, furnaces, and evaporation pans at the mouth of Core Creek on Newport River in Carteret

¹⁵⁷ Enclosure, John Cruden, Jr., to William Cruden, January 28, 1778, in William Cruden to Lord Dartmouth, February 21, 1778; Dartmouth MSS, transcripts in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹⁵⁸ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, July 18, 1777; July 24, 1778; *State Records*, XIII, 461, 462.

¹⁵⁹ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, November 21, 1777; January 9, February 20, 1778; *State Records*, XIII, 149, 354, 362-363.

¹⁶⁰ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, January 2, 1778; *State Records*, XIII, 354.

County.¹⁶¹ Late in 1777 Blackledge drowned while crossing from Beaufort to the salt works, but had supplied before his sudden death "great quantities of that useful article," though not enough, apparently, to make the state independent of outside sources.¹⁶² Yet no doubt many a ham or side of beef cured with the brine of Core Sound found its way to the hard-pressed soldiers of Washington.

Thanks to this brisk trade, there were, early in 1778, considerable quantities of tanned leather, deerskins, shoes, and clothing at New Bern and Governor Caswell was doing all in his power to rush them to the Continental troops, then in the depths of want and suffering at Valley Forge.¹⁶³ As much clothing as could be obtained was purchased from the French vessels that had been arriving, but Washington's urgent appeals led the governor to take the extraordinary step of impounding and seizing certain privately owned goods — blankets, stockings, and Osnaburg cloth — to be sent without delay to the north.¹⁶⁴ The actual seizure was done by the justices of the county court.¹⁶⁵ Without such supplies and such determination to get them to their destination, the ill-clad army of Washington might well have perished in that darkest of all winters. It is no wonder that the British redoubled their efforts to stop the Ocracoke trade. By May, 1778, a sixteen-gun Tory brig and two ten-gun Tory sloops were prowling off the inlet with devastating effect. And the *Gazette* was expressing the well-founded fear that "the trade of this State will be entirely stopped."¹⁶⁶

Yet it was not stopped, thanks to the efforts of the privateer owners, who struck back at the Tory raiders with a vengeance. In July of 1778 the *Gazette* announced that the Tory cruisers "are yet very troublesome," but that Richard Ellis was "engaged in fitting out a Privateer in order to retaliate if possible for the many losses we have met with."¹⁶⁷ Ellis's sloop *Heart of Oak* already had rendered stout service to the cause; and now he put into action the letters of marque *Chatham* and *Bellona*, the latter

¹⁶¹ *Colonial Records*, X, 986-988 and *passim*.

¹⁶² *The North-Carolina Gazette*, September 26, 1777. A number of vessels arrived in 1778 from Bermuda with salt. *State Records*, XIII, 380.

¹⁶³ *State Records*, XIII, 25.

¹⁶⁴ *State Records*, XIII, 29-30.

¹⁶⁵ *State Records*, XIII, 47-48.

¹⁶⁶ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, May 15, 1778; *State Records*, XIII, 418.

¹⁶⁷ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, July 17, 1778; *State Records*, XIII, 459-460.

a sixteen-gun brig whose command he offered, unsuccessfully, to Charles Biddle.¹⁶⁸ By early in the following year Ellis had three vessels cruising and another being fitted out.¹⁶⁹ Of these the *Bellona* was perhaps the most successful, for on one of her first cruises she captured a brig from St. Augustine, a New York sloop and schooner, and a six-gun privateersman, also from New York.¹⁷⁰ Like Ellis, John Wright Stanly was especially active at this time, and in the spring of 1779 he was fitting out a ship and "several small vessels."¹⁷¹ These, all of which made successful voyages, probably were among the five vessels which arrived about this time in New Bern with valuable cargoes of warstuffs for the armies.¹⁷² That they could get through was due to the courage and daring of the men who manned them. Sometimes it seemed that even the elements conspired to help them in their cause — as witness the fate of one Tory raider, which learned to her doom the perils of cruising in the hurricane season off the graveyard of the Atlantic:

The sloop was last seen [writes the *Gazette*] off Hatteras by the pilots the day before the late gale of wind, and the day after there came ashore the roundhouse of a vessel, several gun-carriages, swabbs and other things belonging to guns, a square sail bomb, and other spars.¹⁷³

An element of recklessness, even sport, crept into the grim game of keeping open this channel of supply. Biddle, for example, tells how at a dinner with Governor Nash the report came of a Tory privateer "within the Bar, and doing a good deal of mischief."¹⁷⁴ Several of those at the table volunteered to help destroy the raider, and Nash directed Biddle to fit out a sloop and a schooner to chase her down. Most of the hot-headed volunteers later "made excuses," says Biddle, but Richard Dobbs Spaight and Richard Blackledge, Jr., accompanied him on the cruise downriver. The sloop sailed heavy and so was sent back. And learning that the raider was but a small sloop manned by

¹⁶⁸ *State Records*, XIII, 175, 182. Biddle says Ellis proposed that they should send the brig to a place near where he formerly lived in Ireland and smuggle out linen from the bleaching yards—a proposal which Biddle indignantly rejected. James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, p. 120.

¹⁶⁹ *State Records*, XIV, 252.

¹⁷⁰ *State Records*, XIII, 482.

¹⁷¹ James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, p. 120.

¹⁷² *State Records*, XIV, 93.

¹⁷³ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, August 21, 1778.

¹⁷⁴ James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, p. 135.

only twenty-five men, Blackledge and Spaight sportingly suggested that they likewise take only twenty-five in the schooner. How this duel would have ended only Neptune himself knows, for though the New Bernians sighted their quarry, one of those sudden squalls for which Hatteras is famous prevented an engagement — and the privateer was seen no more.¹⁷⁵

During the later days of the war, as Greene's gallant but battered army fought Cornwallis over the Carolinas, John Wright Stanly and his fellow shipowners were indeed indispensable in supplying the needy Continental troops. But there was another resident of the town who was equally active in this all-important work, though in a somewhat different way. This was the Marquis de Bretigney, a native of France, who had come to America in September, 1777, with officers and armament for a regiment of cavalry he intended to equip to fight in the cause of independence.¹⁷⁶ Bretigney had held high military rank in France as a lieutenant colonel in the Body-Guards of Monsieur, the regiment nominally commanded by the king's brother.¹⁷⁷ His plan to form a regiment in America fell through when he and his vessel were captured off Charleston on their way north by two British frigates. Imprisoned at St. Augustine for six months, Bretigney escaped to Philadelphia where for several more months he petitioned the Continental Congress in vain for the rank of a brigadier general in the Continental forces. Leaving Philadelphia in disgust early in 1779, he went to Martinique to act as agent for South Carolina in purchasing supplies there from the French, but with the fall of Charleston in May, 1780, he turned his services to her sister state. He seems to have arrived first in New Bern in September, 1780.¹⁷⁸ In June, 1781, at Abner Nash's recommendation he was appointed agent to the French West Indies for North Carolina, but for some time prior to that he was active in purchasing arms for the state.¹⁷⁹ Until his agency was discontinued in May, 1782, Bretigney sent into North Carolina an immense amount of sup-

¹⁷⁵ James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, pp. 137-138.

¹⁷⁶ Ernest M. Green, "The Marquis de Bretigney," MS article in possession of the author, Raleigh, N. C.

¹⁷⁷ He refers to himself in a petition to the Continental Congress as "Exempt of the Body-Guards of Monsieur," which according to French cavalry rank would mean that he was second only to the actual commander of the regiment.

¹⁷⁸ *State Records*, XIV, 592.

¹⁷⁹ *State Records*, XVII, 799-800, 882.

plies, and so great was his attachment to the American cause that, like an old war horse, he fought with the North Carolina cavalry at Guilford Courthouse.¹⁸⁰ By August, 1782, he had returned to New Bern, there to spend the rest of his life.¹⁸¹ In the following year he was chosen to the Council of State, and was profusely thanked by the governor and assembly for his efforts in behalf of American independence "and his zeal to serve this State in particular, in the hour of danger."¹⁸² Bretigney seems to have got little or nothing besides this honor from the impoverished government, and he died in 1793, poor and in debt.¹⁸³

In these latter days of the Revolution, the town and county were beset by fears and inflation, alarms of rumored attack, and incursions of refugees. With mounting apprehension, the people watched the fall of, first, Charleston, then Wilmington. They lived under a perpetual Damocles' sword, which fell at length as the war dragged to a close.

Crowdedness became worse, and prices soared to ridiculous heights. When Charleston fell, many Cape Fear families and perhaps some South Carolinians fled northward to New Bern and other coastal towns. One Wilmington resident, William Hooper, engaged "half a dozen houses . . . for himself and friends" in readiness for their expected flight.¹⁸⁴ The construction of new dwellings was handicapped by war conditions. James Iredell, writing from New Bern in 1780 about a friend's house being destroyed by fire, speaks of "the present difficulty of building."¹⁸⁵ A few years later there was "not a room to be had in town," and even the wings of the Palace were being rented out by the state.¹⁸⁶ This once-proud building had fallen into disrepair, and, said William Hooper, "has more the appearance of a neglected jail than anything else."¹⁸⁷ Iredell, who frequently stayed in New Bern, wrote that his expenses there were "monstrous," amounting to £160 a day for board and lodging alone!¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁰ *State Records*, XVI, 232-233, 327, 475, 494-495; XVII, 1038; XIX, 253, 345, 646, 879-880.

¹⁸¹ *State Records*, XVI, 394-395.

¹⁸² *State Records*, XVI, 778-779; XIX, 99-100, 188, 210.

¹⁸³ *State Records*, XIX, 224; Craven Court Minutes, September, December, 1793.

¹⁸⁴ Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I, 451; II, 5.

¹⁸⁵ Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I, 445.

¹⁸⁶ *State Records*, XIX, 667; Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 76.

¹⁸⁷ Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 76.

¹⁸⁸ Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I, 472.

This was the effect of the failing currency, which by 1780 had fallen to the ratio of 100 or 150 to 1 on the specie of 1775. Corn was £100 per barrel, meal £20 per bushel, beef £48 per pound, and mutton £4 per pound. "A String of Fish which used to cost 12 d.," wrote Richard Cogdell, "is now 1920 d., or 20 Dollars. What a horrible prospect this exhibits."¹⁸⁹ Ferry rates soared as high as \$16 for a wagon, and the New Bernian at whose home the county court sometimes met received as much as £2,500 for the firewood he supplied.¹⁹⁰ An administrator's bond might amount to the colossal sum of £1,000,000!¹⁹¹ Charles Biddle wrote after the assembly of 1780 had emitted a new supply of bills:

A good old Tory, that lived near Newbern, and whom I frequently jested about his attachment to England, a country he had never seen, and knew very little about, told me, when we adjourned, that this was the best time he ever knew, for he could get a dollar for an English half-penny.¹⁹²

To add to these worries there were repeated rumors of impending attack. When the British took Norfolk and Portsmouth in May, 1779, New Bern became truly concerned for its safety. Fort Caswell was reinforced in expectation of an enemy foray, and when soon afterward a privateer schooner slipped past the bar at Ocracoke and daringly chased her quarry all the way to the Pamlico River, it was feared that a bombardment of the town was imminent.¹⁹³ A letter signed by several of the inhabitants urged the governor to raise the militia of neighboring counties to protect New Bern and the public stores in it. "The Town," they wrote, "was never in a more defenceless condition, as we have no cannon, and a very few men."¹⁹⁴ By early in 1781 the threat had become much more acute, and the town seemed to be menaced from two directions. Reports persisted of plans for an attack from Norfolk through Albemarle Sound.¹⁹⁵ It was also possible for the British to move from Wilmington, which they had occupied in January. "As this place may shortly be an

¹⁸⁹ *State Records*, XXII, 522.

¹⁹⁰ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1779, December, 1781.

¹⁹¹ Craven Court Minutes, March, 1781.

¹⁹² James S. Biddle, *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, pp. 142-143.

¹⁹³ *State Records*, XIV, 96-97, 125, 127-128, 138.

¹⁹⁴ *State Records*, XIV, 85-86.

¹⁹⁵ *State Records*, XVII, 985.

object," wrote Abner Nash, "I think it prudent to move away."¹⁹⁶ Only a year before, the governor and his wife had moved into the Palace, but with the threat of a British attack, their occupation of the building — the only time, apparently, it ever served as the residence of a state governor — came to a speedy end.¹⁹⁷ In April and May there were reports of British troop movements from Wilmington in the direction of New Bern and at the same time a great deal of agitation by the Tories of the county, who were emboldened by the nearness of the King's forces.¹⁹⁸ Some of these were put under guard, and nine were summarily executed.¹⁹⁹ Efforts were made to strengthen the town's fortifications. Powder and shot owned by merchants were seized.²⁰⁰ Row galleys with twelve- and twenty-four-pound cannon were stationed in the river, and a hulk was prepared for a floating battery. Even the six cannon from the Palace, unspiked and augmented by forty swivel guns, were pressed into use, mounted and manned by New England sailors, of whom there happened to be "an uncommon Number . . . in Town who are well acquainted with and trained to the Artillery."²⁰¹

These preparations were needless, however, for when the British moved northward no serious attempt was made to prevent them from entering the town. Perhaps it was felt that the enemy could not spare the men to garrison and hold it permanently, and that a bloody defence of it would not be worth the cost. On Sunday, August 19, 1781, at two o'clock in the afternoon, a column of about 400 troops under Major James H. Craig entered New Bern, trailed by between 400 and 500 Tory sympathizers who had joined them during the march.²⁰² According to a Charleston newspaper, there was only the "exchange of a few shot."²⁰³ Craig turned his particular attention to the waterfront, where he destroyed the rigging of vessels tied up there, along with a large quantity of rum and more than 3,000 bushels

¹⁹⁶ Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I, 507n.

¹⁹⁷ Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I, 446, 451.

¹⁹⁸ *State Records*, XV, 444.

¹⁹⁹ Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I, 517.

²⁰⁰ Waightstill Avery to General Lillington, August 17, 1781; North Carolina Letters from the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library; transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

²⁰¹ Waightstill Avery to General Lillington, August 17, 1781; North Carolina Letters from the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library; transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

²⁰² *State Records*, XV, 623-624; XXII, 565, 568.

²⁰³ *The Royal Gazette* (Charleston), September 8, 1781.

of salt. "A few hours" before the British arrived, local patriots removed as much of the lead from the Palace — its gutters, downspouts, etc. — as could be taken off "without hurting the Building," and so this useful article did not fall into the hands of the enemy.²⁰⁴ Several of the most prominent inhabitants remained in town, among them John Green, Richard Cogdell, Titus Ogden, and Thomas Haslen.²⁰⁵ Judging from the fate of Alexander Gaston, who also stayed behind, these men must have secreted themselves while the troops were there. While eating breakfast, Gaston was informed that a Tory troop riding ahead of the regulars had unexpectedly entered the town. Gaston tried to flee to his plantation across the Trent, but Captain John Cox, commander of the Tory detachment, calmly shot him down before his wife's eyes as he rowed frantically to reach the opposite shore.²⁰⁶

On Tuesday night, August 21, the British marched out again and began a series of cruel depredations against the farms of the countryside. They proceeded seventeen miles above New Bern to Bryan's Mills on Neuse River where they fought a slight skirmish with a militia detachment. They then burned the plantation houses of William and Nathan Bryan, William and Longfield Coxe, and William Herritage, "and much distressed and abused their families."²⁰⁷ Colonel Nathan Bryan, who lost sixty slaves, said the British "took off all my negroes and horses and robbed my house of our clothing."²⁰⁸ William Caswell wrote that it was impossible to begin to tell "the ruin, ravage and Distress committed on the Inhabitants of this Country."²⁰⁹ General Caswell, with about 150 horse, and General Alexander Lillington, with about 600 militia, among them some Craven County troops, skirmished with Craig's men at Webber's Bridge on the upper Trent as they turned southward again toward Wilmington, but made no serious effort to oppose them, having been instructed by Governor Thomas Burke not to risk an action.²¹⁰ As a result the indignant planters took matters into

²⁰⁴ *State Records*, XV, 624.

²⁰⁵ "Mr. Nash, it is said, was confined there by sickness." Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I, 536.

²⁰⁶ J. H. Schauinger, "William Gaston: Southern Statesman," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (1941), 100.

²⁰⁷ *State Records*, XV, 626-627.

²⁰⁸ *State Records*, XV, 634-635.

²⁰⁹ *State Records*, XXII, 568-569.

²¹⁰ *State Records*, XXII, 564-566.

their own hands. The Coxes, William Herritage, and the old general, William Bryan, raised an angry band of men who "burnt up all the Houses of the Tories near them."²¹¹ Caswell perceived the damage this form of vengeance might do to the American cause in the minds of the lukewarm patriots who had not fully embraced it. He gave orders for the burning to stop, though he feared he could not put an end to it. "I am exceedingly sorry for the event," he wrote, "& dread the consequences."

Leniency rather than reprisals — this was Caswell's policy, and it was a wise one in view of the inevitable postwar readjustment between patriots and Tory sympathizers. He was not alone in the possession of this generous spirit. How difficult it was to achieve can be imagined; nor can one blame those men who, with their homes in ruins, applied the torch to the homes of those whom they conceived to be their enemies. Yet patriots can be generous, too, and when in 1782 six women petitioned the county court saying their husbands had attached themselves to Craig's force and thus left the property of their children subject to confiscation, the court unhesitatingly ordered this property applied to the relief of these children.²¹² One may safely assume that these young ones grew up with no grievance that would have caused them to be other than good Americans.

²¹¹ *State Records*, XV, 626-627.

²¹² Craven Court Minutes, September, 1782.

PARDONING NORTH CAROLINIANS¹

By JONATHAN TRUMAN DORRIS

During the Civil War Congress enacted several laws providing punishment for treason and rebellion against the United States. The penalty might be confiscation of property, loss of civil rights and political privileges, fine and imprisonment, or even death. On December 8, 1863, President Lincoln proclaimed a general pardon and amnesty, on certain conditions and with six exceptions, to persons who had participated in the "rebellion." A seventh exception was added on March 26, 1864.² Thousands of offenders took advantage of this offer before the end of the war and thereby had their offenses placed in oblivion.

The big problem of clemency, however, came after the war, for every unpardoned "rebel" was liable to be apprehended and convicted for supporting the Confederacy. Believing Lincoln's amnesty to be only a war measure and not applicable thereafter, Attorney-General Joseph Speed advised President Johnson to proclaim another amnesty. Lincoln's proclamation, he said, had served to help suppress the "rebellion," but now one was needed to restore order and reorganize society in the South.³ Consequently, on May 29, 1865, President Johnson proclaimed a general amnesty, clemency being denied to seven classes in addition to Lincoln's exceptions. These persons, however, might make special application for pardon, which the President would likely grant, if the governors of their respective states approved the petitions.⁴ On the same day Johnson announced a plan of restoration for North Carolina, which was later extended to the other six states not yet regarded by the Chief Executive as being restored to the Union. All recipients of such clemency and all participants in reconstruction were required to take the amnesty oath that they would defend the United States and abide by and support the laws of the government.⁵

¹ This article is from a forthcoming book by the writer on "Pardon and Amnesty during the Civil War and Reconstruction."

² *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XII, 284, 317, 502, 589; III, 65, 820; J. C. Richardson (ed.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 213, 218.

³ *Opinions of the Attorneys-General*, XI, 5-11.

⁴ Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, VI, 310-14. The governor's approval was a later provision, which was not always required.

⁵ Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, VI, 326 *et seq.* Lincoln had recognized Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Virginia as restored to the Union.

The granting of special pardons to those in the excepted classes of the proclamations of amnesty has never been given the consideration by historians that it has deserved. Other phases of reconstruction have been adequately treated. It is the purpose of this article, therefore, to give a fair account of some aspects of that subject in a particular state.⁶

Perhaps North Carolina offers the best opportunity for an account of the administration of Johnson's plan of amnesty in a given state, especially with regard to individual pardons. There are several conditions which invite special attention to the Old North State in this particular. The people differed greatly in their enthusiasm for the Confederacy and later in their attitude toward peace.⁷ For example, William W. Holden, editor of the *Raleigh Daily Standard* and an early ardent secessionist, came to advocate peace and the Union, while Governor Zebulon B. Vance, an opponent of secession, insisted on vigorous military resistance until independence was achieved. Naturally such differences produced bitter rivalries for leadership and office during reconstruction. Consequently politics appear to have affected the granting of special pardons in North Carolina more than in any other state. Obtaining permission from the War Department in 1929 to photocopy its Amnesty Papers, the commonwealth made available important information not accessible for other states.⁸ And finally, considerable manuscript and printed material pertaining to the subject has been collected and deposited in various places in North Carolina, especially in the archives of the State Department of Archives and History in Raleigh.

The special consideration that President Johnson gave North Carolina in his program of reconstruction deserves notice. He was doubtless influenced by the manifestations there of loyalty to the Union during the war, and by the fact that he had many acquaintances and old associates in his native state. Having been instrumental in restoring Tennessee, he was in a position to help North Carolina regain her former status in the Union. The proximity of his native to his adopted state, therefore, may have

⁶ Many other phases of pardon and amnesty, of course, will be treated in the author's forthcoming book.

⁷ J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, Ch. I. (This will hereafter be referred to as Hamilton, *Reconstruction*.)

⁸ Doubtless, when all the Amnesty Papers are accessible, this subject in other states will be treated.

influenced the President to begin his plan of restoration in the former.⁹ Other conditions, however, were ripe for such an undertaking.

Having introduced his program in North Carolina, the President was especially generous in a material way to that state. At the close of hostilities he allowed Governor Holden to retain war property worth \$150,000. He also paid all legislative and court expenses incurred during the provisional governor's term. Johnson did this for no other state. He also allowed Holden \$7,000 from the Treasury to cover the expenses of his office.¹⁰ Indeed, Johnson seemed "very desirous that his native [state] should be the model . . . , and outstrip all her contemporaries in the race for reconstruction and reunion."¹¹

Apparently the Chief Executive consulted a number of North Carolinians before announcing his amnesty and plan of reconstruction. He summoned Holden to Washington as early as May 9, and by the latter part of that month the editor and a number of other prominent Carolinians had gone to the Capital for conferences. Responding to their plea for "forbearance and kindness toward the Southern States," the President promised that he would be as generous as possible, especially when entreated by those excepted in his proclamation of amnesty. Though he would pardon them when he could, Holden quotes him as declaring, "treason must be made odious, and coming generations ought to know it and profit by it."¹²

Johnson allowed some of his visitors to press Holden upon him as provisional governor, despite the unfavorable reaction of ex-governor David L. Swain and others. The editor himself states that Swain tried to persuade him not to accept, preferring instead that Vance remain in the office in compliance with the Sherman-Johnston convention.¹³ Between the President and Holden, however, "there was the bond of like social origin and like political opinions in the past, and this fact, coupled with

⁹ Johnson was military governor of Tennessee from March 4, 1862, until late in 1864.

¹⁰ *Memoirs of W. W. Holden*, pp. 55-56.

¹¹ J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, VI, 28-29. (David L. Swain to Judge Thomas Ruffin, September 15, 1865.)

¹² Holden's *Memoirs*, pp. 55-56. The names of the following men appear in accounts of these interviews: William W. Holden, Tod R. Caldwell, Robert P. Dick, Willie Jones, W. R. Richardson, John G. Williams, J. H. P. Russ, David L. Swain, W. S. Mason, Thomas Skirmer, William Eaton, Benjamin F. Moore, Dr. Robert J. Powell, and John H. Wheeler. *Memoirs of W. W. Holden*, pp. 45-56; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 106-107.

¹³ Hamilton, *Papers of Ruffin*, VI, 28-29. (David L. Swain to Judge Thomas Ruffin, September 15, 1865.)

their old friendship and communications during the war" probably made Holden the President's choice.¹⁴ Consequently he accepted the appointment, though he could not meet the required "iron-clad" requirement, since he had, "more or less, aided the rebellion."¹⁵ In fact, he had been a strong secessionist before the war and had voted for separation in the North Carolina convention. As provisional governor he swore allegiance in August, as provided in the amnesty proclamation.¹⁶ This is worth noting, since all other provisional governors were also required to take the test oath.¹⁷

Soon retiring from the *Standard*, Holden entered upon the duties of his office.¹⁸ The President's proclamations of amnesty and reconstruction and Seward's rules pertaining thereto would now be complied with. In a presidentially approved proclamation of June 12 and August 2 explaining the plan of reconstruction, he invited the people to resume their accustomed pursuits with cheerfulness and confidence in the future. He also urged those who had left the state during the war or immediately thereafter to return, assuring all that they would "be protected in their persons and property, and encouraged in their exertion to improve their condition. . . ." ¹⁹ On August 8 Holden announced that delegates were to be elected to a convention to be held on October 2 for the purpose of making certain prescribed changes in the state's constitution and providing for the election of a legislature, governor, and other state officials under that constitution.

Among Holden's first acts was the appointment of justices of the peace to administer the amnesty oath, and other officers necessary to register voters and otherwise set in motion the plan of restoration. After taking the amnesty oath and also the customary oath required by North Carolina,²⁰ these officials received pledges of loyalty from those who were pardoned outright on taking the amnesty oath, and from those who were required

¹⁴ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 108.

¹⁵ Holden's *Memoirs*, p. 49.

¹⁶ Holden's *Memoirs*, p. 49.

¹⁷ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 110.

¹⁸ Thereafter the paper carried, for a time at least, the names of Joseph S. Carman as editor and Joseph W. Holden as assistant editor. The latter was the provisional governor's son.

¹⁹ *Standard*, August 2, 1865.

²⁰ It appears that justices were also required to take a third oath. At least the Governor's Papers, July 1-15, 1865 (in archives of State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh), indicate that the justices of Carteret County took a third oath.

to make special application for individual pardon. The great majority regained their civil rights and political privileges under the general plan. The selection of reliable justices and registering officials was no easy task. Many whom the governor selected were not permitted to administer the oath. Holden explained to the President that inasmuch as "there are weak men among them, . . . persons would be qualified to vote who ought not to be," if all justices were authorized to administer the oath.²¹

On June 23 Johnson instructed Holden, through the Attorney-General's office, to use precaution in administering the amnesty proclamation. The communication pointed out that an "indiscriminate exercise of Executive clemency" was inadvisable, because both the state government and the general government needed to be protected from certain persons in the excepted classes. Johnson became very generous in granting pardons before the end of the summer, but at first he appeared determined to move slowly in exercising clemency. The applicant was required to show that he would be a peaceful and useful citizen in the future, what confiscation proceedings had been instituted against his property, and whether the government held any realty belonging to him as "abandoned property." The President assured Holden that, when cases were referred to the governor for careful consideration, all information pertaining thereto would be sent to him for "prompt and careful attention."²² The instructions closed with a detailed explanation of the reason why the President wanted doubtful cases submitted to the governor. First, it seemed desirable to avoid, if possible, any risk of granting pardons to disloyal persons, or to such, as from previous conduct and character, could not be trusted with the control of the freedmen. Second, Johnson desired to strengthen Holden's hands in the reorganization of the state by all constitutional means. A United States district attorney would soon be appointed to assist the governor, who was reminded that the President looked to him to uphold law and order in the state.²³

In considering the two classes of oath takers, the justices and

²¹ Johnson Papers, Vol. LXXI, No. 5666, Library of Congress (Holden to Johnson, July 24, 1865).

²² Governor's Papers (I. Hubley Ashton to Holden, June 23, 1865), in archives State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

²³ Governor's Papers, 1865 (I. Hubley Ashton to Holden, June 23, 1865), in archives State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

registering officials gave special attention to those who had to make application to the President. Persons in the other class, of course, were pardoned when they renewed their allegiance and received certificates to that effect, while excepted persons had to enclose copies of their oaths with their applications for clemency. This meant delay in registering because petitioners could not be registered as voters until they presented their pardon certificates. Inasmuch as carelessness in preparing petitions delayed consideration, specific instructions were published for the preparation of applications.²⁴ The applicant was directed to address himself to the President, giving his name, age, and residence, describing any conduct during the war rendering "his property liable to confiscation," stating the clause in the Amnesty Proclamation under which he came, and asserting that he had "taken the oath of Amnesty" and intended to observe the same. He was instructed regarding the selection and folding of paper, and was reminded to sign the petition and attach thereto a copy of his Amnesty Oath properly attested. By observing these directions, applicants would gain prompt consideration. Though these instructions were not always followed in detail, the pardons were often granted just the same.

Governor Holden appointed Dr. Robert J. Powell state agent in Washington to facilitate the granting of pardons.²⁵ The advantage resulting therefrom may be appreciated when it is understood that petitions the governor approved went to the Attorney-General of the United States and then to the President. Powell's functions during Holden's incumbency were very important, because he was the medium of communication between Raleigh and Washington and often even between the offices of the President and the Attorney-General. Consequently he was in a position to promote Holden's political ambitions, which appear to have depended largely on granting some applications and denying or delaying action on others.

Holden apparently was not certain whether paroled soldiers should be allowed to vote upon taking the oath, or whether they should be required also to secure the President's special pardon. On asking Seward for instructions, he was told (what he ought

²⁴ *Raleigh Daily Standard*, August 3, 1865.

²⁵ Powell was a native of North Carolina, holding a position in the patent office at the time of his appointment.

to have known already) that a special pardon was not necessary for military men below the rank of brigadier-general.²⁶ Of course, if such soldiers came within any of the other fourteen excepted classes, the governor was required to consider them individually. Veterans below the rank specified and in prison might be released and allowed to seek clemency. For example, when General Charles G. Dyer applied directly to Washington for a pardon for Colonel Kenneth M. Murchison, who was confined at Johnson's Island, Powell informed him that the President was not then "discharging any prisoners above the grade of Captain in the Rebel Army." If Dyer's applicant, however, would apply through Governor Holden and obtain his approval, the President would grant the petition. Evidently this was done, for ten days later the governor recommended the colonel's release, together with that of several other prisoners.²⁷ It appears, however, that Murchison was not pardoned until nearly six months later.²⁸

As one might expect, Holden was kept busy during his term as provisional governor receiving petitioners and their friends and examining applications. To his office came supporters of the late Confederacy in every capacity — governors, legislators (state and Confederate), generals, judges, county and city officials, professional and business men, and planters — to secure endorsement of their petitions. "For the first five months," he stated, "I had not less than seventy-five visitors every day, which engaged my attention for hours. . . . I also received every day a large number of applications for pardon which I read carefully. I was the medium through which these applications went to the

²⁶ William W. Holden Letter Book, 1865, in archives State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. (Holden to Seward, June 19, and Hunter to Holden, June 24.) Speed also wrote Holden on June 19, in answer to an inquiry about persons in the twelfth exception, that paroled soldiers "who are not excluded because of some other exception . . . , should be allowed to take the benefit of amnesty and vote." William W. Holden Letter Book, 1865 (Speed to Holden, June 19).

²⁷ Governor's Papers, May-June, 1865. (R. D. Russell to General Dyer, and General Dyer to Holden, June 20, 1865; also Holden to Johnson, June 30, 1865). The others were Colonel James W. Hinton, from Fort Delaware, and Colonel R. F. Webb, Judge Edward Cantwell, Major Lucius J. Johnson, Major A. C. Avery, and a lieutenant named Garrett, from Johnson Island. On June 23, Major Avery wrote R. C. Badger complaining of being excepted from Johnson's amnesty simply because "of having by accident obtained a greater rank than that of captain." On the same day he told the President, in his application for a special pardon, that he was debarred from amnesty because he was a prisoner of war, that he had lost three brothers in the war, that his father had also died, and that he was willing to acquiesce in the results of the war. He desired his liberty so that he might support his father's estate, Governor's Papers, May-June, 1865.

²⁸ Applications for pardons (North Carolinians), photocopies in archives State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Originals in The National Archives, Washington (hereafter cited as Applications for Pardons).

President, and my duty was to mark them Granted, Postponed, or Rejected. . . . During my time of seven months as governor about twelve hundred pardons (1,200), as well as I recollect, were thus obtained. . . .”

Furthermore, as already indicated, Holden “had to provide books with the amnesty oaths for all the counties, to appoint persons in various counties to administer those oaths,” and to perform various other duties necessary in the reconstruction program then in operation. So closely did he apply himself to his duties that his health was impaired, and at one time during his incumbency he went to a resort called Kittrell Springs to recuperate.²⁹ On June 21 the *New York Herald* described activities in the North Carolina capital in these words: “Since the promulgation of the Amnesty proclamation . . . , there has been a great rush of the secessionists to Raleigh to solicit pardon. . . . They come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south . . . ; and all at once they have discovered that Governor Holden is a remarkably proper man — the right man in the right place. . . .”³⁰

Some applicants for pardon stated that they had accepted civil offices to avoid service in the Confederate army. One man became tithing agent; another, postmaster; a third, assessor and depot agent. Tod R. Caldwell, who later became lieutenant governor and governor of the state, said that he avoided service by accepting the office of solicitor for Rutherford County. Sundry other petty offices were also filled by persons to avoid military service, but most petitioners of this class seem to have been postmasters. These men usually stated their opposition to secession and their satisfaction with the outcome of the war.³¹ Consequently their petitions were often granted with little delay.

The Quakers found themselves in an awkward position when expected to take the amnesty oath. Perhaps the inquiry of Joseph Newlin, of New Market, illustrates their predicament. He told Holden that he thought “it would be requiring too much

²⁹ Holden's *Memoirs*, pp. 57-65.

³⁰ *New York Herald*, June 21, 1865.

³¹ Applications for Pardons. Caldwell gave only one offense against the United States. He also stated further in his petition that he was so active in opposing the “Davis Usurpation” that the rebel leaders threatened to destroy his property and do him personal violence. He applied for pardon on July 25, Holden recommended pardon at once, and Johnson pardoned him on August 12, 1865. Applications for Pardons. He, being lieutenant governor, became governor when Holden was removed by impeachment early in 1871. He was elected governor in 1872, but died before the end of his term. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, *passim*.

of them" to swear "allegiance to the United States" since they had "never broken their allegiance thereto voluntarily," and could not, therefore, "consistently make the affirmation."³² Newlin's contention, however, was better expressed in a formal petition to Holden by the Quakers at one of their annual "Sufferings." After giving their religious scruples against rebellion and stating that not one of them had favored the rupture of the government, they related the hardships inflicted upon them for opposing the war. They had been imprisoned, whipped, suspended by the thumb, and had suffered other penal indignities and abuses. Consequently they believed that they should not be required to swear allegiance to the United States. The Quakers also feared that taking the oath might be construed to mean defending the Constitution by the use of arms, a practice in direct violation of a primary principle which had always characterized their society. If they might not be released entirely from the amnesty oath they desired "it to be so modified as not to violate" their conscientious scruples.³³

Holden asked Johnson to excuse the Quakers from swearing at all. If this might not be done, he requested that they be allowed to take the North Carolina oath, which did not contain some parts that the complainants found objectionable in the amnesty proclamation. If neither of these requests could be granted, Holden asked that it might "be stated by authority in the newspapers that when Quakers take the oath of amnesty it is not expected that they bind themselves to defend the Government with arms."³⁴ But the President did not grant the governor's request, for the Quakers were obliged to take the amnesty oath. Perhaps he took the position that Lincoln maintained when Loyal Tennesseans objected to taking the oath provided in the amnesty proclamation of December 8, 1863. Such persons had protested vigorously but vainly against taking it and being thus classified with rebels. Having insisted in 1864 on applying a more rigid test of loyalty in Tennessee than Lincoln required, Johnson at this time was not likely to except any one merely on account of religious scruples.

³² Governor's Papers, 1865 (Newlin to Holden, June 13, 1865).

³³ Governor's Papers, 1865.

³⁴ Johnson Papers, LXVIII; Governor's Papers, 1865 (Holden to Johnson, June 27, 1865). Holden sent Johnson a copy of the Quaker's petition.

Johnson would have liked to revoke the pardons of two wealthy men, George W. Mordecai and William T. Hawkins, who had applied for clemency rather early.³⁵ Holden had marked their petitions suspended, so they might not participate in reconstruction. During the second week in August the men went to Washington to hasten action on their applications, and through the assistance of friends gained an interview with the President. Johnson believed their stories and, after requiring each to take the amnesty oath again and write a brief application, pardoned them at once. When Powell and Holden learned of this they complained to the President, who stated that the men had told him that they had not supported the rebellion, that Holden had approved their petitions, which "had been lost or mislaid in the Attorney-General's office," and that they had come to Washington to apply in person for pardon. Johnson felt, therefore, that, under the circumstances, he might be excused for granting the pardons, though he was greatly displeased with the manner in which they had been obtained. Yet he telegraphed Holden to assess each man ten thousand dollars as punishment for obtaining pardons through deception. This Holden declined to do, and warned Johnson not to pardon North Carolinians without positive knowledge of his approval. Mordecai and Hawkins denied having misrepresented their condition and questioned Powell's veracity in his account of the affair. At any rate, the men obtained clemency without Holden's approval by appealing directly to the President through the intercession of others.³⁶

The records show that Holden carefully scrutinized the lists forwarded to Washington and indicated thereon those whose pardons he desired deferred and those whom he desired relieved at once.³⁷ Evidently he withheld his recommendation when he regarded the applicants as likely to oppose his administration as provisional governor and later his candidacy for governor. Such persons, of course, could neither sit in the convention soon to

³⁵ Mordecai was a lawyer and bank president, and Hawkins had been president of a railroad company and quartermaster for the Confederacy. The men came within the thirteenth exception.

³⁶ Governor's Papers, 1865 (Powell to Holden, August 15, September 6, 1865); Applications for Pardons (applications of Mordecai and Hawkins, of August 11, 1865); Hamilton, *Papers of Rufin*, IV, 28; *Raleigh Daily Standard*, September 25, October 7, 8, 11, 1865; *Raleigh Daily Sentinel*, August 12, October 13, 13, 1865; Holden's Memoirs, p. 61; also Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 114. Powell claimed a lawyer, named Speed, a relative of the Attorney-General, had helped to obtain the pardons.

³⁷ Applications for Pardons.

assemble nor vote in the forthcoming election, unless they previously obtained pardons. Furthermore, he also appeared to favor petitioners who had been ardent secessionists in 1860 and 1861, and to oppose (for a time at least) those, like Zebulon B. Vance, John A. Gilmer, Josiah Turner, Jr., William A. Graham, and John M. Morehead, who had been for the Union until influenced by the first seceders to cast their lot with the Confederacy. Original secessionists, therefore, like A. H. Arrington, Burton Craige, John L. Bridges, William Lander, and Abram Venable were recommended for pardon.

Those discriminated against accused Holden of seeking to promote his own political fortune by such partiality. Jonathan Worth wrote two years later that all Holden's "actions were shaped to bring about his election by the people as governor. He never failed to recommend for pardon anyone . . . who gave him satisfactory assurance of support. He recommended for suspension or rejection every one, regardless of his political antecedents, who would not assure him of support."³⁸ Even Lewis Hanes, who was for a time Holden's private secretary, stated that "in everything that he did, he kept constantly in view no object but his own political advancement."³⁹

It should be noted, however, that Holden did favor pardoning some prominent persons who had opposed secession and had later supported the Confederacy; and Jonathan Worth was one of these. In fact, Worth said of himself: "As to getting into the war or getting out of it, I have a better record than any [other] man in the State."⁴⁰ He had been pardoned early so that Holden might appoint him provisional treasurer of the state. Ex-Governor David L. Swain, Dr. James G. Ramsey, and Judge Thomas Ruffin were three other men in this class whose pardons Holden favored. Swain, whose petition contained an account of his Union sentiment during the war, was needed as president of the University of North Carolina. Holden recommended his pardon on September 24, and Johnson granted it two weeks later. Ramsey supported his long petition so well with newspaper comments on his opposition to secession that Holden recom-

³⁸ J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 977 (Worth to Colonel W. G. Moore, June 9, 1867).

³⁹ Quoted by Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 133.

⁴⁰ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 420 (letter to Jesse Walker, September 14, 1865).

mended his pardon on June 30, and Johnson pardoned him a few days later.⁴¹

Judge Ruffin's petition was a model of form and logic. He told the President that he had been associated with the movement for conciliation in 1860-61, but that he did believe in the right of revolution. He had not acceded to the doctrine of nullification, however, since he admitted the authority of the federal government over the states as well as the citizens. Yet he believed in the "right of a whole people to change their form of government by annulling one Constitution and forming another for themselves. . . ." Consequently, as a member of the state's convention, he supported the ordinance of secession and "such military and financial measures as were deemed fit and proper for maintaining the Confederacy." He expressed the opinion, however, that more could be accomplished in conciliating the South and restoring its prosperity by a universal amnesty than by a "Judicial decision before a Judge and Jury." Ruffin believed his financial losses due to the war had reduced the value of his estate from \$250,000 to \$20,000. He came, of course, under the thirteenth exception of the President's amnesty. His advanced age (nearly seventy-eight), long service as chief justice of the state's supreme court, and popularity caused Holden to recommend his pardon (September 14), which Johnson granted two weeks later.⁴²

Holden stated in his *Memoirs* that he refused to recommend for pardon only four persons, but the records show that he marked many applications to be suspended, or deferred.⁴³ Furthermore, as related more fully later, he left some 300 petitions unattended to at all on file in his office at the close of his term as provisional governor. He said nothing about these papers or the 500 pardons which he advertised as granted on the eve of

⁴¹ Applications for Pardon. Swain had declined a seat in the Confederate States Senate, had never been a real secessionist, and believed Buchanan could have prevented the organization of the Confederacy and have prevented the war. Ramsey had served in the Confederate Congress in spite of his early sympathy with the Union cause. Apparently he did not help the Confederacy much in any capacity, and certainly rejoiced in its downfall.

⁴² Ruffin's petition for pardon is published in Hamilton's *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, IV, 16-21. Swain claimed to have succeeded in obtaining pardons for Judge Ruffin, Paul C. Cameron and himself, and desired to bear a petition from the convention in October, 1865, to the President for Vance's pardon. *Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII* (Swain to Vance, October 18, 1865). In the archives of State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁴³ For example, on August 18, 1865, Holden's agent, at Washington, Dr. Powell, submitted a list of some 290 persons who had applied for pardon. Six were marked for immediate action, 232 for pardon without any time indicated, and forty others were to be suspended. Seven more were to take effect on January 1, 1866. John A. Gilmer was among those to be pardoned, but James R. McLean's petition was marked "rejected," and that of Landon C. Haynes, of Iredell County (formerly of Tennessee), was sent to the President without recommendation at all. Applications for Pardons.

the election in November, 1865, which will be discussed later. Certainly he should have explained why these petitions were not forwarded to Washington and why the larger number, advertised as having been granted, were not delivered as expected. The avalanche of criticism heaped upon him because of these omissions and commissions should have caused him to make some explanation in his own account of pardoning North Carolinians. Perhaps the thought of the subject was so unpleasant that he concluded not to mention it. His own story, therefore, puts him in a more favorable light than the actual facts justify.

Holden was eventually prevailed on to recommend the pardon of John A. Gilmer, who, after serving in the United States Congress, had been tendered the place as Secretary of the Treasury in Lincoln's cabinet. Gilmer was a strong Union man, who exerted himself to keep North Carolina from seceding. In seeking pardon, he wrote ex-Governor Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, whose influence with the President he sought, claiming that he helped defeat an effort to call a convention to consider secession in his state in February, 1861, by printing and distributing over 100,000 copies of "speeches and documents, fully one-third of which were by Andrew Johnson." Gilmer also told Corwin that he worked faithfully for the Union until Lincoln called for troops after the attack on Fort Sumter; then he could "do nothing more with the people." It was only when "the whole South declared for independence" that he was obliged to support the Confederacy by serving in its Congress. In his depressed condition and the confusion of the times, he also said that if he sustained any other losses besides that of his slaves, he would "feel that an innocent man has suffered." But if he could be released from his existing distress and difficulty, he would endeavor to sell what he had left and take his wife and children to some free state, where even at his advanced age (sixty) he would begin life again.⁴⁴

In all probability Corwin asked the President to pardon Gilmer, but there were others of prominence who also interceded for him. Ex-Confederate Congressman E. M. Brown wrote Attorney-General Speed that there was no other man who could do

⁴⁴ Applications for Pardons (Gilmer to Corwin, June 4, 1865). Corwin had been United States Senator, Secretary of the Treasury, and minister to Mexico. He was practicing law in Washington in 1865, and died in December of that year.

so much as Gilmer to bring order out of chaos in North Carolina, since he approved Johnson's plan of reconstruction and would heartily cooperate with Governor Holden. The writer further emphasized Gilmer's virtues by saying he could "do more to organize the free labor system than any other man in the state," and then reminded Speed of Gilmer's service in the United States Congress and the offer of a position in Lincoln's cabinet, saying that, "Above all men he should be pardoned on public consideration—state and national. . . ." ⁴⁵

Governor Holden's administrative staff, including his private secretary, Lewis Hanes, also requested Gilmer's pardon. Even a dozen or more army officers, among whom were Generals Jacob Dolson Cox, of Ohio, and Thomas Jefferson Henderson, of Illinois, petitioned the President in behalf of the popular North Carolinian. ⁴⁶ Finally sentiment in both the North and South became so strong for Gilmer that Holden recommended clemency, telling the President that the man appeared "sincerely repentant and much depressed," and that he was "so 'good a fellow' personally" that many "old line Whigs" were inclined to believe that he [Holden] refused to recommend his "pardon on account of past political differences." Consequently Holden advised leniency, but he desired that the pardon not be issued until January 1, 1866. This would be too late for the recipient to participate in the October convention and the election that followed. In the meantime, however, Holden hoped that Gilmer's estate would not be libelled. ⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it appears that Gilmer was pardoned much earlier, for, on October 14, he told Vance that Dr. Powell had informed him that the President had pardoned him. He also assured Vance that he could now work much more efficiently for his pardon, which he was certain would also be granted. ⁴⁸

Another person, as stated above, whose pardon Holden wanted deferred was Josiah Turner, Jr. The governor recommended that the man's father, who was very old and in the thirteenth excep-

⁴⁵ Applications for Pardons (Brown to Speed, July 5, 1865).

⁴⁶ Applications for Pardons, for sundry letters. General Cox later became Governor of Ohio and General Henderson, a member of Congress.

⁴⁷ Applications for Pardons (Holden to Johnson, August 9, 1865). Gilmer wrote several letters to Johnson and his subordinates in seeking pardon. Applications for Pardons.

⁴⁸ Z. B. Vance Papers, III (Gilmer to Vance, October 14, 1865). Cf. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 115.

tion, be pardoned at once;⁴⁹ but the son's petition, seemingly "a bill of indictment against" the Democratic party, he thought should be suspended.⁵⁰ Indeed, the ex-Confederate Congressman charged both Southern and Northern Democrats with erroneous interpretations of the Constitution in advocating the principles of states' rights and nullification. His four-thousand-word application for pardon, therefore, deserves some consideration, since it contains an unusual presentation of the Confederate cause by a pardon seeker.

Turner pointed out the "error of the Jeffersonian school" in constantly interpreting the Constitution in the light of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, which South Carolina later developed into the right of peaceful secession. Yet he stated that Hamilton agreed that armed coercion could not "be executed upon the states collectively." Then he asserted that Buchanan merely followed the precepts of Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and other framers of the Constitution when he refused to coerce South Carolina. Turner also declared that these Fathers had erred by their actions in the Convention, and that Buchanan had likewise acted unwisely in following the debates in the Convention instead of the Constitution itself and his oath of office. Furthermore, he asserted that the Democrats had endorsed the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions in their platform of 1848 and in later campaigns; and thus, he reasoned, "the Northern as well as the Southern democracy was committed to secession."

But Turner did not stop here. He went on to analyze Buchanan's policies to show his mistakes, which, however, he declared to be in conformity with the faulty teachings of the Democratic party from 1798 to 1860. He quoted Jefferson freely and then affirmed that both North and South had "laid down platforms and inculcated principles calculated to weaken the Government and bring it into contempt." The people, he said, had been taught

⁴⁹ The elder Turner told the President in his petition that he would have "thrown" his "strength on the side of the South" if it had not been for his advanced age (eighty-six) and physical condition. Holder reminded Johnson that the father was not the Turner who was a "member of the so called Confederate Congress." Applications for Pardons (Turner to Johnson and Holden to Johnson, August 1, 5, 1865, respectively).

⁵⁰ On September 20, 1865, Holden wrote on Josiah Turner Junior's petition: "I respectfully recommend that action in this case be suspended. It seems to be a bill of indictment against the Democracy." Applications for Pardons. In seeking a pardon for Turner in July, 1866, Governor Worth, of North Carolina, told Seward that if the form of his (Turner's) petition was objectionable he would "endeavor to get him to withdraw it, if this be allowable. . . ." Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 662.

"that the Federal Government was only an agency or a co-partnership to be dissolved by secession when the states wished." They had been "taught the impotency of the Federal Government. It could not create a bank, improve a river, make a railroad, or a turnpike. It was reserved for sovereign states to do these things." Then he pointed out the fact that Calhoun had remained in favor with Northern Democrats long after he drafted the nullifying ordinance of 1832.

Finally, Turner considered the visit of Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson to North Carolina late in 1860, "The most astonishing instance of intrepid political affrontery on record," except that of Secretary Floyd's "sending arms south to destroy the government" he had sworn to defend and was pretending to administer.⁵¹ Indeed, Thompson said nothing to shock a Democrat; he inculcated instead and enlarged upon Jefferson's doctrine "that each state must decide for herself both the mode and measure of redress for present and for prospective evils and grievances." Consequently, Southern Democrats expected peaceful secession.

Turner wrote all this and much more of similar import in presenting his plea for clemency. As a captain in the Confederate Army and later as a member of the Confederate Congress he had only acquiesced in a long-standing but fallacious party leadership that had finally precipitated a national catastrophe. Nevertheless he expected his exposure to anger a host of its followers rather than cause them to be "thankful for the occasion of correcting them." As an opponent of secession and castigator of the party responsible for his mistake, he expected his petition to be freely granted.⁵² But his facile pen and ready tongue seemed to hinder favorable action, for Holden stated that "under all these circumstances it was not to be reasonably expected that I would . . . write the President to forward" his pardon.⁵³

Former Governor William A. Graham's failure to qualify for office in 1865 was a great disappointment to his friends. He had

⁵¹ A committee of the House exonerated Floyd in January, 1861, of every charge of criminal neglect of duty for which an indictment had been returned against him.

⁵² Turner's twenty-three page petition may be found among the Applications for Pardons. He should have improved its form before forwarding it to Raleigh and Washington for consideration.

⁵³ Holden's *Memoirs*, p. 60. See also *North Carolina Standard* for October 20, 26, 1865. Turner had severely criticised Holden's policies.

been United States Senator, governor of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy, candidate for Vice-President, and Confederate States Senator. Naturally his services were desired in the program of reconstruction; and in due time he applied for pardon. In his well prepared petition of some 3,000 words he told of his early strong attachment to the Union and opposition to secession, until North Carolina found herself "completely insulated among the seceded states with no loyal members of the Union nearer to her than Pennsylvania and Ohio. . . ."

As a member of the state legislature during the first years of the war, Graham had "uniformly opposed all propositions to abridge the freedom of speech . . . or otherwise impair the common rights of the citizen. He was mainly instrumental," he told the President, "in defeating an ordinance proposing to disfranchise and banish every citizen of the State who should not submit to a test oath to uphold and defend the Confederate Government with arms, and abjure his allegiance to the United States." Likewise he succeeded in defeating a measure intended to penalize severely persons advocating the restoration of the Union. Though he came sincerely to desire the success of Confederate arms, he sternly refused "to make public addresses in which he was expected to give assurance" of the final success of the movement for independence. For all this, as might be expected, he was censured by the press throughout the contest.

Later, as a member of the Confederate Congress, Graham advocated the mild policy which had characterized his efforts in the state legislature. Believing his counsels were in some degree responsible for the Hampton Roads peace conference, he had urged another effort at conciliation after the failure of that meeting. Yet he had advised North Carolina "to forbear premature attempts at peace through the instrumentality of a separate convention of the State . . . until the refusal of the Confederate authorities to treat according to the necessities of the situation should be definitely ascertained." But when he became satisfied that the Confederate government would not treat for peace, except on the basis of independence, he counseled the authorities of his state "to interpose promptly for the termination of the war." Graham also stated that he had a large dependent family. Nevertheless he trusted that his five sons, who

had fought for the Confederacy, had "performed their parts" creditably. Having cheerfully resumed his obligations to the government he prayed that, in consideration of the premises, pardon and amnesty might be extended to him for having opposed "the authority of the United States."⁵⁴ Graham could not represent Orange County in the state convention, because the governor had recommended the deferment of his pardon; but, as in Gilmer's case, proceedings against his property were discouraged.⁵⁵ Hesitating to believe that Holden had blocked Graham's plea, the *Raleigh Sentinel* was confident that, if Johnson "could know the truth" about Graham, "he would at once sign his pardon."⁵⁶

In November the state legislature petitioned for Graham's pardon, and then a little later elected the man United States Senator.⁵⁷ Holden, however, still withheld his recommendation; and apparently he encouraged Powell to return to Raleigh to work against Graham's election. In reporting the result of the campaign to Vance, Swain stated significantly that Dr. Powell was still in Raleigh, and that he had "left no stone unturned to thwart Graham," whose victory had left his opponents deeply mortified.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the day Graham was elected, the President signed his pardon, but it was not delivered until 1867. Nor was Graham or any other ex-Confederate admitted to a seat in the United States Senate during the sessions of the Thirty-Ninth Congress (1865-67). In fact, both houses denied representation to all the states lately "in rebellion" until they had conformed to the congressional plan of reconstruction.⁵⁹

Perhaps the most important pardon case in North Carolina concerned Zebulon Baird Vance, who had been governor of the state from 1862 to the close of hostilities. He declined an invitation to participate in the Sherman-Johnston surrender negotiations near Durham. He might also have tried to escape with Jefferson Davis, but he chose to remain with his people to do

⁵⁴ Graham's petition, in Applications for Pardons, is dated July 25, 1865.

⁵⁵ *Raleigh Sentinel*, September 1, 21, 1865. Graham was elected to the state senate, but did not take his seat, because he had not been pardoned.

⁵⁶ *Raleigh Sentinel*, September 1, 1865.

⁵⁷ Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (F. E. Shiber to Vance, November 30, 1865).

⁵⁸ Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (Swain to Vance, December 4, 1865).

⁵⁹ Tennessee's representatives were admitted to their seats after ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866, but the other states did not conform so readily and remained unrepresented until later.

what he could to prevent the destruction of state property and archives and otherwise help adjust the affairs of the state to the new order. When it appeared that he could do nothing more, he offered to surrender to General Schofield, who declined to receive him as a prisoner and advised him to go to his home at Statesville. This he did, but not until he had made a futile effort to send a commission to Washington and had urged the people in a public address to abstain from excesses, assuring them that he would do all he could to restore normal conditions in the state.⁶⁰

On May 13 Vance was arrested by order of the President, taken to Washington, and placed in a cell at the Old Capitol Prison with Governor John Letcher of Virginia. Clement Dowd gives the best reason for the arrest and imprisonment of Vance, as well as the other civil leaders of the Confederacy. After discrediting any desire on the part of Johnson "to settle some old grudge he may have had against Vance," he expresses the belief that the assassination of Lincoln not only "excited and exasperated" the authorities at Washington, but also left them in doubt as to the "temper and purposes" of the Confederate leaders. Dowd concludes, therefore, "that it was thought the public peace and safety would be better secured by imprisoning the Governors of the several States for a time, and thus effectually prevent the further prosecution of the war by guerilla parties or otherwise."⁶¹ Indeed, Davis himself admitted that his attempt to escape from Richmond was to join the forces of Kirby Smith and others in the South and West and to continue the struggle.⁶²

But such was not Vance's desire. Seeming to recognize the utter futility of further resistance, he set about at once to restore his state to its former place in the Union. Kemp P. Battle stated that in a commencement address on "The Duties of Defeat" at the University of North Carolina during these days: "His Counsels, like those of General Lee on the same subject, were eminently wise and timely, a sincere acceptance of the decisions of the war, loyalty to our governments, national and state, [and] faithful labor for the reconstruction of society. . . ."⁶³

It is easily seen, therefore, that Vance was a man whose

⁶⁰ Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance*, pp. 95-101; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 95-101.

⁶¹ Dowd, *Life of Vance*, p. 97.

⁶² Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy*, II, 696-697.

⁶³ Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 753.

clemency would be widely sought. Influenced also by Mrs. Vance's illness in Statesville, Holden yielded to pressure and recommended his parole from prison. So, on July 6, Vance was allowed to proceed to his home, where "he was to remain subject to the order of the President." This privilege was later extended so that he could "remain with his wife during her illness without regard to location." In fact, the President finally (September, 1866) allowed him "to visit such places in the United States" as he might desire, subject to the conditions of his parole. This action was taken in answer to a request from Winchester, Virginia, that he be permitted to participate in the dedication of a cemetery there to the memory of Stonewall Jackson.⁶⁴

Paroles and their extension, however, did not remove the most serious disability from Vance. He needed to be pardoned so that he might earn a livelihood for himself and his family. Moreover, his many friends wanted him to become eligible to serve the state in some useful capacity. Petitions for the restoration of his rights, therefore, began to be made shortly after his imprisonment and continued until far into 1867. The President probably received more requests to pardon Vance than for any other ex-Confederate, except Jefferson Davis. As early as January, 1866, Johnson told William A. Graham and David L. Swain that he supposed fifty persons had spoken to him of Vance's case.⁶⁵

Vance prepared his petition for pardon on June 3, 1865, while confined in the Old Capitol Prison. Its 1,200 words contain a simple statement of his devotion to the Federal Union and the individuality of the states, until the beginning of the war. He reminded Johnson that, as a member of Congress, he had the honor, during the session of 1860-61, of cooperating with him in trying to save the Union. On returning home after March 4, 1861, he had become "a candidate for reelection on the Union ticket, amid such persecutions and threats of personal violence as it was customary to heap upon union men in that day." It was during this canvass, he stated, that actual hostilities began and that Lincoln called on North Carolina for troops to put down the "rebellion."

The President's action produced an instantaneous and over-

⁶⁴ Numerous papers pertaining to the parole of Vance may be found in the Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII, IX.

⁶⁵ Z. B. Vance Papers, IX (Graham to Vance and Swain to Vance, January 20, 1866).

whelming revolution of public sentiment in that state, and caused the people to clamor for disunion, "declaring if they must fight, it should be for and not against their Southern neighbors and kindred." Consequently, in less than three weeks a convention assembled and unanimously passed an ordinance of secession. Under these circumstances, Vance told Johnson, there were only two choices open to him, namely, to leave North Carolina and "levy domestic war at the head of such persons as would follow him, or to abide by the action of his State. He chose the latter alternative," serving the Confederacy in military and civil capacities until the end of the conflict.

The prisoner reviewed his futile efforts to cooperate with Generals Sherman and Schofield in an effort to place the state in its former position in the Union. Then he told the President that he did not desire to secure a pardon "by any false or mean pretenses, or to mitigate the offence of abandoning one government by showing that he was likewise false to another." Vance also thought that he should truthfully state that, though he yielded reluctantly "to circumstances in the beginning, his feelings became in time thoroughly and earnestly enlisted in behalf of the cause his state had espoused." Naturally the threatened abolition of slavery and the horrors of war affected him, and caused him to labor "zealously in every honorable way to repel an invasion of his state, . . . and to avoid results, which seemed to him equivalent to the absolute subjugation of his people." Now he fully appreciated "the actual condition of affairs," and contemplated "no further resistance whatever to the authority of the United States." Furthermore he accepted the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery, and was willing "to take and faithfully observe the oath prescribed" in the President's proclamation of amnesty. He desired, of course, to be permitted to return home, so that he might "assist an almost ruined people in the restoration of law, and assume all the duties of a quiet and law abiding American citizen." Humbly concluding his petition, Vance asserted that he had very little property, that his wife and four small children were "totally dependent upon his personal exertions," and that they were then "living upon the charity of personal friends."⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Applications for Pardons, Vance's petition for pardon.

Of course there was considerable effort on the part of many to persuade the President to pardon Vance. The petitions from individuals and groups were numerous. As already stated, the first efforts resulted in his parole from prison, but full suffrage was desired. Naturally his leadership was needed. Ex-Governor Letcher of Virginia wrote Vance that he would out-distance all competitors in political influence were he free to act.⁶⁷ Holden, however, remained adamant in refusing to endorse his application. In recommending deferred action on Gilmer's and Graham's petitions he expressed the opinion that they could make no disturbance even if disposed to do so as long as Vance remained unpardoned.⁶⁸

A little earlier Holden had said in recommending the pardon of Governor Vance's brother General Robert B. Vance: "He is a very different man from Z. B. Vance. He is honest, has no political ambitions, and is very poor."⁶⁹ Holden also opposed clemency for ex-Governor Clark and Ed. W. Manning on the ground that he could not afford to recommend Vance.⁷⁰ Manning reported the governor as having said that, if he recommended him without Vance, Holden would expose himself to the assault of Vance's friends, which shows, Manning further asserted, "that Holden was taking care of himself without any consideration of the merits of the case or the effect on the public welfare."⁷¹

To understand why Holden refused to recommend Vance's pardon a brief review of the political activities and relations of the men prior to the summer of 1865 appears desirable. During the 1850's the editor of the *Standard* had been one of the strongest advocates of secession in the state, and through the columns of his paper, which he had edited since 1843, he was one of the most ardent supporters of the doctrine of states' rights in the South.⁷² Politically ambitious, he vainly attempted to secure Democratic support for governor in 1858, but John W. Ellis was

⁶⁷ Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (Letcher to Vance, October 16, 1865).

⁶⁸ Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (Holden to Johnson, August 9, 1865).

⁶⁹ Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (Holden to Johnson, August 1, 1865).

⁷⁰ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 103-5.

⁷¹ Applications for Pardons (Manning to Johnson, July 20, 1865). On August 8, 1865, Holden recommended that Manning's pardon be suspended, and it was not granted until June 15, 1867.

⁷² Holden's life as a journalist, from 1843 to 1865, has been well told by Edgar E. Folk, in a doctoral dissertation (two bound volumes) at George Peabody College. See also Dr. Folk's "W. W. Holden and the North Carolina Standard, 1843-1848: A Study in Political Journalism," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (January, 1942), No. 1, and "W. W. Holden and the Election of 1858," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (October, 1944), No. 4.

nominated and elected. In 1860, however, Holden appeared rather uncertain for a time in his attitude toward secession, addressing the Democratic national convention at Charleston on its dangers, and announcing a little later "that he was 'for the Constitution and the Union, and against all who would trample on the one or dissolve the other.'"⁷³

Nevertheless, on June 2, Holden declared again for secession, asserting, in anticipation of the autumn election, that, "If the people of the South are true to themselves they will never be troubled by the decisions of Black Republican judges."⁷⁴ But in these trying times constancy was not one of Holden's virtues, for he was loath to support secession after Lincoln's election, until the call to arms. Then as a member of the secession convention of his state he "is reported to have held up the pen with which he signed the ordinance and said that he would hand it down to his children as their proudest heritage."⁷⁵

But Holden did not support the war policies of Governor Ellis, who died in July, 1861, nor those of Henry T. Clark, who, being speaker of the state senate, succeeded Ellis as governor. In fact he became the main leader of the opposition to President Davis's administration, which developed early in North Carolina. Moreover, as the gubernatorial election of 1862 approached, he sought a candidate who, if elected, would be anti-Davis and pro-Union; for by the second year of the war Holden was denouncing the policies of the Confederate government and again advocating the Union cause. His candidate was Zebulon B. Vance, formerly an ardent Union supporter and now the most popular man in the state.

Vance said little or nothing about peace during the campaign, and was elected by a large majority; but he soon disappointed Holden. In his inaugural address the new governor declared that he would support the Confederacy. "Speaking of secession, he said, 'It was not a whim or sudden freak, but the deliberate judgment of our people. Any other course would have involved the deepest degradation, the vilest dishonor, and the direst calamity . . .'" Then, in an exhortation for unanimity of action, he con-

⁷³ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 10-12.

⁷⁴ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 12, n 2 (from editorial in the *North Carolina Standard*).

⁷⁵ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 32. On October 19, 1865, the *North Carolina Standard* declared vehemently that Holden had never been a secessionist. "Would Johnson," the editor asked, "have appointed him Provisional Governor if he had been a secessionist?"

tinued: "To prosecute this war with success is quite as much for our people as for our soldiers to do. One of the vital elements of our success is harmony. On this great issue of existence itself let there, I pray you, be no dissentive voice in our borders."⁷⁶

The governor's new position was a great departure from his policy two years earlier. Then, according to Burton Jesse Hendrick, "he engaged in a kind of campaign resembling a religious revival, . . . He appeared in churches, even at street corners, shouting always: 'Keep North Carolina in the Union! Let it not follow the example of other Southern States!'"⁷⁷ But a great change of heart and purpose came over him after Lincoln's call for troops to put down the "rebellion"; and his energy and prowess in the Confederate army soon made him a hero. Now he gave assurance of his continued loyalty to the Confederacy. His former declarations for the Union, however, were not forgotten in the North, or in Richmond, where his policies as governor were not always understood or appreciated.⁷⁸

Vance's vigorous and able support of the state war party, therefore, was a keen disappointment to Holden. By the summer of 1863 the editor of the *Standard* was urging peace and the Union, fearing, as he said, "that a prolongation of the war" would "obliterate the last vestige" of slavery.⁷⁹ This fear was doubtless due to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and to the probability of further action to liberate the slaves.

Holden's strong advocacy of peace and the return of North Carolina to the Union greatly exasperated Vance. This annoyance became a serious aggravation as the year 1863 passed and the peace movement increased. At first Vance tried to get along with Holden, but finally concluded to oppose him cautiously. He prepared, therefore, a long article for publication attacking the editor's policies, but he was considerate enough to allow Holden to see the paper before publishing it. Since Graham also advised against publication, he never allowed it to go to press. This was in August, but by September Vance firmly determined to counteract the peace movement and published a proclamation to discourage dissension and division among the people. His position, how-

⁷⁶ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 43, quoting from Holden's inaugural address.

⁷⁷ Burton Jesse Hendrick, *Statesmen of the Lost Cause*, p. 346.

⁷⁸ Hendrick, *The Lost Cause*, pp. 342-349.

⁷⁹ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 50.

ever, was not satisfactory to the war party, since he did not clearly define the line existing between himself and Holden, whose printing house was molested by infuriated Georgia soldiers on the night of September 9. The sequel to this mob attack on the *Standard*, whose editor sought protection in the governor's home during the night, was the destruction of the equipment of the war-sympathizing *Raleigh State Journal* the next morning by some of Holden's friends.⁸⁰

Affairs by this time were so serious that fighting between the two factions seemed imminent. Vance implored President Davis to assist in pacifying the people by causing troops passing through the state to avoid Raleigh. Nevertheless the governor was so alarmed over the situation that he told Davis that, unless the outrages ceased, he would be obliged to recall North Carolina troops from the Confederate service to defend the state. In a week, however, quiet was restored, and by October 4 the *Standard* had resumed publication and its demands for peace. Vance soon countered with a declaration "that an honorable peace could be obtained only on the battlefield." Moreover, much to his satisfaction and through the influence of Graham, the lower house of the legislature, meeting early in 1864, failed to act upon a resolution asking Davis to open negotiations for peace with Washington; nor was there further demonstration for peace during this session.

As yet there had been no open break between Holden and Vance. The rupture came, however, when the *Standard* began advocating a state convention to consider peace, stating on January 19, 1864, that unless Vance favored such action he could not be reelected. Peace meetings followed in several counties, and the situation became so serious that President Davis suspended the writ of habeas corpus in the state. Highly displeased, Vance began an angry and profitless correspondence with Davis. Nevertheless the Carolinian remained firm in his support of the Confederacy, declaring on January 1 to his close friend, Graham, that he would see the peace party blown into atoms "and Holden and his under-strappers in hell" before he would consent to a course that "would bring dishonor and ruin upon both state and

⁸⁰ Richard E. Yates, "Governor Vance and The Peace Movement," Part I, *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVII (January, 1940), No. 1, gives the facts in this and the following paragraph.

Confederacy." Consequently, on Washington's birthday, he delivered a carefully prepared and widely published speech announcing his stand against peace and also his candidacy for reelection.⁸¹

Vance's address was a pungent challenge to Holden, who, on March 3, announced his candidacy for governor through the columns of the *Standard*. An acrimonious campaign was soon in full swing, but Holden was no match for his resourceful and able opponent, who stumped the state in a rather dramatic and winning manner, often ridiculing the editor unmercifully. Holden campaigned mostly through his paper, in which he rather vaguely favored a state convention to encourage the authorities at Richmond to obtain an "honorable peace" with the United States. Vance countered by influencing the May session of the legislature to pass resolutions urging the same authorities to negotiate for peace on the basis of independence. He also let it be known that the state's delegation in the Confederate Congress were to work to have the writ of habeas corpus restored. The popular governor won a great victory, but his defeated opponent became his implacable enemy. The two men, therefore, were utterly irreconcilable when the Confederacy fell and Holden became provisional governor.⁸²

During Holden's incumbency Vance could hardly expect to be pardoned, unless Johnson ignored the governor's desire, which he was not likely to do. Yet Vance was treated no worse in this respect than Graham, Turner, and other North Carolinians, as well as prominent citizens of other states. Johnson himself had reasons for deferring pardons and acted accordingly. Vance naturally resented the governor's refusal to recommend him to the President. At one time, in complaining to his friend, David L. Swain,⁸³ he accused Holden of being ungrateful for protection "from . . . infuriated soldiers, and still oftener from incarceration in Castle Thunder. . . ."⁸⁴

⁸¹ Yates, "Governor Vance and the Peace Movement," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVII (April, 1940) No. 2, for this and the following paragraph. The quotations were taken from direct quotations by Dr. Yates.

⁸² Richard E. Yates, "Governor Vance and the End of the War in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (October, 1941), No. 4.

⁸³ A relationship somewhat like that of father and son had existed between Swain and Vance ever since the latter's student days in the University of North Carolina, where the former was president.

⁸⁴ Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX (Vance to Swain, January 8, 1866). See also Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 54-55. This reference was to threats on Holden's life during the excitement in the autumn of 1863.

Inasmuch as the convention which met to comply with the President's plan of reconstruction did not convene until October 2, 1865, there was plenty of time for many persons to obtain pardons and to participate in the election of delegates. Early in August Governor Holden issued specific instructions for the election. Every voter had to exhibit a copy of his amnesty oath, "signed by himself and witnessed and certified by at least two Justices of the Peace." He called the attention of justices appointed to administer the amnesty oath to the President's fourteen exceptions, which were given in full, the first, seventh, and thirteenth, being explained. "No certificate," he stated, "will be granted . . . to any person who is included within the fourteen excluded classes, unless on exhibition by the party of his pardon. . . ." All election officials were enjoined to perform their duties faithfully, and persons taking the oath were expected to keep it. Lastly, the newspapers of the state were to publish the proclamation twice a week until the day of the election.⁸⁵

Nevertheless eleven candidates who had not been pardoned were elected as delegates.⁸⁶ Since a pardon was necessary before one could sit in the convention, Holden immediately asked the President to forward certificates for these men.⁸⁷ Having promised clemency to candidates who were elected, Johnson complied with Holden's request. Declining the virtual assurance of a seat from Orange County because of his ineligibility, ex-Governor Graham, as a result, had to wait nearly two years for the full restoration of his rights.

The convention met as arranged and passed ordinances rescinding the act of secession, abolishing slavery, repudiating the state's war debt, and otherwise paving the way for final restoration to the Union. The act of repudiation was urged by both the President and the provisional governor, but it aroused bitter op-

⁸⁵ *North Carolina Daily Standard*, August 10, 1865.

⁸⁶ Holden was very anxious about the granting of pardons to certain persons at this time. On September 13 he sent Powell a list of "some fifty or sixty, many of whom" were candidates for seats in the convention, and could not "take their seats . . . unless their pardons" were sent forward at once. He urged immediate action, saying in conclusion: "We are losing from the fact that pardons are granted on personal application at Washington while the cases of special friends for whom appeals are made are not finally acted upon." Governor's Papers, 1865.

⁸⁷ They were John Pool, Daniel R. Russell, Sr., Montfort McGehee, M. E. Manley, D. G. McRae, A. B. Baines, John B. Odom, C. Perkins, Alfred Dockery, C. L. Harris, and C. J. Cowles. Holden's Executive Papers, Holden to Johnson September 23, 1865. Two days later Holden asked Johnson to add A. A. McKay's name to the list. This prominent lawyer's application had been marked "suspended," but Holden said "he is now thoroughly saved" and worthy of Pardon. Governor's Papers, 1865 (Holden to Johnson, September 23, 1865); Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 119-120.

position in the convention. Nevertheless the delegates passed a resolution thanking the two executives for their efforts in behalf of the state and adjourned to meet again the following May. Political rivals were active during the session and Holden and Jonathan Worth were virtually placed in nomination for governor at the forthcoming election. In reporting the work of the assemblage to the President, Holden referred to his political opponents by saying: "The Worth faction is working hard, but will be defeated by a large majority. Turner and other contumacious leaders ought to be handled at the proper time. Please pardon no leading man unless you hear from me."⁸⁸

Now that the convention had done its work the next important step in reconstruction was the election of state officials on November 9, 1865. Apparently Holden desired to succeed himself, and, on being petitioned by some fifty-three of the one hundred and twenty members of the convention, he became a candidate. Jonathan Worth, the popular state treasurer, was persuaded to oppose him, and actually announced his candidacy first.⁸⁹ In Raleigh the *Standard* supported Holden and the *Sentinel*, Worth. The President was regarded as desiring the election of his provisional governor and the candidates whom the latter favored. Holden's supporters, therefore, declared that the election of Worth and his opposition ticket would certainly delay the restoration of the state to the Union. Even the unpardoned Josiah Turner had the temerity to run for Congress and to support Worth. So the issue, according to the *Standard*, was: "W. W. Holden . . . and live again under Washington's Government, or Jonathan Worth and perish."⁹⁰ Such declarations gave Worth so much uneasiness that "he appealed to friends in Washington to try to find means to efface the impression which was being created by the friends of Holden that the President preferred the latter's election."⁹¹ A telegram from Johnson to Holden after the election, however, indicates the

⁸⁸ Quoted by Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 132. See also Hamilton, pp. 121-132. On the third day of the convention Holden also advised Johnson not to proclaim another amnesty until all popular elections in the state had been held. He stated further that the "most rebellious" citizens were "Vance Secessionists," who ought not to be pardoned. Johnson Papers, Vol. 77, No. 7240.

⁸⁹ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 436-440.

⁹⁰ *North Carolina Standard*, October 25, November 7, 1865; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 136. Turner had led the faction nominating Worth.

⁹¹ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 136.

President's satisfaction with Holden's administration and his keen disappointment with the outcome of the election.⁹²

Evidently Holden expected those whom he had befriended to support his administration and doubtless his candidacy. Early in October the *Standard* told some 1,000 applicants for pardon, 700 or 800 of whose petitions had already been endorsed and forwarded to Washington, that they should "congratulate themselves on their success"; but warned them that the governor had the "power, if he chooses to exercise it, to assess their estates . . . for the support of the State government, . . . and that the exercise of this power" would depend upon the manner in which they and their friends conducted themselves until the provisional government ended.⁹³ Moreover, there were hundreds of persons whose petitions had not yet been forwarded to the President and many others who had not yet applied for pardon. This was a condition that might be utilized to Holden's advantage. In fact, his paper suggested late in October, 1865, that a universal amnesty might be declared in North Carolina if certain candidates were elected in November.⁹⁴

Two days later the *Standard* announced that voters would be required to present only their oath certificates, meaning, of course, that some persons would be allowed to vote whose pardons had not yet been granted.⁹⁵ This privilege complied with an act of the convention providing that those "whose pardons should be announced by the Governor, although the pardon should not have been received, should be entitled to vote in the" forthcoming election.⁹⁶ A little while before the election, therefore, the press published the names of some 500 or 600 such persons who might vote. Thus the citizens of North Carolina were to be convinced that Holden had been a friend of "his

⁹² Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 141, for the entire communication.

⁹³ *North Carolina Standard*, October 7, 1865.

⁹⁴ *North Carolina Standard*, October 25, 1865. Some candidates mentioned were Judge Edwin G. Read, Richard S. Donnell, B. F. Moore, William P. Bynum, John Pool and Montfort McGehee. Apparently, Holden desired to appeal to wealthy pardon seekers on the eve of the election. On October 21 Powell wrote Johnson: "In view of the opposition organized against Gov. Holden he has directed me to respectfully request that all pardons for our state, some 140 or 150—now in the Attorney General's office be issued—I mean those coming within the 13th class of exceptions." Three days later Johnson's secretary, Wright Rives, instructed Speed as follows: "The President directs me to say that he wishes all the North Carolina pardons that have been signed and are in your office or the Secretary of State to be immediately forwarded to Gov. Holden at Raleigh." On October 21, Rives had noted that these pardons were to be sent to the President for his signature. Applications for Pardons.

⁹⁵ *North Carolina Standard*, October 27, 1865.

⁹⁶ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 505, 631 (Worth to Hedrick, March 3, and Worth to Seward, June 18, 1866).

native state and his people," who would surely "not desert him and Andrew Johnson."⁹⁷

Worth won the gubernatorial election of 1865 by a good majority. Most of the voters also expressed their preference for the anti-Holden candidates for Congress, all of whom had been pardoned except Josiah Turner, whose election, in the minds of many, made it still less likely that any of seven men elected would be admitted to their seats. In fact, only one of all the aspirants could take the "iron clad" test oath. Disappointed over the results of the election, Johnson feared the prospects of the state's restoration were greatly injured. "Should the action and spirit of the legislature be in the same direction," he said, "it will greatly increase the mischief already done and might be fatal."⁹⁸

The *Standard* saw in its candidate's defeat the "unmistakable work of unpardoned traitors." The President refused Holden's request to set aside the election, but directed the provisional governor to remain in office until relieved. Worth assumed the office of governor on December 27 and assured Johnson of his cooperation.⁹⁹

Alarmed by the President's telegram to Holden the legislature passed a resolution, on December 8, declaring the loyalty of North Carolina to the Union and expressing confidence in Andrew Johnson.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, Holden's defeat caused some who had supported Worth to expect the President to be inclined to vindictiveness. Though Vance had not opposed Holden openly he had "earnestly desired his defeat."¹⁰¹ His name, however, had "been used more or less in the campaign" and he feared reincarceration in the Old Capitol Prison, unless he could see the President personally, a privilege that had already been denied him several times.¹⁰² Others, like Graham and Turner, also had reason to expect deferment of clemency, for the new governor

⁹⁷ *North Carolina Standard*, October 20 (or 30), 21, 1865. This number of the *Standard* published a list of 244 pardons and the issue for October 31 another list of four or five hundred. The photocopies of the North Carolina Amnesty Papers indicate that Holden recommended a list of 408 persons for pardon on November 7, 1865. This was rather late for the election two days later.

⁹⁸ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 137-42; *North Carolina Standard*, November 29, 1865.

⁹⁹ B. S. Hedrick in a letter to Worth, July 8, 1866, referred to Holden as having tried the previous December to move "Heaven and Earth to have the election set aside and himself retained as Governor." Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 675; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 145-461.

¹⁰⁰ Applications for Pardons.

¹⁰¹ Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX (Vance to Swain, January 8, 1866).

¹⁰² Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. VIII (Vance to Swain, November 14, 1865).

was not likely to influence Johnson in their behalf. Yet the President soon instructed Worth to approve or disapprove all petitions forwarded by him, saying, "Your knowledge of the parties is of great worth to us here in issuing pardons."¹⁰³ Nevertheless, the governor complained just five months after his election that "not a single pardon" had been granted on his recommendation.¹⁰⁴

But what of the 500 or more pardons that had been advertised to influence the November election? The persons concerned were greatly disappointed when the certificates did not come, subjecting Worth to much effort in explaining why they had not been delivered.¹⁰⁵

The pardons had actually never been granted. Apparently the certificates had gone through the Attorney-General's office, but for some reason were sent to the "garret of the State Department instead of going to the Executive Mansion" for the President's signature, and in the garret they remained.¹⁰⁶ Even though Worth sent Johnson a copy of the *Standard* containing the names, there was no immediate action. The exasperated governor repeatedly tried to get the papers signed and delivered. On April 9, 1866, he wrote Benjamin S. Hedrick, Dr. Powell's successor, as follows: "If the publication was *true*," why were not the certificates delivered? "If the publication was *untrue*, how is it that the prospects of the State are damaged by the non-election of one who officially publishes a falsehood? These pardons ought to come or Holden [ought to] be exposed."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Governor's Papers (Johnson to Worth, December 29, 1865).

¹⁰⁴ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 537 (Worth to Hedrick, April 9, 1866). Yet the photocopies of the North Carolina Amnesty Papers show that Worth made the following recommendations for pardon early in January, 1866, and that the pardons were granted early in February, 1866: Miles P. Owen, Chas. M. Oglesby, Samuel W. Vick, Alfred M. Veazey, A. J. Orr, Spencer Walker, and Van Eaton. Evidently, the men were among those whose petitions Worth found in the Governor's office, for they had applied for pardon while Holden was Governor.

¹⁰⁵ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 628 (Worth to Hedrick, June 16, 1866).

¹⁰⁶ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 624 (Hedrick to Worth, June 14, 1866).

¹⁰⁷ Apparently Worth had no state agent in the official manner that Dr. Powell represented Holden at Washington. The state's legislature failed to create such an office, though Dr. Powell's friends introduced a bill providing "for the appointment of such an agent for a term of years," with a salary of two thousand or three thousand dollars and necessary equipment. Powell hoped to be appointed to the position, if it were created. Governor Worth had "no authority to draw on the Treasurer to pay" an agent, and was in an awkward position in the matter when the bill failed to pass. Hedrick acted, therefore, as Worth's personal agent in Washington without compensation, though it appears that Worth offered on November 20, 1866, to reward him in a pecuniary way to make "a proper acknowledgement that the State" appreciated his "services in procuring pardons, etc." Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 515, 537; II, 841. It appears that Hedrick disliked Holden for forcing him to leave a professorship in the University of North Carolina when he supported the candidacy of Fremont for President in 1856. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 136, n. 3. Hedrick was employed in the patent office at Washington while assisting Worth in getting pardons.

A little later Worth declared the "publication of the 500 to 600 pardons just before the election" to be "an incredible instance of official villainy. . . ."¹⁰⁸

Why did President Johnson hold the papers of those whom Holden had caused to be advertised as having been pardoned? Perhaps because it was not his policy to grant clemency in such wholesale fashion, especially to citizens of one state. Furthermore, in all probability, the advertisement had been made only on Holden's authority. Under the circumstances, therefore, Johnson "could not issue them without prejudice to him[self]," even though Worth urged him to act.¹⁰⁹

Hedrick probably threw some light on the business late in January, 1866. In relating his futile attempt to see the Attorney-General, he expressed the opinion that the President was reluctant to act just then because of the demands on his time. Congress was in session and it was well to wait until that body had given "some expression of opinion in regard to what had been done." Hedrick advised supplicants to be patient. "There is no disposition to put them on trial or hang them," he said, "and the President has so clearly indicated his policy in regard to the South, that . . . no one can doubt his desire to restore peace and harmony with as little harshness as possible."¹¹⁰ Dr. Powell also told Worth that Johnson thought "it was a bad time to be issuing pardons."¹¹¹ So these North Carolinians had to wait a while longer.

But this was not all, for there were some 300 applications for pardon in the governor's office when Worth entered.¹¹² Of course the change of executives caused the petitioners, many of whom had been petty officials, to renew their efforts. Some had interviews with Governor Worth, while others wrote him earnest entreaties. One man, coming under the thirteenth exception, sought clemency in order to transact some business "in the North."¹¹³ Another complained impatiently that it had been

¹⁰⁸ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 550 (Worth to Hedrick, April 20, 1866).

¹⁰⁹ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 550 (Worth to Hedrick, April 20, 1866).

¹¹⁰ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 479 (Hedrick to Worth, January, 1866).

¹¹¹ Governor's Papers (Powell to Worth, January 15, 1866).

¹¹² Governor's Papers (Worth to W. S. Mason, January 8, 1866). In this letter Worth told Mason that if he and Hedrick could "get some 500 pardons which were advertized as having been granted some time ago, as well as upwards of three hundred" which he found when he became Governor he [Mason] would entitle himself "to the thanks of 800 of" his fellow citizens.

¹¹³ Governor's Papers (Donald Mac Rae to Worth, February 22, 1866).

almost six months since his first petition, that others "offending in like manner" had been pardoned, and that he feared the confiscation of his property.¹¹⁴ Ralph Gomel, complaining of making several futile efforts to learn of his application, stated that he understood that a long list of petitions had never been forwarded. "Some say a bushel, some a bushel and a half." If Worth did not think him "too great a traitor," he desired his application sent on to "Washington with the strongest recommendation" that could conscientiously be made.¹¹⁵

On January 15, 1866, at the President's request, Worth forwarded the petitions with the recommendation that they be acted on at once.¹¹⁶ So there were probably 1,000 persons in North Carolina, early in 1866, impatiently seeking clemency. Those whose pardons had been falsely advertised naturally deserved first consideration. Worth was more successful, however, with the 300 petitions that he himself had sent to Washington in January. Though some attention was given them in the Attorney-General's office soon after they were received, final action was delayed. On February 3 Hedrick reported a list of 321 persons, a few being ex-members of the Confederate Congress and graduates of West Point, in Seward's office. Worth wanted to receive the pardons in time to distribute them through the members of the assembly, which was then in session,¹¹⁷ but he was disappointed.

A month later Hedrick wrote that Johnson had before him "some five hundred . . . North Carolina papers all ready for the official signature." The President was willing, however, to favor at one time only petty officials, those in the thirteenth exception, and such other cases that appeared urgent. The agent then made the ominous statement that, from proceedings in Congress, it appeared that the President was likely to be impeached on

¹¹⁴ Governor's Papers (Du Brutz Cutlar to Worth, February 17, 1866). On December 29 Cutlar, in writing to Worth, said in part: "I made a similar application to Gov. Holden in August last, but have never heard from it since. The character of that gentleman makes it useless to guess his motives." The Amnesty Papers indicate that Worth recommended Cutlar's pardon on January 11, 1866, and that he was pardoned one month later. Evidently there was some delay in delivering the pardon.

¹¹⁵ Governor's Papers (Gomel to Worth, January 17, 1866).

¹¹⁶ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 585-593. (Worth to C. C. Henderson; Worth to Biggs, May 21, 1866). Worth had asked Johnson what he should do with the petitions that Holden had failed to forward.

¹¹⁷ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 483, 497 (Hedrick to Worth, January 27, 1866, Worth to Hedrick, February 7, 1866); Worth's Executive Papers (Hedrick to Worth, January 3, 1866).

account of his many pardons.¹¹⁸ In fact, threats to impeach him, because of his leniency, had been made many months earlier, and conditions in that respect had not improved.

Thus it is seen that the President did not then dare to grant so large a number of pardons at once. Inquiries and complaints, of course, continued to come to the governor's office.¹¹⁹ It was about this time that Worth sent the President, through Hedrick, a "list of 500 names as published in the *Standard*" just before the previous November election, saying that he supposed Holden did not submit the other 300 petitions to Washington because "he was not willing to trust" them to vote for him.¹²⁰ But the authorities continued to procrastinate and the pardon seekers waited.

It should be noted in passing that Holden continued his interest in pardons after Worth became governor. Early in February, for example, he asked the President to pardon General Thomas L. Clingman, William T. Dortch, and Henry K. Burgwyn, saying, "Their estates are much embarrassed . . . , and I believe they will hereafter conduct themselves as good citizens." These requests, however, were not then granted. Evidently Holden was also concerned about many other petitions on which action had been delayed. In April and May, 1866, Dr. Powell sent the President the names of nearly a hundred persons whom Holden, Worth "and other old friends" desired pardoned. Fifteen of these whose petitions Holden had marked suspended were soon granted.¹²¹

Apparently many petitioners continued to engage Dr. Powell's services. Hedrick also appreciated his assistance, saying that the doctor "is now in the agency business and out of these cases [can] make an honest penny and *hurt* nobody."¹²² Even Worth,

¹¹⁸ Governor's Papers (Hedrick to Worth, March 3, 1866, and Mason to Worth, March 8, 1866); Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 562, 564 (Worth to Johnson, April 26, 1866, and Worth to T. X. Kenan, May 5, 1866).

¹¹⁹ A. S. Merriman, probably a pardon agent, wrote that he had sent Holden many applications, some of which had been granted. Now he inquired about sixteen particular petitions. Governor's Papers (Merriman to Worth, March 14, 1866).

¹²⁰ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 543 (Worth to Hedrick, April 18, 1866). Eight days later (April 26) Worth sent Johnson the names of those in the first and thirteenth exceptions from the list of three hundred he had forwarded in January, with the instructions to have Hedrick forward their pardons to him, Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 562.

¹²¹ Applications for Pardons (Holden to Johnson, February 1, 7, 1866; Powell to Johnson, April 19, May 5, 1866).

¹²² Governor's Papers (Hedrick to Worth, May 2, 1866). Hedrick expressed the opinion that three-fourths of the 800 applicants whose petitions were in Washington, really had "very little need of a special pardon," and that a great many would never accept the pardons when they were sent to them.

having Powell in mind, told an applicant "that every one who . . . makes application through a special agent gets his pardon."¹²³

Finally Hedrick informed Worth that about 300 certificates were being prepared for early delivery. Soon the agent received them in three batches expressing them all in separate shipments to Raleigh for delivery.¹²⁴ Thus by the middle of May, 1866, pardons were issued to the 300 persons whose petitions were found in the governor's office when Worth succeeded Holden.

Efforts continued to be made, of course, to cause the delivery of the large number of advertised pardons. Worth seems to have been less interested in these and other applications which Holden had forwarded than in those he himself had submitted. When the case of Judge Asa Biggs was presented, the governor stated that he did not feel like appealing to the President for any one whose petition had been forwarded by Holden, "especially while the pardons of such men" as Graham and Turner were withheld. Biggs had been more prominent in the secession movement than the other two; Worth felt justified therefore, in assisting those whom he regarded as having been "always anti-secessionists." In all probability, however, the governor did not know that Holden had recommended that favorable action on Biggs's petition be deferred, for the paper had been on file in Washington since early in October, 1865.¹²⁵ At any rate, he thought more deserving men should receive first consideration.

Worth, Hedrick, and others continued to press the matter of delivering the pardons which Holden had advertised; and at last their efforts were rewarded. Near the middle of June, Hedrick, realizing that it was "impossible to get the whole [lot] issued at once," selected about fifty certificates at random and presented them for final attention.¹²⁶ Worth urged Seward to act immediately, complaining again of being grievously annoyed with in-

¹²³ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 553 (Worth to T. L. Vail, April 23, 1866).

¹²⁴ Governors' Papers (Hedrick to Worth, May 12, 14, 16, 1866). A careful perusal of the correspondence suggests that Dr. Powell probably received some pardons for delivery at this time. These lists contained "some new names" and a few others on the suspended list published in the *North Carolina Standard* before the election in November, 1865.

¹²⁵ Applications for Pardons; Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 593 (Worth to Biggs, May 21, 1866). Also Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 26. Biggs, who had been United States Senator and Federal and Confederate judge, had two sons in the Confederate service, one being killed the day before Lee's surrender. He came under the first, second and thirteenth exceptions. He pledged loyalty to the Union in his petition of more than a thousand words.

¹²⁶ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 602, 624 (Hedrick to Worth, June 7, Hedrick to Worth, June 14, 1866).

quiries relating to these pardons.¹²⁷ Consequently the Secretary of State sent the governor 121 pardons on June 29 and 335 others about a month later.¹²⁸ With the few already forwarded these deliveries practically equalled the number of names published. The pardons, therefore, that had been falsely advertised to influence voters in the election of a governor were finally delivered.¹²⁹ It had taken about nine months of persistent effort, however, to dislodge the certificates from the "garret" of the State Department, to secure the President's signature, and to cause their delivery.

But the story of clemency in North Carolina does not end here, for there were many still under the ban. Ex-Governors Graham, Clark, and Vance, together with Joseph Turner, William Dortch, and A. W. Venable were perhaps the most prominent.¹³⁰ Venable was soon pardoned, on the recommendation of Holden and the new Attorney General, Henry Stanberry.¹³¹ Worth was eager to have three of the other five eligible to participate in political affairs more freely. Indeed he repeatedly complained of the status of Graham, Turner, and Dortch, regarding their continued disability as a serious "political blunder" on the part of the President. In his opinion, Johnson should pardon these men "without a moment's hesitation after pardoning Bridgers, Arrington, Lander and Venable," whom he called "original Secessionists." Such action, during the existing crisis, he believed,

¹²⁷ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 631 (Worth to Seward, June 18, 1866).

¹²⁸ Governors' Papers (Seward to Worth, June 29, July 25, 1866). On July 23 Hedrick wrote Worth that, "The big list of about 400 old pardons will be ready to be forwarded to you in a few days." Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 690.

¹²⁹ Yet one L. H. Sanders, whose pardon had been advertised, told Worth later that he had never received his pardon. The records showed that his petition had been approved in July, 1865, and forwarded to Washington. Worth wrote Hedrick on October 11, 1866, that he (Worth) had never received the pardon, and that, since Sanders was "a truly worthy man—never a secessionist," he should try "to get his pardon." Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 822. See also the last part of note 124 above.

¹³⁰ Holden marked former Governor Thomas Bragg's petition "to be continued," as he had marked others, but, to his surprise, Bragg's pardon was soon delivered at his office, where it remained until the President told Powell to have it delivered. Holden withheld it, however, with the assurance that he himself would deliver it if Bragg would come for it on the day he retired from office. In that manner the pardon was delivered on December 29, 1865. Holden's *Memoirs*, p. 61. Bragg was also attorney-general of the Confederacy.

Former Governor John M. Morehead, who died on August 28, 1866, had been pardoned on Holden's recommendation and "by special order of the President" on October 9, 1865. Seven others were pardoned at the same time on Holden's request. Holden's *Memoirs*, p. 62. Former Governor Swain's pardon has already been mentioned. Former Governor Charles Manley was pardoned March 8, 1866. He had petitioned in July, 1865. Another former governor, David S. Reid, who served in the Confederate Congress, retired to his farm in Rockingham County after the war, where he remained unmolested.

¹³¹ Applications for Pardons. Venable had voted for secession and served in the Confederate Congress. Holden recommended his pardon on January 29, and Stanberry on August 23, the day it was granted. The fact that Holden recommended pardon so long before it was granted appears to have caused Worth to believe that Venable had been pardoned much earlier. See Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, pp. 661, 677, 752 (letters to Seward, Hedrick and Johnson, July 2, 4, 10, August 25, 1866).

would make the President "more popular in the state than anybody else had "been since the days of General Washington."¹³²

It is interesting to note that Worth failed to mention Vance at this time or on other occasions in 1866 when urging action in the cases of the favored trio.¹³³ Evidently the governor was less enthusiastic over Vance's political future than over Graham's. Probably thinking Johnson would delay passing on the popular war governor to the last, he believed it useless to ask for his pardon. Besides, Holden had never appeared to want Vance pardoned, and that was something to be considered in approaching Johnson.

Indeed, Worth thought Holden influenced the President to defer granting the pardons he most desired, accusing his immediate predecessor with prejudicing Johnson against "Graham, Turner and all other true Union men of the State." Furthermore, according to Hedrick, Seward "always stood up for Holden,"¹³⁴ who made a futile attempt to defeat Worth for reelection late in 1866, when General Alfred Dockery was the defeated candidate.¹³⁵ Worth remained governor, therefore, until some time after Congress took over the task of reconstruction.

Apparently the heated political contest between Johnson and the Radicals in Congress during the late summer and the autumn of 1866 did not materially affect clemency to North Carolinians. For example, the petitions of Judge D. F. Caldwell and John J. Armond were granted in July. The former desired favorable action so that he might "sell a portion of his lands" to prospective purchasers who were hesitating to buy.¹³⁶ The latter had renewed his application in May, stating that he had failed to enclose his oath of allegiance with his petition a year earlier because the justices refused to administer it until he was par-

¹³² Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 667, 752, 841, 926, 977, 981, for such statements by Worth to his correspondents. R. R. Bridgers was pardoned in June, 1865. Holden said in recommending his pardon: ". . . he was what we know as a true Confederate. He uniformly voted in Congress to restrain Davis's despotism." Amnesty Papers, N. C. Photostats. A. H. Arrington and William Lander had also served in the Confederate Congress.

¹³³ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 661, 665, 752, 841, for five such letters.

¹³⁴ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 666, 675 (Worth to Hedrick, July 4, Hedrick to Worth, July 8, 1866).

¹³⁵ Holden himself was elected governor in 1868, under the congressional plan of reconstruction; but, largely because of his extreme efforts to suppress activities of the Klu Klux Klan, he was impeached late in 1870 and removed from office early in 1871. He later edited the *National Republican* in Washington, D. C., but afterwards was postmaster at Raleigh. He died in 1892; Worth, in 1869.

¹³⁶ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, I, 618; Applications for Pardons. Ann McNesly, N. W. Boddie, and D. Froneburger were pardoned by the same presidential order. Another paper indicates that Caldwell was pardoned in August, 1866.

done. On the advice of Worth, therefore, he took the oath on May 23, 1866, the governor soon approved his petition, and Johnson acted early in July.¹³⁷ Even ex-Confederate Senator Dortch was pardoned early in September,¹³⁸ and on October 1 Hedrick sent in a list of nine persons, whose pardons were issued the next day.¹³⁹

There seems to have been a lull in the pardoning business after the national election in November, 1866, due perhaps to Johnson's repudiation at the poles and the censorious activities of Congress. Nevertheless clemency was extended to persons of importance in North Carolina during the spring of 1867, despite the unfavorable report in Congress on presidential clemency, the repeal of the amnesty section of the Confiscation Act, and the beginning of extreme Congressional Reconstruction. Worth continued to urge the President to lift the ban from Graham and Turner, and repeatedly asked for the pardons of Colonel Owen Kenan and Burton S. Gaither.¹⁴⁰ Early in 1867 he also recommended Vance, whose relief many prominent persons had been earnestly seeking ever since his imprisonment and later parole.¹⁴¹

For a long time after being paroled from prison, Vance remained quietly "at home as retired and silent as it was possible for a man to be." He also told Johnson's son-in-law that his numerous requests for an interview with the President, whose policies he earnestly supported, had not received any attention, notwithstanding the fact that this "favor [had been] granted to both Governors Letcher and Brown," war governors of Virginia

¹³⁷ Applications for Pardons. Armond stated in his petition that he had been postmaster during the war, but not to aid the rebellion, and that he had not "enlisted in the rebel army until forced to do so by the conscript law." In May and June, 1866, on Worth's recommendation, Johnson pardoned James Brown and Jacob and David Wagner, former citizens of Johnson County, Tennessee. These men had been driven into North Carolina during the war and desired pardons to regain possession of their farms in Tennessee. They professed not to have abandoned their property and not to come under any of the exceptions. Applications for Pardons.

¹³⁸ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 771 (Dortch to Worth, September 8, 1866). William Dortch was an able lawyer, who had been a prominent member of the lower house of the state legislature before the war.

¹³⁹ The men were in the first and thirteenth exceptions. Applications for Pardons.

¹⁴⁰ Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 752, 841, 926. Kenan served in the Confederate Congress two years, but refused to be elected for a second term. His pardon was recommended by the state legislature in January, 1867, and by David L. Swain. Holden had marked his petition to be suspended, and it was not granted until June 14, 1867. Amnesty Papers, N. C. Photostats. Gaither also served in the Confederate Congress. He had applied for pardon rather early and supposed that his petition had been forwarded to Washington. Worth found it in his office, however, on January 12, 1866, and sent it immediately to Washington with his recommendation that pardon be granted.

¹⁴¹ Applications for Pardons. Holden forwarded to Washington without comment a resolution by the state legislature recommending clemency for Vance. Such men as Gilmer and Swain also sought his pardon, as did 108 women of Chapel Hill.

and Georgia respectively.¹⁴² He naturally sought a reason for Johnson's discrimination, and believed Holden to be at the root of the matter, charging the editor with influencing the President to refuse seeing him in Washington. Vance also blamed Secretary Stanton for the unfavorable situation, declaring him to be "the worst of the whole batch." At that writing he seemingly despaired of ever receiving a pardon, saying that Johnson had begun his policy of clemency so late that his opponents had discouraged his proclaiming another general amnesty or even granting special pardons. He expected no more pardons for men of prominence, except for those who might resort to methods to influence the President which he would feel ashamed to use.¹⁴³ Yet it appears that Johnson had already extended Vance's parole to permit him to go anywhere and to engage in any business.¹⁴⁴

The movement was accelerated late in 1866 and early in 1867 by the irrepressible missionary, Paul Bagley, who also tried hard to obtain a pardon for Jefferson Davis¹⁴⁵ Bagley wrote the President extolling Vance's virtues and urging his pardon.¹⁴⁶ At Frankfort, Kentucky, he obtained Governor Bramlette's recommendation, which was later endorsed by John T. Hoffman, mayor of New York City (later Governor of New York), Horace Greeley, Hugh M. McCullough, and forty other prominent citizens. About the same time Bagley wrote Johnson that Senators John Sherman, Lewis W. Ross, and Waitman T. Willey also recommended clemency.¹⁴⁷

In this manner the President was soon influenced to act, and

¹⁴² Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX, contain the letter to Patterson.

¹⁴³ Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX (Vance to Swain, January 8, 1866). In this letter Vance bitterly denounced Holden and his followers, saying in part: "The suddenness of my submission [at the end of hostilities] was deemed more offensive by my enemies here than was my adherence to their war had been. I proposed that in submitting we should preserve our self respect and manhood; they proposed that we should gravel in the dust, eat dirt with a nail grab, acknowledge ourselves double traitors and liars to both the United States and the Confederacy. I contended for Universal amnesty . . . ; they clamored for the blood of our own people, and prayed to make the Government . . . an engine not of public justice—but of revenge upon private enemies." He then entered on a tirade against the *North Carolina Daily Standard* and Holden, whose defeat for governor, he declared, should have caused Johnson to refuse longer to listen to his counsels.

¹⁴⁴ Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX (Swain to Vance, January 20, 1866). Vance had asked, on November 29, 1865, for permission to engage in some business to support his family.

¹⁴⁵ Bagley had returned from missionary work in China and Japan. He told the President that Vance had caused the railroads to allow him to ride over the state without charge while he preached the gospel, an act which he believed should have some weight with the President in considering Vance's petition for pardon.

¹⁴⁶ Applications for Pardons (letters from Montgomery, Alabama, December, 1866, and Frankfort, Kentucky, February, 1867).

¹⁴⁷ Applications for Pardons. Governor James L. Orr, of South Carolina, wrote Attorney-General Stanberry, December 23, 1866, urging Vance's pardon, which Stanberry recommended on March 11.

on March 11 he granted the long desired pardon.¹⁴⁸ The document was carefully prepared and signed (not stamped) by the Secretary of State and the President. Vance was further honored by having the names of many prominent persons who had recommended his pardon carefully written on the upper margin of the certificate, a unique consideration that was probably not given anyone else. The thoughtful and appreciative Paul Bagley, who claimed the honor of having finally obtained the pardon, probably had this done. The clerk in the Attorney-General's office did not send the certificate to Worth for delivery until April 10. The records show that Vance did not receive it until May 2, which is the day Graham wrote the President thanking him for sending his pardon.¹⁴⁹

Perhaps ex-Governor H. T. Clark was the most prominent person whose petition Holden had failed to send on to Washington. Clark had applied for pardon on July 17, 1865, stating in substance what many others had said in justification of their support of the Confederacy. "If I have mistaken the character of our government," said he, "that mistake was taught me by the greatest and purest statesmen of the country." In a letter to Worth in September, 1866, he stated that Holden had promised to give his petition immediate attention. Since the provisional governor had left the application with many others which Worth found on becoming governor, Clark's case had been in an unfavorable light before the President, for it appeared that the former governor had not applied for pardon. Consequently, when Swain and others presented his case to Johnson, their efforts were in vain, for they were told that Clark "had asked for nothing."¹⁵⁰

Clark needed clemency for business advantage. The Confederacy had sequestered a trust fund of \$14,000 which he held for citizens of Rhode Island. After the war he paid the obligation in full from his own means. Fearing that his unpardoned con-

¹⁴⁸ This pardon certificate and the papers pertaining to its transfer to Vance and his receipt therefor are in the Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX. Worth also claimed, in a letter to Vance on April 20, that he had "put the ball in motion which brought about" his pardon. On March 29, apparently not knowing that the pardon had been granted, he had reminded Johnson of having asked for Vance's pardon during his recent trip to Washington. It appears that, when Worth saw that Vance's pardon was coming, he endeavored to receive some credit for obtaining it. See Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 927, 935. Vance later became governor of North Carolina and United States Senator, and is generally regarded today as having been the state's most prominent citizen.

¹⁴⁹ Applications for Pardons (Graham to Johnson, May 2, 1867).

¹⁵⁰ Applications for Pardons; Governors' Papers.

dition might cause him to lose what property he still possessed, especially if power should somehow fall into radical hands, he desired his case attended to without further delay. Worth wrote Johnson on September 21, 1866, recommending that the petition be granted, but it was not until June 10, 1867, that the pardon was issued. Naturally Clark was greatly provoked at the delay, since so many others of his class had been relieved. Therefore, when Worth invited him to join in welcoming the President to Raleigh in June, 1867, he ironically declined the invitation.¹⁵¹

Josiah Turner still remained disabled, but he was soon relieved. Worth desired to reappoint him director of the North Carolina Railroad but feared that if he did so Holden and his followers would cause General Sickles to object, on the pretext that he had appointed an unpardoned rebel. Sickles had become military governor of the Carolina district, and this condition made Worth cautious in his appointments. Consequently he asked Hedrick, on June 14, for Turner's "pardon as a personal favor," believing that it would be entirely "gratifying to every friend of the President in North Carolina." One week later the necessary warrant was forwarded to Turner, who was told that its immediate issuance was "due to the efforts of Col. W. G. Moore, the President's Private Secretary, who had made prompt efforts in the matter at the request of Gov. Worth."¹⁵²

With Turner's relief the account of pardoning North Carolinians may well be concluded. The number remaining disabled by the mid-summer of 1867 is uncertain. Of those who had applied for clemency there were not many whose petitions had not been granted and the certificates delivered.¹⁵³ Johnson's general amnesties of September 7, 1867, and July 4, 1868, left only a few disabled. Yet Worth, who was no longer governor, wrote the President's secretary, Colonel Moore, on July 16, 1868, that he earnestly desired the petitions of certain persons attended to. If there were any citizens of the state still unre-

¹⁵¹ Governors' Papers. The pardon clerk had sent Clark's certificate to Johnson on January 23, 1867, so it appeared that sheer indifference on the President's part was responsible for the delay. Of course, Holden was also blamed. Johnson penciled his instructions for the pardon on the envelope inclosing Clark's caustic letter, which Worth forwarded to Washington.

¹⁵² Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 981, 984, 985. Turner had been free to engage in business for some time and Worth had appointed him railroad director a year earlier.

¹⁵³ Late in June, 1867, Worth asked Hedrick to "get a duplicate" of a pardon for J. S. Means, of Mecklenburg County, and forward it to him for delivery. Means, who came under the thirteenth exception, had refused paying a pretending Philadelphia friend, named Wallace, who had obtained the pardon and asked first \$350, and later \$100, for his services. Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 985.

lieved late that year, they were pardoned by the President's universal amnesty, of Christmas Day, 1868. This last act of presidential clemency, however, did not remove the disability from North Carolinians who were affected by the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which had become a part of the Constitution in July, 1868, and which Congress had made operative in 1867. Henceforth no person could fill any civil or military office in the United States who had ever taken an oath to support the Constitution and had subsequently engaged in a "rebellion" against the United States. Only Congress by a two-thirds vote of each house could remove this disability. Many North Carolinians, of course, were affected by the disabling clause of the Amendment, but their relief came during the next thirty years.

ADDITIONAL MORDECAI LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY FROM MEXICO¹

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT

INTRODUCTION

To the main collection of the papers of Alfred Mordecai procured by the Library of Congress in 1941 from his granddaughter, Mrs. John D. Miley, have been added 111 pieces which were also acquired from her. This 1945 supplement extends over the entire period of his mature life from 1822 to 1885, and contains additional historical information on some of the leading events of his time. Two of these letters were written in 1822 and 1823 while he was a student at West Point. The other twenty-eight of his letters in the collection were written when he was in Mexico in 1853 investigating the Gardiner claims; during 1865-1866 while he was assistant engineer to Colonel Andrew Talcott, the construction engineer on the Mexican Imperial Railway; and while he was temporarily separated from his family on account of official business, requiring a few days' absence from his home. Among the letters are seventeen from Mrs. Alfred Mordecai; nine from Mrs. R. Hays, mother of Mrs. Mordecai; seventeen by Fanny Stone; several by his son, daughters, and sisters; and a letter or two from each of a number of men including Alfred Conkling, Charles F. Stone, William L. Marcy, Hamilton Fish, Franklin Chase, and Jefferson Davis.

In addition to ten passports, the official documents found in the collection consist of his diploma from West Point, July 4, 1823; his commission as second lieutenant in the army, signed by President Monroe and Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, July 1, 1823; his commission as brevet major, issued March 3, 1849, and signed by President Polk and Secretary of War William L. Marcy, his commission as a member of the committee to go to Mexico to investigate the Gardiner claims, signed by William Marcy, May 21, 1853; and his commission of February 22, 1855, as ordnance major preparatory to assignment on a

¹ These letters should have been published along with the "Letters of Alfred Mordecai to His Family," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (Oct., 1945), No. 4, but they were not procured by the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, until a few weeks ago, and therefore they were not available at the time the others were edited.

committee to investigate modern warfare and accouterments of war on the battlefield in the Crimea. This document was signed by President Pierce and Secretary of War Jefferson Davis.

These manuscripts are in an excellent state of preservation and his own letters show signs of careful planning and meticulous writing. The entire collection is of value for a study of the life of Alfred Mordecai, for a better understanding of military affairs, for social and political conditions in Mexico, for the colonization scheme for the Confederates who went to Mexico at the close of the American Civil War, and for conditions in the United States.

Philadelphia
May 10/ 65

My dear Sister

I was distressed to hear by a letter from Edmund last evening that his latest intelligence from Raleigh (no date,) represented our dear brother Sam, to be extremely ill— Several letters, tho' of old dates have come to me lately; one from him of March 11th saying that he was better than for several years— I hoped so much that I might see him once more; for I wait only to hear that I can get to Raleigh, to make a journey there— My last from you was of March 21st— Since that M^r M. has sent me a note of Febr'y 13th which accompanied your letter for M^{rs} Edgeworth, which was forwarded. I have also sent your letter of condolence to M^{rs} Butler— She very promptly & feelingly acknowledged mine, sends me copies of her mother's photograph, for you, George & me— She tells me that M^{rs} Fox's youngest daughter is engaged to M^r Cooke, a clergyman living near them in King's County— most satisfactory in all respects—

Edmund & Catherine Myers (the latter in answer to a letter from me,) tell me that all are well there; Rosina's sons at home, & all living quietly, apparently suffering for nothing— I saw M^{rs} McMullen here, as you requested— She was much pleased to hear of you— She was to go about this time to visit Rob^t Donaldson—

I am going to send this letter open to a friend in Washington in hopes that he may contrive to send it to some one in Raleigh who can put you in the way of sending me an answer— I have been much in hopes that you would manage before this to get a letter to me; though I can understand the repugnance, you may feel to take the necessary means to do so.— This remark, by the bye, may not be very agreeable to any one who may take the trouble to read my open letter; but let it go.—

We are all as usual, except that I have a touch of my old enemy:

inflammatory rheumatism, in my hands; but it is going off, under the influence of the same remedy I used in Birmingham in 1840—

My best love to all with you, & let me hear, if possible—

Ever Y^r affte brother

A. Mordecai

Miss Ellen Mordecai

5 Hanover st 11 P. M. June 17

I had almost forgotten the principal thing: your photograph, which I now enclose— It was sent to me at the last moment, my sickness having prevented me from sitting as early as I intended— I never sat for a carte de visite before, & the man, who has great custom, did not take much trouble in arranging my position &c; so that he has not only taken an unnecessarily sad picture, but I think a distorted one— I was inclined to throw them a way, but Sara thot they were rather good & so I send one to you—

I sail at 3 P. M.

God bless you & grant that we may meet again—

Y^r affte Alfred

New York June 17/65

My dear Sister

I wrote to you from Phil^a. which I left yesterday morning at 6— When it came to the actual leave taking with my family I could not help repeating to myself what my wife said to me the other day, in her despair: “I don’t know how you could think of such a thing!”— But it is all arranged now & I must see it out— I put my baggage on board ship yesterday & after spending the greater part of the day with my good friend D^r Viele,² who came down from West Troy to see me, I came to M^r Maury’s where I am now writing— Miss Maury is still absent & they had the first letter from her, since Petersbg, yesterday. She will not be back for some weeks yet—

I was not very well in Phil^a, in consequence of having eaten something that disagreed with me; but I feel almost quite relieved now, & the preparation may be a good one for my voyage— My steamer is the Liberty for Havanna— a new line has just commenced running direct from here to V. Cruz which will give mail facilities 1st & 15th of every month— I shall let you know how to direct to me, but the best plan will be to send your letters under cover to R. Maury here, who will have my address— the foreign postage is 10 cents—

I forgot to mention to you that one of the gentlemen whom I met between Danville & Rich^d told me that Thos. Mordecai, our cousin of

² The first of the American Viele family was Arnaud Cornelius Viele, who was born in the Netherlands about 1620, and died in New York City about 1700. His kinsman, John Ludoricus Viele (1788-1832), was a distinguished lawyer in New York. Another kinsman, Egbert Ludoricus, was born in 1825. He became an outstanding engineer, politician, and Representative in Congress. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 291.

Charleston, who married M. Cohen's daughter, & has been living in Columbia, is dead— He was in auctioneer business there & doing well— Please let Emma know—

Mr McClinton & his wife, who wrote to enquire about brother, came to see me, as I was not well enough to take time to call on them— They are plain, respectable people; he a clerk in the Qm Master's office: had lived in Balt. (among other places) & met brother there last— When I saw the name, I *guessed* Mr Mc C. might be connected with a man of that name whom I once employed to make some machines for the arsenals, & it proved to be the son of that one— If you see any reference to the name, in looking over brother's papers, let me know—

Whilst I am writing came your two letters to Mr Maury, with enclosures for brother Sol. & Mrs Butler— I wrote to the latter from Phil^a, to tell her of my departure & my visit to you, &c— I have recd your letter to Mr M. altho' he had not time to do so before going down town— Thank you always for your affte & touching mention of me—

Since my leave taking at home, I have often thought of the wickedness of the feelings which I expressed to you, & I trust the impression will be permanent, in banishing such feelings hereafter— I have a letter already this morning from my wife, telling me of some things that happened yesterday— She has heard that Alfred is assigned to duty as Instructor³ of ordnance at West Pt, which altho' he likes the place, will not suit him, I fear— I have no answer to my letter to brother Sol. which I fear did not reach him; I shall depend on you, to hear of him—

With my best love to George & his wife Ellen & all

Yr ever affte brother

A. Mordecai

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.
CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

N^o. 8.

Mexico Sepr 22nd 1865.

My dear Laura

Although I write on official paper I am not writing at the office, where my business occupies me pretty fully just now, but in my own room, which is rather solitary now— Our little mess broke up yesterday; it had been reduced to three, & Maury has moved to a house which he has taken in the same building. The other half of the same story or flat, as it is called in Edinbro'— It is a very nice apartment, or suite, just left by the Soulés who have gone away for the present— Maury expects his son with a family very soon; his own family are going or gone to Europe, for the education of the younger children— I

³ Alfred Mordecai, Jr., was twice instructor of ordnance and gunnery at West Point, serving in all eleven years in this capacity. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 443.

have just returned from a visit to his new quarters, & he showed me an appointment, which he received to-day, of Astronomer Imperial, with a handsome salary. The duties of the office, I fancy, will be merely nominal, his real duties being those of Commissioner of Immigration to which he has also been appointed, tho' he has not yet received the Diploma— Many of our inmates of the Hotel San Carlos have gone in different directions, under commissions from the Govt to examine the lands suitable for colonization & to report on them; this breaks up our pleasant little society almost suddenly. Wilcox & I are experimenting on places to get our meals of which there are plenty, of different orders— Yesterday I *breakfasted* again (from 1 to 3) at the best of them, which I have mentioned before, The Tivoli del Eliséo, where one fares sumptuously; but it is too expensive for me, except on *invitation*.

Early yesterday morning the presidential "etxtraordinary" brought me your dear mother's letter of the 28th Augt & one from my dear Rosa of the same date— I hope they will both concede your claim to have this next letter. I am delighted to have such good account of you all, & that Rosa & Miriam were enjoying a visit to Alfred & to West P^t— She gives a sad account of my acquaintances there— I hope you had a pleasant visit to the Bénêts⁴ & that you remembered me kindly to them— I was disappointed in not getting other & later letters by the last steamer; but I suppose you, as we, had no notice of the change of day— Yours makes no illusion to M^{rs} Charles Talcott, so I am afraid she brings me nothing; she will not be here for some days yet, as she is travelling leisurely— I wish you could only partake of some of the Talcott's kindness in sending me tickets for their box at the opera, which would be so much better bestowed on some of you; I am now a sort of regular escort for them— Miss Nannie was well enough to come in again last night to Belisario,⁵ in spite of a pouring rain; but if people minded that at this season the house would be often empty— I hope you will have the means, in which I send your mother, to allow yourselves some indulgences of this kind next winter, & that you will use them— by you I include your mother too— I wish I could recommend to you, my dear girls, to give up your school; but if it should be worth keeping up it will be prudent perhaps to continue it; unless indeed it should be possible to make some arrangement for your mother & one or two of you to make me a visit, as I have suggested—

Your mother & Rosa both ask after M^r Davison; I shall write to him soon & let him know, in the wild region of the Cumbres, of the interest

⁴ Stephen Vincent Benet was born in Florida on January 22, 1827. After his graduation from West Point in 1849 he became an officer in the ordnance branch of the army, serving at the arsenals at Watervliet, at Washington, at Frankford, at Washington again, and at St. Louis. In 1859 he became assistant professor of geography, history, and ethics at West Point, and was instructor in ordnance and the science of gunnery there from 1861 to 1864. After this he went to Frankford to take charge of the arsenal, became assistant chief of ordnance in 1869, and was raised to chief with the rank of brigadier-general in 1874. He was also a writer on military subjects. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia*, I, 234.

⁵ Belisario is an opera by Donizetti in three acts. It was first produced in Venice on February 7, 1836; in London on April 1, 1837; and in Paris on October 24, 1843. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 140.

felt for him; He has not been up here, nor Mr Wimmer either, but I have heard from both of them. Mr D. says that it was your own fancy to imagine that he was leaving my special attraction at home; caused by a careless remark of his which had no particular meaning— I was quite pleased with him & he is doing well, & much interested in his very difficult part of the work— Rosa wishes for some of our fruits & vegetables; they are certainly very *numerous*; in a walk through the market, with Judge Perkins,⁶ the day before he went on his exploring trip, we counted 27 fruits & 33 vegetables; but as I remember saying when before in the tropics, I would not exchange the productions of the temperate zone with these, by any means—

Tell your mother that I think she has been misinformed about the postage to this city— There is no postal treaty between your country & ours, & I think her 24 cts stamp was thrown away; certainly it was in this case, as her letter was directed to Mr Oropesa & enclosed by him in Col. T's envelope— You have only to pay as much as will ensure its being put on board the steamer at N. York. I would not trouble Mr O. at all, but otherwise my letters would not come up by the extraordinary— When any one writes again send me a few stamps for letters & newspapers that may be sent to N. Y. by private hand— & when you meet with an opportunity please send me half a dozen Brintzinhoffer's tooth brushes, of his own make— those which I have fill my mouth constantly with the bristles— Now I must bid you good night my dear child, or I shall have no room for the remaining fortnight before my letter is to go—

Monday, Sept 25th. Before I went over to Tacubaya yesterday morning, (after morning mass at the Cathedral,) the clerk brought me a bundle of newspapers which one of Col. T's friends has sent him from N. York— almost uselessly, for their contents excite nothing but pain & disgust, & they are scarcely looked at— You cannot think how odd it seems, here among the Aztecs, to dig up the fossil remains of defunct politicians— *Peter Cagger*,⁷ *John Van Buren*!⁸ &c— In glancing at one

⁶ Jonathan Cogswell Perkins was born in Massachusetts on November 21, 1809, and died in the same state on December 12, 1877. He studied law under Rufus Choate and at Harvard; he was admitted to the bar in 1835; and after practicing in Salem for thirteen years he became a judge in the court of common pleas of Massachusetts. He was an able and voluminous commentator and writer on legal subjects. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia*, IV, 729.

⁷ Peter Cagger was born in Albany, New York, on July 6, 1812, and died in New York City on July 6, 1868. He was of Irish parents; was educated at Fordham College and at Montreal, Canada; studied law and became a member of the firm of Hill, Cagger, and Porter; and became a member of what was called the "Albany Regency." For many years he really dictated the policy of the Democratic party in New York. Although he never sought or held a political office he was a real dictator. He freely used his great wealth for charitable purposes. He was thrown from his carriage and fatally injured in Central Park, New York. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia*, I, 494.

⁸ John Van Buren, the son of Martin Van Buren, was born in New York on February 18, 1810, and died at sea on October 13, 1866. He graduated from Yale; studied law under Benjamin F. Butler; and was admitted to the bar in 1830, but he went to London the next year with his father as attaché to the legation there. He was attorney general of New York from February, 1845, to December 31, 1846; took an active part in the political canvass of 1848 on the side of exclusion of slavery from the territories; but he soon left the Free-soil party. He took part in many important legal battles; was an eloquent pleader and effective political speaker; was called Prince John on account of his tall and handsome body, elegant manners, and striking appearance; and died on a voyage from Liverpool to New York. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia*, VI, 234.

of the papers I noticed the death of old M^{rs} Thornton who was born in the palmy days of Frederick the Great,⁹ the Empress Catherine¹⁰ & the "King," Maria Theresa,¹¹ & who was four years old when Napoleon Bonaparte was born! What a period to have lived thro'! I also see the death of Jasper Harding.¹² If as Burns¹³ says . . . he gets his fairin', Such -ill they'll roast him like a herrin'."

I did not observe the prices of marketing, but from that of gold & of "York Mills" cotton, I am afraid there has not been much abatement in beef & mutton since I left Phil.

I was sorry to find yesterday that Miss Nannie was not well enough to make her appearance; probably anxiety & agitation have as much to do with her sickness as anything else: She is to be married on the 3^d Octr, at the Palace Chapel, I cannot send you an account of the ceremony this steamer, even by the "Extraordinary"—I wish your mother were here to choose some little present that I could afford to give her—They are to live at her father's, for the present—Next week, when the boys all come, there will be *twelve* grown persons & nine children in the family. Wilcox proposed to M^{rs} T. that he & Maury & I should come out & stay with her, for company—

Thursday Sept 28th—By an engineer who leaves this morning for the U. S. I send a note for Rosa & a small parcel of stamps; The letter to R. Maury,¹⁴ for a private opportunity, as they are not worth the postage—Dr Massey I find missed the steamer he went for & will go by this; so you will get several letters together—There has been nothing

⁹ Prussia and Brandenburg rose to prominence under four great rulers, viz: Frederick William, the Great Elector (February 16, 1620-April 29, 1688); his son, Frederick I (July 11, 1657-February 25, 1713); his son, Frederick William I (August 14, 1688-May 31, 1740); and Frederick II or Great (January 24, 1712-August 17, 1786). The last was an enlightened despot who used the nations of Europe like pawns on a chess board. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 410.

¹⁰ Catherine II or Great (May 2, 1729-November 17, 1796) was empress of Russia from 1762 to 1796. She helped overthrow her husband, Peter III, and then planned his murder. She usurped the throne, July, 1762; participated in the three partitions of Poland, 1772, 1793, 1795; and was an enlightened despot and a patron of art and education. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 224.

¹¹ Maria Theresa (May 13, 1717-November 29, 1780) was the daughter of Charles VI of Austria, archduchess of Austria, and queen of Hungary and Bohemia. She married Francis of Lorraine in 1736. Legally she could not become ruler of Austria, but the Pragmatic Sanction of her father, agreed to by the leading rulers of Europe, sanctioned her being ruler. The war of the Austrian Succession broke out in 1740 in which she lost Silesia, and her attempt to take it back led to the Seven Years War, 1756-1763. But she failed to regain her lost territory. She procured the election of her husband as Emperor Francis I in 1745, and made her son co-regent as Joseph II in 1765. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 655.

¹² Jesper Harding was born in Philadelphia on November 5, 1799, and died there on August 21, 1865. He learned printing under Enos Bronson, and began business for himself at the age of eighteen. In 1829 he purchased the recently established *Pennsylvania Inquirer*, and about the same time he began to print Bibles. He tried to play neutral in the bank controversy, but when the deposits were withdrawn he took the side of the opposition to Jackson and supported Harrison in the election, and finally found himself in the Whig party. He was a manufacturer of paper at Trenton, New Jersey, and was interested in other enterprises. He retired as editor in 1859, when his son William W. took his place, and at the time of his death he was collector of internal revenue. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia*, III, 79.

¹³ He here refers to Robert Burns (January 25, 1759-July 21, 1796), the famous Scottish poet. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 196.

¹⁴ Doubtlessly he refers to the son of Matthew Fontaine Maury. This outstanding scientist of his era (January 14, 1806-February 1, 1873) resigned from the United States Navy and enlisted in the Confederate Navy. In addition to the other offices he was given, when he went to Mexico, after the close of the Civil War, he was made a cabinet member under Maximilian, *Appletons' Cyclopaedia*, IV, 264-265.

to interest you since my last date— I feel the loss of our little circle here at the Hotel, & find it hard to get through some of the hours— I rise pretty early, & either sit down to write a letter, as now, or take a walk; then a solitary cup of coffee or chocolate & a roll which brings me to about 9 o'clk, when I go to the office & stay there till 5, the easiest part of the 24 hours, except when I am asleep— at 5 I go to a solitary dinner at a cheap “fonda,” or restaurant, & spend the evening mostly alone in my room, reading until I get sleepy, which is pretty early— You would be amused to see me at the places where I have been going to get my dinner, although they are frequented by respectable people.— However I think I shall make an arrangement to take my meals at a more gay looking place, tho', they will be still solitary— This evening is the last of the first subscription to the opera, & I shall not have a box for the next— Three mornings in the week, people assemble on the Alameda¹⁵ to hear very good music from the French band; our breakfast, when we had a mess, came just in the way of it, but I shall get my coffee & walk this morning. The rains have sensibly abated & I have laid aside my waterproof fixings except boots, & only wear a light overcoat, & an umbrella which I seldom have to use.

Friday evening, Sept. 29th— This has been an anomalous day, as regards the weather, & it seems I was imagining too soon that the rains had abated; for when I first looked out this morning there was the unusual sight of a drizzling rain which continued all day & increased to a pour by the time I came out from dinner. I am afraid your mother will be concerned at the account of my eating arrangements; if so, she will be glad to hear that I am going hereafter to get my dinners at a very good French Restaurant which I tried to-day; where the meals are good & nicely served & where I shall meet acquaintances, & live at a modest expense too. On my way there to-day I stopped at a very civil English Watchmaker's who has been regulating your watch for me, & I find, by comparing it with his clock that it is keeping very good time.

Saturday. To-day I must mail this for the ordinary— Although the rain still continued, a grand “Funeccion” came off early this morning: It is the 100th anniversary of the birth day of the Soldier-Priest, Morelos,¹⁶ one of the great characters of our War of Independence, & the occasion was made use of to inaugurate a marble statue of him just erected in a little open space near my office— The Emperor & Empress, the Mily authorities, &c were all out, but few except those admitted on the stands could see or hear any thing; so I did not go— I send you an invitation to the wedding which you can hardly accept, &

¹⁵ Alameda means a grove of poplar trees, and is often used in reference to a large pleasure ground or park. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 27.

¹⁶ José Maria Morelos y Pavon (September 30, 1765-December 22, 1815) was an outstanding figure in Mexico. He joined the forces of Hidalgo in 1810, but he fought most of the time independently. At first he was very successful, but after 1813 he began to lose. He was captured on November 5, 1815, and was taken to Mexico City and shot. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 706.

your mother a French newspaper, which you can read for her— Maury showed me this morning the notice of his appointment as “Commissioner of Colonization,” which was expected: he is also “Honorary Counselor of the Empire”—

Love to all from Y^r affte father

A. M.

I have carelessly taken paper intended for *half sheet* letters.

Sept 30— It is nearly 5 o’clk & I have kept my letter open expecting to tell you of the arrival of Chas Talcott’s family; but the dilligence is not yet in.

Mexico, Sept^r 26/65

My dear Rose

I am very much obliged to you for your nice & satisfactory letter from W. Point: I hope your visit there was as beneficial as I am sure it was agreeable, & that you have returned in improved strength to your winter campaign— I am sorry that it should be a *campaign*, as I say in a letter (my semi-monthly despatch) which I write to Laura by this steamer— I hope you said some kind things for me to my old friend Mr Kemble,¹⁷ & also to M^{rs} & M^r Parrott;¹⁸ the latter is one of the few, engaged in the war on the south, from whom I am unwilling to withdraw my friendship—

The departure of one of the Asst. Eng^{rs} for the U. S. gives me an opportunity of sending you the stamps which I have collected for you— They are not very numerous, as our correspondence is not *immense*; but being of new kinds they may amuse you a little— As they are not worth the postage I shall send them in a separate package to M^r Maury & ask him to send them to you by a private opportunity— The gentleman is of N. York & does not go to Phila: he leaves here tomorrow, but the steamer does not sail till the 6th, so I can keep my mail letter until the 1st— The steamers leave V. Cruz 6th & 21st of each month, & N. York 8th & 23^d; The advantage of this arrangement is

¹⁷ Gouverneur Kemble was born in New York City on January 25, 1786, and died in Cold Spring, New York, on September 16, 1875. He served as consul at Cadiz under President Monroe; was employed to help supply the American squadron in the Mediterranean during the Algerian war in 1815; and then returned to the United States. He set up at Cold Spring, opposite West Point, the first foundry in the United States to make any thing like perfect cannons. He served in Congress from 1837 to 1841; was a member of the New York constitutional convention in 1846; was a lover and patron of art, collecting many valuable paintings; and was said to be the most perfect gentleman in the United States. *Appletons’ Cyclopaedia*, III, 511.

¹⁸ Robert Parker Parrot was born in New Hampshire on October 5, 1804, and died in Cold Spring, New York, on December 24, 1877. He graduated from West Point in 1824; was assistant professor of natural and experimental philosophy at that institution from 1824 to 1826; was professor of mathematics for the next two years; and then again became principal assistant in the former subject. On January 26, 1836, he was made captain after former promotions, but resigned from the ordnance branch and army on October 31, 1836, to be superintendent of the West Point Iron and Cannon Foundry at Cold Spring, New York. He designed and perfected a system of rifled cannon and projectiles. His guns were extensively used in the Civil War and since. He remained president of the foundry until 1867, but continued president and director of several industrial enterprises. He sold his guns to the government during the Civil War for a very small margin of profit. *Appletons’ Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV, 660-661.

that, if necessary, answers to letters from N. Y. may be sent, by way of Havanna, a week earlier, tho there are frequent steamers from Hav. to N. Y. & there the gentlemen engaged in Foreign business do not get their mails so close together—

Tell Miriam that I am looking for a letter from her one of these days, & I should be glad to hear from the boys too; Augustus must have something to tell me about his engineering experience, & Gratz can tell me about his new school & his studies, or anything he pleases— I will not repeat to you what I may have said, or may have to say, to Laura about myself, or about Mexico, as it would be useless—

With best love

Y^r affectionate father

A. Mordecai

Miss Rose Mordecai
1825 Delancey Place
Philadelphia
Pa—

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.
CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Decr 14 I need hardly take this space to send my love & best wishes to all relatives in Rich^d & elsewhere who will kindly take them always for granted.

Ever Y^r affte brother

A. Mordecai

Mexico Decr 10th 1865—
Sunday.

My dear Sister

I have returned early this afternoon from my usual visit to Tacubaya & will devote the remainder of a quiet day at the office to commence my letter to you, lest something should interfere with my doing it in office hours— Writing all day here, I have given up doing it in the evening at my lodgings— I mentioned to you that Col & M^{rs} McClean & I were making arrangements to change our quarters, as a measure of economy, as well as of comfort on their part— I left my pleasant room at the San Carlos with some reluctance, but I have no reason at all to regret the change— We have taken a 1st (not the lowest) floor of a house in a very good situation, of which I enclose you a plan—¹⁹ It

¹⁹ The plan was very accurately drawn, giving the plan of the entire floor, sizes of the rooms, location and width of windows and doors, halls and stairways. The location of the building, directions from the various rooms, location of flower pots, and many other details relative to the building and surroundings.

contains just the accomodation we require for ourselves & a gentleman who came with the McC's & has has been always with them in the army; he is now absent, but expected home every day, & both the gentlemen will be employed in this office— The house had some furniture which the McC's purchased— I bought some things for my room & hired others, which I shall replace by my own next month, & I shall be, indeed am, very comfortable— We have a woman who takes care of our rooms & cooks for the Mc's; a room on the ground floor is occupied by an aquador, (water carrier) who sweeps the patio & the street in front, supplies us with water & takes care of the plants in large pots which are set in rings attached to the ceiling of our gallery, outside— I take my meals still at a café & restaurant but when Mrs Mc. gets all arranged to her liking, I shall probably join their mess— My room costs me \$12 a month; so that I live at the rate of about \$85 a month, all told— Not very extravagant— The house is in a very good street, a continuation of the cross street on which the San Carlos stands; If you are fond of theatricals, on the opposite diagonal corner is the Iturbide Theatre, where French & Spanish plays are performed; on the next square south is the Imperial Theatre (opera) & a little further on, the Teatro *Poincipal*, so called probably because it is quite small, apparently, & exhibits minor pieces, shovos, &c— The opera is the only one I have visited— I have received your letter finished at Richmond & Edmund's— I am very glad that E. has satisfactory employment in V^a; my invitation was intended only for the case that he had not, & would like to see a new country & a new work in the line of his profession, & be able to support his family comfortably in V^a, for a time— I have sent his letter, & C. Howard's to Chas. T., to Col. Talcott who is below; in order that he may send an answer to Howard by the steamer which takes this letter— Mr Douglass has arrived at V. Cruz & has no doubt met Col. T. on the road— John Maury also came & brought me a small parcel from Phila, which he sent up by *Bernard Carter*— I am sorry to say that Chas. Talcott's recovery has not been steady; he was thrown back last week, by another attack of bleeding from the lungs, which kept him in bed some days & reduced his strength— He is better again however & his mother has just asked me to make an arrangement for his going, by easy journey, to the warm country, at Arizava, which she thinks he is strong enough to undertake— I hope it may benefit him to go there; but to a well person it seems almost absurd to leave, on this account, a climate where I have actually been inconvenienced to-day by the heat of the sun, & am now (5, P. M.) sitting by an open window;— however, it is somewhat changeable & sometimes cool at this season, which Arizaba, I suppose, never is.

Sept. 11th— I did not get far, you see, with my letter yesterday— Whilst I was writing Chas. Talcott came in & showed me a letter which he had just received from Ned & which is very satisfactory— He

had not received any of the others to which Ned refers & cannot account for them. A note from Mr Douglass at V. Cruz to Chas. alludes to the newspaper threats of War²⁰ which you mention, but treats them with contempt, as I have always done— The blustering of demagogues in your wretched country gives me not a moment's concern on this subject; but even if such a mad thing as an invasion of this empire by the U. S. should take place, or if the Republic should be reestablished here, the railway interests would hardly be affected, or only temporarily: The grant to Mr Escandon, on which the English company was founded, was first made by Comonfort,²¹ confirmed by Juarez²² & afterwards by the Emperor,²³ & the enterprize is too important to the country to be long interrupted; to say nothing of the protection which the British government would give to the interests of its subjects involved in the undertaking. The Peto's whom you mention have nothing to do, I fancy, with this work; unless they may contract for making in England some of the large iron bridges which are to be constructed here— I suppose that Ruston has found out, before this, his cousin M. T's arrangements— his family remain in England, where the children are completing their education— He is hard at work here & does not expect to visit them until late next spring— He told me the day before yesterday that Colonization is beginning to be realized: a number of Confederates have taken lands near Cordova &

²⁰ Secretary Seward was an inveterate optimist and expansionist, but he always believed that England and France would ultimately satisfy the just demands of the United States relative to the Mexican episode. Public opinion in the United States favored the expulsion of the French; many high military leaders like Grant wanted to exert pressure towards that end; Grant sent General Sheridan to Texas to assemble a large force on the Rio Grande; and a plan materialized by which General Schofield, then on leave of absence, was to be sent to Mexico to organize a force there from the disbanded Union and Confederate troops, and Grant even ordered Sheridan to see that these troops were supplied with arms. The scheme fell flat, but the liberals in the army brought much moral and military aid to the cause of expulsion. Schofield was sent to France and there was kept busy on a harmless mission. On May 25, 1866, Campbell of Ohio was appointed minister to Mexico in the name of Juarez; President Johnson wanted Grant to go with him, but he refused; Sherman went along, but it was a fiasco for they could not find Juarez or his government; and in the fall of 1865 the administration told Napoleon that the United States would not stand for continued occupation of Mexico. The French position became so precarious that on April 5, 1866, it was announced that the French army would be withdrawn by instalments between November, 1866, and November, 1867. In April, 1867, the whole French force left Mexico for France, and without a foreign army to support him, Maximilian was soon captured and shot. William Archibald Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*. pp. 152-156.

²¹ Ignacio Comonfort was born in Puebla on March 12, 1812, and died near Guanajuato on November 13, 1863. He joined the revolt against Santa Anna in April, 1854; became secretary of war under Alvarez in October, 1855; and became acting president when that leader retired. He was elected constitutional president on December 1, 1857, and lived to build up a dictatorship, but he was deposed after hard fighting and fled the country in February, 1858. He returned in 1862, took a prominent part against the French invasion, and was killed by irregular troops or bandits. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 271.

²² Benito Pablo Juarez was born at Guelatao, Oajaca, on March 21, 1806, and died at Mexico City on July 18, 1872. He was an outstanding liberal Mexican politician of pure Indian blood. He was banished by Santa Anna in 1853, but returned in 1855; soon became Minister of Justice, President of the Supreme Court, and Vice President of Mexico; became President after the fall of Comonfort in January, 1858; and by December, 1860, he had triumphed over the reactionaries who had seized the government. In March, 1861, he was elected President, only to be forced to flee before the invading French, but he regained his power after Maximilian was shot. He was elected President in August, 1867, but revolts continued. Again he was elected President in 1871, but the northern states were in revolt when he died. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 553.

²³ Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph was born in Vienna on July 6, 1832, and was shot at Querétaro, Mexico, on June 19, 1867. He was Archduke of Austria and Emperor of Mexico from 1864 to 1867. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 667.

are about establishing a village & a settlement— I sent George a little pamphlet containing some of the most important decrees & regulations about Colonization, & the “Mexican Times” of Saturday contains an appeal of M. F. to persons wishing to emigrate, which I have not yet read, but will try to send you, if it is not painted in too bright colors. Gov. Reynolds asks me to mention his name when I write, so that Gustavus & Mrs M. may hear of him— He is now assisting Magruder, the Surveyor Genl, in the office here. His wife is in Gibraltar, being a Spanish woman— I had one of Mrs Butler’s kind & friendly letters by the last British Mail, thanking me for my photographs; she has also written to you, however, as Ruston tells me— She is very sad about Edgeworthstown²⁴— “can hardly bear to think of it— The tenants are strangers.”

I shall be very glad to get Emma’s letter— I know how pleasant it is for you to be among friends so affectionate & long familiar as those in R., notwithstanding the sad feelings which desolation & changes must produce— With so many still remaining to love & value you, & so many more to whom your life of disinterested kindness & devotion has been so beneficial & cheering, how can you ask, “What was I born for?”— This is akin to the feeling which you justly reprov’d in me, & I hope you also will banish it, as I have done.

Tuesday, Decr 12th— It is not easy to describe the same thing twice, on the same day, in different language; so if you should see the letter I have just been writing to my wife you will find nearly what I am now going to set down. I have just returned from the celebration of a great Mexican holiday; for this is the anniversary of “Our Lady Guadalupe,” the silly story of whose appearance to an Indian peasant you may remember, or may read, in Prescott— She is adopted as the tutelary divinity of Mexico & recognized by all the authorities, civil & ecclesiastical— For nine days before her *fiesta*, signs of worship are exhibited in many houses, by hanging out lanterns & draping the balconies in white, with a picture of the Miraculous blanket apron in the centre. For to-day a regular official program of ceremonies is published, arranging a procession of all the dignitaries, governmental, diplomatic, scientific & military; nearly all in embroidered uniforms; the rest in dress coats & white cravats, & headed by the Emperor; to attend high mass at the shrine of Guadalupe, about 4 miles from the city— The M^cC’s & I were up early & had our coffee in time to wait half an hour for the unpunctual first train which was to leave at 7— arrived at the church, we took our station outside of the railing, to see the officials arrive, & we were allowed by the gendarme to remain, *exclusively*, at our post where we saw the procession pass round on the carpeted pavement, to enter the front door; we then followed into the church which was not at all crowded, only the better classes going

²⁴ Edgeworthstown was in Ireland.

in at that time— The Emperor was in uniform, wearing the heavy gold chain or collar of the order of Guadalupe, & attended by his picturesque guard of halberdiers, in scarlet coats with silver epaulettes & trimmings, shining helmets of steel, & with gilt eagle & ornaments, & holding the classical halbert of the middle ages— all tall, fine looking men— The mass was performed by the archbishop, in mitre & crozier, & a numerous clergy. The church is gorgeous; the moldings & capitals of its brilliant white walls & columns are covered with gilding, & the heavy balustrades of the altars, stairs & middle aisle are of real silver; the screen of the music place (I forget the name) is of carved wood inlaid richly with silver— The music was very fine: besides the organ, there was a large orchestra (from the opera, I suppose,) & a grand piano on which a solemn solo was played by an excellent performer— The whole was grand & worth seeing— On going out it was difficult to make our way through the crowd, chiefly of the Indian race, who thronged the great space in front of the church— They came from all parts of the country to this festival— I said I never saw all out-doors crowded before— The day, it is almost needless to say, was lovely; a little cool in the morning; but on our return at noon, the snow mountains wore their most brilliant “sheen,” under a hot & unclouded sky—

Decr 14th— I have a letter from Col. T. at Orizava, from which I gather that he will not be able to send an answer to Howard by this steamer, his arrangements being somewhat controlled by those of the contractors, whose head man has just arrived from England.

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.
CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Mexico March 15th 1866

My dear Sister

As you do not like to see blank paper in my letters I was about to take a small sheet for my letter to-day, as I have been so quiet lately I fancy this may be a short one; but we shall see— By the Talcotts, who sailed on the 9th, I sent you a map, &c, of our road which I hope you shall receive all right. Col. T. went down to V. Cruz & has not yet returned; so that the family at the “Casa Amarilla” (Yellow House) in Tacubaya is reduced to M^{rs} Southgate & Nannie (for short,) & Maj^r B. with M^{rs} S's children— The Major may have to go to V. C. in a day or two, in that case I shall take up my quarters there during his or the Col's absence. I am sorry to say that Charles, who went with his father & mother, was detained by sickness at Orizava where his health became injured last autumn; He has had no hemorrhage, but chills & fevers of severe type & is anxious to get on the high lands again— I should not be much surprised if he were to return to V^a, he writes so discouragingly about himself— I suppose you discovered that I had marked the names, except the *one* that you recognized, on the

back of the photographed group— The one that you thought like Genl. Lee must have been Col. T.— George will not get your message soon, as he is Resident Engineer at Apaw & does not come here often. I have said that I have been very quiet of late & indeed my time is passed with great regularity— Though I wake early I am generally not up & dressed until near 8, when we have breakfast, after which I come to the office & remain until 5; a little walk brings us to dinner about 6 & by the time we are done one or two gentlemen generally come in to talk or play cards until bed time— I have therefore very little time, as you see for reading, but I believe I have read enough for my life time, & only care for it now as an amusement for which I am very willing to substitute any other that may serve to pass away the time— I read to-day in the French Mex. paper of a man in Wisconsin who died lately, after had the misfortune to live to the age of 147!—

This evening I am to have the rare variety of going out to tea at the house of a resident— an American (U. S.) who married a Mexican lady— Last Sunday week, instead of going to Tacubaya, we made up a little party for any excursion on the canal that comes into the city from Lakes Chaleon & Xochimilco—²⁵ The part of the canal adjoining the city is bordered by a wide road planted with trees & during Lent it is fashionable to use this Paseo for the afternoon drive instead of the usual one on the west side of the city— at all other times the old Paseo is deserted— The canal serves to bring the country produce from the south east into the city, & it is bordered with vegetable gardens, or little plats for raising lettuce, cabbages, carrots & enormous radishes, which, altho' as big as your wrist, are crisp & good. These gardens have taken the place of the chinampas or floating gardens which you read of in Prescott, & at this dry season the vicinity of the canal enables them to furnish the vegetables & flowers which would with difficulty be produced on the dry plains— The only beauty of the banks consists in the relief of some green in place of the parched herbage which covers the ground at a little distance from the water— We took a nice luncheon which Mr^s McLean prepared, & of which the pièce de résistance was a *huajolote*, an indigenous bird which you have heard of, in more prosperous times, under the name of *turkey*— We procured a covered flat boat propelled by a boatman with a pole & went up the canal some distance, stopping at an arbor in a little village to eat our luncheon— Returning in the evening near sunset we found the canal

²⁵ Lake Texcoco is a shallow body of brackish water with an area of about eleven and a half square miles and is fed by a number of small streams from the mountains. Its shores are swampy and desolate and show considerable belts of saline incrustations with the fall of its level. The Aztecs settled there because of the security afforded by its islands and shallow waters. The Chalco and Xochimilco lakes, eight or nine miles to the southward, which are separated by a narrow ridge of land, are connected with the lower part of the city by an artificial canal called "La Viga," sixteen miles long and thirty feet wide, which serves as an outlet for the overflow of those lakes and as a waterway for the natives, who bring in flowers and vegetables for sale. Lake Xochimilco, celebrated for its *chinampas* or "floating gardens," is supplied mainly by fresh-water springs opening within the lake itself. Lake Chalco is greatly reduced in size by railway fittings and irrigation works. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1941), XV, 397.

crowded with boats filled with people & populace, to whom this is the principal source of amusement on Sunday evenings— in many of the boats would be a man with a rude guitar, not to say banjo, to the music of which a few of the passengers went through a melancholy dance— One of our party, (& one of our most frequent visitors in the evening,) was Genl. Early,²⁶ who is a good-natured & pleasant companion, & whom I mention particularly on account of the censures cast on his habits— His conduct here is marked with strict regularity & propriety, which is the more remarkable because he is very much out of place, having no occupation but what he has made for himself in writing his campaigns, no knowledge of the language or desire to acquire it, & no fondness for this country except because it is not the U. States— Among the Confederates here I have been much struck with their propriety of conduct, very few having any bad habits, as far as I know— They have formed quite a settlement in the neighborhood of Cordova, & many have arrived lately who I fear may have difficulty in procuring lands, as all that the Government had to dispose of there have been taken up, & moving about in this country is no easy matter— It will be some time before the railway affords the means of traveling in that part, where the works are very heavy— a few miles of track have been laid at various points between this city & Puebla, & the contractors have engaged to open it to that city in the course of the summer; but I hardly think they can do it— transportation of produce in the meantime is almost exclusively done on the backs of men or mules or burros (donkeys)— You may see troops of these at any time bringing in marketing straw for hay, charcoal, pulque (above all) in hogskins, flagstones, planks, timber, &c, accompanied by men & boys Indians charged with loads almost equal to those of the other beasts.

I mentioned before Genl. Magruder being here as Surveyor Genl. His family have just arrived from England & with all my predilection for the climate &c, I am inclined to pity them; for I am afraid the contrast with the country they have left is too strong— I have only seen the son & daughter yet, their mother having been unwell from the journey— the young people make a very favorable impression & I hope, for their sakes, that my anticipations may not be realized— They have a very comfortable new house, a few doors from this office, & built like the office, on the grounds of the convent of the Late Francisco— With regard to the Talcott's church which you ask about, they have none— There is a converted Catholic priest here who reads prayers

²⁶ Jubal Anderson Early was born in Virginia on November 3, 1816; and died on March 2, 1894, an unreconstructed rebel. He graduated from West Point in 1837 and saw action in the Seminole War, but he resigned in 1838. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1840, served in the Virginia legislature from 1841 to 1842, and entered the Mexican war, where he was soon made major. He did not arrive at the scene of action until after Taylor's part of the fighting was over so he did not have to fight. He was mustered out of service in April, 1848, and returned to his practice of law. He opposed secession and voted against it in the convention, but joined the army and fought at Bull Run as brigadier-general. He was made major-general in January, 1863, and lieutenant-general in May, 1864. He is best known on account of his raids in the Shenandoah Valley. He was also a writer of some prominence. *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 598-599.

to a few, as Maury tells you in the printed letter I sent you, & a poor fellow who died here the other day, D^r Kavanaugh, was buried by a french minister but there is no regular service— M^{rs} Chas. T. has taken to reading prayers at her home on Sunday evening & a few of her friends go there— In a discussion which I heard the other day about getting a minister to come here, the Secy. of the British Legation (who has lived nearly all his life abroad) objected because he was afraid it would break up the meetings of the cricket club (& perhaps also the ball alley) on Sundays at Tacubaya, & he thought the amusement much the most important of the two things—

Well I am actually at the end of my sheet & without room to say a word about people around you, except to send my love to them all— I quite envy you the pleasure of being able to contribute, as I know you do in every way to the comfort of Rosina & the boys—

Yr affte brother
A. Mordecai

March 15th 1866 N^o -9.
Miss Ellen Mordecai
Care of Gustavus A Myers Esq
Richmond
Virginia

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.
CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Mexico, April 23, 1866.

My dear Sister

You see I do not intend to be caught by the Departure of Next Month's steamer without a letter prepared for you; for my last one has not sailed from V. Cruz when I am beginning another, this leisure morning. The objection to this journal mode of letter writing from a foreign country is that one is apt to put down trifling things which are read with little interest; but after all, a personal narrative, like an autobiography, almost always interests & amuses us; perhaps on Horace's²⁷ principle that nothing of human affairs is considered foreign by man— or as I once heard Hale²⁸ say in the Senate: "There

²⁷ Quintus Horatius Flaccus Horace was born at Venusia, Apulia, on December 8, 65 B.C., and died in Rome on November 27, B.C. He was a famous satirical and lyric poet. He was the son of a freedman; was educated at Rome and other places; enjoyed great popularity; and was presented with a villa by Maecenas in the Sabine Hills about 34 B.C. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 513.

²⁸ John Parker Hale was born in New Hampshire on March 31, 1806; graduated from Bowdoin College in 1827; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1830; and after being state representative and United States district attorney, he served in Congress from March 4, 1843, to March 3, 1845. He declined to run on the Liberty party platform for President in 1848. He was in the Senate from March 4, 1847, to March 3, 1853; was nominated for President on the Free-Soil ticket in 1852; and served again in the Senate from July 30, 1855, to March 3, 1865. He was minister to Spain from March, 1865, to July, 1869, and died in Dover, New Hampshire, on November 19, 1873. *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress*, p. 1045.

is a good deal of human nature about most men." The variety of it which we see here is certainly very distinct in some aspects from that which you may meet with in N. Y., as we have a good opportunity of observing yesterday. (Sunday.) On Saturday evening there happened to drop in at our house several Americans: Mr Grayson (the bird man) & his wife, Genl. McCausland & a Mr Austin from Albany, a lawyer, who is here as it were by accident— His son is the purser of one of the V. C. steamers & the father going down to see him before the last trip, the son said, "Now it will do you good to take a trip to sea, just jump on board & go to Havana," & at that place, now, you may never have so good an opportunity to see Mexico, just go on there;" so he came, to return in the May steamer— Well, we had quite a pleasant evening; McClean brewed some "hot stuff;" & at 12 o'clk when we had stopped our game of euchre, & Genl. McC. asked Mr Austin if he would walk down town, the latter replied, to our great amusement, "I will do my best; as the French say, *Je farai mon possible*: We *old residents* often do the honors of the to the new comers; so we appointed the next day, Sunday, to take a trip with the two gentlemen on the canal— So, the next day, after a hearty dinner-breakfast, to which our household had been invited, (at the house of an English gentleman, an old resident here, married to a Kentucky lady,) we drove out to the Paseo de la Viga & took a boat on the canal— Now, if some ill-conditioned traveler were to say that the canal is a dirty ditch, with low banks, cultivated for vegetable gardens, & filled with rude scows in which dirty uncombed Indians are seated, or going through the motion of a monotonous & lifeless dance, to the music of a poor banjo, the description would not be unlike.

4¼ P. M. I was called off to attend the funeral of Govr Allen of Louisiana, Editor of the Mex Times, who had been ill for several weeks &, as the burial service says, was yesterday taken mercifully from the troubles of this life— If even the solemnity of the interruption did not prevent me from continuing my account of yesterday's fête, I feel to much outraged to do so, on account of an occurrence at the house— After a good deal of delay beyond the appointed time, we began to enquire the cause & were told that the U. S. Consul, who I suppose has the granting of permits for burial, sent to object to the remains being buried in the U. S. burying ground, dressed in *Confederate uniform*! Filled as the room was with Confederate officers, (None of whom were in uniform,) I was perfectly surprised at their calmness of demeanor under this contemptible outrage from a miserable scoundrel of a naturalized Dutchman, (his name is Otterberg.²⁹) They merely proceeded to look at the body, the coffin, (which was closed by the bye with *hinges & a lock & key*,) not having been shut up, & they found it dressed in black pants, with a long grey frock

²⁹ Marcus Otterburg was minister to Mexico in 1867, but William S. Rosecrans took his place in 1868. *White's Conspectus of American Biography*, p. 28.

with S^o C^a buttons & no insigna of rank— I believe the emissary of the consul was satisfied & no further interruption was offered to the interment, or I doubt if the consul's ears would have been too safe. The burial ground had just been purchased, under an act of Congress, when I was here in 1854— It is a neat little lot adjoining the English cemetery, a short distance outside of the Western limits of the city, & it is planted with weeping willows & ash trees— The Episcopal service was read very well in English, by a french German protestant clergyman— a fine looking man. An account of the facts about the miserable Dutch consul will be prepared for the next No of the "Times," & I almost hope that, when his conduct is known in the U. S. there may be decency enough left there to visit it with some censure.

April 24th. Having vented my indignation I may resume my account of Sunday, as I have no mail to answer this morning— I was going to say: If, on the other hand, some cheerful observer, looking at the bright side of things, were to speak of the pleasure boats crowded with the olive complexioned women in their best attire whose raven tresses hanging in thick braids on their shoulders were crowned with rich garlands of roses & bright poppies, whilst they moved gently to the music of the guitar or portable harp, played by their swains, whose hats, like the heads of the nymphs, were decorated with wreaths of flowers; whilst on the drive which borders the canal, the gay equipages of the better class, with their liveried servants, whirled by; & the children of *all* ages amused themselves with swings, seesaws, & merry-go-rounds, & the cool evening breeze tempered the influence of the tropical sun— The gayer picture would be equally faithful— In our neat & roomy, covered boat we proceeded up the canal towards Lake Charles, to the place where we stopped to lunch on our former trip, & walking about whilst our boatman rested, we followed the sound of firearms & the ringing of bells & strolled into the village church, where some grand "function," (celebration) was going on in honor of Saint Joseph,³⁰ as well as I could make out; (the day being the Patrocinio de San José,) whose intercession is considered especially available against earthquakes. A procession was formed, led by a figure on horseback which they said was Saint Jago— at any rate he was *some* military character, armed cassapie, & he & his horse were borne on a litter by four men; then came files of men with lighted lanterns; then a figure of Christ bearing the cross, mounted on another litter, then the consecrated host, borne by two priests under a large crimson umbrella, at the passage of which all the devout kneeled, & we outsiders stood with our hats off, except M^r Austin, who is that "rara avis" a Vermonter turned Catholic; he kneeled of course, & said he

³⁰ Saint Joseph of Cupertino, a mystic, was born on June 17, 1603, and died at Osimo, on September 18, 1663. The Feast is on September 18. His father was a poor carpenter and died before his son was born, and his debtors forced his wife out of her home, so that Joseph was born in a stable. He began to have visions in his eighth year. He was canonized on July 16, 1767, by Pope Clement XIII. Charles G. Herbermann and others. eds., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, VIII, 520-521.

thought it very hard that he had to do the religion for the whole party— he was a little put out perhaps at the absurdity of the whole things— The actors were all indians & the procession was a substitute, I suppose, for that of the Idols in the time of their forefathers— “And so it goes,” as our breakfast friend ends all her stories—

I have just had a call from Bev. Tucker looking as fat as his skin can hold him— He arrived last evening with M^{rs} T. & they had the vexation to lose all their baggage on the way: not decently in Mexican style, by armed men; but cut off the coach, in the regular old N^o C^a fashion— it is a most annoying a serious thing for a poor exile, just arrived in this difficult country, & direct from *Paris*. They propose to take two of Maury's rooms, the offices which he has no further use for—

I read the two pictures of the camel scene to M^{rs} McLean & she begs me to add that the last is much the more realizing one, as the scene appeared to her.

April 28th— This is a real *hot* day: I have not observed the therm. but it must be at least 75°— The afternoon showers have intermitted for a week or so, & if there happens a wind, as there did a few days ago, the dust would do credit to Washington in a July afternoon gust, preceding a thunder storm. I have just written a few lines to Ruston, by way of Havanna, on account of the loss of the Vera Cruz which ought to have taken my letter to you—

April 30th— You see I was right about the tendency of journal-letters to spin themselves out; but to-day I have something to say & wish it was of a more cheerful character— First comes the loss of the V. C. steamer in consequence of which this letter may overtake my last— We know few particulars except that the vessel was said to have been lost on her voyage to N. York & that the passengers, crew & mail were saved— I write to Rutson how to send my letters in case of an interruption of the Mails to V. C.

I attended yesterday another funeral of an American, as the U. S. People are called here— M^r Austin, whom I have mentioned above, died suddenly on Saturday evening, of Neuralgia of the heart; it will be a sad shock to his son when he arrives in the Manhattan next Sunday, expecting to meet his father in V. C. The interment took place at the U. S. cemetery, & the ceremonies were very kindly & liberally performed by a french Catholic priest an army chaplain, I suppose, as I heard him speak of being at the French Marshal's when he was sent for— At M^{rs} McLean's thoughtful suggestion I cut off some of M^r Austin's hair which she will send to his family, although she does not know them— My last unpleasant news is losing the M^cL's last night, or rather this morning at 3 o'clk, when they set off for Orizava— Before 9 the purchasers called for the furniture & our pleasant rooms were all dismantled & desolate— I have taken a room in this building immediately under the first of Maury's rooms on the long corridor; so that we have quite a large U. S. colony here— The room is not as cheerful

as my other one, but it is large & I hope will be comfortable— I shall resume my former plan of living, by taking a light breakfast, & a dinner at 5, at my former best restaurant.

May 1st. I slept last night in my new room, & took my chocolate this morning at a new & handsome restaurant, alone— My room is large, (20½ x 18 ft) as you may see by the plan of the building which I sent you; but it is very far from being as pleasant & cheerful as the other; I like an airy room, altho' I am in it only at night. I see by the correspondence which the British packet brings from Havanna that the "V. Cruz" was lost on her voyage here; but we have as yet few names of passengers & none that I know. You seem to be in a nice mess in that "delightful country" of Rutson's— The English mail brought me a kind letter from Mrs Butler, in answer to one I wrote her in February.

May 3^d.— As this letter is written I may as well send it by the mail which leaves to-morrow for the steamer of the 8th; especially as there may be some for the 23^d; so you must not be disappointed if you do not hear from me again this month— I hope this will find you in N. Y. in as pleasant weather as it leaves here— a light shower. The first I believe for several weeks, is laying the dust, & the air is almost too cool to allow me to sit comfortably with the window open— Remember me affectionately to the Maurys & believe me, ever truly

Y^r affectionate brother

A. Mordecai

Miss Ellen Mordecai

April 23rd 1866 N^o— 12.

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.
CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

N^o. 23

Mexico, May 15, 1866.

My dear daughters

I have to thank you for your nice long letters which, with your mother's notes, came by the Manhattan, bringing the mail of the V. Cruz as well as her own, quite uninjured— If I make no comments on the various pieces of intelligence which you give me, it is not that I feel no interest in them, but because you can well imagine what I think about them, & the news itself is almost forgotten by the time my answer reaches you— It is more important & interesting to you for me to speak of myself & what is going on in this country. I am leading a more quiet. i.e. a duller life than I have led before here— a solitary breakfast, a walk perhaps in the alameda on music mornings as this was, a day in the office even if I have little to do there, a lonely dinner at 5 o'clk, another little walk, perhaps a nap, & in the evening a game of cards somewhere— Sundays are rather heavy; I don't care to read & have no books; I have lately taken up a translation of Hum-

boldt's³¹ Essay on New Spain, rather as an exercise in reading Spanish than any thing else, & I am apt to fall asleep over its statistics &— Tacubaya, in the absence of the pleasantest part of the family of the Casa Amarilla, & of the Col the greater part of the time now, ceases to be much of a resource, & it is now entirely interdicted by Mr Southgate's having the *small pox* there— Boleslawski & his wife are in town, leaving none but the Southgate family out there, & as Mrs S. attends on her husband, she cannot see her children— it must be dreary indeed— I have a letter this morning from the Col. at Orizava; he expects to be here in about a week, but he too will probably stay in town— he had not heard of Mr S's illness— His son Randolph came out, with his wife, in the last N. Y. steamer, & will be a great assistance to his father, as he is clever & experienced engineer & was here on the preliminary surveys of the road— He remains at Orizava in charge of the most important portion of the road— Conway Howard, whom your mother may remember at Cocke's, is with him— I alluded before to troubles likely to occur in the affairs of the Govt. & the Railway— These troubles are now culminating & must be settled in some way before very long— The formal determination announced of withdrawing the french troops in a definite time will test the strength of the Imperial Govt. which I earnestly hope may stand the trial; but it is embarrassed by the chronic disease of all Mexican Govts since the beginning of the Revolution: financial difficulties— The trouble in the Railway affairs results, in great measure, altho' not entirely, from the embarrassment of the Govt. which has been unable for some months past to pay the subsidy for which they are pledged to the Comp^y & on which the Co^y have depended in making their arrangements— An influential Director & large stockholder, Mr Barron, has just come out, with a consulting Engineer & much will depend, with regard to further operations, on his report to the Board in London— Meanwhile the works in the Mountain District are slackened, but those for completing the road from this city to Puebla are going on with a good deal of energy, as the Directors are very anxious to get that part in operation this autumn. I mention these things more minutely than might seem to be called for in a letter to young ladies, because I am greatly interested in them, & because you have sense enough to understand & appreciate their importance, & above all because they must have a decided influence on your arrangements in Phil^a— In the present state of uncertainty as to affairs in this country, altho' I hope & believe that all will turn out well so far as the Railway is concerned, I give up decidedly any idea of bringing many of you here, & consequently there is nothing to be done but to engage the house at the proper time, for

³¹ Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt was born in Berlin on September 14, 1769, and died there on May 6, 1859. This celebrated German scientist and author travelled and studied in many parts of Europe. From 1799 to 1804 he toured South America and Mexico in the interest of science. In 1811 he published "Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne." Between 1814 and 1834 he published a *Critical Examination of the History and Geography of the New Continent*. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 518.

another year. I hope that nothing will occur to make it necessary for you to continue your school, but it may be as well to defer any definite notice on that subject until the usual time— Until I have seen Col T. I cannot say anything positive as to the time of my leaving here: He may require my assistance in the investigations that are now in progress' & I shall not leave him as long as my services may be important; but I think all that business will be over before the time when I thought of returning to you, even the earliest time.

May 17th— If you were in Mexico to-day at noon you would like Peter Schlemil, without a shadow; for to-day the sun's declination is equal to the latitude of this city & he is ve[rtic]al at 12 o'clk— From this time until near the end of [J]uly, the sun would shine all day into the window of your mother's bed room, or rather those of the room over it in the 4th story, which is above the back buildings— but the sun does not shine here all day, for the cloudy afternoons with occasional showers have commenced— On the 9th we had the first real measurable rain since the middle of October, & on the 11th it poured in torrents; about 2ⁱⁿ of rain fell in less than half an hour, which is more than you have in half a month generally— Still the regular rainy season has not set in, altho' this fall flooded the streets & created some uneasiness for the future— it was even more copious out of the valley & did a good deal of damage in one place at least. Notwithstanding the vertical sun, however, the weather is uncommonly cool, especially at night & when the day is cloudy, I have sometimes to put on an overcoat for comfort.

May 20th— Since commencing this letter I have changed my dining arrangements & joined a little mess of Americans at a French woman's in this house; but it does not promise well & I shall probably return to my solitary restaraunt dinner— Col. Talcott has returned & is staying at Charles's— M^r Southgate's disease is at its worst stage, but he is said to be getting on as well as it is possible— Wilson has returned to U. S. by way of N. Orleans; he will see you if he goes to Phil^a, as I hope will M^r Wimmer, who I understand has asked leave of absence & he is now employed by the contractor— Please send me some 3 ¢ stamps.

With best love to all my children.

Ever truly yr affte father

A. Mordecai

Miss Laura Mordecai
1825 DeLancey Place
Philadelphia
Pa—

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.
CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Mexico, May 27th 1866.

My dear Sister

What can I do better this quiet, bright Sunday morning, with no one to disturb me in my pleasant office, than to put on the stocks a

letter to you, in anticipation of launching it by the next N. York steamer— The mail of the new (or old) slow coach, “Andrew Johnson,” came up only last evening & brought me a letter from Phil^a, on the outside of which Ruston has put one of his satisfactory notes that he expected you last week— I hope nothing has occurred to prevent your visit to our good friends in N. Y. for as you cannot come to this delightful summer climate, I am sure the next best thing will be a change to N. Y. from the summer heat of the South— You must take a trip some day, on a steamer, up the Hudson as far as West Point; if only to go & return— One used to leave N. Y. at 4 ocl^k for Newburg: I remember nothing more charming than such a run on a summer evening; altho’, as I said in the last letter to my wife, I have no wish to visit W. P^t again. Perhaps Alfred will see you in N. Y. & invite you up there, as he expected a visit from his mother— If necessary ask Ruston to defray your expenses & deduct it from my next remittance— Possibly I may bring the next remittance myself, as I expect to visit my family this summer or autumn— The time of my leaving will depend on the course of affairs here, as in consequence of the present financial embarrassment of the Govt, the railway matters are in some trouble. It is hoped however that the Govt. will manage to meet its liabilities; at least to discharge them sufficiently not to impede very seriously the prosecution of an enterprise so important to the country— M^{rs} Butler asked me in her last letter where the railway is? & in answer I mailed for her yesterday, (with a full sheet like this,) a tracing of the little map I sent you— I asked her to send her acknowledgment of it under cover to Ruston & if it comes in your way you may read it— It is a pleasure to me to write to her & to you, for you are both *good listeners* & seem to take a pleasure in reading my letters & an interest in what I write about. Let me turn to your long &, as usual, satisfactory letter of the 24th March, & answer your last enquiries— The most common *lights* used here are kerosene lamps both in the streets, & houses of the better class; candles sufficing for the others. I have a lamp which the McLeans left me when they went to Orizava; but as I seldom read at night I have not troubled myself to take care of it, & make candles answer my purpose— french candles for which I pay 37½ cts a pound— A company is preparing to light the city with gas & the Director promises to begin by the next anniversary of Independence, Sept 16th— He *may* do it, but the difficulty of procuring materials for keeping us such a mode of illumination appears to me very great— This volcanic region furnishes no coal & the only resource is rosin from the pines that grow on the mountains, which are very different in *fatness*, from those of N^o C^a— Water is brought to the city by two aqueducts built in the time of the Spanish dominion; they are built on arches over the plain in the old Roman style. One of them comes from the fine spring at Chapultepec; the other from a greater distance, furnishes the best, i.e. softest water; but it is not clear, especially in the rainy season— all the good houses (*gente fino*) are therefore provided with filters

which are made by the Indians, out of porous volcanic rock— The wall at the head of my bed is a part of the old convent of San Francisco & more than 4 feet thick; In a recess formed for the (closed) door into an adjoining room, stands my water filter, with the motto which I put on it the other day; “Non vi, sed saepe cadendo.” (Not by force, but by frequent dropping.) It furnishes me plenty of water, not only for drinking but for my ablutions— The recess would be a capital retreat in case of an earthquake, the usual resort being a window recess— I think of putting there a store of cheese & crackers, with which & water, I could wait to be dug out!— A very nice place for Rutson!

Genl. Early *has* left Mexico, which was not suited to him; ignorant as he was of the language & without disposition to acquire it— His brother wrote to him to go to Canada; he was in Havanna when last heard from— His letter discouraging emigration was perhaps rather officious; its publication at least uncalled for— Charles Talcott just came in for a little while; he is much improved in health, but has a child occasionally— Did I mention that Rev. Tucker & his wife & son live in some of Maury’s rooms— We & one or two others form a mess at a french woman’s in the part of the house under Charles T’s, & although not very good living, I am tempted by the convenience of not being obliged to go out to dinner just at the time when it rains, in the season that is coming on & that has almost commenced. On the 9th we had the first rain since the middle of October & on the 11th it poured so heavily that I waded half leg deep in water to reach my restaurant; our mess not having been then formed— The mornings being *always* clear & delightful, I go out for my breakfast— On the 17th the sun passed our latitude, & now at noon upright objects are shadowless; until the latter part of July the sun still shines all day, (when it does as to-day,) into our *north* windows.

I ought to have mentioned, in connection with the subject of water, the peculiar Mexican institution of Aquadores (Water Carriers) who distribute to the houses the water from the fountains— They carry on their backs an earthen jar of about 10 gallons or more, supported by a leather cushion & a strap round the forehead & counterbalanced by smaller jar suspended in front— To our house & to many of the newer houses, & to the bathing establishments, the water is brought in pipes.

If this is merely the *frame* of your letter, it bids fair to be a *three-decker*.

May 31st— This is another Sunday morning, although it is only Thursday; but all the shops are closed & all the bells are ringing & the streets are lined with soldiers & dressed with hangings, in honor of the processio of Corpus Christi—³² The streets used to be covered with

³² Feast of Corpus Christi is a festival of the Roman Catholic Church in honor of the “Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist,” observed on the Thursday after Trinity. It was begun by St. Juliana, prioress of Mont Cornillon near Liège (1222-1253), whose veneration for the blessed sacrament was intensified by a vision and who persuaded Robert de Torote, Bishop of Liège, to order the festival for his diocese in 1246. It did not spread, however, until 1261. In 1264 Urban ordered the whole church to observe it. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1941), VI, 466.

awnings stretched across, to protect the procession from the vertical sun; but the awnings were destroyed in some of the commotions & the renewal of them is too expensive; so the Emperor is having Court Procession in the Palace galleries, & the common people must take their risk in the street, confident no doubt of going strait to heaven if they fall by sun stroke in such a cause— Charles T. was taken sick with bilious fever a few days ago; he is better & sitting up this morning, but looking badly— His brother-in-law, Mr Southgate has had one of the worst cases of confluent small pox; but he is convalescent— He is at Tacubaya, alone with his wife & children, none of whom have suffered— Col. T. stays at Charles's & Boteslawski & wife at a hotel

Adieu, as I must close to-day for the steamer's mail.

Ever truly your affectionate brother

A. Mordecai

Miss Ellen Mordecai
Care of F. J. Lippitt Esq^r
110 Williams St;
Providence
Rhode Island
May 27th— 1866 N^o— 13—

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.
CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

N^o. 24.

Mexico, May 31st 1866.

My dear daughter

This religious holiday gives me a quiet day in the office to thank you for your nice letter of the 4th, & to prepare for to-morrow's mail my usual "Reviue de Quinzaine," although there is little to say about myself for the last fortnight— Your letter & your mother's came several days later than usual, & I was regretting that I had not carried out my intention of writing by the Spanish steamer to Havanna, when the Andrew Johnson was announced— In another week we shall have the Manhattan again & hope my letters from your mother will be more comfortable, as yours gives me reason to think that she is more cheerful & in good health— You are not very encouraging, to say that "letters are horrid things," & I really do not see why they should be so, as the writers have always the privilege of saying pleasant things & suppressing the unpleasant, when it is not *necessary* to communicate them. This remark does not apply to your items of news, although most of them are sad, or what are generally considered so— Poor Hyman, tho' young, had not perhaps so happy a life as to make him regret much his release, & M^{rs} Clemence & M^{rs} Miller must have almost rejoiced in theirs.

“The dark, damp vault; the mattock & the spade,
These are the bugbears of a winter’s eve,

The horrors of the living, not the dead”– But you will really have a right to think it horrid, if I go on in this strain–

I rejoice to think that when this letter reaches you, you will be about to rest from your daily labors, I trust not to resume them next season– If I could only send you this charming air to breathe, in place of your sweltering summer heat, I would think of your situation with more pleasure– I hope however that your mother is enjoying a visit to her favorite W. Pt, & that you may have an opportunity of seeing Newport again– It gives me great pleasure to hear of my dear Rosa’s trip to Washⁿ, as she enjoyed it, & I wish Miriam may have some change of scene, perhaps with her mother at W. Pt. The good industrious boys must allow themselves to take some recreation in the vacation– Why cannot Aug. take a month or so of entire leisure? Then riding & swimming lessons would be not only a profitable, but an amusing exercise for him & Gratz.

This bright day the bells are all ringing for the Fête Dieu (Corpus Christi) when I went out to breakfast, grand mass was being performed in the Cathedral. & the principal streets were lined with soldiers, preparatory to the grand procession of images &c; The balconies of the palace are hung with draperies of the National colors, & it was recently the custom to cover with awnings the streets through which the procession was to pass, as the sun is vertical, you remember; but in some revolution the awnings were destroyed, & economy forbidding their being replaced, the emperor is having *his* procession this year within the galleries of the palace, & the commonalty must take the chances of sun-stroke, of which however I believe I never heard here– Col. Talcott has gone to visit his daughter M^{rs} Southgate at Tacubaya, having no fear of the small pox contagion– M^r S’s case was of the worst kind of confluent small pox, but he is convalescent & some of his family have taken it.

As the wet weather has not yet commenced regularly, I get along very well in my new room, which is very comfortable in every thing but the want of sunshine; & I find it so convenient not to have to go out when it does rain, that I shall probably put up with the modeste cuisine of our french hostess, which has the merit too of being cheap– Every now & then, I walk out, for my cup of chocolate, to the “Tovólé del Eliseo,” where I enjoy my breakfast at freseo, under the shade of the trees & flowers & enlivened by, the singing of birds– does not that sound pleasant to you, in Phil^a, in June? Usually I breakfast at a café in the city, because it is only half price of the other.

No development has yet taken place with regard to the prospects of the Railway, but the people most interested are at work & hope to effect a good arrangement; I think there ought to be something certain in

time for my next letter; but it takes a long time to receive an answer from England, if that should be necessary to sanction any arrangement that may be made— I could hardly believe when I heard the other day that Gus. Maynadier & his wife had spent some days in the city without sending me word, much less calling to see me—

I am glad to think that you have no unnecessary fears about cholera; as freedom from anxious agitation is a good preventative. It will force me to look again at the N. York papers, as ours take little notice of it, except in a very general way— I see by the bye, in the only column that I do look at, that N^o C^a Bonds were last quoted at 83⁵/₈; nothing of Nashville City— You do not tell me what you have done with yours, or what prospect there is of the back interest being p[aid—] It is singular that I have not heard a word from either D^r Viele [or] M^r Roy in answer to notes I wrote them long ago.

I shall ask M^r F. H. Markoe,³³ who is now the agent of Col Talcott in Vera Cruz, to send to Rutson M. some *chia* seed which Rutson recommends so highly for cholera, & he will send your some, with directions how to use it—

I have in my dresser drawer one silver dollar of the new coinage which is the only one of the coins that I have been able to get for M. Cohen— I sent to the mint the other day & received for answer that the new machines were not received yet, & the director said he did not know whether they would *ever* strike off any of the new die— It was just after the news of the intended withdrawal of the French troops; but rather a cool speech, I thought for the Director of the Imperial Mint—

Tell your mother that I have really nothing special to say to her this time except to send my dear love to her, & give it also to your brothers & sisters from

Y^r ever affectionate father

A. Mordecai

P. S.

I expect you to admire the Motto which I have put on the water filter in my room that supplies me with as much clear water as I want: “Non vi, sed saepe cadendo”— It is a part of a line from Horace (I believe). “Gertta cavat Laxum, non vi sed saepe cadendo—”

Miss Laura Mordecai
1825 DeLancey Place
Philadelphia P^a—

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.
CHIEF ENGINEER' OFFICE.

Mexico, July 2^d 1866.

My dear Rosa

This shall be a letter “all to yourself,” although I must use it to

³³ Markoe must have belonged to the outstanding family of that name who flourished in Philadelphia during the latter half of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV, 210.

thank Laura & Gussie also for their satisfactory letters accompanying yours— all your letters were most agreeable & consoling to me, & I almost thanked the postmaster in my heart, (altho' I scolded him,) for his neglect in mislaying them a day or two, so that I had given up the expectation of hearing from you & received the additional pleasure of a surprise. I had letters from your mother & from sister E. &, but for the little malentender between them, with regard to their meeting, the mail gave me, as Laura hoped, nothing but pleasure— I was delighted to find that your mother seemed to revive all the benefit I expected from her visit to W. P^t. & that Miriam was enjoying it with her: & I felt my heart softened more than I ever anticipated by your account of your visit to Washⁿ arsenal & of the kind remembrance of me there, especially by my friends in humble stations; for I thought that nothing could induce me to go to Washⁿ again, if I could avoid it.

I am sorry that Dyer & Laidley, after having gone harmoniously through the *war*, have not been able to keep the *peace*— Why don't you tell them: "Let dogs delight, to bark & bite, &c"—

The last English steamer brought no intelligence tending to help the railway out of the snarl it has got into by the failure of the Mex. Govt to fulfill its engagements, as that was not known in England— I cannot help still hoping that something may be done here to remove the present embarrassments, at least so far as to complete the part of the road which is so well advanced & which it would be the greatest folly & misfortune to abandon; but it must be admitted that the present aspect of affairs is, in many respects, very unfavorable— I wrote you word before that, to my great regret, I must advise you to continue your school; it will afford some means for yourselves, even if they shall not be required for immediate support. The yellow fever & cholera have no horrors for me, although D^r De Leon writes me that the former is now very bad at V. Cruz; but I think it would be inconvenient to Col. T. & unkind in me, to leave him this month, & I have pretty nearly made up my mind to stay here until the autumn, when some development must have taken place— In the present state of the country, or any state that it is likely soon to be in, I cannot think of bringing any of you here, & in reply to Laura's question, I will say that, in the same spirit which brought me here, I am willing to sacrifice my repugnance to the condition of things in the U. S. for the purpose of remaining with you, if any suitable employment should be offered— although my true feeling is expressed in a remark I made the other day to M^r Tucker who was reading a Cincint^l paper: "I wish I could go home without going to the U. S." My present occupation suits me perfectly, & I do not think that I could well bear the annoyances of such an employment as that your mother thought of for me— I am too old for that kind of work— I have said so much about myself & my affairs, because, they are, I know, of the greatest interest to you all, & at this distance it is well to repeat what one wishes to be known, as

the merchants do, rather than risk its not being known— I hope I have now made myself clearly understood as to what we must expect for the next few (3) months— Send this to your mother, as I have not written the same things to her—

I hope Augustus will get the employment he wishes, as a trip to the Mountains & camp life will probably be good for him; if not I have no doubt he will occupy himself usefully at home, though I should prefer his not pursuing any severe study for a while— Tell him that I expect his instruments by the french steamer due on the 10th of this month; but I am afraid they will have to remain in V. Cruz until I go there to take them to him— If it were not useless to speak of plans, as Laura says, when so long an interval must elapse before they can be executed, I would ask uncle Henry to stay with you & let Gratz go to W. Pt. whilst your mother is there, or perhaps, if Alfred is going to stay there, Gratz may go to him when your mother & Miriam return, & Laura might go too, if not invited to New York which she would possibly prefer— I anticipate with pleasure the arrival of the steamer this week, hoping to hear good accounts of all of you— In Augt & Sept^r the N. Y. steamers will make but one trip ea. month; but Mr Maury can send letters if necessary through the Morisons of Havanna, who will send them over by the English or french steamers which arrive in V. Cruz about the 27th & 10th respectively, sailing from Havan^a about 4 days before. A person whom I asked to see the Minister of War about my books, brings me just now the answer which I expected: That the Mily. School is not organized & that at present they have more pressing demands for their money.

You must remember me kindly to your neighbors who enquire for me, & give my love to Josephine— Let me know if Mr Miles is still in Havan^a— You are either very remiss, or I have been singularly un[fortu]nate in sending things to you— Several persons have taken newspapers with postage stamps on them to drop in the post office at N. Y. which I have never heard of— I gave Mr Hargons & another gentleman large envelopes full of defaced stamps, with proper postage stamps on them, to mail for you; but I am afraid you have not received them.

I am glad to hear from Laura that you really take an interest in my letters, for feared otherwise & have therefore ceased to write of late about Mexico— at present however there is nothing to amuse you in my life here— I appreciate your thoughtfulness & attention in procuring suitable paper & writing your letters so neatly; I mean Laura & you & Gussie—

July 3^d— I have nothing to add, on this last day for the ordinary mail, but my love & blessing to you all: I am in excellent health & as comfortable & contented as I can be so far from my family.

Ever truly & with pride

Your affectinate father

A. Mordecai.

Miss Rosa Mordecai
 1825 De Lancey Place
 Philadelphia
 Pa—

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.
 CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

N^o. 27.

Mexico, July 9th 1866.

My dear daughter

I had written just so far on the above date, intending to thank you & Rosa & Gratz for your letters received the day before, when I was interrupted & have not had time, in the office, to resume my letter until the 12th, when I am so sick of "man & men's affairs" as to be almost disqualified for continuing what I wish to be a pleasant letter to you— My morning paper contains two or three columns of extracts from Dr Craven's³⁴ book giving an account of the sickening atrocities practiced on Mr Davis in prison— It was only yesterday that, having finished Reade's book called "Very hard cash,"³⁵ I was telling Blake that I could not believe such atrocious acts as these described could have been committed in mad houses in England as late as 1847; when here I have similar things done in real life, in the present day, without even the excuse of restraining madness: Oh! madness which has just set hundreds of thousands of people in Europe to killing each other for "a plot of ground whereon the parties cannot try the cause; which is not tomb enough & continent to hold the slain"— From this, however, some good must result: My dream of united Italy will be realized, & I only regret that Byron could not have seen this result for the land which he loved: Not that I could wish him so ill as to desire that he should have been burdened with life till this time— Let me now dismiss these things & turn to your nice letter. I am glad you saw Mr Wimmer— Nothing has occurred lately to make us more hopeful with regard to the progress of the Railway, although it is still reported that money will be found— letters from England will arrive here to-day, but they could not have heard there of the suspension of work— I cannot understand how Mr W. or even yourselves, could have any difficulty about the "red figures" on my map; they are the principal feature, indicating, as explained, the heights of the points at which they are written above the level of the sea, & thus serving as a sort of profile of the road at the principal points. The map is lithographed, a mere sketch to accompany the company's original prospectus.

³⁴ He here refers to Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel John J. Craven, who wrote the *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis*, embracing many details and incidents in his captivity and particulars concerning his health and habits, together with many conversations on topics of great public interest. It was first published in 1866, and contains 319 pages. Library of Congress Card Catalogue.

³⁵ He here refers to a novel, *Very Hard Cash*, published by Harper & Brothers in 1864, written by Charles Reade (1814-1884). Library of Congress Card Catalogue.

The recent departure of the Empress³⁶ for Europe has thrown another damper on hopes of this country— I believe she has gone really for the purpose of trying her personal influence to procure means of sustaining the Empire; but her journey is open to the construction of a *flight*, & this serves to give encouragement to the Emperor's enemies— His birth day was celebrated with great ceremony on the 6th inst— The Empress in state went to the Cathedral where a Te Deum was sung & he held an official reception— A wooden platform, carpeted, was laid from the gate of the palace to the door of the cathedral, about 300 yards, & although all the mornings here are what they call in England "Queen's Weather," a canopy of canvass, bordered with blue, was stretched over the whole way, under which the Empress, *preceded* by a large *suite* of gentlemen in court costume & followed by one of ladies, walked to the church— In the evening there was, on the plaza, one of the finest exhibitions of fire works I remember to have seen, always excepting those at Rome in Easter week— There was no moon; The rain held off for the day, but some dark clouds covering the sky gave additional effect to the terrestrial illumination— All this, between ourselves, is little better than nonsense; for in this *democratic* country, as the Emperor himself calls it, "There's *no* Divinity doth hedge a king," to give real effect to such demonstrations, got up "by authority," & the money had perhaps been better applied to some of the numerous objects of improvement or charity which are constantly demanding assistance. I went the day before to the mint, having had word that some of the new coins would be struck in honor of the birth day I found only the dollars, so I have but them & some 10 cts & 5 cts of the new issue, but not with the Empr's head. I received your letters last Sunday just before going to breakfast at Tacubaya, & Col. T. was good enough to look over his old letters, where we found a few stamps such as Rosa wants, which I will enclose, with any others that I meet with— Rosa's question about St John's day must mean "How did you celebrate it this year"— Well, here it is a great church holiday, marked with a double cross in the almanac— all business places were closed & all churches open— I breakfasted at Tacubaya & on returning to town in the evening I found the boys dressed up as soldiers & carrying on some military game in front of the cathedral— I could not learn the particular significance of this, nor why it should be continued on the following Sunday which was the day of St Peter & St Paul. I forgot to

³⁶ Charlotte Marie Amélie was born in Brussels on June 7, 1840, the daughter of King Leopold I of Belgium. She married Maximilian on July 27, 1857, and took great interest in his political activities. She was an outstanding social worker while in Mexico. She left Mexico City on July 8, and sailed from Vera Cruz on July 13, 1866, to try to persuade Napoleon to change his mind relative to the withdrawal of the French army from Mexico. She arrived in Paris on August 9, and was rather coldly received the next day by Napoleon, who refused to change his plans. She departed from Paris for Rome on August 23, hoping to procure the intervention of the Pope, but the plight of her husband and her sorrow affected her mind until she showed signs of insanity the day after she arrived in the Holy City. She was removed to the chateau of Tarvueren in Belgium where she remained hopelessly insane, but occasionally she was sufficiently sane to write some memoirs. She died near Brussels on January 19, 1927, died without ever regaining her sanity. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV, 270; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1941), XV, 116.

mention that Mrs Boleslowiski celebrated the Emp's birthday by giving birth to a child which proved, however, to be a daughter— She is to be christened next week at the palace chapel, (where the mother was married,) by the name of Maximiliana Carlota, & the Empr will stand godfather— by proxy.

I must tell on R. M. about your last letter, if you will not betray me— He thought the commencement card might slip out & he wanted to *slip* in something of his own; so he damped your wafer took out the cord & clipped off all but the printed part, thus keeping the whole postage within the 10 cts & 57 cts— I suspected what he had done, when your letter came to me with a little strip of gummed paper on the outside— You should be particular, by the bye, in writing foreign words & names to copy the spelling literally: "Oficina del Ferro-Carril," & Livoli del Eliseo." (Elysian Tivoli.)— The Mr Markoe at Vera Cruz is a young man, nephew of the N. Y. family who was living in V. C. when I was first there & has continued to reside there— Mr Howard is Conway Howard, unmarried but engaged to a daughter of Mr Frank Osborne of Petersburg— The father objects for a good reason, which however reflects no discredit on Mr H.

Mr Peter McCall³⁷ gave a letter for me to a young Ward of his, Geo. Burwell, who has received a Capt's commission in the Mex. Army, through the kind agency of Princess Iturbide— He is going to-morrow to Mazatlan & I have given him a letter to Mr Grayson, the bird artist whom I mentioned in a former letter; he has not written, I believe, to Mr McC. so I wish you would let Mr M. know this— I hope this may find you at Newport, enjoying your vacation— I am quite at a loss to know what to say about Gratz's school: I very much suspect Gussie is right about the Polytechnic & never fancied his going there— In general I dislike changes of schools & think it better to pursue a regular course, & therefore perhaps Gratz had better continue with Mr H.

I wonder that you have heard nothing from your Uncle George about the N^o C^a Bonds; but I suppose the best thing to do is to keep them & accept the new bonds for payment of interest— I see they are quoted a little higher in N. York.

I wish indeed I had some of the "nice books" you speak of— Last evening was one of my hard ones— Returning from dinner about 6, I took a nap, after which, as Blake was going out to sea, I tried Mr Brinley's game of Solitaire, & then I took up Neander's³⁸ early church

³⁷ Peter McCall (August 31, 1809-October 30, 1880) was born in New Jersey, but after finishing college and studying law he located in Philadelphia where he continued to reside until his death. He was not only an eminent attorney, but a valuable citizen in many ways. He served on the city council; was mayor of Philadelphia from 1844 to 1845; served as professor of law in the University of Pennsylvania and a trustee for many years; and was a writer and lecturer on legal topics. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV, 75.

³⁸ August Neander wrote many books about the Christian religion and church. We presume that Mordecai here refers to Joseph Torrey's translation from the German into English of Neander's five-volume work, the *General History of the Christian Religion and Church* which was published in Boston in 1847. Library of Congress Card Catalogue.

history & the Beauties of Ruskin,³⁹ which were on the table in the parlor, but neither of them tempted me— I have ceased to care about History of any kind & I hate Metaphysics— so I took my umbrella & walked to the Plaza, where I took a seat on one of the new iron settees, opposite the Palace— One of the contractors, out of work, happened to be on the same bench & I was provoked to have to assent to his remark that “this is a dull city”— It soon began to rain & I went back to my solitary room & to bed— I have very little Mexican cooking, the keeper of the restaurant being a frenchman; but I differ from Mr Wimmer, for I like many of their dishes. But there is nothing that gives me so little concern as eating: I always say that wherever men can live I can live, & I can eat & be satisfied: Whether eating roast beef with the Englishman, or oat meal bannocks with the Scotchman; or brown bread flavored with annis seed, with the Swede; or black bread & cold fish soup with the Russian, or Sour Kraut with the German; or Maccaroni with the Italian; or Kibabs & Pillace, with the Turk; or foie gras & ris de veau with the frenchman; or frijoles & tortillas, with the Mexican. Mrs Benfield promised me an almanac with some Mexican receipts, which I shall ask your mother to try some day.

July 17th— I have waited until the last day to close my letter for the ordinary mail, in case I should be able to say anything more definite about my arrangements, but nothing has turned up— All looks gloomy here, both in Govt. & Railway affairs, & that is all I can say—

So I must bid you farewell; with best love to your brothers & sisters & kind remembrances to the neighbors who think of me.

Ever truly

Your affectionate father

A. Mordecai

Miss Laura Mordecai
1825 Delancey Place
Philadelphia Pa— United States
[]apor Mexico— Americano.

³⁹ Doubtlessly he refers to Mrs. L. C. Tuthill's editorial work entitled *The True and the Beautiful in Nature, Art, Morals, and Religion*, first published in 1860. *Library of Congress Card Catalogue*.

BOOK REVIEWS

Florida Under Five Flags. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1945. Pp. XIV, 140. \$2.50.)

This account of the growth of Florida from 1513 to 1945 is of particular interest to readers in North Carolina in view of the many contributions made by North Carolinians to the development of Florida. And, since it is one of several volumes published to commemorate the Florida centennial, it is appropriate to note that the first elected governor, William D. Moseley, was from North Carolina as was also John Branch, the last territorial governor. To celebrate the admission of Florida to the Union in 1845 Governor Branch opened to the public his plantation, "Live Oak," near Tallahassee. According to a contemporary report, bonfires blazed the way to the entrance, lanterns were hung in the gardens, the house was "brilliantly lighted from top to bottom," and "all the world and his wife" attended.

The author explains that this "small volume was planned and written to present a brief and interpretative account of the growth of Florida which could be read in a few hours." Obviously designed for popular use, it is entirely sound in concept, balanced in treatment, and readable.

Under chapter headings of Discovery, Settlement, Conflict, Under Changing Ownership, a United States Territory, Ante-Bellum State, Civil War and Reconstruction, Pushing Back the Frontier, Urban State, and Today and Tomorrow, the narrative encompasses 432 years and an area that receded from a large part of North America to the present southeasternmost state of the Union. It is a story that recounts almost three centuries of Spanish control, a few uncertain years of French attempts at settlement, twenty years of English development, and, the really important 124 years of settlement and development as a territory and state of the United States.

The over-all picture is so admirably created and the analysis of movements so superbly discussed that it is difficult to suggest improvements. One minor defect appears, however, in the inadequate treatment accorded the remarkable contributions of two developers, Plant and Flagler.

More than 100 maps and illustrations, both authentic and appealing, enhance the value of this handsome book. The author, Dr. Patrick, received his training at Guilford College and the University of North Carolina. Before his appointment to the University of Florida he taught at Meredith College.

A. J. Hanna.

Rollins College,
Winter Park, Florida.

Library Resources of the University of North Carolina. Edited by Charles E. Rush. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1945. Pp. X, 264. \$3.50.)

Never in American education has a great university celebrated a milestone in its history by such a series of volumes as the University of North Carolina is now issuing as its sesquicentennial publications. Conceived neither narrowly as the history of one university, nor boastingly as a survey of its present influence and achievements, but humbly as an example of the significance and nature of modern scholarship and of the manifold activities and importance for our national life of all great universities, this series, under the direction of Louis R. Wilson, is already setting a remarkable standard.

The volume on *Library Resources* fits into the general plan of the series. It briefly recites the history of the University of North Carolina Library, candidly admitting that the real history began, not a hundred and fifty, but forty years ago, when funds became available for building a research library. Thirty-five separate articles, written by members of the library staff and of the faculty, describe the research collections in each field of the humanities and the sciences. The descriptions follow a deliberate pattern, the same pattern on which, since 1905, the library itself was built. In each division of knowledge a survey of bibliographical works, with long lists of titles, is followed by a naming of the scholarly journals and of the principal secondary works in the library's possession. The assumption is that modern scholarship, as the joint product of many minds, depends upon the publications of foreign academies and universities, of societies and governments, upon learned journals, sets of monographs and serials, and the tools of bibliography and reference. Emphasis is upon the library's strengths instead of its weaknesses.

Those strengths are many and great, and reflect credit upon the succession of librarians who for forty years have adhered to a consistent program of development. Every division now has most of the books deemed essential. The bibliographical collections are strong, the incunabula and other works in the Hanes Foundation on the history of printing are noteworthy, and the manuscripts and rare books and pamphlets for the study of North Carolina and of Southern history make an altogether exceptional collection.

If it be true, as is often said today, that this is the last period of our present civilization when a great library could be put together, the University of North Carolina began its serious accumulation of scholarly materials barely in time. Money alone, even in vast amounts, could not duplicate today its great standard works. Most of them are no longer on the market, at any price. This survey leaves a reader with the impression that the library is weak, comparatively, in collections of source materials, of various editions of great authors, in the works of minor authors, and in its holdings out of the mass of heterogeneous books and pamphlets which the last four centuries have produced. Their acquisition would seem to be the next step, and the continuation of the highly sensible cooperative arrangements with Duke University should make that step easier and more certain than if each university had to spread its funds over the entire field.

Stanley Pargellis.

The Newberry Library,
Chicago, Illinois.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. M. L. Skaggs, head of the department of history at Greensboro College, has been promoted to the position of head of the division of social sciences. There will be five associates in this department.

Dr. Chalmers G. Davidson, director of the library and associate professor of history of Davidson College, has been promoted to be director of the library and professor of history.

Mr. Bradley D. Thompson will return to Davidson College as associate professor after a half year at Harvard University doing graduate work and a year as visiting professor of history at Mary Baldwin College.

Dr. Edward O. Guerrant, formerly of the California Institute of Technology and lately of the Department of State in Washington, in September will become associate professor of history and international relations at Davidson College.

Mr. S. G. Riley, since 1920 head of the history department of Meredith College, has retired. Before coming to Meredith, Mr. Riley was a professor at Brenau College, where he began his career as a teacher of history in the early years of the century.

Dr. Alice Keith, assistant professor in the department of history at Meredith College, will teach during the summer session at Howard College at Birmingham, Alabama.

Dr. C. S. Snyder, who is on sabbatical leave from Duke University, has been given a grant from the Library of Congress for a study of leadership in the South from 1783 to the present time.

Miss Christiana McFayden, assistant professor in the department of history of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been awarded the Wolf Fellowship in history at the University of Chicago. She has been granted a leave of

absence to complete her residential requirements for her doctor's degree.

Dr. B. B. Kendrick, who retired last year as professor and head of the department of history and political science of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, is still at a rest home at Gardiner, Maine. His condition shows no improvement. Mrs. Kendrick's address is Cedar Grove, Maine.

Miss Helen G. Edmonds of the department of history of the North Carolina College for Negroes received the degree of doctor of philosophy at Ohio State University at the spring commencement.

Dr. John Hope Franklin, professor of history at the North Carolina College for Negroes, addressed the Trinity Historical Society of Duke University on March 1 on the subject, "Military Education in the Ante-Bellum South."

Mr. Ernest E. Neal of the department of sociology of the North Carolina College for Negroes appeared on the program of the ninth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society at Atlanta, Georgia, in May. Mr. Neal is also North Carolina's reporter for the *Monthly Summary*, a periodical devoted to race relations, and published at Fisk University.

Dr. J. H. Taylor, professor of history of the North Carolina College for Negroes, was elected vice president of the Association of Social Science Teachers at a recent meeting in Atlanta. Dr. Taylor is also serving this year as director of the summer school of the North Carolina College for Negroes.

A portrait of Captain Plato Durham, Confederate States Army, and a student at the University of North Carolina Law School, 1866-67, was presented to the University of North Carolina, June 9. The portrait was a gift of Mr. Robert Lee Durham of Beuna Vista, Va.

Mrs. Gordon W. Lovejoy, who on August 1, 1945, became head of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the State Depart-

ment of Archives and History, resigned at the end of April to accept a position in the library at Randolph Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Mr. Henry Howard Eddy, formerly acting state archivist of the state of New York, has been employed as head of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the State Department of Archives and History. A native of Vermont, Mr. Eddy is a graduate of Middlebury College and received the degree of master of arts from Harvard University. He has taught at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Phillips Academy, and other educational institutions. For several years Mr. Eddy's experience has been in the field of archival work. He served as state supervisor for Vermont of the WPA Historical Records Survey, and later at different times was on the staff of The National Archives in Washington and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Library at Hyde Park. He served as acting archivist of the state of New York while the regular archivist, Mr. Hugh Flick, was in the armed forces.

Mrs. Ethel Taylor Crittenden, librarian of Wake Forest College since 1914, has resigned. Mr. Carlton P. West, assistant professor of history at Wake Forest College, has been appointed to fill this vacancy in the library.

Dr. Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States, on May 11 spoke in Chapel Hill on the services and research opportunities of the National Archives. He spoke before a group of historians, archivists, and librarians.

Hitler's marriage certificate, private will, and last political testament, signed the day before he is believed to have died, were placed on display in the Exhibition Hall in the National Archives on April 27. These documents were captured by the American military intelligence officers last December and were sent to the War Department from which they were transferred to the National Archives.

Mr. C. R. Hinshaw, Jr., since November 1, 1945, has been an instructor in history at High Point College. From 1942 to 1944

he was civilian instructor in the reserve Army Air Forces and from 1944 to 1945 he was on active duty in the Army Air Forces.

Thomas Dixon, author of *The Clansman*, upon which the moving picture, "The Birth of a Nation," was based, died in Raleigh on April 3. Mr. Dixon, a native of Cleveland County, North Carolina, was a lawyer, a minister, a lyceum lecturer, and later a novelist. His novels deal chiefly with the Reconstruction period in the South.

The yearly Easter services of the Moravian Church, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, were broadcast by the Columbia Broadcasting System and affiliated stations from coast to coast. These services, throughout the years, have been an outstanding Easter event in North Carolina, and were broadcast for the first time last Easter.

The Presbyterian Historical Foundation at Montreat, North Carolina, is making progress toward raising funds for the erection of a new building. The foundation has on hand over \$56,000. The very fine collection of manuscript and printed materials of the foundation deals with the Presbyterian church and Presbyterianism and is serving not only students interested in the church and church history but also students who are candidates for higher degrees from various colleges and universities of the several states.

The state of Tennessee celebrated its sesquicentennial at Nashville on May 30-31 and June 1-3. Portraits of Admirals Samuel P. Carter and Charles St. John Butler were presented to the state. An historical marker erected in honor of Ann Robertson Cockrill was unveiled. Busts of Admiral David Glasgow Farragut and Commander Matthew Fontaine Maury were dedicated. Pilgrimages to Polk Memorial Home and the Hermitage were made, and a pageant, "Tennessee Through the Years," was performed twice during the celebration at Dudley Stadium. The printed program contains brief sketches of Rear Admiral Samuel P. Carter, Rear Admiral Charles St. John Butler, David Glasgow Farragut, and Matthew Fontaine Maury.

Senator Clyde R. Hoey has introduced a resolution in the United States Senate to create a commission of five members to formulate plans for the preservation in Raleigh of the birthplace of Andrew Johnson, seventeenth president of the United States. The house in which President Johnson was born is now standing in Pullen Park, Raleigh.

The remaining building of Jefferson Academy at McLeansville, Guilford County, North Carolina, has been torn down and the timber sold for the erection of other buildings. Jefferson Academy was founded in 1895 by Professor Charles D. Cobb and was operated until about 1912. Several students from Guilford County who attended this academy later became successful in the economic and political life of that community.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History has been appointed chairman of the committee on amendments to the constitution of The American Association for State and Local History. Other members on the committee are: Mr. Melvin J. Weig, Morristown, New Jersey; Mr. Willard C. Wichers, Holland, Michigan; Mr. David C. Duniway, Salem, Oregon; and Miss Frances M. Hails, Montgomery, Alabama. This committee will this fall make a report on Amendments to the constitution at the meeting of The Association in Washington.

The Archivist of the United States has announced the opening of the search room of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York. Manuscript materials now available for use at the Library include letters and documents relating to the business, legal, and domestic activities of the Roosevelt family, 1751-1928; papers relating to prominent Hudson Valley families in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; manuscripts on American naval history from the Revolution to World War I; and certain sections of Mr. Roosevelt's White House central files for the years 1933-41. The latter include correspondence, reports, and memoranda on the administration of government agencies; correspondence on the enactment of legislation; letters from the public expressing opinions on matters of national controversy; and some correspondence on important events.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, on April 8, delivered an address, "A Historical Tour of the Old North State," at a meeting of the Colonial Dames, New York City.

An article entitled "The North Carolina State Department of Archives and History and its Manuscript Collections," by Dr. Christopher Crittenden appeared in *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, March, 1946.

An article entitled "History as a Living Force," by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, appeared in *Michigan History Magazine*, April-June, 1946.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians met at Ira Weldon's Mill in Franklin County on June 16, and were the guests of Dr. D. T. Smithwick of Louisburg, vice president of the Association. A barbecue dinner was served after the regular meeting. The group before noon made a tour of several historical sites and after dinner continued the tour. Such places as old Bute County courthouse, the grave of Annie Carter Lee, daughter of Robert E. Lee, the home of Charles F. Best, Cassine, and other pre-Revolutionary homes were visited. This was the first post war tour by the historians.

On June 26 Granville County held its bicentennial celebration with a morning, afternoon, and evening meeting sponsored by the civic clubs of Oxford. At the morning meeting Mr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville delivered an address on banishing war and at the evening meeting Dr. C. Sylvester Green, editor of the *Durham Herald*, delivered an address. A community sing was held at the afternoon session.

An old print showing Arthur Onslow presiding over the House of Commons of which he was speaker, 1727-1761, has been presented to the people of Onslow County by Lady Halifax, a direct descendant of Arthur Onslow and wife of the former British Ambassador to the United States. Onslow County, named in honor of Arthur Onslow, was established in 1734 from New Hanover County. Jacksonville is the county seat.

The following North Carolinians have been awarded fellowships from the Julius Rosenwald fund: Das. Kelley Barnett, Chapel Hill; Vladimir Eugene Hartman, Asheville; Edna Catherine Cooper (University of North Carolina), Chapel Hill; John Tate Lanning (Duke University), Durham; Elizabeth Head Vaugh (University of North Carolina), Chapel Hill; Willis Duke Weatherford, Jr. (Fisk University, Nashville), Biltmore; Ann Carolyn White (University of Chicago), Wilmington; and Wilmoth Annette Carter (Atlantic University), Gastonia.

Books received include Samuel Bryant Turrentine, *A Romance of Education; Greensboro Female Colleges* (Greensboro: The Piedmont Press, 1946); Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945, second printing, 1946); Frank J. Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle, The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946); Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era, Years of War and After, 1917-1923* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946); J. T. Salter, *Public Men* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946); *Florida Becomes A State* (Tallahassee: Florida Centennial Commission, 1945); J. G. Randall, *Lincoln and the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946); *Tennessee, Old and New* (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1946); Louise Frederick Hays, *The Hero of Hornet's Nest* (Cynthiana, Kentucky: The Hobson Book Press, 1946); Thomas Cary Johnson, Junior, *A Proclamation for Settling the Plantation of Virginia* (Charlottesville: The Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, 1946); Albert Hazen Wright, *Our Georgia-Florida Frontier, the Okefinokee Swamp, its History and Cartography*, Volume I, Studies in History Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 (Ithaca, New York: A. H. Wright, 1945).

