



GEORGE DAVIS  
1820-1896

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## GEORGE DAVIS, NORTH CAROLINA WHIG AND CONFEDERATE STATESMAN, 1820-1896

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During the autumn of 1860 and winter of 1861 momentous events shook the United States to its very foundations and rent the great American Republic in twain. On November 6, 1860, Kentucky-born Abraham Lincoln, the "Black Republican" candidate from Illinois, was elected President of the United States. On December 20 South Carolina seceded from the Union and was quickly followed by the six states of the Lower South. On February 4, 1861, delegates from those seven states assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, and on the eighth they organized the Confederate States of America and elected Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, also Kentucky-born, its President. Meanwhile the moderate men of the Upper South, hoping for some adjustment of the dispute between the free states of the North and the slave states of the South, had joined Northern moderates in Congress in various efforts at compromise. These efforts failed because the Republicans would agree to no compromise on the extension of slavery. In like manner the Virginia Peace Convention failed. Finally on April 12, 1861, Confederate troops fired on Fort Sumter and war between the North and the South had begun. President Lincoln then called for 75,000 volunteers but Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina, unwilling to join in the coercion of their sister states, seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy. Four years of bitter fighting ensued but on April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered to General Ulysses S. Grant and the Union was saved.

One North Carolinian who endeared himself to the people of his state by his role during this stirring period was George Davis of Wilmington. A moderate Unionist, he was a delegate to

the Virginia Peace Convention, Confederate Senator, and Attorney General in President Davis's Cabinet from January 22, 1864, until his resignation on April 26, 1865.<sup>1</sup> He never held any other public office either before or after the Civil War. In spite of the fact that his public career was crowded into the short period from the Peace Convention of February, 1861, to the fall of the Confederacy in April, 1865, Davis takes high rank among North Carolina statesmen. Zebulon Baird Vance, himself one of the state's most revered leaders, said that Davis's example had been of great service "in shaping and toning the political ethics" of North Carolina.<sup>2</sup> And Samuel A'Court Ashe wrote that "Among all the great men who had adorned the annals of North Carolina no one deserves to take precedence of George Davis, whose virtues rendered him illustrious, while his abilities, culture and public services gained for him an eminence that no other North Carolinian has enjoyed."<sup>3</sup> This exaggerated estimate may be explained partly by the emotionalism and sentimentalism centering around the Civil War and the "Lost Cause," but these alone do not account for the deep hold Davis gained on North Carolinians. One must search deeper into the career, contributions, and the character of this man if he is to understand his stature and place in history.

In 1641 Roger Moore initiated a project to expel the English from Ireland and thus to bring freedom to his beloved isle. The Irish Rebellion, however, was marked by such cruelty and barbarity that Moore abandoned the cause and was later exiled to Flanders. In 1643 Robert Yeomans, sheriff of Bristol, was captured and executed by the Parliamentary forces because of his loyalty and devotion to the crown. In 1665 John, son of Robert Yeomans, secured a grant of land as well as a title from the king, in recognition of his family's loyalty and misfortunes, and led a colony to Old Town Creek near the present site of Wilmington, North Carolina. He later removed to South Carolina and became governor in 1671. And about 1690 James Moore, grandson of Roger the rebel, settled on the Cape Fear and in 1700 he too became governor. Moore married the daughter of Yeomans:

<sup>1</sup> Charles Chilton Pearson, "George Davis," *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 114-115.

<sup>2</sup> *A Memorial of the Hon. George Davis* (Wilmington: Wilmington Chamber of Commerce, 1896), p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel A'Court Ashe, "George Davis," *Biographical History of North Carolina from Colonial Times to the Present*, II, 71.

thus were mingled the blood of the exiled rebel and that of the loyalist victim.<sup>4</sup> George Davis was a descendant of this union,<sup>5</sup> and he inherited and cherished the love of freedom, the bold and intrepid spirit, and the humanitarian qualities of Roger Moore and the loyalty and devotion of Yeomans. Davis in turn was to exhibit a love of country, devotion to a cause, unswerving loyalty, and qualities of leadership similar to those of his forbears.

The Davis family came to North Carolina from England by way of Massachusetts and South Carolina. Jehu, first of the name to arrive, reached the Cape Fear region about 1725; his son Thomas married Mary Moore, daughter of James Moore and his wife, the daughter of John Yeomans. Thomas and Mary (Moore) Davis were the grandparents of George Davis. George's parents were Thomas Frederick and Sarah Isabella (Eagles) Davis. The Davis family, closely related to the Ashe, Jones, Lillington, Moore, and Swann families of the Cape Fear region, was long noted for its culture, political leadership, and religious devotion. It was a family of big planters, numerous slaves, and much wealth.<sup>6</sup>

George Davis was born on his father's plantation, Porter's Neck, in New Hanover (now Pender) County on March 1, 1820. He attended H. H. Harden's school at Pittsboro, and was tutored and prepared for college by Moses A. Curtis, afterwards a botanist and minister of Hillsboro.<sup>7</sup> George entered the University of North Carolina at the age of fourteen and was graduated four years later in a tie for first honor with Green M. Cuthbert. On drawing lots, Davis drew the prize for valedictory. He had been commencement speaker in 1836 and 1837.<sup>8</sup> Davis's valedictory address made a deep impression on the audience by reason of its beautiful imagery, lofty sentiments, high ideals, and the impassioned eloquence with which it was delivered.<sup>9</sup> While a college student, Davis in a boyish fancy inserted "R" as a middle initial

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<sup>4</sup> George Davis, *Address Delivered Before the Two Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina, June 6, 1855* (Raleigh: Holden and Wilson, 1855), pp. 6-7.

<sup>5</sup> C. C. Pearson, "George Davis," p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Groves Connor, *George Davis* (Wilmington: The Cape Fear Chapter, No. 3, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1911), pp. 9-10.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel A'Court Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis to the Supreme Court of North Carolina," 170 *North Carolina Reports* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1916), p. 802.

<sup>8</sup> Kemp Plummer Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina from Its Beginning to the Death of President Swain, 1789-1868* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1907), I, 439, 423, 433.

<sup>9</sup> *A Memorial of the Hon. George Davis*, p. 7.

in his name. This was dropped when he left college because his fellow students had insisted that it stood for "Rascal."<sup>10</sup>

The eighteen-year-old graduate determined upon the law as a career, and began his study in the office of his brother Thomas Frederick who later became the beloved Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina. After completing his studies he was examined by Judges Thomas Ruffin, William Gaston, and Joseph J. Daniel of the state Supreme Court. He was "found to possess such competent knowledge of the law as to entitle him to admission" to the bar although he was then only twenty years of age. One year later he was admitted to practice before the superior courts of the state.<sup>11</sup>

A deep student of history, classical and English literature, and jurisprudence, Davis early made a name for himself at the Wilmington bar when it was noted for its able lawyers. Davis's diligent study and application to his duties brought him renown, although his brilliant mind and eloquent tongue were valuable assets. He sought and won "professional rewards by close application and painstaking preparation." A lucid and eloquent debater, Davis was also a "calm and conscientious and wise adviser. His speeches were often eloquent and listening to him, you always knew you were addressed by a good man. His views were always as broad as they were dispassionate."<sup>12</sup>

Davis's specialty was corporation law; he served as counsel for the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad from its beginning and was with the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad until his death. But Davis made a reputation also in maritime and criminal law and in equity practice. The following account, taken from a newspaper reporter's story, is fairly typical of the reaction to Davis's speeches before the courts.

The Hon. George Davis next arose and addressed the Court and the jury in that eloquent and forcible strain so habitual to his pleadings. The Justice upon the Bench, the Jury, the Members of the Bar, and the whole number of spectators were held spell-bound during the whole

<sup>10</sup> Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 440.

<sup>11</sup> H. G. Connor, *George Davis*, p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> "Biographical Sketch of the Honorable George Davis," *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Session of the North Carolina Bar Association held at Battery Park Hotel, Asheville, N. C. August 2, 3, 4, 1915* (Wilmington: Wilmington Stamp and Printing Company, 1915), pp. 267-269. James Sprunt in *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association* (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton, 1919), pp. 21, says this sketch was written by Eugene S. Martin.

of his argument. The eloquence of the distinguished gentleman is undescribable; his genius stood forth, radiant and clear, surrounded by that unclouded brilliancy, which is ever attendant upon true genius. His argument was forcible and incontestible, and founded upon fair and undeniable facts.<sup>13</sup>

This glowing account was written of Davis's speech in the case of *The State vs. William S. McDonald*, keeper of a junk shop, who had been charged with stealing old railroad iron from the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. Davis was employed to assist the state solicitor in the prosecution. In view of the reporter's words one need not be surprised to learn that the defendant was found guilty.

Davis was a noted speaker and lecturer. So popular was he that he was often forced to decline invitations.<sup>14</sup> His audience ranged from university groups to agricultural societies, lawyers' clubs, historical associations, and legislative assemblies. His lectures were generally historical in nature, and some were biographical and eulogistic. The first of his biographical papers, *Eulogy on the Life and Services of Henry Clay*, will be noted elsewhere in this study. Two others were memorial addresses on his two great Confederate heroes, Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. Neither makes any great contribution to the knowledge of these men, but both give us an insight into the loyalty of Davis to his convictions and to his superior officers. The address on Davis<sup>15</sup> is of some importance in an understanding of President Davis's problems, for his Attorney General was not only one of the President's warmest and most intimate friends but also one of his closest advisers. In like manner the "Letter from Hon. George Davis Late Attorney-General of the Confederate States" to Major W. T. Walthall is an important source of the last days of the Confederate cabinet.<sup>16</sup>

But Davis's chief historical works have to do with the Cape Fear region during the colonial period. The first of these, "Early Times and Men of the Lower Cape Fear,"<sup>17</sup> was a real contribu-

<sup>13</sup> *Wilmington Daily Journal*, June 17, 1866.

<sup>14</sup> See for instance the correspondence concerning his invitation to address the North Carolina Agricultural Society in 1856, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, editor, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 524, 526.

<sup>15</sup> *In Memoriam Wilmington's Tribute of Respect to Ex-President Davis* (Wilmington: Messenger Steam Power Press, 1890), pp. 9-13.

<sup>16</sup> Published in *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond: Southern Historical Society), V (March, 1878), 124-126.

<sup>17</sup> George Davis, *Address Delivered before the Two Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina, June 6, 1855*, 36 pages.

tion to the colonial history of North Carolina, although a recent writer has declared that it is "no longer accepted as final."<sup>18</sup> In the address Davis lamented the fact that so little work had been done in early North Carolina history and that much of what had been done was inaccurately written. He realized that his "time and opportunities for research have been too limited," but, even so, he corrected errors in Martin, Williamson, Wheeler, and Bancroft.<sup>19</sup> In the thirty-six pages there are some eighty-two footnotes including not only the historians already named but also several others, as well as periodicals, court records, and manuscripts.

In two other papers, "A Study of Colonial History"<sup>20</sup> and "An Episode in Cape Fear History,"<sup>21</sup> both published in the 1870's, Davis further developed his views on colonial history. In the first Davis takes up in particular Carey's Rebellion and shows how Chalmers, Oldmixon, Hawks, Williamson, Lawson, and even Bancroft "derive all their information from the government party, and treading in each others footsteps have told only the story of this party and have greatly misrepresented the motives, the characters and the actions of the men who were opposed to it."<sup>22</sup> Bancroft, says Davis, is very unreliable, his "coloring is always wrong, the facts usually perverted." Yet, he continues,

one of the highest offices of history—[is] to paint for us men and manners *as they were*. . . . My only object is to protest against considering him [Bancroft] infallible, and assigning to him, any more than to the rest, that ultimate, dogmatic authority in our history, which is to cut off all appeal, and preclude all inquiry, and all right of independent judgment.<sup>23</sup>

In an address at the Greensboro Female College in 1856, entitled "A Rich and Well Stored Mind," Davis extolled the virtues of a broad and liberal education. He urged the young ladies of the college to study the sciences, chemistry and physics, as

<sup>18</sup> C. C. Pearson, "George Davis," p. 114.

<sup>19</sup> "Editorial Table," *The North Carolina University Magazine*, V (March, 1856), 87-88, deals with the correction of errors in regard to the career of George Burrington, first royal governor of North Carolina.

<sup>20</sup> George Davis, *A Study in Colonial History: A Lecture Delivered before the Historical Society, of Wilmington, the 26th day of November, A.D., 1879* (Wilmington: Jackson and Bell, 1880), 34 pages.

<sup>21</sup> George Davis, "An Episode in Cape Fear History," *The South Atlantic: A Monthly Magazine of Literature, Science and Art*, III (January, 1879), 245-269.

<sup>22</sup> George Davis, *A Study in Colonial History*, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> George Davis, *A Study in Colonial History*, p. 11.

well as literature and music. He deplored the narrow, selfish, and materialistic concept of society that led to heaping praise upon the grasping business man who might acquire a huge fortune while it ignored and soon forgot the man of virtue and good deeds. He felt that Northern society was much more prone to do so than Southern.<sup>24</sup>

Davis compiled *A General Ordinance for the Government of the City of Wilmington, together with the City Charter*.<sup>25</sup> Many other addresses and lectures of Davis are reported in the press of the state. Judge Henry Groves Connor said that Davis's writings "were models of high thinking, noble expression, historical research, and wise reflection," and should be compiled and published. Judge Connor felt that "No man knew better, few as well, as did Mr. Davis, and none in such noble, but simple eloquence told with faithful accuracy, in glowing language, the story of the part borne by the men of the lower Cape Fear in the struggle for independence."<sup>26</sup>

Davis possessed many of the qualities of a good historian. Without formal training, he loved research and did a good deal of it. His legal work was beneficial in his historical research. It developed the "habit of minute reference to all available sources of information." This practice of going to the sources led Davis to "document every debatable position by detailed citations from histories, magazines, diaries, reminiscences, deeds, journals, memoirs, trials and epitaphs," at a time when scientific historical scholarship in America was in its infancy. Davis had a command of language that enabled him to select the correct word for his exact shade of meaning; and his style was always "clear, strong and flexible."<sup>27</sup> Again Davis possessed broad learning of literature that, together with his knowledge of history, enabled him to interpret his materials and to relate them to the general stream of history. Finally he had both historical imagination and sound independent judgment. As a young man of twenty-five, he exposed the inaccuracies of well established historians. For him to attack Bancroft, the first great national historian of

<sup>24</sup> George Davis, *Address Delivered Before the Young Ladies of Greensboro Female College, 14th May, 1856* (Greensboro: The Times Job Office, 1856), p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Wilmington: Bernard's Printing and Publishing House, 1867.

<sup>26</sup> H. G. Connor, *George Davis*, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup> See Charles Alphonso Smith, "George Davis," in Edwin Anderson Alderman and others, editors, *Library of Southern Literature*, III, 1229.

the United States, indicated a high degree of intellectual courage.

Davis was by conviction and association a Whig in politics. He was an ardent admirer of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Zachary Taylor, Edward Everett, and other national Whig leaders, many of whom he knew personally. When Henry Clay visited Wilmington on April 9, 1844, Davis had the great pleasure of being one of Clay's escort committee to Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>28</sup> And upon Clay's death, Davis was appointed to deliver a eulogy on the deceased leader.<sup>29</sup> The daily press, even the Democratic *Wilmington Journal*, praised the speech highly. In it Davis gave vent to his own support of a vigorous nationalist policy. He praised the militant, jingoistic spirit of Clay and other War Hawks of 1812 and the basic principles of Clay's "American System." In particular he championed federal aid to internal improvements. It is interesting to note that Davis, as do many present-day historians, erroneously gave Clay full credit for putting through the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

Davis took an active interest in the national presidential elections. In 1848 he joined with other Wilmington Whigs in calling a meeting of all those interested in advocating Zachary Taylor for President. He served as one of the secretaries of the meeting and also on the resolutions committee. He decried the evils of party spirit, interested only in the success of party or faction and willing to sacrifice "learning, ability, statesmanship, and integrity." He called upon both Whigs and Democrats who loved their country to pledge themselves to "support no man for its highest office who is not good, honest and true" to its best interests. In closing the committee asked the people to support Zachary Taylor, "him whose greatness is his honesty and simplicity."<sup>30</sup>

When the Whig party died because of the Compromise of 1850 and the issue of slavery in the territories, Davis was left without a party. He refused to ally himself with the Native American or Know Nothing party and he could not support the new Republican party on the slavery issue. When the presidential cam-

<sup>28</sup> James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River. Being Some Account of Historic Events on the Cape Fear River* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1914), p. 159.

<sup>29</sup> George Davis, *Eulogy on the Life and Services of Henry Clay, Delivered in the Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, N. C., on the 15th July, 1852* (Wilmington: Herald Book and Job Office, 1852), 18 pages.

<sup>30</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, February 4, 1848.

paign of 1860 got under way, Davis joined the group opposed to the extreme Southern Democrats. In March, 1860, he presided over a Wilmington meeting called to appoint delegates to a district opposition convention.<sup>31</sup> Later in the campaign he openly supported John Bell and Edward Everett, the Constitutional Union candidates. Speaking at a Bell-Everett meeting in October, he declared that the Democratic party was "disrupted and used up." He went into "a long and elaborate argument to show that Mr. Douglas' peculiar dogma of Squatter Sovereignty, or non-intervention as he calls it, is not only right but the doctrine to which the Democratic party had been committed." He further declared that preservation of the Union was the major issue in the campaign.<sup>32</sup> Edward Everett was introduced by Davis when he spoke in Wilmington in 1859 and later declared that no one in all his travels and speaking engagements had exceeded his own eloquence except George Davis.<sup>33</sup>

Davis sought no office or preferment for himself, but he was a student of politics and a close observer of the trend of events. He ardently supported the broad policies of government carried out by Governors John Motley Morehead, William A. Graham, and Charles Manly. Something of a conservative in his own philosophy, Davis nevertheless advocated such changes as promised to promote the welfare of the state or to increase the happiness and prosperity of its people. He therefore favored governmental aid to internal improvements and public education. He supported the work of Dr. Frederick Hill in advancing the public school system, and the general program of railway, good roads, and canal construction. In national politics he favored the bank, protective tariff, and internal improvements of the Whigs, but stood with the Democrats on territorial expansion and protection of slavery in the territories.

Despite his many services to the Whig party Davis was never rewarded with office. The Whig state convention of 1848 came within one vote of naming him its candidate for governor but ultimately nominated Charles Manly as a compromise candidate. Davis was not an active candidate and, in fact, did not know his

<sup>31</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, March 31, 1860.

<sup>32</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, October 11, 1860.

<sup>33</sup> James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear*, p. 167.

name was before the convention until after Manly had been nominated.<sup>34</sup>

In line with his views on state development, Davis attended a public meeting in Wilmington on April 4, 1848, in which he urged public subscription for a railroad connecting that city with Manchester, South Carolina. He was appointed one of a committee of three to ascertain the will of the taxpayers on the matter. Ten days later the committee reported back that it had canvassed the people and found them overwhelmingly in favor of a subscription of \$100,000 for the project.<sup>35</sup> Davis became general counsel to the road and later drew a decree by which it was sold at the instance of the bondholders. When the road was merged in the Atlantic Coast Line Davis became general counsel for the system.<sup>36</sup> He was a stockholder of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad Company and played an important role in the expansion of its work.<sup>37</sup>

Davis was interested in many municipal enterprises. He was a member of the Wilmington Historical Society (before which he read some important historical papers) and of the Thalian Society, and a director of the Bank of Wilmington and of the Wilmington Library Association.<sup>38</sup> His work was important in the economic and cultural development of the city.

As the crisis of secession approached, Davis cast his lot with the moderates who hoped to preserve the Union. He was a guiding spirit in calling a meeting at Wilmington on December 11, 1860, "of all persons who desire to preserve the Union of the States as long as it is consistent with our Constitutional rights." He served on the committee on resolutions and, according to his own statement, drew the resolutions of the body. He addressed the gathering and greatly influenced its every action. The resolutions recognized "the Union of States when preserved in its fairness and equality by a just observance of all the guarantees of the Constitution, as an inestimable blessing, and the best form of government the world has ever seen." It was, therefore, "a high and solemn duty incumbent upon every citizen to exhaust every

<sup>34</sup> S. A. Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis," p. 806.

<sup>35</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, April 7, 14, 1848.

<sup>36</sup> S. A. Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis," p. 817.

<sup>37</sup> *Proceedings of the Stockholders of the Wilmington & Raleigh R. R. Company, at their Fifteenth Annual Meeting, Held at Wilmington, North Carolina, November 14th, 1850* (Wilmington: T. Loring, 1850), pp. 4-5.

<sup>38</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, September 26, 1861; *Daily Journal*, January 18, 1866.

effort for its preservation consistent with our safety and honor." Recognizing the existing "state of public affairs to be in the highest degree threatening and dangerous" to the "rights and security" of the American people, Davis still hoped that "prudence, moderation and patriotism" might "find a remedy within the Union." He was, therefore, "opposed to immediate and separate secession" of North Carolina. While cherishing the Union and "determined to use all honorable efforts for its preservation," Davis was unwilling to live in "such a state of excitement, alarm and danger" as then obtained; therefore "the present crisis ought not to be suffered to pass away without such a satisfactory adjustment upon terms and guarantees demanded by a united South, as will put at rest all disturbing questions at once and forever." To the Davis resolutions was added one other that declared North Carolina "cannot honorably secede from the Union without consulting her revolutionary sisters, Maryland and Virginia." All the resolutions were unanimously approved.

The meeting urged the call of a state convention; requested the state legislature to call a conference of all the Southern states "to establish unity of feeling and concert of action, and to consult for the common safety and welfare" of the South; and called upon the legislature to make liberal appropriations for the military organization of the state.<sup>39</sup> The legislature, already in session, took action generally in accord with the Davis resolutions. It called for a vote on a convention and for the election of delegates if the people favored a convention, and it appropriated \$300,000 for the purchase of arms and munitions. The convention bill, passed on January 29, 1861, provided for the election of delegates on February 18, and the assembling of the convention on March 11. The people, however, voted adversely on the convention.<sup>40</sup>

Already the North Carolina legislature on January 26, in response to Virginia's request, had decided to send delegates to the peace convention, and elected Judge Thomas Ruffin, former governors John M. Morehead and David S. Reid, Daniel M. Barringer, and George Davis as the state's delegation. They were instructed to work with delegates from the other states "in devis-

<sup>39</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, December 13, 1860.

<sup>40</sup> Joseph Carlyle Sitterson, *The Secession Movement in North Carolina*, pp. 185, 187, 208.

ing some plan for settling the unhappy sectional differences which have agitated the public mind and endangered the Union."<sup>41</sup>

The Virginia peace convention recommended seven resolutions to Congress to be added as amendments to the Constitution of the United States. These amendments would have been as follows: (1) slavery would have been prohibited north of parallel 36° 30' and property in slaves south of that line would have been protected; (2) the acquisition of any new territory by the United States would have been prohibited without the concurrence of a majority of the senators of both the free and the slave states; (3) neither the Constitution nor any amendment thereof should be construed to give Congress power to regulate, control, or to abolish the relation of slaves to masters in any state, or in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and of the owners and then with compensation, or to prohibit the transit of slaves from one state to another where slavery was recognized; (4) the Constitution should not be construed so as to prevent the return of fugitive slaves; (5) the foreign slave trade was to be forever prohibited; (6) these amendments were to be amended only by the unanimous consent of the states; and (7) Congress should provide by law for the payment to the owner for any fugitive slave whose recovery was prevented by action of others.<sup>42</sup>

The North Carolina delegation supported unanimously the third and fourth resolutions. It divided on the others with Ruffin and Morehead voting for and Barringer, Davis, and Reid voting against. "Ruffin and Morehead thought it their duty not to reject absolutely any guarantees, which the non-slaveholding States might offer for the security of the slaveholding States, but to submit them to the people of North Carolina for acceptance or rejection." But "Reid, Barringer and Davis, were of opinion, that those sections [1, 2, 5, 6, and 7] ought not to be and would not be satisfactory to North Carolina."<sup>43</sup> Davis claimed that he held the balance of power between the two groups; and the reaction

<sup>41</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, January 31, 1861; Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, III, 134.

<sup>42</sup> The complete resolutions are in the "Report of the Commissioners of North Carolina" to Governor John W. Ellis, Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, III, 135-137.

<sup>43</sup> See the "Report of the Commissioners from North Carolina" to Governor John W. Ellis, Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, III, 134.

of Morehead and other Whigs seems to bear him out. Morehead wrote Ruffin that, while the resolutions gave general satisfaction, Davis "made a strong speech vs. them" and represented "them as a rickety affair."<sup>44</sup> And Jonathan Worth wrote his brother that "our quondam friend Geo. Davis" had "gone over, whatever he may think or say, to "Democracy and red Republicanism. . . . You ought not to regard him as a Whig."<sup>45</sup>

Davis's speech, referred to by Morehead, was delivered by request at a public meeting in Wilmington, North Carolina, on March 2, 1861. In it Davis declared that he had gone to the peace convention prepared

to exhaust every honorable means to obtain a fair, an honorable, and a final settlement of existing difficulties. He *had* done so to the best of his abilities and had been unsuccessful; for he could never accept the plan adopted by the "Peace Congress" as consistent with the rights, the interests or the dignity of North Carolina. Never! . . . [He took the ground] that the present crisis ought not to be suffered to pass away without such a satisfactory adjustment . . . as will put at rest all disturbing questions at once and forever. To do this it must strike at the *root* of the matter. It must distinctly acknowledge and guarantee *property in slaves*, and extend to such property full and adequate protection as to any other specie of property.

And, he declared:

No arrangement had been made — none would be made. The decision must be made on the line of slavery. The South must go with the South . . . or as the tail-end and victim of a Free Soil North. [Furthermore the Republicans have] passed the most oppressive tariff that had ever been heard of. They would tax us to death to protect and build up themselves, and at the same time pay the agents of the Underground Railroad for running off our Negroes.

[He emphatically declared] that the South could never — *never* obtain any better or more satisfactory terms while she remains in the present Union, and for his part he could never assent to the terms obtained in this report of the Peace Congress.<sup>46</sup>

The Democratic and secessionist *Daily Journal*, commenting upon the powerful appeal of Davis, said: "Mr. Davis is no fire

<sup>44</sup> Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, III, 138.

<sup>45</sup> J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, editor, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, I, 134.

<sup>46</sup> *Daily Journal*, March 4, 1861.

eater. He has always been a consistent Union man—a member of the 'Union Party.' He has come to his present conclusion because he has kept his eyes and ears open and what he has seen and heard, have forced him to it." <sup>47</sup> In like manner Judge Ruffin changed his views. Speaking at Hillsboro, he said North Carolina must "Fight! Fight! Fight!" <sup>48</sup> The tide of public opinion in the state had begun to turn toward secession and Davis did much to affect it. When Lincoln called for volunteers a convention was called that voted unanimously for secession and joining the Confederacy.

Davis's name was proposed as a candidate for a vacancy in the North Carolina convention, but he published a card declining to run. In spite of this fact a large number of votes were cast for him.<sup>49</sup> But if he refused to serve in the convention he was interested in the morale of the state troops called into the field. On May 18 he wrote to Captain W. L. DeRosset, of the Wilmington Light Infantry, saying: "Thinking it might in some slight degree relieve the tedium of Camp life, I send the boys a little song I have written for their anniversary." The song entitled "Carolina Sons Are Ready," contained five stanzas and was to be sung to the tune of "Dixie Land." The first stanza reads as follows:

Our gallant boys are going to battle  
 Seeking fame where the cannon rattle  
 Look away, look away, Cheer the boys!  
 Oh cheer them on in the path of duty  
 To fight for home and love and beauty  
 Look away, look away, Cheer the boys.<sup>50</sup>

But there was more important work for Davis than song-writing. On June 18, the state convention elected delegates to the provisional Confederate Congress. The old Union men met, presided over by William A. Graham, and nominated candidates, but the independent voters decided the elections and delegates from both parties were chosen.<sup>51</sup> George Davis led the ticket for

<sup>47</sup> *Daily Journal*, March 4, 1861.

<sup>48</sup> J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), p. 19.

<sup>49</sup> *Daily Journal*, June 3, 1861.

<sup>50</sup> The entire song may be found in the *Daily Journal* of May 23, 1861.

<sup>51</sup> Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 33-34.

the state at large and W. W. Avery, an early secessionist, joined him as the other North Carolina Senator.<sup>52</sup> Davis was reelected for the first full term in 1862. When the General Assembly met to elect senators in 1864 the conservatives were in full control and, under the leadership of W. W. Holden, they mapped a plan whereby every person who had supported the Davis Administration, "Destructives" Holden's *Standard* called them, was to be defeated. Davis was defeated and was succeeded by William A. Graham.<sup>53</sup>

Davis took his seat in the Confederate Congress on July 20, 1861, and his term expired in February, 1864. As a Senator, he was friendly to the administration but independent in his voting. His work in Congress enhanced his reputation for wisdom and patriotism. One writer declared that his services in that body were "indispensable."

During the closing months of 1863, President Davis sought some one of ability and proper political affiliation to head the Department of Justice. He found his man in George Davis who was then under fire from Holden and the peace group in North Carolina. After the defeat of Davis President Davis appointed him Attorney General on December 31, 1863. The appointment was generally pleasing to the press and the people of the Confederacy, and Davis was unanimously confirmed by the Confederate Senate on January 4, 1864.<sup>54</sup>

Davis took office on January 22, 1864. Many of his duties were mere routine; these he performed with dispatch, and with satisfaction to the President. He also wrote seventy-four opinions. Sometimes inconsistent, his opinions were usually sound and logical. He decided in October, 1864, that he had no power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional, thus reversing an earlier opinion. Davis was a strict constructionist, but had the courage to disregard precedent and law when necessary.<sup>56</sup> President Davis did not always see eye to eye with his Attorney General, but he generally found the advice of his cabinet officer

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<sup>52</sup> *Journal of the Convention of North Carolina. Held on the 20th Day of May, A.D., 1861* (Raleigh: John W. Syme, 1862), pp. 119-120.

<sup>53</sup> Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, p. 46.

<sup>54</sup> William M. Robinson, Jr., *Justice in Grey. A History of the Judicial System of the Confederate States of America*, p. 38.

<sup>55</sup> Robinson, *Justice in Grey*, pp. 520, 528; Rembert Wallace Patrick, *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet*, pp. 312-314.

sound and correct.<sup>56</sup> Augustus H. Garland, Confederate Senator and later Attorney General of the United States under President Grover Cleveland, said that Davis's

discharge of the duties of that office [Attorney General] won for him not only the commendation of his great chief, who was warmly attached to him, but the applause of the Congress and of the officials of the Government. His opinions were fine specimens of good, pure English, and of a clear forcible logic in law. He was rare indeed as a counsellor.<sup>57</sup>

Davis's hope for Southern independence failed after the surrender of General Lee, and his last opinion, written in regard to the terms granted General Joseph E. Johnston by General William T. Sherman, urged President Davis to accept defeat, disband the remaining armies, and resign his office. Written in haste and without time for polishing, this opinion displays the "same clarity and flexibility of mind evident in his more leisurely written opinions."<sup>58</sup> Davis continued with President Davis and his cabinet to Charlotte, where he resigned his office on April 25, 1865.<sup>59</sup>

The fall of the Confederacy was indeed a sad blow to Davis. In it his public career had its beginning and its end. But more than that, Davis thoroughly believed in the cause to which he had so entirely committed himself. He voiced his own innermost feelings when he said: "My ambition went down with the banner of the South, and like it, never rose again."<sup>60</sup>

Having resigned his post near Charlotte, Davis made his way to the home of his brother, Bishop Thomas F. Davis at Camden, South Carolina. Learning of the order for the arrest of high officials of the Confederacy, he left Camden about the middle of May, traveling on horseback as Hugh Thompson. On June 3 he reached the home of his cousin, Mrs. Thomas Hill Love, near Lake City, Florida. From thence he went to the plantation of James Chesnut, Jr., near Gainesville, and thence to Ocala in Sumter County, which Davis declared was the "very verge of civilization and clear beyond good morals and religion." Carefully dis-

<sup>56</sup> Letters of Mrs. Jefferson Davis, *A Memorial of Hon. George Davis*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>57</sup> Quoted in Eugene S. Martin, "Biographical Sketch of the Honorable George Davis," p. 269.

<sup>58</sup> Robison, *Justice in Grey*, pp. 534-536, gives the opinion in full.

<sup>59</sup> Letters of Jefferson Davis to George Davis, April 25, 26, 1861, *A Memorial of the Hon. George Davis*, p. 21.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in *A Memorial to the Hon. George Davis*, p. 31.

guised, Davis made his way to New Smyrna where he hoped to catch a boat for Nassau and thence to England. But when he "saw the craft in which he [the captain] proposed to make the voyage, I was amazed at the rashness of the undertaking." The little boat, twenty feet long, seven feet wide, with rotten sails and a leaky hull, was unable because of rough seas to complete the six-day voyage to Nassau. Instead it spent thirty-three days "beating about the coast, sometimes on the open sea and sometimes in the bays and among the reefs and keys—often straightened for food, and repeatedly in such imminent peril that nothing but God's Providence saved us from destruction."<sup>61</sup> The boat finally put in at Key West on October 18, 1865. Here Davis was arrested and taken to Fort Lafayette in New York.

When news of Davis's arrest reached Wilmington the editor of the *Daily Journal* declared:

It is unnecessary to bear witness to the purity of his character or the urbanity of his manners. Those to whom for four years, he was diametrically opposed, have paid him perhaps a higher compliment than any partisan could do. Neither by Federal open foe, or *quasi* Confederate secret destroyer, has his name ever been coupled with cruelty or corruption. . . . We are candid and sincere when we say that President Johnson could make no more acceptable use of the pardoning power than by releasing Mr. Davis.<sup>62</sup>

John Dawson, mayor of Wilmington, at the request of the freeholders of the city, called a public meeting "to adopt such measures or take such action as might be necessary to insure a speedy application for pardon"; and the *Daily Journal* in another glowing tribute declared that, since "none could have been more scrupulously pure," no one could hesitate to sign the petition. Such a petition, said the editor, "will meet with less opposition than that of almost any other Confederate official."<sup>63</sup> The meeting was held on November 23, attended by a "large and respectable portion of the citizens" of the town, and a committee prepared a petition to President Andrew Johnson.<sup>64</sup> From his cell in Fort Lafayette, Davis wrote John Dawson, the mayor, a let-

<sup>61</sup> See Davis's letter to his son Junius, dated November 14, 1865, written on board the U.S.S. *Memphis*, in S. A. Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis," pp. 811-812. Alfred J. Hanna, *Flight Into Oblivion*, pp. 210, 219, 222-223, recounts Davis's efforts to escape.

<sup>62</sup> *Daily Journal*, November 20, 1865.

<sup>63</sup> *Daily Journal*, November 21, 22, 1865.

<sup>64</sup> *Daily Journal*, November 23, 1865.

ter of appreciation for the efforts of the people.<sup>65</sup> Davis was paroled on January 2, 1866 and arrived in Wilmington on January 6 where he was received by a large concourse of people with "warm hearts and honest hands." "If there is an honest man in the whole Southern States," said the editor of the *Journal*, "that man is George Davis."<sup>66</sup>

Finally on July 29, 1866, Davis received his pardon. Whereupon the editor of the *Journal* declared that "throughout the South, by all who honor devotion to principle, honesty of purpose, lofty patriotism and eminent abilities, the intelligence of the pardon of the Attorney General of the Confederate States will be received with pleasure."<sup>67</sup>

Davis returned to his home to face poverty and ruin as did most of the Confederate leaders. His "modest competence accumulated during an honorable lifetime had been swept away"; his home, an "ordinary dwelling house," had been taken over by the Freedmen's Bureau; and his six children were motherless and in want.<sup>68</sup>

Although faced by ruin, Davis did not whine or complain of his fate. He applied himself diligently to his profession, hoping once again to provide adequately for his family. He eschewed any political action for himself but threw the weight of his influence in favor of complete reconciliation of the sections and the readjustment of the governmental relations of the Southern states with the Union.<sup>69</sup> Later the prosecution of Jefferson Davis, the quarrel between President Johnson and the Radicals, and the extreme practices of radical reconstruction, especially the work of the Negro-carpenter regime in North Carolina, led Davis to speak out openly against the evils of reconstruction. Consequently he was often in the political limelight, although only a private citizen.

Since Davis urged reconciliation and readjustment on the one hand and courageously upheld the rights of the South on the other, he was early suggested as a possible candidate for the governorship. A correspondent in the *Charlotte Democrat*, de-

<sup>65</sup> *Daily Journal*, December 20, 1865.

<sup>66</sup> *Daily Journal*, January 3, 9, 1866.

<sup>67</sup> *Daily Journal*, July 31, 1866.

<sup>68</sup> Jonathan Worth to President Johnson, in Hamilton, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, I, 549; see also S. A. Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis," pp. 809, 812.

<sup>69</sup> C. Alphonso Smith, "George Davis," III, 1225.

siring to "reconcile the conflict between the old parties and geographical jealousies," recommended "Robert P. Dick, of Guilford (Democrat and Western man), for Governor, and Hon. George Davis, of New Hanover (Whig and Eastern man), for Lieutenant Governor." To this the editor of the *Daily Journal* said: "We would respectfully suggest to this correspondent that . . . he has placed the 'cart before the horse.' If he would acknowledge his mistake, we would like the ticket much better."<sup>70</sup>

In 1866 Davis, William A. Graham, George Howard, and R. C. Puryear were chosen by a state convention as delegates at large to the Philadelphia convention for the purpose of uniting the moderate Republicans and the Democrats in support of Andrew Johnson.<sup>71</sup> Some twelve thousand people, Democrats, Republicans, and former Whigs, Northerners and Southerners, attended the convention. They sang "Rally Round the Flag Boys" and "Dixie" too; they drew up a "Declaration of Principles" and an "Address to the People"; and they pledged their support to Johnson. Davis could heartily endorse such statements as that no state or combination of states could exclude "any state or states from the Union," and that "History affords no instance where a people so powerful in numbers, in resources, and in public spirit, after a war so long in its duration and so adverse in its issue, have accepted defeat and its consequences with so much good faith as have marked the conduct of the people lately in insurrection against the United States."<sup>72</sup> These fitted in with his ideas of the South and reconstruction.

The defeat of Johnson by the Radicals and the extreme program of radical reconstruction measures led Davis to enter actively into the fight against the ratification of the constitution of 1868. When it was announced that he would address a Conservative rally at Wilmington on April 14 the desire to hear the brilliant orator was so great that, in spite of "very inclement weather," Thalian Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. In opening his address, Davis said that "he had thought never again to have appeared before his friends in a capacity like the present. His voice, he thought was silent and buried forever in the

<sup>70</sup> *Daily Journal*, June 28, 1866.

<sup>71</sup> *Daily Journal*, August 11, 1866.

<sup>72</sup> *The National Union Convention, Its History and Proceedings. Assembled in Philadelphia, Tuesday, Aug. 14, and Adjourned Thursday, August 16, 1866* (Philadelphia: Barclay and Company, 1866), pp. 39-41.

grave where constitutional liberty had been interred." But the voice of duty had called and he could no longer remain silent. He then took up "the miserable child of the infamous Convention, with bold effrontery called a Constitution" and "literally picked it to pieces." He called attention to "its revolting, sickening, degrading features." He vindicated "the rights and principles of the freemen of North Carolina" and exposed the "hideous nakedness and loathesome" actions of the "*saintly, pious, disinterested* Radical missionaries, who seek to rob us of our sustenance and degrade us and our posterity."

One of his audience declared that the paramount effect of the speech was "to determine all *white* men who heard it, except perhaps a few sneaks, to *VOTE AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION AT ALL HAZARDS.*"<sup>73</sup> But Davis labored in vain, for the people ratified the constitution by a large majority. Davis joined in the successful movement for a convention in 1875 to amend the reconstruction constitution.<sup>74</sup> During this campaign he spoke effectively to large audiences in Wilmington, Goldsboro, and Raleigh.

While Davis himself sought no office, his friends and supporters continued to urge him for high position. He was urged to make the race for governor in 1876 but declined to do so. In 1877, when the chief justiceship of the state Supreme Court became vacant, "the people of North Carolina instinctively and, almost with one consent cast their eyes upon Mr. George Davis." Governor Vance offered Davis the post but he declined it, saying that "To fill it worthily would be the highest reach of my ambition." The reason Davis gave for declining was that he "could not live upon the salary. . . . [And] One of my first duties in life now is to endeavor to make some provision for the little children that have come to me." In acknowledging Davis's refusal, Governor Vance said:

You are one of the men who have steadily pursued principle for its own sake, spurning alike the temptations of office and the lures of ambition when they come not strictly within the utmost requirements

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<sup>73</sup> *Daily Journal*, April 15, 1868.

<sup>74</sup> J. G. deR. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, p. 605.

of dignity and manly honor. . . . In attempting to honor you by the bestowment of that great office I have also attempted to show what is my own sense of State honor, as well as to give expression to the general voice of our people.<sup>75</sup>

Davis did render the state a special service in 1879-1880. Governor Thomas J. Jarvis received an offer from William J. Best and associates of New York for the purchase of the state-owned Western North Carolina Railroad. He called in George Davis and Thomas Ruffin, explained to them the offer, said that he thought best to accept the generous proposition, and asked them to study it and report back to him. They agreed to do so, gave freely of their time (refusing to accept one cent for their services, even payment for their hotel expenses while in Raleigh), held conferences with Best and his legal adviser, and then made a redraft of the proposition with certain significant changes. Governor Jarvis called a special session of the legislature and submitted the amended proposal to it. Judge Augustus S. Merriam opposed the sale and spoke against it. The legislature then invited Davis to present his views on the issue. He spoke to that body on March 22, 1880.<sup>76</sup>

Governor Jarvis said that Davis's speech "swept away all opposition, and when the vote was taken but few, in either house, voted against authorizing the sale." Later Davis and Ruffin prepared the deed of sale and the contract for completing the road. Governor Jarvis said "No two men ever served their State more faithfully, more efficiently, or more unselfishly. You can say all you will in commendation of their services and the half will not be told."<sup>77</sup> This action reversed a general policy of the state in regard to railroads and internal improvements. The wisdom of the action may be questioned but not the honesty and sincerity of the actors.

Davis continued the practice of law until his death on February 23, 1896, but, other than to deliver a few historical addresses, he took no further part in public life. He was one of the best

<sup>75</sup> *Raleigh Observer*, December 22, 23, 1877; see also the letters of George Davis, Governor Vance, and William L. Saunders in *A Memorial to the Hon. George Davis*, pp. 26-28.

<sup>76</sup> *Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, at its Special Session, 1880* (Raleigh: Hale, Edwards and Broughton, 1880), p. 11 *et seq.*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at its Special Session, 1880* (Raleigh: Hale, Edwards and Broughton, 1880), p. 80.

<sup>77</sup> Governor Jarvis's statement of this transaction and Davis's part therein is quoted at length in H. G. Connor, *George Davis*, pp. 34-36.

loved men produced by the state but it was primarily the character of the man, rather than his deeds, that endeared him to the people. He was a "lawyer of the highest ability, a patriot without personal ends to serve, and a citizen whose character was without a spot. . . . [He was] Eminent for his virtues and for his learning, lofty in his ideals, of high merit in literature, magnificent in oratory, great in his thoughts, and great in his performances."<sup>78</sup>

Judge Walter G. McRae, mayor of Wilmington, later characterized Davis as a man who "never bowed the knee to Baal, never lowered the standard of right, never stood for anything which his conscience did not approve, never permitted any motive of selfish gain or advancement to move him from his integrity." George Davis despised meanness and duplicity, denounced unfair dealings, excited no animosities, but won the love, admiration, and affection of all who knew him. Davis served his own class but at the same time he worked for the best interests of all the people as he saw them.

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<sup>78</sup> S. A. Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis," pp. 823-824.

## JOE CANNON'S CAROLINA BACKGROUND

By DOROTHY LLOYD GILBERT

When Gulielma Cannon, mother of young Joseph Gurney Cannon, spoke her farewell from the loaded wagon which would carry her to Indiana saying, "Good-by, North Carolina; good-by, civilization,"<sup>1</sup> she made her comment on the life she had known in the New Garden community. She also spoke out of her experience in pioneer Indiana and Ohio, for she had spent the early years of her life there, returning to North Carolina in 1819.<sup>2</sup> As recently as 1838 she had gone with her husband, Horace F. Cannon, to visit Indiana Yearly Meeting<sup>3</sup>—these were not "unknown terrors of the western wilds" which lay ahead.<sup>4</sup>

But emigration was in the air; two members of her own family had already gone to Indiana,<sup>5</sup> and that state held one great attraction—there was no slavery within its borders; so in 1840 it was "Good-by, North Carolina; good-by, civilization."

New Garden, the community which the Cannons left, was a thriving settlement, a center of North Carolina Quakerism. Friends from Pennsylvania had been the first to arrive in the locality (which is now called Guilford College and lies about six miles west of Greensboro); and they had brought the name from New Garden Meeting in Chester County, Pennsylvania, which in turn had been named for a New Garden Meeting in County Carlow in Ireland.<sup>6</sup>

A meeting for worship was set up in 1751, and in 1754 since "there were Near or Quite Forty Families of Friends Seated in Them Parts,"<sup>7</sup> a monthly meeting was allowed. The meeting

<sup>1</sup> L. White Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon—the Story of a Pioneer American*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Deep River Monthly Meeting, 9mo/7/1807, "Isaac Hollingsworth and family granted certificate to Miami Monthly Meeting, Ohio." Minutes of Dover Monthly Meeting, 2mo/20/1817, "Susanna, John, Gulielma, Phoebe, Cyrus and Sarah Hollingsworth, children of Isaac, received on certificate from Silver Creek Monthly Meeting, Franklin County, Indiana." Isaac Hollingsworth's own certificate dated 10mo/17/1819 was received at Dover from Blue River Monthly Meeting, Washington County, Indiana. W. W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, Michigan), I (1936), 594,818. Throughout this article the Quaker form of dates, "12mo/27/1834," etc., is used.

<sup>3</sup> Minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting, "8mo/25/1838. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, I, 530.

<sup>4</sup> Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Her sister Phoebe married Nathan Stanley in 1824, and they requested a certificate of removal to Duck Creek Monthly Meeting, Henry County, Indiana, in 1830. Her brother John and his family got a certificate to Pine Creek Monthly Meeting in Indiana in 1836. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, I, 548, 596-597.

<sup>6</sup> Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> Minutes of Perquimans and Little River Quarterly Meeting, 5mo/25/1754. Items from minutes which are not included in Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* are taken from the manuscript books in the vault at Guilford College, N. C.

grew rapidly: the first great wave of migration came in from Pennsylvania and Virginia between 1751 and 1770, the second from the island of Nantucket between 1771 and 1775, and the third from eastern Carolina during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> In 1776 New Garden Friends, finding the long journey to Perquimans County a wearisome thing to undertake each Eleventh month, suggested that North Carolina Yearly Meeting might convene in the New Garden or Cane Creek neighborhood on alternate years. The request was considered now and then and was granted in 1784. In 1791 North Carolina Yearly Meeting met for the first time at New Garden, much of the interval between 1784 and 1791 having been occupied in planning and building a large meeting house suitable for the annual sessions. Since 1791 North Carolina Yearly Meeting has met at New Garden one hundred and twenty times.

Thus the community became an important center for the Society of Friends; not only was there a great ingathering each November, there was also much of the general visitation so effective in binding the Society of Friends together throughout its earlier phases. From the beginning New Garden had no sense of isolation; ninety-three "Public Friends" visited it between 1752 and 1778.<sup>9</sup> The practice continued, and during the seven years (1833-1840) in which Horace Cannon was a member of New Garden Meeting at least three parties of well known Friends<sup>10</sup> spent some time in the neighborhood visiting practically every member of the meeting.

Horace F. Cannon, although reared by Friends after the early death of his parents,<sup>11</sup> did not become a member of the Society until 10<sup>mo</sup>/26/1833, when he and his two sons Elisha Bates and Isaac Newton Cannon were received on his request at New Garden Meeting.<sup>12</sup> Gulielma Hollingsworth was disowned by Marl-

<sup>8</sup> There is a full discussion of this migration in my article, "First Friends at New Garden in North Carolina," *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association*, XXXIV (1945), 51-63.

<sup>9</sup> William Hunt, Account of the Public Friends that hath visited New Garden in Truth's Service from the first settlement of that Meeting in the year 1752, MS. at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), case 14, box 1.

<sup>10</sup> "Jonathan and Hannah C. Blackhouse from England in the course of their religious [sic] visit in these parts acceptably attended this meeting and have visited most of the families belonging thereto where company and gospel labours amongst us have been Satisfactory and Edifying." Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 12<sup>mo</sup>/27/1834. There is a similar minute for Daniel Williams and his companion John Maxwell 11<sup>mo</sup>/30/1839 and Joseph John Gurney spent two months in Carolina in 1837. See below, pp. 479.

<sup>11</sup> Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 10<sup>mo</sup>/26/1833. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, I, 530.

borough Meeting on 12mo/11/1828 for marrying out of unity<sup>13</sup> but was received as a member at New Garden 10mo/29/1831.<sup>14</sup> They left North Carolina in 1840, but in that short space Horace Cannon had succeeded in achieving considerable importance among Friends; in fact he was on his way toward being what was called a "weighty Friend," and his wife Gulielma's name<sup>15</sup> appears several times in the appointments of the Women's Meeting. She was on committees appointed to transcribe minutes, to prepare certificates of removal, and to visit a Friend who had married contrary to the order of Friends, and she was named as a representative to Quarterly Meeting.<sup>16</sup>

Horace Cannon's first appointment appears on 3<sup>mo</sup>/29/1834 when he was made librarian. In 1832 the meeting had purchased a hundred books "none admitted except those generally approved" and had set up rules for their use: "Books with 250 pages could be kept a month, not exceeding 400 pages, two months and over 400 three months with liability to pay damage for unreasonable use."<sup>17</sup> While Horace Cannon was librarian a few others were received: "1 Evans Exposition, 1 Youthful Piety, 1 Customs and Manners of the Jews, and 3 Decision of the Court of Chancery of the State of New Jersey between Friends and Hicksites."<sup>18</sup> In 1835 he was appointed by New Garden Quarterly Meeting to furnish the Meeting for Sufferings<sup>19</sup> with the number and titles of books in the library, but the list does not appear in any minutes; so a full commentary on the reading habits of New Garden Meeting is lacking.

<sup>13</sup> Minutes of Marlborough Meeting, 12mo/11/1828. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, I, 756. The actual date of the marriage was August 21, 1828, Marriage Bonds of Guilford County (typescript in office of Register of Deeds, Greensboro), p. 62.

<sup>14</sup> Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 10mo/29/1831. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, I, 530.

<sup>15</sup> Gulielma was the given name of William Penn's wife and should have been familiar, but North Carolina Friends spelled it in many ways. Mrs. Cannon's name appears as Gulah, Julia, Guly Elma. The marriage bonds give it as Guilliamma. Horace was also hard to spell, and appears as Haris, Horrace, Horac, Horrice, and Horice.

<sup>16</sup> Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 6mo/24/1837, 7mo/29/1837, 1mo/27/1838, 12mo/29/1838, and 2mo/23/1839.

<sup>17</sup> Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 12mo/31/1831 and 6mo/30/1832.

<sup>18</sup> Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 8mo/30/1834. Thomas Evans wrote *An Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers in the Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion*. It was printed in Philadelphia in 1828, two editions being required that year. Thomas Evans also wrote *Examples of Youthful Piety, principally intended for the Instruction of Young Persons*. Printed in Philadelphia in 1830, reprinted 1835. *The Decision of the Court of Chancery in New Jersey* was a pamphlet printed in 1832. See Joseph Smith, *Catalogue of Friends Books* (London, 1867), II, 578-579, 947.

<sup>19</sup> Minutes of New Garden Quarterly Meeting, 6mo/13/1835. The quarterly meeting is the larger body to which the monthly meeting reports certain matters of business; it in turn reports to the yearly meeting. New Garden Quarterly Meeting was established in 1787. The Meeting for Sufferings, originally established in 1824 to direct the liberation of "people of colour," has become the executive body of the Yearly Meeting and is now known as the Permanent Board.

Horace Cannon served on committees and as representative to the quarterly meeting.<sup>20</sup> In 1838 New Garden Quarterly Meeting made him clerk, and he seems to have held that office until his departure in 1840.<sup>21</sup> When he requested a certificate of removal from New Garden Monthly Meeting on 7/25/1840, he asked that a settlement be made with him as clerk of the Quarterly Meeting on behalf of the treasurer of the Yearly Meeting—thus reversing the usual application of certification. No monthly meeting granted certificates until it had ascertained whether or not the applicant had his affairs in order and was clear of debt, for these certificates were the equivalent of recommendations.

The Yearly Meeting bestowed certain duties and honors on Horace Cannon. In 1836, 1837, and 1838 he was on the committee to prepare the epistle sent by North Carolina Yearly Meeting to the other yearly meetings; in 1836 and 1838 he was appointed to assist in transcribing the minutes; in 1837 he was one the committee for improvement of the Discipline; and in 1839 he was named as one of the two assistant clerks.<sup>22</sup> The conception of his abilities is clear: Friends believed that in him they had a rising young Friend who could be trusted to phrase their proceedings and their message acceptably. He wrote in a fine hand as his transcription of minutes shows. He was the school teacher supposed to be interested in books and writing.

The period in which Horace Cannon was a member of the Society of Friends in North Carolina was one of intense interest in education for it coincides with the years in which New Garden Boarding School, predecessor of Guilford College, was planned and built and opened.<sup>23</sup> At each yearly meeting Nathan Hunt, patriarch and prime mover in the enterprise, prepared a subscription list, started it with his own name and a gift of \$25, and circulated it among Friends. The 1834 list<sup>24</sup> contains 95 names; the total subscription is \$236.87½. Four men besides Nathan Hunt gave as much as ten dollars; all of the other sums are smaller. Horace Cannon made one of these \$10 subscriptions.

<sup>20</sup> Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 1mo/31/1835, 8mo/29/1835, 5mo/27/1837, 11mo/25/1837, 6mo/29/1839, 5mo/25/1839, 11mo/30/1839, 2mo/29/1840.

<sup>21</sup> His successor, James Woody, was appointed on 9mo/17/1840 "in place of Horace F. Cannon moved from this country." Minutes of New Garden Quarterly Meeting, 9mo/17/1840.

<sup>22</sup> Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839.

<sup>23</sup> The first move toward founding a school was made in the Yearly Meeting of 1830, and the first plans are dated 1831, the rules 1832; the charter was granted Jan. 13, 1834, land was bought in 1834, and building was started. The school opened August 1, 1837.

<sup>24</sup> This list is a manuscript on file at Guilford College.

In 1836 he was a member of the Yearly Meeting Committee which considered the plan for the boarding school.<sup>25</sup> These are the only direct evidences of his interest in the great project in Quaker education undertaken by North Carolina Yearly Meeting in the 1830's.

Horace Cannon's principal service to education was given in the Little Brick School, which preceded the boarding school. Although it was a monthly meeting school, the New Garden Minutes contain no hint of the date of its erection. Elijah Coffin taught there in 1816.<sup>26</sup> William Williams visited it during the course of his religious labors in North Carolina in 1819 and mentioned the fact that Jeremiah Hubbard was then the teacher.<sup>27</sup> It may be that Horace Cannon was one of the students, for his son says that the spinsters who reared him sent him to the academy at New Garden and gave him a medical education.<sup>28</sup> The Little Brick School House was the closest thing to an academy which Friends had in the youth of Horace Cannon. As for the medical education, there is not even a mild surmise of what it was. Certainly there was not much time for a medical practice in the busy teaching years of Horace Cannon at New Garden, and no reference, formal or informal, to a Dr. Cannon has yet come to light.

There was no school being conducted at New Garden when in 1830 the Yearly Meeting first came under the burden of the education of its youth and asked each monthly meeting to report on the state of education within its limits. The school committee, thus reminded of its duties, met in June, 1832, procured a teacher for six months, and inserted the following notice in the *Greensborough Patriot*:

The Managers of the New Garden Monthly Meeting School take this means of informing the public that they have employed

Horace F. Cannon

to take charge of a school under their direction. This school was opened on the last Second Day; and will continue open for the recep-

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<sup>25</sup> Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1836.

<sup>26</sup> Elijah Coffin, *Life with Reminiscences by His Son, Charles F. Coffin* (Cincinnati, 1863), p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> William Williams, *Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of William Williams, Dec.* (Cincinnati, 1828), p. 211.

<sup>28</sup> Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, p. 6.

tion of students — they, the Managers retaining the discretion to close it when the number shall be deemed sufficiently large.

Parents and Guardians, who may wish to board their children away from home, will find as many advantages in this school as in any other elementary institution in this country.

Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography (illustrated with large Maps and Globes), Natural Philosophy, the elements of Chemistry and Astronomy, accompanied with the problems on the celestial globes, will be taught at very reduced prices.

The students of this institution will undergo a strict examination, several times in each day. By pursuing this course, their progress in the studies assigned them will be much accelerated.

The scheme will be concluded with a public examination of the students on the branches of education to which their attention was devoted during its continuance.

By order of the Managers<sup>29</sup>

New Garden 6/6/1832

There were twenty-seven students enrolled in Horace Cannon's school. He was not yet a member of the Society of Friends, but he was "required to teach a school as near as he can in accordance with the principles of the Society of Friends." Students used the plain language while in school, and the committee visited once a month, or oftener if necessary, to assist in keeping good order. Once in three months the members met to examine the scholars in the different branches of learning. The teacher was paid two hundred dollars for twelve months' work.<sup>30</sup>

According to the minutes, Horace Cannon taught during 1832 and 1833; there was no school in 1834, and in 1837 he was teaching again, still at the rate of \$200 for the year's work although the year had been divided into two terms of five months each. However, the school brought in \$146.12½, leaving a deficiency to be met out of the school fund and the committee hesitated to guarantee funds for another term, even a short one of three months: "The Committee have given there [*sic*] attention to the same and have required as in the other that the plain language be used, But not responsible [*sic*] to the teacher for the pay."<sup>31</sup>

The Little Brick School recedes into the background in 1837, for that was the year in which New Garden Boarding School

<sup>29</sup> Greensborough Patriot, June 13, 1832.

<sup>30</sup> Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 7mo/27/1833.

<sup>31</sup> Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 4mo/29/1837.

opened. Sessions of the Yearly Meeting were filled with gratitude and a sense of high endeavor. Joseph John Gurney was present, as were other visiting Friends from Indiana and New England. The Cannons were especially interested in Gurney; they had named their baby born eighteen months earlier for the "elegant and opulent"<sup>32</sup> English Quaker. Their first child likewise bore the name of a visiting Friend, Elisha Bates of Ohio. With one child named for Bates and one for Gurney, there could be no doubt concerning the leanings of the Cannon family; for these men were filled with evangelical fervor, and Gurney's visit marks the turning toward the evangelical movement, which occurred in many American Yearly Meetings in the early nineteenth century. His influence was profound—it not only stimulated the growth of evangelism, but it also had a wide general effect well summarized by Elbert Russell in his *History of Quakerism*: "He illustrated in his own princely character the possibility of a new type of Quaker manhood and culture. He gave new subjects to think about and new movements to work for that enabled them [the young Friends] to forget in a measure the early petty strife [of the Hicksite separation]. He aroused zeal in education . . . he promoted the study of the Bible so that Bible schools sprang up everywhere."<sup>33</sup>

There is no doubt but that he appealed to the Cannons—not for his "materialistic conservatism,"<sup>34</sup> however, for that is an evaluation not provided by his contemporaries. The Cannons were ready for his message. They enjoyed a good revival or camp meeting anyhow and sometimes went with their neighbors, the Fosters,<sup>35</sup> thus risking the stern disapproval of Friends. The usual attitude of Friends is reflected in the traditional story of the elderly Deep River Friend whose son came to him with a confession:

"Father, I went to camp meeting last night."

"Thee did?"

"Father, I got converted."

"Served thee right for going."

Joseph John Gurney was considered as a liberalizing influence,

<sup>32</sup> Logan Pearsall Smith, *Unforgotten Years* (Boston, 1939), p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1942), p. 349.

<sup>34</sup> Jay Monaghan, "North Carolinians in Illinois History," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (1945), 446.

<sup>35</sup> Elmina Foster Wilson, *Reminiscences*, MS in Guilford College Library, p. 14.

and the effect of his preaching was pronounced. Harriet Peck, a young teacher at the Boarding School, kept brief minutes of his sermons to the Yearly Meeting and sent them to her family. This is her record :

1st day the 5th [11mo-1837]. Public meeting at New Garden convened at 11 A.M. Notwithstanding the weather was rather unpleasant, the house was soon filled and many stood without. We had been seated but a short time before Friend Gurney was concerned in supplication which was fervent and solemn, after a short pause ensued when he arose and addressed us nearly two hours in an impressively eloquent and feeling manner. After he had concluded Elizabeth Cogshell addressed a few words to us and the meeting closed for the day at half past two o'clock.<sup>36</sup>

A student present in the same long meeting kept a diary, and her entry is a good indication of the emotional appeal of the great preacher whom she, having been trained not to use outward titles of respect, always calls by his first and middle names :

Joseph John appeared weightily in supplication, then in a lengthy and powerful testimony proving the divinity of Christ and warning us to prepare to meet him when he shall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead. O permit a stranger from a strange land to cry amongst you, turn! turn! so shall we be brands plucked out of the burning and monuments of God's mercy.

Later in the day J. J. Gurney addressed the students; after tea he had a "religious opportunity" with them and the student, Delilah Reynolds, was so moved that as she recorded the day's events in her diary, she mixed her metaphors with zeal if not with judgment: "Such a day it never was my lot to pass before. May this day's labor fasten as a nail in a sure place and be the means of stirring me up afresh to press forward to the prize set before me."<sup>37</sup>

The Cannon family lived quite near the meeting house and the school, and it is more than probable that the great English Friend saw his small namesake. He visited in the neighborhood then spent nearly two months riding about, visiting first the meetings in Guilford and Randolph counties then those in the

<sup>36</sup> Harriet Peck, Letters, letter no. 3, 1mo/10/1838. MS in Guilford College Library.

<sup>37</sup> Delilah Reynolds, Diary, 1st day 5th [of 11th mo. 1837]. MS in Guilford College Library.

southern and eastern parts of the state. He had come from Indiana in a carriage drawn by those "homely, lively, faithful 'creatures,' David and Jonathan," and driven by "my honest, serious companion, William Kenworthy."<sup>38</sup> In North Carolina he added another to his company, a young man on horseback to serve as guide—this young man was Horace Cannon.<sup>39</sup> Two months in the company of the great English Friend, two months of listening to his message delivered sometimes in the open air to such crowds that none of the small meeting houses could contain them, two months of seeing how the burden of slavery lay upon the heart of the English Quaker, are bound to have had an effect upon him. He told Harriet Peck how Joseph John Gurney had been requested not to speak on slavery in Raleigh and how he had answered by saying "that he had left all that was near and dear to him, and come amongst them for the purpose of preaching the Gospel and should the subject of *slavery* present he should not think it well for him to hesitate to speak of it."<sup>40</sup>

Soon after Joseph John Gurney had left North Carolina and Horace Cannon had returned to New Garden, the Cannons entertained the women teachers of the boarding school. Harriet Peck's letters give a full description of the afternoon.

Last 7th day we passed the afternoon very agreeably at Horace Cannon's — doubtless thou recollects him father. His family consists of a wife and three little sons. The eldest Elisha Bates, 2nd Isaac Newton and the third Joseph John Gurney. People here name for almost every stranger who visits them. There are Rowland Greenes, Jonathan and Hannah Backhouses, Eliza Kirk-Brides, Mildred Radcliffs etc. etc. — but to return to our visit — Horace came with carriage for us while we were at dinner. Cousin Asenith [Hunt Clark], Catharine [Cornell] and myself went with him. The day was like a day in summer, so that we set with one of the outside doors open during the afternoon. No credit to them however — for had the weather been ever so severe it would have been the same. I never knew the like — they will make large fires (for you know they have plenty of wood) then set the outside doors open — we often smile at it — they tell us "We South-

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, ed., *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney* (Philadelphia, 1854), II, 111.

<sup>39</sup> Braithwaite, ed., *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney*, II, 113. Horace Cannon is mentioned by name in the letter dated 12mo/7th/1837, but is referred to only as "the young man on horseback" in an earlier undated letter (p. 111).

<sup>40</sup> Harriet Peck, Letters, letter no. 3, 1mo/10/1838, MS in Guilford College Library. See also *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney*, II, 114.

erners are fond of air." They live well here — and one thing to which I am certain none of us ever were accustomed — is their practice of cooking one or two kinds of meat for tea, besides having the table loaded with other eatables — for example at Horace's — let me see if I can tell you what our tea consisted — though I know it is not polite to go abroad and then tell what we had for supper — but we'll not mind that at present. I am talking to father and mother, and none else need hear me. Well we had a very nice roasted pork with dressing, Fried Chicken — Beets — Sweet potatoe pie — pumpkin pie — Persimmon pudding, White bread, nice waffles — quince preserve, coffee and tea. At friend S. Stanley's several weeks since, we had still greater variety still for tea — several different kinds of meat, chicken pie, minced pie, tarts, & almost invariably wherever we go they have nice honey in the comb set upon the table. They seem to abound in honey. Nevertheless, the words — A land flowing with milk and honey — the literal meaning — would not be at all applicable for however true it is with regard to the latter, I think you will agree with me when I say the former belongs to them not at all for they never provide any shelter for their cows consequently get but little milk.<sup>41</sup>

Another visitor to the Cannon home was a lively little neighbor girl, Elmina Foster, but when she wrote her reminiscences she included one detail only. She remembered that the Cannons had an abundance of pears — because her family had none.<sup>42</sup> That is an interesting detail, for the farm on which Joseph Gurney Cannon was born still has a long lane bordered by ancient pear trees — hardly the same trees, however. Fruit was plentiful in that immediate neighborhood because Ann Jessup had lived there. She was a minister among Friends and in 1790 she had felt a deep concern to go to England to preach. When she returned in the fall of 1792, she brought grafts of many varieties of apples and pears, also grape cuttings and garden seeds.<sup>43</sup> Thus Ann Jessup's farm and Ann Jessup's orchard made New Garden famous for its fruit. It was not altogether a figure of speech which made early settlers call the place their "New Garden Spot."

But there was one thing wrong with New Garden: there were slave owners in the neighborhood, and just beyond the limits of the Quaker community slave owning was deeply entrenched in

<sup>41</sup> Harriet Peck, letter no. 3, 1mo/10/1838.

<sup>42</sup> Elmina Foster Wilson, *Reminiscences*, p. 8. MS in Guilford College Library.

<sup>43</sup> Addison Coffin, *Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina. Traditions and Reminiscences*, pp. 26-27. MS in Guilford College Library.

social and economic life. Friends held deep convictions on slavery: after twenty years of desperate effort they had reached the place where they could see the end of slave owning among their own members: by 1838 there were only 97 people of color under the care of the Yearly Meeting as compared to 727 in 1824.<sup>44</sup> Horace Cannon did not want to rear his family where slavery existed.<sup>45</sup> Friends were moving to Indiana in a steady stream of migration, and in 1840 the Cannons decided to go. In June Horace Cannon sold his farm of 160 acres to Dougan Clark for \$1,600<sup>46</sup> and put his affairs in order. The certificate of removal was signed in New Garden Meeting 8/29/1840, and the North Carolina chapter in the early life of Joseph Gurney Cannon closes with the departure and the mother's cry, "Good-by, North Carolina; good-by, civilization."

Joseph Gurney Cannon made a great deal of his North Carolina Quaker background, and these are its outlines. He was also proud of his mother's Nantucket heritage but seems to have taken it on faith. His mother was a descendant of Valentine Hollingsworth, who was born about 1632 in Ireland. Valentine Hollingsworth came from County Armagh to New Castle, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, sailing on the *Welcome*. His descendants moved on to Cecil County, Maryland, then to Frederick County, Virginia, and finally in 1762 to Bush River in Newberry County, South Carolina.<sup>47</sup> In 1801 Isaac Hollingsworth brought his family to Deep River Meeting in North Carolina.<sup>48</sup> The Hollingsworths were the strongest and most courageous of all of the Newberry families,<sup>49</sup> and certainly the record of their successive migrations from generation to generation bears testimony to their vitality.

<sup>44</sup> Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1824 and 1838. By 1848 there were not more than 12 or 15 persons of color to whom the Society of Friends retained legal right. *A Narrative of Some of the Proceedings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting on the Subject of Slavery within Its Limits* (Greensborough, 1848) traces the progress of liberation of slaves by the Yearly Meeting.

<sup>45</sup> Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, pp. 7-10.

<sup>46</sup> Register of Deeds, Book 30, pp. 466-67. Guilford County Courthouse, Greensboro.

<sup>47</sup> Valentine Hollingsworth<sup>1</sup> (s. of Henry and Catharine) m. Apr. 7, 1655, Anne Ree, m. Apr. 12, 1672, Ann Culvert. Thomas Hollingsworth<sup>2</sup> b. 1661 in Ireland died near Winchester, Va., 1733. Abraham<sup>3</sup> b. New Castle, Delaware County, Pa. 1686 d. Frederick Co. Va. 1748 m. March 13, 1710, Ann Robinson. George Hollingsworth<sup>4</sup> b. Cecil Co. Maryland 1712 m. Hannah McCoy (d. of Robert) 1734 moved to S. Carolina 1762. Joseph<sup>5</sup> m. Margaret Wright Hammer at Bush River 1768. Isaac<sup>6</sup> married Hannah Crem "out of unity" 1799, Gulielma Hollingsworth<sup>7</sup> was their daughter. Compiled from Stewart J. Adger, *Descendants of Valentine Hollingsworth Sr.* (Louisville, Ky., 1925.)

<sup>48</sup> Minutes of Deep River Monthly Meeting, 3mo/2/1801. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, I, 818.

<sup>49</sup> John A. Chapman, *The Annals of Newberry* (Newberry, S. C., 1892), part II, p. 342.

Joe Cannon's great-grandmother came from a strong Quaker family, the Wrights, but they were Pennsylvania people, and if the Nantucket Coffins and Folgers to whom he often referred have any place in the family tree, it is remote and well concealed.

Horace Cannon, the son of Samuel Cannon, was reared by two Quaker spinsters, and it may be that Joe Cannon was unknowingly retelling the stories which his father, not his mother, had heard as a child and that the Nantucket tradition is by adoption only. There were several families of Coffins at New Garden; Horace Cannon's name is linked with theirs a few times;<sup>50</sup> his son always mentioned Coffins when he referred to Quaker ancestors in a large general way, but there is no real evidence that Horace Cannon was reared by the Coffins.<sup>51</sup> Joe Cannon was deeply moved on viewing Nantucket graves bearing the names of Coffins, Folgers, and Hollingsworths, and whether or not they were those of his actual ancestors seems not to have affected the validity of his conclusions: "They are testimony of this pioneer instinct to move on when they found the restrictions of civilization and the customs and laws of men in conflict with their faith."<sup>52</sup>

Surely there were generations of pioneers behind him, and his own pioneer days were beginning when at the age of four years, he saw the long road to Indiana ahead. Mr. Jay Monaghan carries him forward in his excellent article, "North Carolinians in Illinois History."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Elihu Coffin witnessed the deed when Horace Cannon sold his farm in 1840; he also made Cannon his trustee when he took a mortgage on a farm in 1832. Elihu Coffin was the chairman of the School Committee which employed Cannon in 1832 and one of the two men appointed to visit him when he requested membership among Friends in 1833.

<sup>51</sup> The guardianship records of Guilford County do not begin until 1822, but Quakers would not count legal procedure necessary.

<sup>52</sup> Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, p. 4.

<sup>53</sup> *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (1945), 445-459.

# THE WILSON MOVEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA<sup>1</sup>

By ARTHUR S. LINK

Woodrow Wilson made his first bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1912 by virtue of his smashing victory in the New Jersey gubernatorial contest in November, 1910. During the campaign the former Princeton president had attracted the interest of the people of the nation by his repudiation of the Democratic machine that had nominated him and by the forcefulness and clarity of his impelling arguments for progressive reforms. It was an unusual situation, but Wilson was already an unusual figure and his rising leadership had the promise of great import to Southern progressives. Progressive Southerners since 1896 had more or less consistently followed William J. Bryan and just as consistently had encountered defeat after defeat in national politics.

Wilson's program was only in the making in 1910, but by the summer of 1912 his New Freedom had a powerful appeal to certain elements in Southern society. By his defeat of Boss James Smith's ambitions to go to the United States Senate and by his support of progressive James E. Martine in the senatorial contest, Wilson demonstrated early in his political career his qualifications as a political machine-smasher, and this one act alone endeared him to Southern liberals.<sup>2</sup> And when the New Jersey governor pushed through the legislature of a hitherto backward state legislation which placed it in the vanguard of progressivism, most Southern progressives were convinced that Wilson was their man.<sup>3</sup>

Wilson was at first reluctant to enter the campaign for the Democratic nomination, but after a tour of the West in May,

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

<sup>2</sup> The Southern press gave unusual publicity to the Wilson-Smith contest. For significant editorials on the controversy see: *Mobile Register*, January 10, 1911; *Nashville Banner*, December 13, 1910, and January 25, 1911; *Richmond Virginian*, January 25, 1911; *Montgomery Advertiser*, January 25 and 26, 1911; *Columbia State*, December 27, 1910; *Birmingham Age-Herald*, December 10, 1910, January 31, 1911; *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, December 2, 1910; *Chattanooga Daily Times*, December 10, 1910; *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman*, December 2 and 20, 1910; *Raleigh News and Observer*, January 15 and 29, February 3, 1911; *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, December 14 and 21, 1910; *Houston Post*, January 27, 1911; *Dallas Morning News*, December 22, 1910 and January 27, 1911; *Knoxville Journal and Tribune*, December 17, January 27, 1911; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, January 9 and 25, 1911; *Atlanta Georgian*, December 28, 1910, January 25, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> See especially *Raleigh News and Observer*, April 29, 1911, *Galveston Daily News*, January 11, 1912; *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, March 2, 1911; *Charleston News and Courier*, April 22, 1911; *San Antonio Express*, April 24, 1911; *Atlanta Georgian*, March 23, August 4, November 3, 1911; *Columbia State*, November 20, 1911, quoting *Augusta Herald*; *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, May 29, 1911; *Atlanta Constitution*, May 1, 1911; *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman*, April 18, 1911; *Birmingham Age-Herald*, April 28, 1911.

1911, he determined to make an active campaign for the nomination. One of the foremost objects of Wilson's presidential campaign was the capture of his native region, the cornerstone of the Democratic party. It made no difference to the three prominent candidates<sup>4</sup> that the South was solidly Democratic, for the votes of the Southern states in the national convention were as good as any. Consequently a contest between the candidates, almost unequalled in the annals of Southern history, absorbed the interest of the Southern people during this presidential campaign.<sup>5</sup>

Wilson fired the opening gun of his pre-nomination campaign in Atlanta in March, 1911, when he addressed the Southern Commercial Congress in that city.<sup>6</sup> The New Jersey governor had a strong sentimental attachment for the South and Southerners. He had been born, of course, in Staunton, Virginia, and had spent the first third of his life in several Southern towns. He had married the daughter of a Savannah Presbyterian minister and two of his daughters had been born in Georgia. Long periods of absence from the South had heightened his affection for the region.<sup>7</sup>

In the spring of 1911 Wilson turned his attention to North Carolina. He had been encouraged by the favorable reaction of North Carolina newspapers to his struggles for reform in New Jersey; he had already been assured of the support of Josephus Daniels, progressive editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer* and an influential leader in the North Carolina Democracy.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, Champ Clark of Missouri, and Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama.

<sup>5</sup> For a general discussion of the pre-nomination campaign in the South see Arthur S. Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in the library of the University of North Carolina.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson's visit to Atlanta is best covered by the *Atlanta Journal*, March 10 and 11, 1911.

<sup>7</sup> As a historian, Wilson felt that "There is nothing to apologize for in the past of the South—absolutely nothing to apologize for." *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1896*, p. 295. As a Southerner, Wilson was frankly proud that the South had taken up arms against the North in 1861. Even a man who saw the end from the beginning should, as a Southerner, have voted for spending his people's blood and his own, rather than pursue the weak course of expediency, he thought. "Address on General Robert E. Lee," published in R. S. Baker and W. E. Dodd (eds.), *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, II, 76. On one occasion Wilson told the members of the Virginia Bar Association that he felt the sort of exhilaration that must always come to a man "who returns from a distance to breathe his native air again and mix once more with those to whom he feels bound by a sort of intellectual consanguinity." *Public Papers*, I, 336-337. On another occasion in Chapel Hill he confessed that, after long periods of absence, he forgot how natural it was to be in the South, "and then the moment I come, and see old friends again, and discover a country full of reminiscences which connect me with my parents, and with all the old memories, I know again the region to which I naturally belong." Wilson, *Robert E. Lee: An Interpretation*, p. vi.

<sup>8</sup> Full of energy, shrewd, with a gift for making warm personal friends, Daniels was in 1911 Democratic national committeeman from North Carolina. He had been a devoted follower of Bryan—free silver and all—since 1896. Daniels has published four volumes of his memoirs, which tell the story of his life down to the year 1921.

Moreover, by March, 1911, one congressman from eastern North Carolina had declared his intention to support the New Jersey governor for the presidency.<sup>9</sup>

Woodrow Wilson was no stranger to the state he visited in May, 1911. He had lived for a few brief years at Wilmington and had spent a year at Davidson College. On May 29 he came to the University of North Carolina to deliver the commencement address to the graduating class of the University. On the day of his arrival Wilson spoke at the alumni luncheon and discussed his conception of "The Mission of the University in America."<sup>10</sup> The following day at the University's commencement exercises several thousand persons crowded Memorial Hall to hear the governor. Francis P. Venable, president of the University, gave him a hearty welcome. Wilson's entrance into public life, Venable declared, had gladdened the American people entangled in their own confusion, yet awake to the injustice and wrongs from which they suffered. Princeton had sent forth her president, Venable said, to stand before the whole people as the undaunted champion of their rights. "Scholar, profound thinker, able teacher, wise governor, strong and true gentleman, we welcome you, Governor Wilson."<sup>11</sup>

There was nothing particularly original in Wilson's address. He covered well-beaten progressive ground and declared that the nation was coming to itself, that economic and human exploitation had proceeded apace, but that the people, with sober repentance, had determined to take matters into their own hands. He spoke frankly—"For several generations we have made damn fools of ourselves." The people had allowed the captains of industry to disregard their duties to society; they

<sup>9</sup> The congressman was John H. Small. *Raleigh News and Observer*, March 9, 1911.

Daniels opened his campaign for Wilson unofficially on March 22, 1911, when he published in the *News and Observer* an editorial, "Woodrow Wilson's Revolutionary Faith and Practice." Reviewing Wilson's work in New Jersey, on April 29, 1911, Daniels wrote, "Governor Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, has aroused the nation. He has emphasized the fact that the scholar can also be the man of affairs. Declared not to be a politician he has shown that in its abused term he is not a politician, but that when it comes to dealing with questions which have to do with things of real value to the people he is a man, a man with backbone, a man with a purpose. He has met the politicians on their own ground and has unhorsed them, securing the passage of laws in New Jersey which mean for real reform."

On May 6, 1911, Daniels made a pilgrimage to Trenton and reviewed more closely Wilson's work. After recounting the several important reform laws which Wilson had pushed through the legislature, Daniels declared, "The chief thing that Governor Wilson has done is not written upon statute books, for it simply is that he has shown the people that they can rule and need not be dependent upon political bosses and public service corporations, but that if they will assert themselves they can themselves be the boss and regulate the corporations rather than be regulated by them." *News and Observer*, May 10, 1911.

<sup>10</sup> Daniels, "Woodrow Wilson at the University," *News and Observer*, June 2, 1911.

<sup>11</sup> *News and Observer*, May 31, 1911.

had stood by silently while political machines took their governments from them. The duty of university men, Wilson declared, was to learn the truth and to tell it to their fellow-citizens.<sup>12</sup>

On May 31 Wilson traveled to Raleigh, the capital city of North Carolina. The *News and Observer* voiced the sentiments of most of the citizens of the capital in its welcome to the visitor, whom Daniels greeted as the ablest and most progressive governor in the nation and as the outstanding political leader in the country.<sup>13</sup> Wilson arrived in Raleigh from Chapel Hill shortly before twelve-thirty on the afternoon of May 31, and a reception committee<sup>14</sup> went with him to Daniels's home, where the Tar Heel Editor gave an elaborate luncheon in Wilson's honor. Chief Justice Walter Clark, the members of the state supreme court, various state officials, and prominent North Carolina educators<sup>15</sup> were among the two hundred guests.<sup>16</sup>

At five o'clock in the afternoon Wilson spoke to the people of Raleigh from a platform erected at the east front of the capitol. Before an audience of some 3,000 persons he reiterated his Chapel Hill address. He declared that the Democratic party was on trial to determine if it could serve the country regardless of party interests. Since there were both reactionaries and progressives within the party fold, the governor thought it necessary to determine standards of action.<sup>17</sup> But, he declared, the progressives controlled the Democratic party and were resolved to destroy the Republican partnership between business and government and to restore control of affairs to the people.<sup>18</sup>

Josephus Daniels was much encouraged by the reception Wilson received in Raleigh.<sup>19</sup> The editor had long before decided that Wilson was to be the future leader of his party and he rejoiced in the belief that there were numerous Democrats

<sup>12</sup> *News and Observer*, May 31, 1911.

<sup>13</sup> *News and Observer*, May 31, 1911.

<sup>14</sup> Albert L. Cox, J. Bryan Grimes, secretary of state, Mayor James I. Johnson, Colonel Benehan Cameron, Clarence Poe, Dr. Hubert A. Royster, and Walter Clark, Jr. Governor William W. Kitchin was not in Raleigh.

<sup>15</sup> President D. H. Hill of the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College (North Carolina State College), President H. J. Stockard of Peace Institute, President R. T. Vann of Meredith College, President William L. Poteat of Wake Forest College, and the Reverend George W. Lay, rector of St. Mary's School.

<sup>16</sup> *News and Observer*, June 1, 1911.

<sup>17</sup> He defined a reactionary as a person who "looks at public affairs through spectacles of his own," while a progressive considered public issues with the purpose of serving the country "by some touch of self-sacrifice, some consideration of those things which are larger, greater and more prominent than himself."

<sup>18</sup> *News and Observer*, June 1, 1911.

<sup>19</sup> Josephus Daniels to the author, January 24, 1942.

who would give the "scholar in politics" their loyal support.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that Daniels was the most influential and vigorous Wilson man in North Carolina should not lead one to underestimate the work done by other North Carolinians in the Wilson campaign. Although by the summer of 1911 the Wilson supporters had not yet organized for an active campaign, and although the Baltimore convention was yet more than a year in the future, several North Carolina editors and citizens had voiced their allegiance to the Wilson cause. Probably no man in the Southeast had more influence with the farmers than Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer*. During Wilson's stay in North Carolina, Poe broadcast the fact that he was unreserved in his support of Wilson.<sup>21</sup> Thomas Clawson, editor of the *Wilmington Morning Star*, joined Daniels in espousing Wilson's candidacy. "When a man is in North Carolina he is in the Wilson country," Clawson asserted;<sup>22</sup> he then added, "Down in this country it is unanimous for Woodrow Wilson."<sup>23</sup> Edward J. Hale, veteran editor of the *Fayetteville Observer* and a prominent Tar Heel progressive, was another of the early Wilson supporters in North Carolina.<sup>24</sup>

The Wilson movement, as an organized campaign, got underway in North Carolina early in 1912. The progressive leaders soon found that they had a hard fight on their hands,<sup>25</sup> and contented themselves with the conventional methods of politics. Only three Wilson clubs, as far as this writer knows, were organized in the state.<sup>26</sup> The Wilson managers had, however, enlisted the support of the great majority of the North Carolina newspapers. The *News and Observer* was the spokesman for a group of journals that included the *Wilmington Morning Star*, the *Asheville Citizen*, the *Greenville Reflector*, the *Charlotte News*, the *Winston-Salem Twin-City Sentinel*, the *Fayetteville*

<sup>20</sup> *News and Observer*, June 1, 1911.

<sup>21</sup> *News and Observer*, June 2, 1911. Poe later wrote that he had supported Wilson's candidacy because he believed the governor was one of America's greatest statesmen and because he believed that Champ Clark was so lacking in statesmanship as to make his nomination a disaster to the party and a disaster to the nation. Letter to the author, September 17, 1942.

<sup>22</sup> *Wilmington Morning Star*, September 16, 1911.

<sup>23</sup> *Morning Star*, August 9, 1911. Clawson had known intimately Wilson's father, Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, who, he said, was "one of the grandest men we ever knew."

<sup>24</sup> Walter Clark to Woodrow Wilson, December 24, 1912, Edward J. Hale Papers (manuscripts in the library of the University of North Carolina; hereinafter cited as Hale Papers).

<sup>25</sup> Josephus Daniels later told the author (January 24, 1942) that it was his hardest fight.

<sup>26</sup> At Lillington, Wilmington, and Asheville.

*Observer*, and the *High Point Enterprise*. During most of 1911 and 1912 one of Wilson's bitterest enemies, James Calvin Hemphill, an ante-diluvian reactionary, was editor of the *Charlotte Daily Observer* and was one of the leaders in the national campaign against Wilson. But Daniel A. Tompkins, publisher of the *Observer*, managed to rid his paper of Hemphill and on June 6, 1912, it declared its advocacy of the New Jersey governor. There were, in addition, numerous small-town and county newspapers that joined in the Wilson movement.

In addition to the politically-minded editors, an important group of North Carolina politicians allied themselves with the Wilson movement. Former Governor Robert B. Glenn, who was Wilson's class-mate at Davidson, carried on a ten days' campaign in California for his friend,<sup>27</sup> while Julian S. Carr, a Durham industrialist, Hugh MacRae, Wilmington banker, Chief Justice Walter Clark,<sup>28</sup> and Heriot Clarkson of Charlotte were among the leading North Carolina supporters.<sup>29</sup> North Carolina's senators<sup>30</sup> refused to commit themselves publicly to the support of either of the Democratic presidential hopefuls. Senator Overman admitted, however, that Wilson was personally his choice among the candidates; but, he added, "I have advocated no man."<sup>31</sup>

Wilson state headquarters were established in Greensboro under the direction of S. E. Williams on April 24, 1912, less than a month before the state Democratic convention was to convene. It was true, as Daniels stated, that the movement in North Carolina was largely spontaneous, and that Williams and his associates entered the contest too late to affect the outcome. Some of the Wilson leaders expressed their gratification that the state campaign had at last some semblance of organization, but it was patent to most observers that the people of the state had already committed themselves to the Wilson cause.<sup>32</sup>

The outspoken support given Wilson by Tar Heel college presidents and professors must have heartened the Wilson or-

<sup>27</sup> *News and Observer*, May 1, 1912.

<sup>28</sup> See the recent biography by Aubrey Lee Brooks, *Walter Clark, Fighting Judge*, p. 183.

<sup>29</sup> Others were E. R. Preston, W. H. Osborn, Benahan Cameron, E. J. Justice, S. E. Williams, and J. Crawford Biggs.

<sup>30</sup> Furnifold M. Simmons and Lee Slater Overman.

<sup>31</sup> *Charlotte Daily Observer*, June 4, 1912.

<sup>32</sup> Williams declared early in May that he was convinced that fully three-fourths of the North Carolinians were in favor of Wilson's nomination. *News and Observer*, May 4, 1912.

ganizers. A "straw ballot" presidential election at the University of North Carolina gave a revealing insight into the political preferences of the professors and college students. Wilson received 322 student votes, while his strongest Democratic rival, Underwood, received only 35.<sup>33</sup> President Francis Preston Venable and Dean Edward Kidder Graham of the University gave public endorsement to Wilson.<sup>34</sup> They were joined by the Reverend George Lay, rector of St. Mary's School, Henry Louis Smith, president of Davidson College, Henry J. Stockard, president of Peace Institute, William Louis Poteat, president of Wake Forest College, and J. Allen Holt of Oak Ridge Institute, all of whom gave their earnest support to the "professor in politics."<sup>35</sup>

The North Carolina state Democratic convention was to meet in early June, 1912. Since the Wilson movement had suffered defeat by the Underwood campaigners in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, the Wilson managers in Washington and New York were determined that North Carolina should be saved from the Southern groundswell to Oscar W. Underwood. Two Texas Wilson campaigners — Albert S. Burleson and Robert L. Henry — came to the state immediately preceding the Democratic convention in an attempt to arouse enthusiasm for Wilson. Burleson, speaking at Charlotte on May 15, declared that Wilson was the only Democratic candidate who could possibly be elected,<sup>36</sup> while at Durham, on the same day, Henry warned his audience that Wilson was the sole Democratic candidate who was in accord with the progressive spirit of modern Democracy.<sup>37</sup> Senator Thomas P. Gore's address at Raleigh on the evening of May 24 marked the culmination of the Wilson campaign in the Tar Heel state. In concluding his speech, the blind Oklahoma Senator added a tribute to Wilson that was characteristic of his ambiguous political eloquence. "In closing let me appeal to you, my fellow Democrats," he pleaded, "to nominate at Baltimore a man for the presidency who is devoted to right against wrong, justice against injustice, liberty against slavery,

<sup>33</sup> *Tar Heel*, March 13, 1912. The faculty was even more enthusiastically favorable to Governor Wilson. The vote of the faculty stood: Wilson, 28; Underwood, Harmon, and Theodore Roosevelt, each 2; Taft, 1.

<sup>34</sup> *News and Observer*, March 10, 23, 1912.

<sup>35</sup> *News and Observer*, March 24, 29, 31, April 23, 30, and May 25, 1912.

<sup>36</sup> *News and Observer*, May 16, 1912.

<sup>37</sup> *Charlotte Daily Observer*, May 16, 1912; *News and Observer*, May 16, 1912.

man against mammon, good government against graft.”<sup>38</sup>

For a month before the Democrats of North Carolina gathered in state convention, Josephus Daniels carried on in his *News and Observer*, a pressure campaign to assure a Wilson victory in the state. The *News and Observer*, undoubtedly the most widely read newspaper in North Carolina, printed daily articles lauding Wilson's accomplishments for progressive reform, stories about his career, and verbatim reports of many of his addresses. In a brilliant editorial, the Tar Heel editor cried to his fellow-Democrats, “Come, Let Us Reason Together.” The appeal, five columns in length, filled the editorial page.<sup>39</sup> Two days later Daniels followed with a forceful editorial entitled “Wilson on the Tariff”—an obvious attempt to counteract the charges that Underwood, not Wilson, was the honest tariff reformer.<sup>40</sup>

Although the opposition to the Wilson movement in North Carolina came largely from the advocates of Oscar W. Underwood, some men were vociferous in their support of conservative Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio. The single Harmon club organized at Dunn did not represent the Ohio governor's real strength in North Carolina. A feeble attempt was made by Robert R. Reynolds of Asheville and Walter Neal of Laurinburg to form a Harmon state organization, but nothing resulted from their efforts.<sup>41</sup> The *Wilmington Dispatch* was the spokesman of a group of Harmon newspapers which included the *Charlotte Chronicle*, the *Greensboro Record*, the *Durham Sun*, and the *Winston-Salem Journal*. In North Carolina, as in practically every Southern state, the conservatives who favored Harmon turned to Underwood when they realized that Harmon could not be nominated.

This was notably true in the case of Henry B. Varner of Lexington, who led the Underwood campaign in North Carolina.<sup>42</sup> Varner admitted that he had been favorably disposed toward the Ohio governor's candidacy, and that he had turned to

<sup>38</sup> *News and Observer*, May 25, 1912.

<sup>39</sup> By an apparently logical analysis of the presidential situation, Daniels attempted to prove that since Wilson was the only Democrat who could marshal the full strength of the progressive vote, he was the only Democrat who could win a presidential election. *News and Observer*, May 12, 1912.

<sup>40</sup> *News and Observer*, May 14, 1912.

<sup>41</sup> *Charlotte Daily Observer*, November 23, 1911.

<sup>42</sup> Varner was for years editor of *Southern Good Roads*, published at Lexington, North Carolina.

Underwood when he realized that the Alabamian's nomination was a possibility.<sup>43</sup>

Following their victories in the Lower South, the Underwood generals turned their attention during the early part of May to the battleground in North Carolina. J. Thomas Heflin, who campaigned at Greensboro and Durham, was joined by Senator John H. Bankhead, the Alabamian's national manager, at an Underwood rally in Raleigh on May 30.<sup>44</sup> Other Underwood campaigners — Representatives T. V. Sisson of Mississippi, William B. Bankhead, John L. Burnett, and S. Herbert Dent of Alabama — stumped North Carolina in a desperate effort to swing the state into the Underwood column.<sup>45</sup>

In North Carolina, as in the other Southern states, the alignment between progressives and conservatives was clear-cut. Practically all the leaders of the progressive faction of the state Democracy were in the vanguard of the Wilson movement. From the very beginning, moreover, they encountered the opposition of the conservatives and reactionaries who at first leaned toward Harmon's candidacy but who later went wholesale into the Underwood ranks. The Wilson managers in North Carolina were beset with still another difficulty — the opposition of the Simmons organization. Although Senator Furnifold M. Simmons took no active part in the campaign, his lieutenants and many of his political supporters led in the Underwood movement in the state.<sup>46</sup> Simmons himself was faced in 1912 by one of the greatest fights of his life in a battle for re-nomination and therefore he followed a cautious policy of hands-off in the Wilson-Underwood contest.

The Democratic voters of the state assembled in county conventions in the middle of May and elected their delegates to the state Democratic convention. Josephus Daniels, writing to "the Democrats in North Carolina who favor Wilson and Victory," warned Wilson supporters: "Be alert to see that North Carolina's vote is cast for Woodrow Wilson."<sup>47</sup> Only a small number of the county conventions instructed their delegates to vote for

<sup>43</sup> Varner to *News and Observer*, February 8, 1912.

<sup>44</sup> *Birmingham Age-Herald*, May 31, 1912.

<sup>45</sup> *Birmingham Age-Herald*, May 12, 1912.

<sup>46</sup> Josephus Daniels, letter to the author, September 18, 1942; A. L. Brooks, *Walter Clark*, p. 183.

<sup>47</sup> *News and Observer*, May 18, 1912.

either of the presidential candidates, but it was apparent that the Wilson men in the remaining county conventions had overwhelmed their Underwood opponents by a ratio of at least two to one and that, as Daniels jubilantly declared, "WOODROW WILSON IS THE CHOICE OF THE STATE!"<sup>48</sup> The important congressional district conventions which elected most of the delegates to the national convention met during the latter part of May and the first part of June and elected an overwhelming majority of Wilson men<sup>49</sup> to go to the national Democratic convention at Baltimore. The Wilson forces won clear victories in the first, the third, the fourth, and the fifth districts, and divided with the Underwood men in the sixth and eighth districts and with the Harmon supporters in the ninth, while the Underwood men carried the tenth district.<sup>50</sup>

Assured that they had won a sweeping victory in North Carolina, the Wilson men at once clamored for definite instructions for the entire Tar Heel delegation to Baltimore.<sup>51</sup> S. E. Williams, state manager for Wilson, declared that a sacred obligation rested with the state convention to instruct its delegates to Baltimore in Wilson's favor. He feared that an uninstructed delegation would mean an Underwood victory. "I believe," he insisted, "it would be a crime against conscience, a departure from party fealty, [and] . . . a breach of everything that ought to govern a man's conduct," if the state's delegation did not express at Baltimore the wishes of a majority of North Carolina Democrats.<sup>52</sup> Daniels was equally determined that the state convention should instruct its delegates to vote for Wilson. In a message to "WILSON MEN" he warned his friends that in order to carry out the will of the people they should organize before the gathering of the convention at Raleigh. A conference of Wilson delegates would be held in the capital, he declared; and

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<sup>48</sup> *News and Observer*, May 26, 1912. The Wilson counties were Swain, Clay, Rowan ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), Scotland, Columbus, Beaufort ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), Cumberland, Wake, Onslow, Duplin, Granville, Sampson, Pender, Rockingham, New Hanover, Polk, Dare, and Greene. Underwood carried the following counties: Buncombe, Durham, Haywood, McDowell, Rowan ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), Beaufort ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), Richmond, Wilson, and Davidson. *Wilmington Morning Star*, May 26, 1912; *News and Observer*, May 19, 1912. Underwood's strength was largely concentrated in the western part of the state, while Wilson's support came largely from the middle and eastern sections.

<sup>49</sup> Probably two-thirds.

<sup>50</sup> *News and Observer*, May 20, 31, June 5, 6, 1912; *Morning Star*, May 29, June 7, 1912; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, May 30, 1912.

<sup>51</sup> Despite the fact that the congressional district conventions elected twenty out of the twenty-four delegates to the Democratic national convention, the state convention might instruct them and the four delegates it elected to vote for the candidate of its choosing.

<sup>52</sup> *Morning Star*, May 29, 1912.

he warned the Wilson men to attend the conference, for "plans will be formulated there for seeing that the choice of North Carolina, the nomination of Woodrow Wilson at Baltimore, is registered at the State Convention."<sup>53</sup>

On June 6 the Democratic clans assembled at Raleigh for the state convention. Although the outcome of the presidential battle had apparently been decided, the Wilson men took nothing for granted. Wilson himself was deeply interested in the action of the convention. "I hope with all my heart that North Carolina might be won in my interest," he wrote a day before it met. "I have had so many delightful associations with the Old North State that I should feel very proud indeed to receive its vote."<sup>54</sup> The June 6, 1912, issue of the *News and Observer* was manifestly printed for propaganda purposes, for the delegates to the convention found the front page filled with pictures of Wilson and editorials and comments favorable to his nomination.

At dawn on the morning of June 7 the Wilson forces in the convention, marshalled by Judge J. Crawford Biggs of Durham, elected eight Wilson men as delegates-at-large to the national convention.<sup>55</sup> But the opposition of the Underwood men was so determined that the Wilson leaders abandoned their plan to force a resolution instructing the delegates and contented themselves with an endorsement of Wilson by the convention which declared, "Woodrow Wilson should be the candidate of the Democratic party . . . and we heartily endorse his candidacy."<sup>56</sup>

Josephus Daniels was pleased with the results of the convention. He congratulated North Carolina on "the splendid victory at Raleigh" and wrote, North Carolina has "come nobly to the front, and forgetting the furor of months past has proclaimed for a statesman whose election would reflect great honor upon the party and the nation."<sup>57</sup> William F. McCombs, Wilson's national manager, termed the results a "grand victory,"<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *News and Observer*, June 4, 1912.

<sup>54</sup> Published in *Asheville Citizen*, quoted in *Charlotte Daily Observer*, June 13, 1912.

<sup>55</sup> The delegates-at-large were Edward J. Hale, E. J. Justice, Julian S. Carr, Robert B. Glenn, W. C. Hammer, W. C. Newland, A. W. McLean, and W. C. Dowd. As a concession to the Underwood supporters, they added one Underwood man to the list of delegates-at-large. He was W. T. Dortch.

<sup>56</sup> Passed by a vote of 503 to 393. *Morning Star*, June 8, 1912; *News and Observer*, June 8, 1912. Probably the chief reason the convention did not instruct the delegates for Wilson was the simple fact that the Wilson candidacy had made such little headway in the nation at large that it appeared that the governor's nomination was improbable.

<sup>57</sup> *News and Observer*, June 13, 1912.

<sup>58</sup> McCombs to Edward J. Hale, June 8, 1912, Hale Papers.

while one Piedmont newspaper rejoiced that North Carolina men would go to the national convention as Wilson supporters.<sup>59</sup> Daniels and the other Tar Heel Wilson leaders had indeed wrought well for their candidate. They had marshalled the progressive forces of their party behind the standards of a progressive leader and had added precious strength to the candidate whose chances of success were in precarious doubt. North Carolina's twenty-four votes were desperately needed to strengthen a failing movement.

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<sup>59</sup> *News and Observer*, June 13, 1912, quoting *High Point Enterprise*.

# EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEW BERN

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

By ALONZO THOMAS DILL, JR.

## PART VIII

### NEW BERN AT CENTURY'S END

¶ It is the image of Charleston. Neuse and Trent have a likeness to Cooper and Ashley Rivers. This is a growing place.

—FRANCIS ASBURY, 1796.

When that amorous patriot, Francisco de Miranda, visited New Bern in the summer of 1783, he arrived just in time to witness the town's celebration of peace. He noted the event along with the record of the pretty women he saw and sometimes conquered: which proves beyond doubt that the *fiesta* competing, as it were, with other interests, made quite an impression. It took place on June 17, and Miranda describes it in his Spanish diary in full.<sup>1</sup>

This day [he writes] the suspension of hostilities and the preliminary treaty of peace with England were announced throughout the vicinity by sound of drum from a company of armed militia (each soldier with his dress and rifle of a different sort), and by the discharge of four field pieces, which had been brought up beforehand for the purpose. At the end of the ceremony about one o'clock, there was a barbecue (that is, a roast pig) and a barrel of rum, which the crowd consumed promiscuously, the first magistrates<sup>2</sup> and better-class people of the country along with the crudest and lowest classes, shaking hands and drinking from the same glass; it is impossible to conceive without seeing it a more democratic assemblage, and one which fulfills to a greater extent what the poets and historians of Greece tell us of similar events among those free peoples. At the conclusion, some were drunk; they scuffled readily with one another, and one was wounded. At night everyone retired to sleep—with which, and the burning of some empty barrels for a bonfire, the celebration ended.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On April 11, 1783, the president of the Continental Congress issued a proclamation announcing the termination of hostilities. The preliminary articles of peace were signed November 30, 1782, but the definitive treaty was not agreed upon until September 3, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Does he mean here justices of the peace? Ordinarily the term "first magistrate" refers to the governor.

<sup>3</sup> William Spence Robertson, editor, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States), 1783-1784* (New York, 1928) p. 6.

This freedom was not won without the most tragic sacrifices, and the struggle left its scars on the town as well as conspicuous gaps among the ranks of the inhabitants. Alexander Gaston and many a brave soldier gave their lives. Other patriots were not long in following them in death, none the less mourned for not having laid down their lives in battle. Richard Cogdell, the safety committee leader; James Green, Jr., secretary of the provincial congresses; John Wright Stanly, privateer owner and importer of war supplies—not one was to survive the decade which saw the coming of peace; while the Bryans, William and Nathan,<sup>4</sup> James Coor, Richard Ellis, and John Hawks were to pass from the New Bern scene before the century's end. William McClure, whose health broke under the strain of his duties as a Continental army surgeon, was one of the many who as a result of the war lost all his property, "which was something considerable in South Carolina," he says.<sup>5</sup> Abner Nash literally gave everything, health and wealth. Writing in later years, his son Frederick told how his father, always delicate, had been "entirely broken—by the anxieties & labours to which he was exposed during the struggles of the revolution—& particularly while he was governor of the State."<sup>6</sup> Like McClure, Nash had contracted pulmonary tuberculosis, which ended his life in 1786 as he was on his way to a session of Congress, where he had served since 1782. "He went into the war of the Revolution a wealthy man," continues his son, "& came out of it worth nothing." Mrs. Nash used to tell the boy her husband's salary as governor, because of the inflation, would hardly purchase her a calico gown. The case of the Marquis de Bretigny is in some ways the saddest of all. This peer of France died in 1793 poor and in debt.<sup>7</sup> A year before his passing, the court minutes record the apprenticing of a twelve-year-old boy to him to learn the trade

<sup>4</sup> Bishop Francis Asbury, when he visited Craven County in 1791, was struck by the succession of tragedies which overtook the Bryan family. The general he called "a man I had often heard of, and wished to see—but death, swift and sudden, reached the house before me." His son Hardy had died November 18, 1790; his daughter Mary, December 28, 1790; and he himself, January 10, 1791. "I felt strangely unwilling to believe the general was dead," writes Asbury, "until I could no longer doubt it: at the graveyard I had very solemn feelings—there was some melting among the people while I enlarged on Psalm xii, 1." Francis Asbury, *Journal . . . From August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815* (New York, 1821), II, 92. As for Nathan Bryan, he died while a member of Congress at his lodgings in Philadelphia June 4, 1798. *North Carolina Minerva* (Fayetteville), June 23, 1798.

<sup>5</sup> *State Records*, XVI, 470-471, 474-475.

<sup>6</sup> Frederick Nash to David Lowrie Swain, May 21, 1853; Swain MSS, University of North Carolina Library, transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

<sup>7</sup> Craven Court Minutes, December, 1793.

of a baker.<sup>8</sup> Does this mean that Bretigney had been reduced to keeping a bakery shop and that he—like the war-scarred chevalier of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*—kept himself alive by selling the *pâtés* he made?

The war affected not only the town's inhabitants and their estates, but the school and newspaper, as well as the Palace. The Palace's decay and eventual destruction seem to symbolize New Bern's loss of political primacy as war conditions, plus western growth, forced the choice of a new capital. And yet as the new century began, the town was a thriving one, largest in the state, and its people were living a gayer, more varied, and more comfortable life than they ever had before.

Foremost among the casualties of the Revolution was North Carolina's first newspaper. Through the turbulent early years of the war, in the face of what must have been severe handicaps, James Davis continued intermittently bringing out his *Gazette*, but about 1778 he was forced to suspend this irregular publication.<sup>9</sup> Adam Boyd's *Capefear Mercury* had been discontinued two years earlier when Boyd entered the Continental army, so the stopping of the New Bern paper left North Carolina for the first time since 1751 without the prospect of a public press. Not until several months after peace was proclaimed did another newspaper spring up, and this too was in New Bern. It was called *The North Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser*, and was published by Robert Keith & Company on Davis's old press. Keith also seems to have used Davis's first newspaper office, the one "near the Church."<sup>10</sup> The first copy of Keith's paper appeared August 28, 1783, but it apparently did not continue long in publication, though it was still being brought out in the fall of the following year. Archibald Maclaine, the Wilmington lawyer, called it "not worth having," and evidently this opinion was shared by other subscribers.<sup>11</sup> In 1785, when Davis died, willing all of his equipment to his son Thomas, including that used by Keith, there were two rival

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<sup>8</sup> Craven Court Minutes, March, 1792.

<sup>9</sup> C. C. Crittenden, "North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790," *James Sprunt Historical Studies*, XX 1928, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> *The North Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser*, September 2, 1784.

<sup>11</sup> *State Records*, XVII, 128, 504.

presses in New Bern.<sup>12</sup> They were Arnett & Hodge and Martin & Company, who bid in competition for state printing (though whether they were journalistic rivals when they did so does not appear).<sup>13</sup> The former firm, which later became Hodge & Blanchard and then Hodge & Wills, was, however, publishing a newspaper called *The State Gazette of North-Carolina* by late in 1785, and early in the following year François Xavier Martin's *North Carolina Gazette* began to appear. Hodge & Wills published in New Bern until 1788, when they moved to Edenton, thus leaving Martin, a Marseilles-born Frenchman, in clear possession of the field.<sup>14</sup> Martin continued as the chief publisher of New Bern. The town in many ways was the most important in the journalistic field of any in North Carolina. Of the twelve newspapers published before 1790, no fewer than five were brought out in New Bern, and only Wilmington, with three to its credit, comes near challenging this number.<sup>15</sup>

The school, just as the press, underwent great vicissitudes during and after the war, and it was many years before it was restored to the level upon which Tomlinson had placed it. After the young Englishman came one Elias Hoell, who in July or August, 1774, began classes in the public schoolhouse.<sup>16</sup> In the following June, classes there were "again opened," though whether under Hoell's tutelage does not appear.<sup>17</sup> English, Latin, and French; algebra; plain and spherical trigonometry; astronomy and navigation; "the Use of the Globes"; and "the Italian Method of Bookkeeping" were being taught. Not until 1778 is there further mention of the school. In midyear Joseph Blythe opened classes in the building.<sup>18</sup> "I wish the young man may succeed," wrote Richard Cogdell, "as his behaviour since he lived among us has been unexceptionable."<sup>19</sup> But despite this wish and the encouragement of Abner Nash, Blythe stayed on only about a year before entering the Continental army as a

<sup>12</sup> Craven County Records, Will Book A, 81; *State Records*, XVII, 279, 337, 504, 632. Thomas Davis did not remain in New Bern but moved westward, publishing a paper first in Halifax and later in Hillsboro.

<sup>13</sup> *State Records*, XVII, 279, 337, 504, 632.

<sup>14</sup> In 1788 Hodges & Wills's shop was on Pollock Street "opposite the Tobacco-Inspection." Andrew Blanchard died about 1787, and Wills succeeded him sometime between November 15, 1787, and February 7, 1788. *The State Gazette of North Carolina*, March 27, 1788.

<sup>15</sup> C. C. Crittenden, "North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790," *James Sprunt Historical Studies*, XX (1928), p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, September 2, 1774.

<sup>17</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, July 7, 1775.

<sup>18</sup> *State Records*, XIII, 461.

<sup>19</sup> *State Records*, XIV, 128.

surgeon.<sup>20</sup> Several private schoolmasters seem to have been active in the town at this period. One of these was James Cole Mountfloreance, a French officer from Charliol's disbanded regiment, who later kept a store near Warrenton. Mountfloreance readily admitted he had had no experience in teaching but offered as qualification two years' study in philosophy and eight years in mathematics at the University of Paris.<sup>21</sup> He seems to have taught but a brief while before falling ill of fever, and what education there was offered soon came to depend on itinerant pedagogues. One George Harrison in mid-1778 was advertising classes in English, French, writing, and ciphering.<sup>22</sup> In the spring of the year Gasper Beaufort, self-described as of Philadelphia, offered classes in French at thirty shillings per month, but met with little encouragement.<sup>23</sup> Another who may have taught at this time was "John Green, schoolmaster," as he was known in legal documents, in contradistinction to John Green the merchant. Green died in 1781.<sup>24</sup> The historian Vass, without citing his source of information, says that, near the end of the war, "a noted Scotchman," blessed with the prolix name of James Alexander Campbell Hunter Peter Douglas, taught in the county. "He would flog a whole class," Vass says, "because they spelt 'corn' as he pronounced it, 'kor-run.'" <sup>25</sup> These various schoolmasters probably did not prove satisfactory as to qualifications, and sometimes not as to character. In 1784 one Andrew Gowtey, then schoolmaster, though whether under trustee supervision is not clear, was brought before the county court, where it was charged that he "keeps a disorderly House and Entertains loose . . . persons of profligate Character, and Suffers unlawful gaming on the Lords Day." <sup>26</sup> Without mention of the disposition of the other charges, the court dismissed Gowtey's case with a ten-shilling fine for breach of the Sabbath.

Gowtey's unexemplary character may have been the motive for reorganization of the school, which came about the same time the court caught up with this schoolmaster's misconduct.

<sup>20</sup> *State Records*, XIV, 128, 323.

<sup>21</sup> *State Records*, XIII, 335-336.

<sup>22</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, July 31, 1778.

<sup>23</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, March 6, April 3, 1778.

<sup>24</sup> Craven Court Minutes, December, 1781.

<sup>25</sup> L. C. Vass, *History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C.* (Richmond, 1886), p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> Craven Court Minutes, June, 1784.

An act introduced by William Bryan at the Assembly convening in April, 1784, accomplished this much-needed postwar reform.<sup>27</sup> The legislation was needed, according to the preamble, because "in the course of the late war, by the death and removal of many of the trustees, and from other unavoidable accidents, the building is much impaired, and the education of youth neglected."<sup>28</sup> The act gave the school the name it was to bear for so many years—the New Bern Academy. It appointed a nine-man, self-perpetuating board of trustees, of which the governor of the state—at the time Richard Caswell—was made an *ex officio* member. The other members were Abner Nash, a past governor; Richard Dobbs Spaight, a future governor; and such distinguished men as John Wright Stanly, William Blount, John Sitgreaves, Spyers Singleton, William McClure, and the sponsor of the bill, William Bryan. These trustees were to elect a president, secretary, and treasurer. As to who was chosen to preside, there is no record, though it is a fair assumption that the governor was accorded this honor. It is known, however, though not from the Academy's minutes, which have not survived, that William McClure was treasurer and John Sitgreaves, who within a few years was to be named district federal judge, was secretary.<sup>29</sup> The act provided for a "public visitation" every six months. It was planned to grant certificates for work completed, but the law specifically forbade the awarding of degrees. Finally this act vested in the trustees, as an endowment, certain of the public lots set aside in 1751 for the courthouse site but never built on. Three years later another act, introduced by John Sitgreaves, turned over to the school the old glebe—Lot No. 322 at Middle and Johnston streets—with instructions that the trustees were either to rent or sell it and use the money as they saw fit.<sup>30</sup> Thus, as in Tryon's time (though not by means of a public tax) the school was provided with the means toward a revenue as a subsidy for its encouragement and continued operation.

Unfortunately there is no record as to who was the master of the reorganized school, nor indeed whether it opened in 1784 or later. Its operation certainly did not discourage private teachers

<sup>27</sup> *State Records*, XIX, 551.

<sup>28</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 607-609.

<sup>29</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly General Advertiser*, July 29, 1784.

<sup>30</sup> *State Records*, XVIII, 267; XXIV, 825.

from soliciting pupils in the town. In 1787 one "Mr. Nihell" was advertising for as many as twenty-five scholars whom he offered to teach English, French, Latin, arithmetic, surveying, book-keeping, gauging, navigation, and geography, as well as "morality and politeness, so necessary to youth."<sup>31</sup> In 1791, for a fee of thirty shillings per pupil quarterly, Thomas Crew was planning to open a school for young children "next door to Mr. James Carney's."<sup>32</sup> In 1795 a night school, one of the earliest in the state, was begun by A. H. Adams "for instructing those young men, in writing and arithmetic, whose business will not admit of their attending in the day."<sup>33</sup> The Academy probably was being taught about this time by the rector of Christ Church. It may be that the Reverend Leonard Cutting, who served the parish from 1785 to 1792, was the first master of the school under the reorganization, though definite proof of this is lacking.<sup>34</sup>

In 1793 it was announced that the Academy would open in November of that year under the direction of Thomas Pitt Irving, a young graduate of Princeton University, class of '89, and native of Somerset County, Maryland.<sup>35</sup> This was an important date in the life of the Academy, for under Irving's talented guidance it began to acquire a reputation such as it had enjoyed in Tomlinson's day. There were at this time three classes: a primary group, tuition twenty shillings per quarter, who studied the three R's; a secondary group, thirty shillings tuition, who studied higher mathematics; and a third, fifty shillings tuition, who learned the classical languages.<sup>36</sup> On December 23, 1793, the first visitation of Irving's classes was held.<sup>37</sup> The trustees examined his pupils in Latin, English, Euclid's elements, and geography. The pupils in turn entertained the visitors by performing "a dramatic piece in ridicule of scholastic pedantry," in which young William Gaston, son of Alexander Gaston and later to be one of the nation's great jurists, took part. The visitation was concluded with an oration by the fifteen-year-

<sup>31</sup> *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, October 4, 1787.

<sup>32</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, June 4, 1791.

<sup>33</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, October 24, 1795.

<sup>34</sup> Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., "Decay and Revival 1800-1830," in *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina* (Wilmington, 1892), chap. VII, p. 258.

<sup>35</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, October 12, 1793. Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., "Decay and Revival 1800-1830," *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina*, p. 258.

<sup>36</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, October 12, 1793.

<sup>37</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, January 4, 1794.

old Gaston "on the blessings of American independence," for which his father had given his life. During the quarterly examination which took place the following spring, the trustees announced that "Mr. Gaston and Mr. Guion cannot be too highly commended for the Accuracy and elegancy of their translations from Homer and Horace." The *Gazette* proclaimed significantly:

From the present flourishing state of our Academy we have reason to hope that we shall no longer regret the disadvantages, under which we have long laboured in obtaining an education for our youth.<sup>38</sup>

The school at this time had fifty "younger pupils." At the next quarterly visitation, held in July, the students recited in logic besides the other usual subjects, and the *Gazette* speaks of a crowded audience assembling to hear them.<sup>39</sup> Several orations and "extracts from various comedies" were given, as well as a "petite piece," thought to have been written by Irving, which ridiculed the "pretender to science." The chief event of the evening was the performance of *Mock Doctor, or Dumb Lady Cur'd*, an adaptation by Fielding from Moliere's *Le médecin malgré lui*. The event was concluded with an impromptu talk by Irving on "the glories of science." Subsequent accounts of these visitations are infrequent due to the scarcity of early newspapers, but it is a safe assumption that the trustees and townspeople—as at one held in 1796—continued to be "well pleased" with the instruction and headmastership of Mr. Irving.<sup>40</sup>

In 1795 the schoolhouse was destroyed by fire, and Irving seems to have moved his classes to a room in the Palace.<sup>41</sup> The loss was a blow but no more than the town's gain in having acquired so accomplished a resident as this Marylander. In 1796 he was ordained to the Episcopal ministry and from that date until 1813, when he removed to Hagerstown, Maryland, "Parson" Irving served as rector of Christ Church in addition to being master of the Academy. In some ways he typified the *fin de siècle* atmosphere of the town. Strait-laced church folk probably criticized his worldliness, for not even upon donning the cloth did he leave off his flair for theatricals. Bishop Cheshire says, at

<sup>38</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, April 5, 1794.

<sup>39</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, July 12, 1794.

<sup>40</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, July 9, 1796.

<sup>41</sup> John D. Whitford, "Historical Notes," MS reminiscences in the New Bern Public Library and Whitford Collection, p. 202, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Colonel Whitford wrote about 1900. The writer has encountered no contemporary reference to the fire.

a later date, that Irving was criticized for being "lacking in zeal and religious fervor" and complains that "some of the most prominent people of the parish left the Church during his time," being attracted by the growing Methodist and Presbyterian congregations.<sup>42</sup> It is not hard to believe that Irving had more of the scholar's reserve than the preacher's ardor because he acquired an almost proverbial reputation for what a later schoolmaster and Presbyterian elder called his "*sang froid*."<sup>43</sup> But he was human enough to be dubbed "Tippoo Sahib" and "the Great Mogul" by his scholars.<sup>44</sup> And surely, in view of his long pastorate, second only to James Reed's in length, he could not have been entirely unsuccessful as a rector. On the other hand, his interest in literature, music, and drama must have made him a welcome companion in most circles. He taught singing and composed music for the odes or anthems he sometimes wrote.<sup>45</sup> His liking for "Theatrical exercises, of the unlicentious kind," gave the town many an entertaining evening.<sup>46</sup> And he was popular enough as a member of the Masonic lodge to serve in 1798 as chaplain and as worshipful master in 1808-1810.<sup>47</sup> After a long residence in New Bern, Irving returned to his native state and served at Hagerstown as master of the Academy until his death in 1818.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., "Decay and Revival 1800-1830," *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina*, p. 259.

<sup>43</sup> ". . . he conversed about the judgment with as much sang froid as ever parson Irving took a pinch of snuff. . . ." Elias Hawes to Frederick Nash, July 7, 1812; Francis Nash Collection (1759-1864), State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

<sup>44</sup> John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1851), I, 120. John D. Whitford, "Historical Notes," p. 208. L. C. Vass, in *History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C.*, p. 93, preserves this rhyming order by the fanciful Mr. Irving:

PALACE, NEW BERN, Nov. 11, 1797.

MESSRS. GEORGE AND THOMAS ELLIS:

I send you, sirs, a little boy  
To buy me neither robe nor toy,  
Nor rum, nor sugar, nor molasses,  
Coffee, tea, nor empty glasses;  
Nor linen cloths, nor beau cravats,  
Nor handkerchiefs, nor beaver hats;  
Nor anything, or less or more  
Of all that constitutes your store,  
Save only this, a noon-day taper,  
And one thing more, a quire of paper.  
Of these pray send the exact amount,  
And charge them both to my account.  
And rest assured my prayer shall be,  
Kind sirs, for your prosperitee.

THOS. P. IRVING.

<sup>45</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, December 27, 1795; April 4, 1804, June 24, 1809, Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.

<sup>46</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, August 1, 1804, February 6, 1805.

<sup>47</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, December 5, 1798; first Wednesday, December, 1807; December 6, 1809.

<sup>48</sup> *The Raleigh Register*, February 6, 1818.

So much for the fortunes of the school. The county's public buildings suffered, too, as a result of the war. The difficulty of construction at this period, as noted by James Iredell, has already been mentioned. A direct example of how the war prevented public building is shown in the county's first attempt to erect a pesthouse. Just before the Revolution, the assembly had enacted a law enabling Craven and other "maritime counties" to levy a poll tax and raise £100 to build in each a place in which to quarantine persons with contagious diseases.<sup>49</sup> But although this money was raised by the county, it was used almost entirely between late 1775 and early 1776 to reimburse patriots who had advanced pay to newly recruited troops.<sup>50</sup> During and after the Revolution, the courthouse was in a sorry state of disrepair, and the justices reverted to their old habit of meeting from pillar to post. In 1781 they held sessions at the home of Henry Purss, a former town constable.<sup>51</sup> Two years later they were meeting in the "State House"—that is, the abandoned governor's palace.<sup>52</sup> It seems to have been a usual thing to have winter sessions in some place other than the courthouse. The minutes of one December session tell of adjournment to the home of the clerk "on Account of the Cold Weather and the Shattered condition of the Court House."<sup>53</sup> This condition applied also to the new jail, which had been completed to serve New Bern District not long before the war. In 1783 an act of assembly described this building as being "in a ruinous state, and by no means sufficient for the safe-keeping of felons."<sup>54</sup> The act levied a poll and property tax over the district for the repair of the jail, but apparently little was done toward this end. The tax money was never fully applied, for as late as 1801 some of the sheriffs in the district had not turned in all their revenue.<sup>55</sup> The situation must have been equally discouraging in other counties. The General Assembly of 1795-1796 enacted a badly needed law which brought certain jail reforms and permitted the counties to appoint officers known as treasurers of public buildings to deal exclusively with this sort of financing and maintenance.<sup>56</sup> In midyear the court chose

<sup>49</sup> *State Records*, XXIII, 957.

<sup>50</sup> Craven Court Minutes, September, 1774; December, 1775; March, 1776.

<sup>51</sup> Craven Court Minutes, December, 1781.

<sup>52</sup> Craven Court Minutes, December, 1783.

<sup>53</sup> Craven Court Minutes, December, 1798.

<sup>54</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 522.

<sup>55</sup> Chap. XCI, Laws of 1801.

<sup>56</sup> Chap. IV, Laws of 1795.

Isaac Guion for this position, and a year later he rendered a report on the jail which resulted eventually in the repair of that building.<sup>57</sup> By this time it had become apparent that extensive and costly repairs to the courthouse were necessary, and in 1798 a special building tax was levied by the court to repair both jail and courthouse, but more particularly the latter.<sup>58</sup> Deciding, however, that the old building would not be worth the expensive repairs, the court in 1800 determined to build a new courthouse — over the opposition of some of the justices, who evidently were opposed for reasons of economy to the undertaking.<sup>59</sup> This new building, valued by one underwriter at \$11,500, was completed about 1806, though it was not until between 1821 and 1824 that a new jail was erected.<sup>60</sup>

Meanwhile, what of that most famous building, the Palace? How did it fare during and after the war? After Martin's flight it was occupied only intermittently. The General Assembly in 1777 met in the Palace.<sup>61</sup> The next session was called to meet there, and undoubtedly did convene there in April, 1778.<sup>62</sup> In May, 1780, Governor Abner Nash and his family moved into the Palace and intended giving a grand ball to celebrate its reoccupation, but these plans were canceled when news of the fall of Charleston arrived.<sup>63</sup> Nash seems to have resided there a year or more. Before he moved in, the council in November, 1779, had made some effort to repair the roof, the lead sheeting of which was cracked "and otherways so much out of repair that every shower of rain runs through."<sup>64</sup> Yet, as has already been mentioned, it became necessary to remove some of this metal — there were eight tons of it in the gutterwork, roof, and other fittings — for patriot ordnance.<sup>65</sup> So much, in fact, was taken that Governor Thomas Burke feared the building would be reduced "to almost a wreck and a pile of brick."<sup>66</sup> By late in 1783 the Palace had deteriorated so badly that William Hooper

<sup>57</sup> Craven Court Minutes, June, 1796; June, 1797; December, 1798.

<sup>58</sup> Craven Court Minutes, March, 1798.

<sup>59</sup> Craven Court Minutes, June, September, 1800.

<sup>60</sup> B. J. White to Hardy Whitford, January 29, 1827; Letters to Clerk of Court, Craven County, 1827-1886, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Craven Court Minutes, December, 1805; March, 1821; August, 1824; February, 1825.

<sup>61</sup> *The North Carolina Gazette*, December 26, 1777.

<sup>62</sup> *The North Carolina Gazette*, January 2, 1778.

<sup>63</sup> Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell* (New York, 1858), I, 446, 451, 507n; *State Records*, XV, 20.

<sup>64</sup> *State Records*, XXII, 961.

<sup>65</sup> *State Records*, XV, 518, 624; XIX, 872-873.

<sup>66</sup> *State Records*, XIX, 872-873.

said it had "more the appearance of a neglected jail than anything else."<sup>67</sup> Marauders and vandals played their part in ruining the "capital building on the continent of North America." J. D. Schoepf, a German traveler who visited New Bern about 1783, remarked on this wanton looting:

. . . the inhabitants of the town [he says] took everything that they could make use of, carpets, pannels of glass, locks, iron utensils, and the like, until watch-men were finally installed to prevent the carrying off of the house itself.<sup>68</sup>

The mention of watchmen evidently is a reference to the General Assembly's appointment of Longfield Coxe as caretaker in 1782.<sup>69</sup> In 1785, 1787, and 1788, the General Assembly again named caretakers and at one time passed a resolution authorizing the prosecution at state expense of "any person [who] shall in any manner damage the said Buildings."<sup>70</sup> An effort was made to rent out the rooms and appropriate the revenue from this toward maintenance and repairs.<sup>71</sup> Schoepf observed with some truth and much malice that the state "would be glad" to sell the Palace, "but there is nobody who thinks himself rich enough to live in a brick house." Several times the General Assembly considered this. In 1785 and 1787 bills providing for the sale were tabled, but in 1793 one was passed appointing commissioners to receive bids and lay them before the next session.<sup>72</sup> Evidently the offers, if any were obtained, were so disappointing that nothing further was done, for in the journal of the following session the matter is not mentioned.

During these last years the Palace was being put to a miscellany of uses.<sup>73</sup> The appointment of commissioners in 1784 to rent the rooms shows that the Palace served as a sort of apartment building. Whether the main building was put to this use is not clear, but it is certain that there were lodgers in the east wing. The verdict of a coroner's jury in 1790, for example, tells of the slaying of one William Hoboye in an apartment "at the

<sup>67</sup> Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 76.

<sup>68</sup> Alfred J. Morrison, editor, *Travels in the Confederation* (Philadelphia, 1911), II, 128-129; containing an English translation of John David Schoepf's *Reise durch Einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten*.

<sup>69</sup> *State Records*, XIX, 115.

<sup>70</sup> *State Records*, XVII, 425; XVIII, 221, 460; XXI, 129, 137.

<sup>71</sup> *State Records*, XIX, 667.

<sup>72</sup> *State Records*, XVII, 425; XX, 248; Chap. XXVIII, Laws of 1793.

<sup>73</sup> It is interesting to note that in 1791 the lower floor of the state house at Fayetteville was being advertised for rent as store space. A tumbling act also was being held there. *The North Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette*, January 24, 31, 1791.

Pallace Kitchin.”<sup>74</sup> Advertisements in newspapers indicate a variety of semi-public uses of the Palace. In 1784 a fencing school was to be held there; in 1795 a dancing school; and in 1796 classes were to be offered there by one M. Reverchon for instruction in French.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps these were held in the large downstairs rooms of the main building. As early as 1787 the Masonic lodge occasionally convened at the Palace, and from 1792 on, the members began regularly to meet “at the Masonic rooms” there.<sup>76</sup> The diarist William Attmore remarked in 1787 on the desolateness of these vasty halls, in which a school of some sort was then being held:

This House . . . is somewhat out of repair at present, and the Legislature, not meeting at this time in Newbern, the only use now made of it is, the Town’s people use one of the Halls for a Dancing Room & One of the other Rooms is used for a School Room. The only inhabitants we found about it were the Schoolmaster and one little boy in the palace, school being out. And in the Stables 2 or 3 Horses who had taken shelter there from the bleakness of the Wind.<sup>77</sup>

Mention of the removal of the Academy to the Palace in 1795 has already been made. Thus, as Attmore so philosophically points out, this proud building, from being the center of regal authority, had fallen under the ferrule of the schoolmaster and his little subjects.

The empty Palace was an ever-present symbol of New Bern’s loss of its position as permanent state capital. Like the Palace at Williamsburg in Virginia, it stood as mute testimony to the westward movement of the American population. In 1783, when the question of a federal capital was under consideration in Congress, the ghost of Tryon’s Palace rose up to admonish North Carolina’s representatives, who sought to have the capital of the United States fixed more nearly in the center of the country rather than in the extreme east. They reported to Governor Alexander Martin:

We urged . . . That posterity would laugh at our federal buildings and desert them if we should unwisely for selfish purposes fix them on

<sup>74</sup> Among miscellaneous papers at the Craven County courthouse, New Bern. Signed by John Green, foreman of the jury, and Jarvis Buxton, coroner.

<sup>75</sup> *The North Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly General Advertiser*, July 29, 1784; *North-Carolina Gazette*, October 31, 1795 and April 30, 1796.

<sup>76</sup> Minutes of St. John’s Lodge, July 6, 1787; and *passim* from 1792; Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.

<sup>77</sup> Lida Tunstall Rodman, “Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787,” *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII (1922), 16.

a corner of the Empire. The history of palaces in Williamsburg and New Bern were so much in the road and were proofs so much in point that we could not forget them.<sup>78</sup>

Thus the political winds were blowing away from the east. This was a development that had begun not after but during the Revolution. It will be remembered that although the first and second provincial congresses met in New Bern in 1774 and 1775, the third, in August, 1775, met in Hillsboro and the fourth and fifth in the following year in Halifax. When the first state General Assembly, of which Abner Nash was speaker, convened in New Bern in April and May of 1777, the town's position as Assembly meeting place was challenged for the first time since Dobbs had moved his residence to Wilmington in 1758. The delegates voted among Halifax, Hillsboro, and New Bern as the place for their next session, and though New Bern received the greatest number of votes, it did not receive a majority of those in both houses.<sup>79</sup> This was the handwriting on the wall. It was inevitable under the new constitution, which took away the Albemarle counties' right to send five delegates each to an Assembly, and thus deprived New Bern of some of the support it would have received from the east. Besides, the west was continuously growing more populous, and its voting power was increasing as the years went by. Seven new western counties were created in 1779 alone, and others were formed from time to time after the war.

Although its passing was inevitable, New Bern's hold on the General Assembly was not so quickly loosened. The representatives continued to meet in the town, probably because it was the principal town of the state. The second session of the first Assembly under the constitution convened there late in 1777, as did the first session of the second Assembly in the spring of 1778.<sup>80</sup> At this latter session, however, Hillsboro won out in the voting.<sup>81</sup> From this time on, the legislators reverted to their old itinerant ways. In April, 1779, the Assembly was to have convened at New Bern, but a smallpox epidemic in the town forced the representatives to meet elsewhere and they held their session instead in Smithfield.<sup>82</sup> To their credit, they did make an attempt

<sup>78</sup> *State Records*, XVI, 908-910.

<sup>79</sup> *State Records*, XII, 65.

<sup>80</sup> *State Records*, XII, iii (prefatory notes), 416.

<sup>81</sup> *State Records*, XII, 718-719.

<sup>82</sup> *State Records*, XIII, 585, 762, 764, 792.

to prevent this nomadic wandering. At the Smithfield session, on May 6, a resolution was introduced in the house naming a commission of twelve to "view and fix upon some place in each of the Counties of Johnston, Wake & Chatham, for holding the General Assembly."<sup>83</sup> The resolution named James Coor as one of the two members for the New Bern District, and declared as its purpose the fact that

. . . the holding [of] the General Assembly of this State, and the Offices incident thereto, at some certain fixed place, at or near the centre thereof, would save a considerable Expense to the public and tend much to the Ease and advantage of the Inhabitants in other Respects as well as for the preservation of the public Records.

Whether the Senate acted favorably on this resolution is not known since a part of its journal is lost, but nothing seems to have resulted from the commission's efforts, if indeed it ever functioned. The Smithfield session voted to hold the next meeting at Halifax, and at Halifax New Bern won out in the balloting, so there was no semblance of consistency in the Assembly's pillar-to-post choices of a "capital" at this time.<sup>84</sup>

One circumstance that drove the Assembly from meeting regularly at New Bern was the fear of invasion or bombardment which frequently plagued the town.<sup>85</sup> Pursuant to the Halifax balloting, the Assembly convened at New Bern in May, 1780, for the last time during the Revolution.<sup>86</sup> The next session, which met at Halifax in January and February of 1781, resolved to return again to New Bern, but fears of a foray by Craig from captured Wilmington forced the Assembly—which was to have met there April 1—to convene instead on June 23 at Wake Courthouse.<sup>87</sup> Not until April, 1782, a year later, did the members gather again, and this time at Hillsboro, where the first definite action was taken since Tryon's time to "anchor" the assemblies. The two houses, noting "great and manifest inconveniences" for want of a fixed meeting place, passed an act declaring Hillsboro the seat of the Assembly but providing that if the British should threaten Hillsboro, or if a plague should break out in that town, the governor might call the members to

<sup>83</sup> *State Records*, XIII, 752.

<sup>84</sup> *State Records*, XIII, 756, 855.

<sup>85</sup> See above, chap. VII, p. 316-317.

<sup>86</sup> *State Records*, XIX, 64.

<sup>87</sup> *State Records*, XVII, vii (prefatory notes), 707.

meet elsewhere.<sup>88</sup> Of the Craven delegation, John Tillman, county member, and Richard Dobbs Spaight, town member, were recorded as not voting on the measure. William Bryan, however, who had asked for a division following the voice vote, is listed as voting against the bill, which was carried in the lower house, 45 to 18. Evidently Tillman and Spaight, perceiving the overwhelming majority as indicated by the voice vote, simply absented themselves when the division was taken, but it is clear that Craven fought hard against this measure, though it was expressly not designed to fix the capital but only the meetings of the Assembly until some permanent arrangement could be made.<sup>89</sup>

With the ending of the war, all this was undone. In the spring of 1783, the Assembly meeting at Hillsboro decided that the reasons for holding sessions there "in preference to any other place in this State have ceased by the restoration of peace" — a phraseology which betrays the jealousy of the other towns.<sup>90</sup> Privately the representatives were talking of fixing the capital either at Wake Courthouse or at Cross Creek (later Fayetteville), though we may be sure that delegates from the lower Neuse section were arguing vehemently against it.<sup>91</sup> Intrigue among the towns and frantic bidding for the next session continued as the Assembly vacillated. A letter of Richard Caswell describes the hot partisanship that flared at these sessions. Speaking of the General Assembly which convened at Hillsboro in the spring of 1784, he wrote that

. . . a Joint Ballot was last night had, 141 Voters, Majority of course 71. when Hillsboro' had 69 & Newbern 65. I suppose we shall try again tomorrow, but 'twill be very Close pushing & according to the phrase this place [Hillsboro] will be hard pushed, but I fear it will carry it, much has been done towards fixing the Seat of Government but a few Neuse men have hitherto put a Stop to it. Tarboro was within three of a Majority once in three Times Voting. Fayetteville was in Competition. We had for Smithfield in the Course of the Three times polling 18, 13 & 17 which effectually has yet stopped their farther progress, indeed I do not know if it will be again attempted.<sup>92</sup>

At length New Bern won out in the balloting, and public notice

<sup>88</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 448.

<sup>89</sup> *State Records*, XVI, 127; XXIV, 448.

<sup>90</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 510.

<sup>91</sup> *State Records*, XVI, 959.

<sup>92</sup> *State Records*, XVII, 143-144.

was given to the townspeople regarding the demands the coming session would make on them:

As it will in all probability be the most numerous assembly hitherto known in this place, it is hoped the inhabitants will not be remiss in making the most ample provision for them.<sup>93</sup>

Since there were by now fifty-four counties and a nominal total of 168 representatives, this Assembly, which convened in November, crowded New Bern considerably. Archibald Maclaine wrote he "found it extremely difficult to get a bed to lie on." "The town," he said with double meaning, "as well as the two houses, is remarkably full."<sup>94</sup> A year later the Assembly convened for the first time in Fayetteville, and thereafter until 1790, with the exception of one session which met at Tarboro, seemed to prefer this up-and-coming town to the one on the banks of the Neuse and Trent.

During all this time the public papers, the council of state, and the governor's residence were wandering like the Assembly. Certain of the records are known to have been moved from New Bern when the British seized the town.<sup>95</sup> Legislative papers, of course, followed the Assembly from New Bern to Tarboro, Fayetteville, and other towns.<sup>96</sup> Until 1778 the council of state met in New Bern, but in that year Governor Caswell began calling the members to meet at various places, "which I have changed from time to time," he wrote, "as most agreeable to them."<sup>97</sup> Caswell himself, though he lived at Dobbs, found it more "advisable" to spend most of his time at New Bern—a decision which Thomas Burke, later to be governor, expressed himself as pleased with.<sup>98</sup> Caswell's successor, Abner Nash, lived throughout his term (1779-1781) at New Bern simply because that was his home. Nash's successor, Alexander Martin, spent much time there, as did Caswell during his second term (1784-1787). At this time Caswell began alternating the council meetings between New Bern and Kinston.<sup>99</sup> He had called the council to meet at Kinston as early as 1777, but he realized that this place suited less the convenience of other officials than his own desire

<sup>93</sup> *Gazette of the State of South Carolina* (Charleston), June 2, 1785.

<sup>94</sup> *State Records*, XVII, 631.

<sup>95</sup> *State Records*, XIX, 157.

<sup>96</sup> *State Records*, XVIII, 196, 461.

<sup>97</sup> *State Records*, XIII, 43.

<sup>98</sup> *State Records*, XI, 393, 449.

<sup>99</sup> *State Records*, XVI, 409, 449; XVII, 108, 468, 469, 470; XX, 634, 638; XXII, 687.

to be near his estate. He once wrote that he could not recommend it for "its accommodations or the politeness of its company" but urged in extenuation that it was "not so far distant from New Bern, but some of the luxuries of that Town may be easily had here."<sup>100</sup>

Being the permanent home of neither governor, Assembly, nor council, New Bern could expect soon to have its claim as capital legally annulled.<sup>101</sup> A forewarning of this came when the constitutional convention of 1788, meeting at Hillsboro, acted on the question. The convention voted not to fix the capital itself, but to require the Assembly to fix it within ten miles of a point decided on by the convention. Samuel Spencer, of Anson, placed the name of New Bern in nomination along with Smithfield, Tarboro, Hillsboro, Fayetteville, the fork of Haw and Deep rivers, and Isaac Hunter's tavern in Wake County.<sup>102</sup> None of these places got a majority of votes on the first ballot, but on the second Isaac Hunter's in Wake County won out.<sup>103</sup> An ordinance to require fixing the capital within ten miles of this spot was accordingly presented — and approved by a narrow margin. What had occurred was practically the same solution adopted in Dobb's time. Caught amid the cross fire of town rivalries, the Assembly proposed fixing the capital where there was no town at all! A total of 119 out of approximately 270 members dissented vigorously from this action, urging the choice of Fayetteville instead, and contending that "the establishment of a seat of government in a place unconnected with commerce, and where there is at present no town, will be attended with a heavy expence to the people."<sup>104</sup> The New Bern and Craven County delegates did not join in this dissent, sensing a too-powerful contender in Fayetteville. Their fears as to the Assembly's liking for this town were well-founded. Not until December, 1791, did the Assembly return to New Bern after the crowded session of 1785 — Fayetteville winning out almost every year in the balloting for a place of meeting. And when the representatives convened again in New Bern the following year, it was for the last

<sup>100</sup> *State Records*, XVIII, 520.

<sup>101</sup> The diaries of Miranda (1783) and the Englishman, J. F. D. Smyth (1784), indicate that New Bern was still considered capital after the war. However, Schoepf (1783-1784) says it "formerly" was capital.

<sup>102</sup> *State Records*, XXII, 28-29.

<sup>103</sup> *State Records*, XXII, 33.

<sup>104</sup> *State Records*, XXII, 34-35.

time. For although the Assembly had for years found ways to avoid the mandate of the convention of 1788, the choice of a capital inevitably had to be made. At length in 1794 the seat of government was fixed at a "town" called Raleigh in Wake County, and at the next session another law was passed requiring the governor to reside there at least six months of the year.<sup>105</sup>

Much was the scorn heaped out of envy by Fayetteville and New Bern upon this infant capital. In 1798 François X. Martin's *Gazette* blazoned on its pages a stinging letter, purportedly written by an English traveler from Raleigh as one of a series of American travel accounts.<sup>106</sup> Due to its situation, wrote this "Englishman," Raleigh would never become anything but "the solitary residence of a few public officers, containing a few ordinary taverns, gaming-houses & dram-shops"—this being, he said, "what this metropolis now is." Studiously disparaging, he commented on the ugliness of the courthouse and the stench of the new square. The state house he pronounced "a clumsy brick building" and the residence of the governor "no way suited to the dignity of the first magistrate of a state." To this diatribe the "citizens of Raleigh," in another newspaper letter, replied spiritedly:

Were we to venture an opinion of this traveling gentleman, we should pronounce him a disappointed partizan who had formerly struggled in the interest of that graveyard called Fayetteville—ranking at heart, he has assumed the character of an Englishman to vent his spleen.<sup>107</sup>

For some reason it never occurred to the "citizens of Raleigh" that a zealous New Bernian—perhaps Martin himself—might have composed the letter.

On December 2, 1789, the town witnessed a gala event, the celebration of North Carolina's adoption of the federal Constitution, which had been accomplished by the convention at Fayetteville in November.<sup>108</sup> A company of the New Bern Volunteers, a militia organization which had just been formed that summer, paraded at the courthouse and then marched to the

<sup>105</sup> Chap. II, Laws of 1793; chap. VIII, p. 5, Laws of 1794. Chap. VIII, p. 15, Laws of 1798, fixed unconditionally the governor's residence at Raleigh and provided that any intended absence of longer than ten days should be advertised in one or more newspapers.

<sup>106</sup> The original newspaper is not available, but the letter was reprinted in full by *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), March 12, 1798.

<sup>107</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), June 4, 1798.

<sup>108</sup> The adoption was not celebrated generally, it appears until about this time. Edenton's festivities took place December 1.

Palace green, where they fired a *feu de joie*.<sup>109</sup> A float made in the shape of a vessel and christened "the ship Federalist" was pulled through the streets to Palace Square amid the cheers of the townspeople. In the afternoon there was a banquet which seems to have taken place in the Palace, and while a twelve-gun salute was fired, twelve toasts were drunk, one among them being "to the French and Dutch patriots." Afterward there was more parading:

The whole company [according to a newspaper account] next marched in procession through the principal streets of the town, accompanied by Captain Stiron, in the ship Federalist. The ship was elegantly decorated and fired a salute at every corner. In the evening the town was illuminated.<sup>110</sup>

Well might New Bern celebrate this event with the traditional gunpowder and torchlight, for the town soon became a center of federal activity. On March 10, 1790, a United States customhouse was opened in New Bern with John Daves commissioned as first collector.<sup>111</sup> Soon after, a federal district court was established in New Bern, meeting for the first time, it appears, on October 4, 1790.<sup>112</sup> The court continued to convene there quarterly until 1792, when Congress decided it must rotate among New Bern, Wilmington, and Edenton. In 1791, John Sitgreaves, a New Bern native, who had been federal district attorney, became judge of this court succeeding John Stokes.<sup>113</sup> Federal circuit courts of appeal were held in New Bern from November, 1791, to June, 1793, but at the latter date the sessions were moved to the new capital, Raleigh.<sup>114</sup> There was, of course,

<sup>109</sup> The gentlemen composing this company had met at the courthouse and organized it, in August, by choosing the following officers: Samuel Gerock, captain; William Becking, lieutenant; Robert Donnell, ensign; and William Henry and Dr. James Cutting, sergeants. "Their uniform is to be blue with buff facing, [and with] round hat covered with bear skin." *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, August 27, 1789. Their colors were "an eagle spread, holding in the dexter talon an olive branch, in the sinister a quiver of arrows—motto, above the eagle, *Pax aut Bellum*, underneath *Newbern Volunteers*." *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, July 16, 1790. By 1794 there were one lighthouse company and three other companies of militia, probably including the Volunteers, at New Bern. *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), October 1, 1794.

<sup>110</sup> *The State Gazette of North-Carolina* (Edenton), December 17, 1789.

<sup>111</sup> *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (Charleston), March 23, 1790. In 1784 New Bern had been named by law the place for the office of (State) collector of Port Beaufort, but this was only a reaffirmation of an existing situation. *State Records*, XXIV, 552.

<sup>112</sup> "Inventory of Federal Archives in the States, Series II, The Federal Courts, No. 32, North Carolina" (Work Projects Administration, 1940), p. 44.

<sup>113</sup> *The North-Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette*, January 31, 1791.

<sup>114</sup> Although it was decided in a state court a few years before the adoption of the constitution, a case of some importance in subsequent federal judicial history was decided in New Bern. This was the suit Bayard vs. Singleton, which, tried in 1787, resulted in one of the earliest precedents for court review and annulment of unconstitutional legislation. For an idea of the controversy this decision stirred, see Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 169, 172-176.

a federal post office in New Bern, of which François X. Martin seems to have been postmaster. In 1793 he offered an unusual service to the inhabitants, as this interesting item in his *Gazette* testifies:

A number of inhabitants of this town having evinced a desire that the Post-Master would cause their letters to be delivered at their own houses *immediately* on the arrival of the mail. He will in future do so, with regard to such persons as may require it and be willing to pay therefor 50 cents per annum.<sup>115</sup>

This must have been one of the earliest postal deliveries in North Carolina.

At this period New Bern remained the largest town in the state, with Fayetteville as its nearest rival. From about 150 houses or at most 1,000 persons, in the early days of the Revolution, the town grew to at least 400 houses and 2,000 persons by the early 1790's. A New Bern newspaper of the period says that between 1784 and 1798 the population "nearly doubled."<sup>116</sup> Actually, this was a conservative statement; the population more than doubled. As Bishop Asbury wrote when he visited New Bern in 1796, the town was "a growing place." "Should piety, health and trade attend this Newbern," he predicted, "it will be a very capital place in half a century from this."<sup>117</sup> By 1800 New Bern was far ahead of any other North Carolina town.<sup>118</sup> The census of that year—the first accurate information on North Carolina urban population—gives the following figures: New Bern, 2,467; Wilmington, 1,689; Fayetteville, 1,656; Edenton, 1,302; Raleigh, 669; Halifax, 382; and Bath, 100.<sup>119</sup> New Bern did not approach the size of Charleston, whose inhabitants numbered 18,824, or Norfolk, with its population of 6,926; but it was more than thirty per cent larger than the second-rank-

<sup>115</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, March 23, 1793.

<sup>116</sup> *The Newbern Gazette*, January 12, 1799.

<sup>117</sup> Francis Asbury, *Journal . . . From August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815*, II, 272-273.

<sup>118</sup> An idea of the relative size of the eastern North Carolina towns during the post-revolutionary period may be obtained from the estimates of travelers and other contemporaries in the absence of population figures. Though these estimates vary and border on contradiction, they are rather interesting, as this comparative table shows:

Writer	New Bern	Wilmington	Edenton
Miranda, 1783.....	500 families.....		
Schoepf, 1783-4.....	"small".....	150 houses.....	100 houses
Smyth, 1784.....	"larger than Wilmington".....	200 houses.....	"perhaps larger than both"
Attmore, 1787.....	500-600 houses.....		
Morse, 1789.....	400 houses.....	180 houses.....	150 houses
Washington, 1791.....	2,000 persons.....		
Guthrie, 1795.....	400 houses.....	250 houses.....	100 houses

Among these sources there is only one estimate of Fayetteville's size, and that is by the geographer Guthrie, who in 1795 gives it less than 400 houses.

<sup>119</sup> These figures were furnished by Leon E. Truesdell, chief statistician for population, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

ing town in North Carolina and nearly four times the size of the new capital of Raleigh.<sup>120</sup>

Travelers' impressions of New Bern at this time are interesting. Schoepf wrote that the town was "small, not yet rich."<sup>121</sup> Miranda found the houses "only so so, and small for the most part, although comfortable and well kept."<sup>122</sup> Practically all of these were of wood, there being only about two private residences constructed of brick.<sup>123</sup> Many of the houses, according to Attmore, were "large and commodious," and two stories in height.

There are to many of the houses [he wrote] Balconies or Piazzas in front and sometimes back of the house, this Method of Building is found convenient on account of the great Summer Heats here — These Balconies are often two Stories high, sometimes one or both ends of it [them] are boarded up, and made into a Room.<sup>124</sup>

The heat also impressed Miranda. He called it "so excessive that I do not recall ever having suffered such a disagreeable feeling either on the coast of Africa or in the province of Estremadura in Spain."<sup>125</sup> On the other hand, New Bern's situation at the juncture of two rivers brought unfailing admiration. Bishop Asbury called it "the image of Charleston" in this respect.<sup>126</sup> The Englishman J. F. D. Smyth said New Bern stood on "a very beautiful spot, on the banks of the Neuse, at the confluence of a pretty stream, named Trent River."<sup>127</sup> New Bern itself he called "a pretty little town, somewhat larger than Wilmington," and said it contained "several exceedingly good and even elegant houses."<sup>128</sup> Most travelers credited Wilmington with making a fine appearance, but Smyth thought otherwise. He admitted that a few of the houses were "pretty good" but said the town as a whole was "nothing better than a village" with "no appearance of ever having been the capital of a province." On the other hand, he found Edenton "by far the most pleasant and beautiful

<sup>120</sup> It may be mentioned that in 1790 Craven County had a total of 10,469 inhabitants, of whom 3,658 were blacks. *State Records*, XXVI, 407-436.

<sup>121</sup> Alfred J. Morrison, editor, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 128-129.

<sup>122</sup> W. S. Robertson, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784*, p. 5.

<sup>123</sup> Jedidiah Morse, *The American Geography* (Elizabethtown, 1789), pp. 412-413.

<sup>124</sup> Lida Tunstall Rodman, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII, 45-46.

<sup>125</sup> W. S. Robertson, editor, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784*, p. 8.

<sup>126</sup> Francis Asbury, *Journal . . . From August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815*, II, 272-273.

<sup>127</sup> J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America* (London, 1784), I, 159-160.

<sup>128</sup> J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, II, 89.

town in North Carolina.”<sup>129</sup> For most inhabitants the early houses held not a few discomforts. Miranda speaks of the “troops of bedbugs” that abode in their ill-stopped wooden crevices. Actually, he said, he could not sleep for their nocturnal nibblings, though since this sensitive Latin was also bothered by “millions of mosquitoes” and the “bellowing of bullfrogs” his assertion that the North American species of *cimex lectularius* was four times as large as the European may be an overstatement.<sup>130</sup>

Unfortunately the comments of travelers, with the notable exception of the impressionable Miranda, seldom went beyond the situation of the town or the condition of the houses. Contemporary newspapers, however, give us an insight into another aspect of post-revolutionary New Bern—its commercial side. Mercantile activity became more extensive and varied than ever before, and merchant-owned property seems to have been more elaborate. One of the leading business men of the 1790's, for example, offered for sale a new wharf with not one but two warehouses, whose cellars alone would hold from 1,200 to 1,500 barrels of naval stores, with lofts, “airy and commodious,” that would store 10,000 bushels of grain.<sup>131</sup> Instead of a single store, some merchants operated two or three. William Becking & Company had stores, apparently two of them, “in Pollock-street and on the County-wharf.”<sup>132</sup> John Waite & Company operated a wholesale and retail store on Middle Street and two retail stores, one near the county wharf and another on Pollock Street.<sup>133</sup> The merchants of New Bern were highly regarded and seem to have been influential in the state. In 1793, when Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson sought information on the depredations of French and British privateers, he corresponded first of all with the New Bern merchants.

There being [he wrote] no particular portion or description of the mercantile body pointed out by the laws for receiving communications of this nature, I take the liberty of addressing it to the merchants of Newbern, for the State of North Carolina, and of requesting through them it may be made known to all those of their state, whom it may concern.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>129</sup> J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, II, 92-93, 103.

<sup>130</sup> W. S. Robertson, editor, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>131</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, January 4, 1794.

<sup>132</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, April 1, 1790.

<sup>133</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, July 16, November 5, 1791.

<sup>134</sup> *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, October 12, 1793.

As a consequence, Thomas Turner, James Davis, Jr., John Devereux, James McKinlay, and Isaac Guion were appointed to ask the merchants of Wilmington, Fayetteville, Washington, Edenton, and Beaufort to pass along documents relative to aggression on the high seas. Could this have been the town's first merchants' association?

Both the men and their wares came from widely separated parts of the earth. William Becking was a native of Germany.<sup>135</sup> "Monsieur Fouche," "Mr. Le Deuff," and the firm Henrion & Constanten were Frenchmen in business in New Bern.<sup>136</sup> So well represented was this nationality that the French language newspaper *Courier de l'Amérique*, published in Philadelphia, was being offered to subscribers by the editor of the *New Bern Gazette*.<sup>137</sup> In years to come the town acquired a surprising variety of nationalities. Between 1800 and 1825 the county court naturalized at least twenty-eight foreigners—thirteen from Great Britain, three from Denmark, two from Germany and Sweden, five of origin unspecified, and one each from Portugal, The Netherlands, and France.<sup>138</sup> In 1818 a local rhymster wrote:

The people of this curious town  
Are of all hues, black, white, and brown,  
And not a clime beneath the moon  
But here may find some wandering loon.  
Welsh, Irish, English, French, and Dutch,  
Norwegians, Portuguese, and Scotch,  
And other aliens claim attention  
Whose very names would tire to mention.<sup>139</sup>

As for the goods being offered, they were more varied, and in a sense more luxurious, than ever before. Merchants advertised not only European and West India wares but products from the East Indies as well.<sup>140</sup> The West Indies trade was still most important. A customhouse report for six months of the year 1788 shows that of some seventy-five vessels entering and clearing at New Bern, about thirty gave West Indies ports as their origin or destination, with a decidedly lesser number trading between

<sup>135</sup> He died in 1789 after "but a few years" residence in New Bern. *The State Gazette of North-Carolina* (Edenton), November 12, 1789.

<sup>136</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, December 26, 1795; October 1, 1796. *State Records*, XVIII, 694-695.

<sup>137</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly General Advertiser*, July 29, 1784.

<sup>138</sup> Craven Court Minutes, 1800-1825, *passim*.

<sup>139</sup> L. C. Vass, *History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C.*, 112.

<sup>140</sup> See advertisements of John Harvey and William Becking, *The North-Carolina Gazette*, April 1, 15, 1790.

New Bern and New England, New York, or Philadelphia.<sup>141</sup> Only one vessel arrived from overseas during this period and only three cleared with overseas ports as their destination. And yet a considerable quantity of European goods and indeed some merchandise from the far corners of the earth, was being offered. In all probability these were imported for the most part by way of the northern cities. Some of these wares were London broadcloth, Irish linen, Dutch ovens, German steel, German flutes, East India china and artificial flowers, anchovies, and India soy and ketchup sauces.<sup>142</sup> Fruits of all kinds, some evidently from far-away eastern lands, were being offered—raisins, prunes, figs, olives, tamarinds, and oranges. Oranges, incidentally, were rare enough to be quite a delicacy, and they were prized sufficiently to be regarded as a fitting and impressive present, even for one's sweetheart!<sup>143</sup>

Shops were more numerous, and the town's business section seems to have expanded or at least scattered. As early as 1778 increased activity on the Trent River side of town had forced the Assembly to enact a law reopening South Front Street behind the Palace. The inclusion of this street in Palace Square was said to have been "much complained of" and "Prejudicial to many of the Inhabitants of the Town"—doubtless the merchants of that vicinity.<sup>144</sup> By 1787 this section had grown to the point where it was found necessary to open Eden Street to traffic.<sup>145</sup> In pre-Revolutionary days, business was carried on almost exclusively in Craven and Middle streets but as the town grew this situation changed. One of William Becking's stores, for example, was at Pollock and Metcalf streets.<sup>146</sup> At one time a silversmith and later a hatmaker occupied a shop near this same corner.<sup>147</sup> In 1788 a woman milliner opened for business in a

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<sup>141</sup> Customs Report, Port Beaufort, January 1 to July 1, 1788; State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. So closely was New Bern in touch with the West Indies that the Masonic Lodge exchanged communications with the English lodges in Jamaica and Hispaniola. Early in the nineteenth century such names as Rodriguez and Diaz, probably of natives of the West Indies, occur on the membership roll. Minutes of St. John's Lodge, April 13, 1790; October 12, 1795, Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern. It is probably not without significance that a popular play of the period was *The West Indian*, by Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), which was often enacted by touring troupes during their visits to New Bern and other eastern towns.

<sup>142</sup> These products were all advertised by various New Bern merchants in the newspapers between 1783 and 1800.

<sup>143</sup> Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII, 22, 30.

<sup>144</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 246.

<sup>145</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 823-824.

<sup>146</sup> *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, March 27, 1788.

<sup>147</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, October 31, 1795.

house on South Front between Burn and Eden streets.<sup>148</sup> This was some distance west of the Palace, a section that before the Revolution consisted of uncut woodland. Tailors and habit-makers, boot and shoemakers, barbers, hatmakers, and several apothecaries—then and many other trade or professional men advertise in the newspapers of the period, quite in contrast to earlier years when a variety of skills and services did not exist.

Yet despite this development of urban life, the rural scene remained as important as ever. The plantations were not always very large. "Gamboes" or "the Mill Land," as described in a newspaper advertisement, was perhaps a typical one of the period.<sup>149</sup> Lying on Brice's Creek, it consisted of 1,500 acres, forty or fifty of which had been cleared. One of two streams on it had a sawmill with one saw covered by a shingled roof, complete with dam, grist mill, and flood gates. On the other stream were seventy to eighty acres of "as good rice swamp as any in Craven County."<sup>150</sup> "Brice's Creek," said the advertisement, "has a sufficient depth of water for any vessel that can come to Newbern to go up and load or unload at the said plantation." A few landholders owned thousands of acres. Joseph Leech, for example, held title to a total of 44,481 acres in eight counties, of which 30,780 acres were in Craven.<sup>151</sup> Yet surprisingly enough Leech seems to have owned only ten slaves. As a matter of fact there were only eighteen persons out of the nearly 7,000 whites in the county who owned as many as twenty-five blacks, and only one who owned as many as a hundred.<sup>152</sup> Many of the plantations were pleasant and prosperous and—in contrast to modern times—fruitful with orchards. After visiting the Ogden plantation, Miranda wrote that the trees "were so laden with fruit, particularly the apple, pear, and peach trees, that those which were not propped up had their crotches split and branches broken down with the weight."<sup>153</sup> Miranda also visited the plantation of the aged patriot, John Green, twelve miles from

<sup>148</sup> *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, February 7, 1788.

<sup>149</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, June 4, 1791.

<sup>150</sup> In 1797 Richard Dobbs Spaight, whose plantation was in this vicinity, was advertising for an overseer "that understands the cultivation of Rice." *North-Carolina Gazette*, January 14 [?], 1797.

<sup>151</sup> Inventory of Joseph Leech's taxable property, April 1, 1798; Gregg Papers, New Bern Public Library.

<sup>152</sup> Census of 1790, *State Records*, XXVI, 407-436. The largest slave-holder was David Witherspoon, who owned 113.

<sup>153</sup> W. S. Robertson, editor, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784*, p. 7.

town, and dwelt at some length on both the host and his estate:

He is one of the principal farmers of the State [says Miranda of his host]; his character, integrity and age are remarkable; the latter exceeds 85 years, without one's noting any decay in his health, robustness, and activity. His humor is festive and always agreeable. The house is situated on a little rise, and at the foot there are two or three springs which produce an abundance of crystalline water, very beautiful. . . . These country houses are generally neat and comfortable, although somewhat small, like those in the town. The industriousness of the inhabitants is undeniable, for with the war and the general scarcity of manufactures, each householder set up a loom in his house and wove cotton cloth, as well as wool, to clothe the whole family. I have seen some of these [garments], of good cloth and design. With the apples, pears, and peaches they make a very good cider and brandy. Among the creatures which this venerable old man had there I noticed a handsome swan, which still seemed young, although by its owner's computation it was already more than sixty years old—a rare constitution indeed in so small an individual!<sup>154</sup>

Miranda mentions corn, barley, wheat, and potatoes as the crops he saw on his excursion, but there were doubtless others. Could tobacco have been one of them? Its cultivation was rather recent, though much of it was shipped from New Bern during and after the Revolution. By 1789 a public tobacco warehouse was ordered to be built "near the Center of this Town," and in 1809 a brick warehouse on Trent River owned by James McKinlay was being taken over by the county for the same purpose.<sup>155</sup>

Socially, New Bern made the most of the dying days of the grand century. Such families as the Spaight, Nash, and Stanly, and frequent visitors like Wilmington's Archibald Maclaine and Edenton's brilliant James Iredell, made the town a center of post-Revolutionary gaiety. New Bern's generous hospitality impressed everyone, whether over a rattling tea tackle, a mid-afternoon dinner, or a lavish late breakfast. So frequent were invitations, wrote Iredell, that he seldom ate at his own lodgings. ("By the way," he remarked in a letter, "I think this breakfasting invitation very convenient: it has equal kindness in it, and is less troublesome and expensive.")<sup>156</sup>

Weddings were always gala occasions. An account has survived

<sup>154</sup> W. S. Robertson, editor, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>155</sup> Craven Court Minutes, March, 1789; September, 1809.

<sup>156</sup> Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I, 392.

of a particularly festive one—the marriage of Daniel Carthy and Sarah Haslen in 1791—which Miss Amaryllis Sitgreaves called “the handsomest . . . in New Bern since I can remember.”<sup>157</sup> Off the waterfront home was anchored a brightly lighted vessel whose guns boomed in salute until the ceremony started. They spoke as the bride—“dressed in white lustring, a coat flounced with gauze, [and] a small white chip hat”—was escorted downstairs. Tea followed the ceremony, then dancing. And after that, the guests walked, in couples, upstairs “to a very elegant set supper” while a drummer and fifer played at the door. Two large square wedding cakes sat on the ends of the table. For four days the dances, teas, and musical entertainments continued. On the fifth the gentlemen of the wedding party concluded the festivities with a “relish” on board the vessel. After such a thorough celebration, the marriage vows were well remembered—at least so it would seem from the dashing Miranda’s complaint:

The women, particularly the married ones, [he writes] observe a monastic seclusion, and such submission to their husbands as I have never seen. They dress neatly, and all their life is domestic. As soon as they marry they separate themselves from all intimate friendships, and their attentions are centered entirely upon the care of their house and family; the first year as married women they spend in the role of lovers, the second as nursemaids, and the third and remaining years as housekeepers. The spinsters on the other hand enjoy complete liberty, and go walking alone wherever they please, without their steps being watched.<sup>158</sup>

Gayest and most impressive of all the social events of the period was the welcome given to President Washington when he visited the town on April 20 and 21 during his southern tour in 1791.<sup>159</sup> Escorted by the Craven Light Horse and New Bern Volunteers, Washington’s cavalcade was greeted on arrival by a fifteen-gun salute from Captain Stephen Tinker’s artillery company. The President stayed at the John Wright Stanly home at Middle and New streets, then the residence of Stanly’s son John, who was just twenty-one years old. A delegation headed by Judge John Sitgreaves and Mayor Joseph Leech, as well as a commit-

<sup>157</sup> Amaryllis Sitgreaves to her sister, Mrs. Attmore, in Philadelphia, December 8 [?], 1791; Miscellaneous Papers, Series I, Vol. II, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

<sup>158</sup> W. S. Robertson, editor, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784*, p. 5.

<sup>159</sup> Archibald Henderson, *Washington’s Southern Tour 1791* (Cambridge, Boston, and New York, 1923), pp. 84-107.

tee from the Masonic Lodge headed by Worshipful Master Isaac Guion, welcomed the President to New Bern.<sup>160</sup> At four o'clock in the afternoon a public dinner was held at the Palace; and that evening, undoubtedly in the ornate Council Chamber, a grand ball was given, at which, the President noted in his diary, "abt. 70 ladies were present."<sup>161</sup> Mrs. Richard Dobbs Spaight danced the first minuet with the distinguished guest, who despite his years was handsome in black velvet, with gold knee and shoe buckles, and his powdered hair gathered behind in a black silk bag. At eleven o'clock the President departed, but the other guests, enjoying to the fullest this rare occasion, danced on far into the night.

Over teas, dancing assemblies, and dinners, the women reigned supreme; yet most of the everyday pleasures were for men only. Billiards, introduced by the French during the Revolution, was exclusively a man's sport. Each town had two or three tables, and the wives complained that their husbands frequented them far too much.<sup>162</sup> The townspeople inclined to be somewhat puritanical about day-to-day pleasures. Flute-playing and card games were unheard-of on Sundays, as if sufficient to the week days were the evil thereof.<sup>163</sup> Fox hunts were a favorite masculine sport, fraught with accidents and even tragedies as the clinging riders swept through the thickest underbrush, "where at times the horse can hardly pass." Miranda took part in this vigorous sport and wrote that "at any moment I expected that one of the party should have a leg, an arm, or his head broken."<sup>164</sup> Deer hunting and driving were other diversions about which the country squire found a spice of danger; while horse races — with four or five thoroughbred entries from surrounding counties, mounted bareback by Negro jockeys thirteen or fourteen years old — were hazardous both to riders and spectators.<sup>165</sup> Attmore, who attended the races at New Bern, saw a Negro boy pitched from his horse and badly injured, and on the following day

<sup>160</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, April 11 [?], 29, 1791; Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.

<sup>161</sup> Joseph A. Hoskins, editor, *President Washington's Diaries, 1791 to 1799* (Summerfield, N. C.), p. 21.

<sup>162</sup> W. S. Robertson, editor, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784*, p. 10.

<sup>163</sup> W. S. Robertson, editor, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784*, p. 14.

<sup>164</sup> W. S. Robertson, editor, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784*, p. 10.

<sup>165</sup> Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII, 17-18; *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), December 22, 1794.

watched as a horse bolted into the spectators crowding the track. (This track in all probability was the one shown on Sauthier's map of 1769; vestiges of it are visible today.)<sup>166</sup> Gambling was rife among all classes, especially at these races, where, says Attmore, he saw "white Boys, and Negroes eagerly betting  $\frac{1}{2}$  a quart of Rum, a drink of Grog &c, as well as Gentlemen betting high." From the number of laws passed forbidding public gaming one concludes that efforts to end it were futile. As to the private variety, Attmore reports that a single New Bern trader did not hesitate to lose £600 in a night's card game.<sup>167</sup> Drinking like gambling was another popular sport, and both were enjoyed mostly in the taverns or ordinaries. Quite a popular public house was Joseph Oliver's on Middle Street near the church, where, said Miranda, he paid a silver peso, or about eight shillings, daily for food and lodging—"which price," he adds, "seemed to me extremely low considering the neatness and good appearance of the place."<sup>168</sup> Monsieur Hero's, Sylvester Pendleton's, a coffee house near Craven and South Front streets, and later Frilick's Hotel—all were favorite gathering places for the gentlemen of New Bern.<sup>169</sup> After the adoption of the Constitution, some of these taverns were designated, with a federalist touch, as "at the sign of the Golden Eagle" or "at the sign of the Arms of the United States."<sup>170</sup> Here the town tipplers drank their cherry bounce or eggnog, Lisbon, Malaga, and Teneriffe wines, or Holland gin.<sup>171</sup> Gin grog and mint or gin sling seem to have been favorite mixed drinks, though imbibers called sometimes for a "bowl of sangree"—a punch which had snakeroot as one of its ingredients.<sup>172</sup>

Theatricals were an important diversion. As early as Tryon's time and perhaps even before then, companies of actors were touring the coastal towns.<sup>173</sup> It was not until after the Revolu-

<sup>166</sup> "Plan of the Town of Newbern / in Craven County / North Carolina / . . . Survey'd and Drawn in May 1769 by C. J. Sauthier." British Museum, King's Maps CXXII-60; photo copy in Library of Congress, division of maps.

<sup>167</sup> Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII, 37.

<sup>168</sup> W. S. Robertson, editor, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784*, p. 4.

<sup>169</sup> The eastern half of Lot No. 13 is referred to in 1790 as being "between the old coffee-house and Richard Ellis, Esq's." *The North-Carolina Gazette*, April 1, 1790.

<sup>170</sup> *The Newbern Gazette*, November 24, 1793; *North-Carolina Gazette*, December 31, 1796.

<sup>171</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, June 7, 1794; *The Newbern Gazette*, February 9, 1799.

<sup>172</sup> Account book of George T. Vallance's tavern, May, 1787; Miscellaneous papers, Craven courthouse, New Bern.

<sup>173</sup> *Colonial Records*, VII, 786-787.

tion that these visits became frequent and theatres began to emerge as a permanent part of the town scene. James Iredell describes the performance given by one of these companies in New Bern in 1787. The play was *The Miser*, probably Fielding's adaptation of Moliere's *L'avare*, and Iredell wrote after seeing it: "I never was so disgusted in my life."<sup>174</sup> The actors he called "execrable." "The place was a most abominable one, and one half the audience could neither hear nor see." To climax this uncomfortable evening, two of the actors fought behind the lowered curtain, and the audience rushed upon the stage to see the row. Iredell gives no hint as to where this performance was held. In the spring and summer of 1788 advertisements of touring troupes mention "the theatre in this town" as if it were a well known and permanent institution. In March the comic opera *Poor Soldier*, by the Irish actor John O'Keeffe (1747-1833), and *The Revenge: a Tragedy*, by the celebrated romantic poet Edward Young (1683-1765), were being performed.<sup>175</sup> In June a Charleston company—and nearly all the professional actors toured from this city—played in New Bern.<sup>176</sup> About this summer season was written what seems to be the earliest drama criticism in a newspaper that has come down to us. *The Wilmington Centinel* commented on the performances as follows:

On Monday evening, the 13th inst. the Theatre in Newbern was opened by Mr. Kenna's company of Comedians, with the tragedy of *Isabella*, or the *Fatal Marriage*. Mrs. Kenna, in the character of *Isabella*, gave the most universal satisfaction to a polite and genteel audience, many of whom in pearly drops testified that their hearts were sensibly touched with those tender feelings which her inimitable powers must always inspire. Melpomene perhaps cannot boast a greater favourite on the American stage, and we think, we may at least venture to pronounce, that her equal hath not appeared for many years in the southern states.<sup>177</sup>

The Kennas were well known in Charleston, Baltimore, and other coastal cities. Kenna won acclaim in many parts, among them that of Sir Peter Teazle in Sheridan's *School for Scandal*.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>174</sup> Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 157.

<sup>175</sup> *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, March 27, 1788.

<sup>176</sup> Attmore states primly that the actresses in a company playing at Tarboro were "Adventuresses from Charleston." Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII, 37.

<sup>177</sup> *The Wilmington Centinel, and General Advertiser*, June 18, 1788.

<sup>178</sup> Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century* (Columbia, S. C., 1924), pp. 66, 115, 198.

In addition to the professional performers, there were also amateurs who, inspired by these touring comedians, began soon after the Revolution to form theatrical societies in the eastern North Carolina towns.<sup>179</sup> Irving's interest in the drama and the New Bern Academy's performance of *Mock Doctor, or Dumb Lady Cur'd* have already been mentioned. If what a Charleston critic thought of this Molière adaptation is true, Irving's students did not always present "Theatrical exercises, of the unlicentious kind," for the South Carolina writer complained that this farce was "written in that indelicate, coarse kind of language which has become offensive in these days of modern refinement."<sup>180</sup> Perhaps the offending lines were excised or rewritten before the Academy's performance. The *Mock Doctor* contained songs, so the amateurs probably found it necessary to call on the town's musical as well as its acting talent. In 1796 occurs this advertisement in the *New Bern Gazette*:

If any gentleman or lady in Newbern is in possession of the music of the FARCE entitled, "THE AGREEABLE SURPRISE," they will oblige a number of their friends, by lending it to Dr. James S. Cutting, Dr. F. A. Toy, or Mr. Thomas P. Irving.<sup>181</sup>

Evidently Irving, Toy, and Cutting were the leaders in the New Bern Theatrical Society. *The Agreeable Surprise*, its musical score composed by a Dr. Arnold, was one of the most popular farces of the day. It had been written by the prolific O'Keeffe in 1781. This play, therefore, as well as O'Keeffe's *Poor Soldier*, which appeared in 1783, seems to have reached New Bern relatively soon after its premiere in England. Most of the favorites performed in the town had been written early in the century.

Frequently amateur and professional acting were blended into a single performance. In 1797, with a mixed cast that included some of the gentlemen of the Theatrical Society, one Mr. Edgar, who had been manager of Charleston's Church Street Theatre two years previously, was presenting the *Poor Soldier* and the tragedy *Douglas, or the Noble Shepherd*, which had been written in 1756 by the Reverend John Home of Scotland (1722-1808).<sup>182</sup> Even at this late date the touring companies were barely large enough for the demands of the *dramatis personae*. Edgar's

<sup>179</sup> Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 157.

<sup>180</sup> Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century*, p. 124.

<sup>181</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, December 10, 1796.

<sup>182</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, April 15, 1797.

troupe seems to have consisted of at most eight persons, one a boy, whereas *Douglas* and *Poor Soldier* each required nine performers.<sup>183</sup> Other plays in the troupe's repertory necessitated even more. As a result the amateurs were made useful in filling minor roles. *Douglas, or the Noble Shepherd* was typical of the sentimental plays the audiences liked so well. It was inspired by the Scottish ballad, "Childe Maurice:"

This night a Douglas your protection claims!  
A Wife! a Mother! Pity's softest names,  
The story of her woes indulgent hear  
And grant your suppliant all she begs — a tear.

Usually the audience obliged — with a flood of tears. Another of the plays performed by the Edgar troupe was that eighteenth-century favorite, *The Provok'd Husband, or a Journey to London*, the joint product of Sir John Vanbrugh and the actor Colley Cibber, who had presented it first at Drury Lane in 1728.<sup>184</sup> In Charleston Edgar had taken the role of Squire Richard in this play, which required fourteen characters.<sup>185</sup> *Inkle and Yarico, or the American Heroine*, by the popular George Colman the younger (1762-1836), was another piece in the Edgar repertory. This musical comedy, which had been inspired by an essay in *The Spectator*, called for several elaborate settings — an American forest, a cave, a sea with a ship in full sail, and similar scenery which perhaps was painted in Charleston and transported about by the touring troupe.<sup>186</sup> These performances were being held in "Mr. [Thomas] Turner's still room" — apparently the distillery on East Front Street which had belonged to John Wright Stanly, of whose will Turner had been named executor. It had been equipped as a theatre with "a gallery . . . for people of colour," who paid twenty-five cents admission. Adults at first paid one dollar and white children fifty cents, but these prices were later reduced by one half.<sup>187</sup> Either the prices were too high or the townspeople were habitually late in arriving for curtain rise at seven p.m., for there were sometimes few in the house

<sup>183</sup> Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century*, p. 126, 165.

<sup>184</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, X, 352-359; LVIII, 86-89.

<sup>185</sup> Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century*, p. 220.

<sup>186</sup> Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century*, p. 169.

<sup>187</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, March 18, 1797. New Bern playbill, March 31, 1797, playbill collection, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., Williamsburg, Va.

at the hour the show was to start. The manager inserted this notice in the *Gazette*:

Mr. Edgar begs leave to express his concern for the disappointment the audience experienced on Thursday last — to prevent the like matter from happening in future, the curtain shall rise within ten minutes of the time advertised in the bills, to whatever number there may be in the house.<sup>188</sup>

On another occasion the audience was asked “to come by the time appointed, and they shall not wait.”<sup>189</sup>

The 'nineties were the heyday of theatrical entertainment, or so it would seem by contrast with the statement of the geographer Guthrie a few years later, when, even though the Masonic Theatre had been completed — the first such building constructed for the purpose — he reports that it had no company of its own “and itinerants receive but little encouragement to visit it.”<sup>190</sup> Such was not the case before the turn of the century, and during this period a surprising variety of entertainment was presented by traveling troupers. The Edgar company was perhaps a typical one, consisting at times of a certain Douglas and his wife; a certain Lathy (Latté); Master Gray; one Lewellyn Lechmere Wall “of Orange County”; Miss P. Wall, evidently his daughter; and the director and his wife, though Edgar sometimes did not continue on the full itinerary.<sup>191</sup> At times Edgar and his wife took over the night's program. The actress would sing a selection from *The Agreeable Surprise*, quaintly entitled, “Lord, What Care I for Mam or Dad,” or would join with her husband in a scene between Lord Hastings and Alicia in the tragedy *Jane Shore*, which had been written by Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718) and first presented in 1714.<sup>192</sup> On another occasion Wall would play the guitar and give humorous recitations from Shakespeare, Congreve, and Farquhar; while the rest of the company — Douglas as Baptista, Lathy as Grumio, Wall as Petruchio, and Mrs. Douglas as Catherine — would join him in presenting a scene

<sup>188</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, March 18, 1797.

<sup>189</sup> New Bern playbill, May 16, 1797, playbill collection, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

<sup>190</sup> William Guthrie, *A New Geographical, Historical and Commercial Grammar* (Philadelphia, 1815), quoted by Charles L. Coon, “North Carolina in the School Geographies 110 Years Ago,” *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (1926), 47-49.

<sup>191</sup> Edenton playbill, July 20, 1797, playbill collection, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.; *North-Carolina Gazette*, April 15, 1797.

<sup>192</sup> New Bern playbill, March 31, 1797, playbill collection, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

from *The Taming of the Shrew*.<sup>193</sup> Humorous songs were also part of the repertory—"The Learned Pig," "The Ups and Downs of Life," and "Murder in Irish," these being advertised as satires on Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, and certain Shakespearean comedies.

There were other means besides the theatre by which the town's gentlemen and ladies might beguile boredom. An occasional waxwork exhibition regaled the inhabitants with figures of Adams, Franklin, Washington, and Mrs. Siddons, the actress, with sentimental interpretations of "Cupid With His Dart" or "Charlotte at the Tomb of Werther."<sup>194</sup> Many of the pleasures of the period appealed to the genteel desire for polite social accomplishments. One Rogers in 1787 was opening a school where art was to be taught at twenty shillings per month. He advertised that:

The young ladies will find the utility of it in working needle-work, and drawing for their own amusement. Young gentlemen will likewise find it beneficial in respect to travelling, they may then be able to sketch out the landscape of any place or building.<sup>195</sup>

Though he was not offering lessons, an itinerant French limner must have delighted the curious by his painting in "Miniature, Crayon, and Hair Work, with natural or dissolved hair" and his offerings of "mourning pieces for Bracelets, Brest-pins, or Rings."<sup>196</sup> Instruction in the French language was an important diversion. In 1796 two such classes were being advertised simultaneously, one by a Monsieur Reverchon at the Palace and the other by Monsieur D'Ouille, who was staying at Dr. William McClure's.<sup>197</sup> Music and dancing lessons were also popular. Classes in both voice and instrument were being offered in 1795 by "a person capable of giving lessons in that art."<sup>198</sup> And musical instruments were available in New Bern, perhaps for the first time, at the store of William Becking & Company, who sold "German flutes, violins and violin strings."<sup>199</sup> As to the

<sup>193</sup> New Bern playbill, May 13 and 16, 1797, playbill collection, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

<sup>194</sup> *The North-Carolina Minerva, and Fayetteville Advertiser*, March 23, 1799.

<sup>195</sup> *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, October 4, 1787.

<sup>196</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, March 11, 1797.

<sup>197</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, May 14, 1796. Citizen Gaillard offered French lessons in 1795.

*North-Carolina Gazette*, June 20, 1795.

<sup>198</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, May 23, 1795.

<sup>199</sup> *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, March 27, 1788.

modestly anonymous "person" teaching music, it is probable that this was Thomas P. Irving, who sometimes conducted vocal classes in the Masonic Lodge rooms.<sup>200</sup> The dancing schools were most numerous of all these forms of self-improvement. Six dollars per quarter was the fee usually charged by the instructors, some of whom were Frenchmen, evidently poverty-stricken itinerants left stranded at the Revolution's end.<sup>201</sup> The Palace was a favorite place for dancing classes. At least one master, who proudly called himself a Parisian, offered instruction there in both fencing and dancing.<sup>202</sup> By 1796 "Dancing Assemblies" were being promoted during the winter season by the gentlemen of the town, who held their business meetings at Frilick's Hotel. Edward Kean was the treasurer of this early terpsichorean society.<sup>203</sup>

Books were practically the only intellectual pleasures. These became more easily obtainable than ever before, and many were novels or romances, intended purely to entertain and divert. Besides volumes on navigation and the law, the publisher François X. Martin was offering Richardson's *Pamela*, Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, Goethe's *Sorrows of Werther*, and a four-volume set of Fielding's *Tom Jones*.<sup>204</sup> Judging by the advertisements in newspapers of other North Carolina towns, New Bern readers probably also were acquainted with Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, *Roderick Random*, and *Peregrine Pickle*; Abbé Prévost's *The Dean of Coleraine*; Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*; and Frances Burney's *Cecilia*, which had just been brought out in 1782.<sup>205</sup> For the serious student there were Jefferson's *History of Virginia*, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Smollett's *History of England*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Rousseau's *Confessions*, and various accounts of the French and American revolutions. For the lover of poetry and satiric verse, there were Edward Young's *Night Thoughts*, Butler's *Hudibras*, and the works of Pope. Not even the children need go unamused,

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<sup>200</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, March 7, 1804; Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.

<sup>201</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, June 4, 1791; October 12, 1793; October 25, 1795; February 27, 1796.

<sup>202</sup> *The North Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly General Advertiser*, July 29, 1784.

<sup>203</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, December 10, 17, 1796.

<sup>204</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, February 14, 1795; January 2, June 18, July 16, 1796.

<sup>205</sup> *The North-Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette*, February 28, 1791. *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), August 28, 1793. *Hall's Wilmington Gazette*, April 6, 1797.

for Martin obligingly stocked "Dick Whittington and His Cat," "King Pippin," and other such stories.

To New Bern's credit as the chief town in the state, there seems to have existed a club devoted to serious discussion and perhaps other intellectual pursuits. This was the Shandean Society, of which Richard Caswell apparently was a prominent member.<sup>206</sup> In 1789 a distinguished speaker, John Morgan, M.D., F.R.S., discoursed before the Shandean on the subject, "Whether it be most beneficial to the United States, to promote agriculture, or to encourage the mechanic arts and manufactures?"<sup>207</sup> Possibly other learned speakers were invited to address the society and on similarly weighty topics.

The most important gentlemen's association throughout New Bern's early history was the Masonic Lodge. At least by 1764 the Masons were active in the town, but it was not until January 1, 1772, that they began meeting as a "regular Constituted Lodge."<sup>208</sup> The members, of which there were twenty at the first quarterly meeting, took the name of St. John's Lodge No. 1, but since the Wilmington Masons had pre-empted this designation, the Lodge in August, 1772, had to be reconstituted as St. John's No. 2.<sup>209</sup> The Lodge at this time was meeting at "Brother Ince's," in the King's Arms Tavern, and on special occasions at the courthouse, where the members sat "with white Stockings, white Aprons & Gloves." Many of the members were loyal to the crown—Martin Howard, the first master, for example, and William Brimage, first secretary; and the Lodge like so many other institutions was disrupted by the Revolution. Although meetings appear to have been held during or soon after the war, it was not until March, 1787, that St. John's reorganized with Richard Ellis as master.<sup>210</sup> There were at this time thirty-five members, some of whom were from near-by Washington, which by 1788 was organizing its own lodge.

During the post-Revolutionary years, the Lodge was quite active, and its membership numbered the most important citizens

<sup>206</sup> *The State Gazette of North-Carolina* (Edenton), December 17, 1789.

<sup>207</sup> The address is reprinted in the magazine *The American Museum: or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, &c.*, VI (1789), 71-74.

<sup>208</sup> *The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer*, December 21-23, 1764. Minutes of St. John's Lodge, January 1, February 11, 1772; Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.

<sup>209</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, March 5, August 6, 1772.

<sup>210</sup> The minutes, in which there is a gap between 1773 and 1787, mention the following as having been masters during these years: Henry Machen, Joseph Leech, Isaac Guion, Francis Stringer, and Sylvester Pendleton. Minutes of St. John's Lodge, March 16, 23, May 3, 1787.

of the town. The Marquis de Bretigney, François X. Martin, and Thomas P. Irving, who composed odes and anthems for special occasions, are some of those whose names occur frequently in the minutes. In 1793 the name of the Lodge was changed again. It became St. John's No. 3, as it is today, being assigned that number by the newly formed Grand Lodge, which gave second rank to Royal White Hart Lodge at Halifax. The Grand Lodge in 1794 was urgently petitioned by the New Bern Masons to allow them their previous name, but the petition was—in the language of the St. John's Lodge minutes—"contemptably rejected." Later, however, the New Bernians investigated their claim and decided "we have no right to claim the No. 2."<sup>211</sup> In 1796 the Lodge grew dissatisfied with the meeting quarters in the Palace and appointed a committee to select a site for a Lodge building.<sup>212</sup> Two years later Lots 325 and 326 at Johnston and Hancock streets were purchased from Mrs. Elizabeth Haslen for \$250, and here it was decided to erect a two-story, six-room building, forty-eight feet long by thirty-six feet wide, to serve not only the Lodge itself but also "to answer the purpose of Dancing Assemblies & other public Observations."<sup>213</sup> Because of the communal nature of the project, non-Masons were invited to contribute and a number of small benefit lotteries were held.<sup>214</sup> By 1804 work on the building, under the supervision of John Dewey, a Lodge member and the contractor, had progressed so far that the upper story, including the Masonic meeting room, was ready for occupancy.<sup>215</sup> The lower story, which was to serve as ballroom or theatre, was completed a few years later. Meanwhile, the pupils of Mr. Irving gave a benefit theatrical performance from which they raised \$138.50 to be applied toward "erecting a Dome, Spire, Cupola or any other ornament you may think proper on your elegant & useful building."

Our preceptor [wrote the pupils to the Lodge] entertains an opinion that Theatrical exercises, of the unlicentious kind, occasionally attended to, improves our retentive faculties, polishes our manners, prepares our voices gradually for oratorical modulation, gives us confidence, and

<sup>211</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, April 4, October 10, 1793; January 16, December 18, 1794.

<sup>212</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, May 12, 1796.

<sup>213</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, September 5, 1798; March 13, 1799.

<sup>214</sup> A single large lottery to raise \$2,000 was authorized by law, but apparently several small ones were held instead. Chap. CVI, Laws of 1802. Minutes of St. John's Lodge, September 7, October 5, November 2, 1803.

<sup>215</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, January 16, April 4, 1804.

banishes that timidity, so embarrassing to the youthful orator, enables us to read the world and catch the manners of mankind, increases our abhorrence of vice, and engages our tender minds at an important age, on the side of virtue.<sup>216</sup>

As to how this money was employed there is no indication, though it is certain that after so pretty and precocious a speech, the gift of these "tender" children was certainly accepted. At length, in 1809, the last of the work on Masons Hall, as it was known, was completed; and on June 24 of that year the building was formally dedicated, while an anthem composed by the triumphant Brother Irving was solemnly played.<sup>217</sup>

Several destructive and costly fires broke out in New Bern in the 1790's. The greatest of these, ranking as a catastrophe with the hurricane of 1769, took place in the fall of 1791. A Charleston newspaper puts the number of houses lost at sixty-four, but Guthrie estimates that "nearly one-third part" of the town was destroyed.<sup>218</sup> Three years later, two successive fires damaged the Craven Street section. On October 25, 1794, nine buildings were swept by the blaze and one was blown up to retard its spread.<sup>219</sup> On November 17, twenty-four stores, warehouses, and dwellings were leveled by a second conflagration.<sup>220</sup> The Town Commissioners, impelled by these losses, immediately reorganized the New Bern Watch and redefined its duties.<sup>221</sup> By this time the Commissioners had in operation one or more water engines which were operated by the Watch, in addition to its task of patrolling the town after nine o'clock curfew, calling out the hour "at suitable times and places," and, of course, sounding the church bell in case of fire.

Most tragic of all these fires, even though it was not the most destructive, was the one that broke out on the night of February 27, 1798. A Boston newspaper tells the passing of a familiar structure:

On Tuesday last, about midnight, the inhabitants of this town [New Bern] were alarmed by the cry of fire. A large body of smoke was discovered issuing from the cellar of the Palace, and so filled the entry

<sup>216</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, February 6, 1805.

<sup>217</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, June 24, 1809.

<sup>218</sup> *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (Charleston), October 11, 1791. William Guthrie, *A New System of Modern Geography* (Philadelphia, 1795), II, 515.

<sup>219</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, November 1, 1794.

<sup>220</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, November 22, 1794.

<sup>221</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, December 6, 1794.

and apartments on the first floor as to leave it a matter of doubt what part of the building was on fire. The flames first made their appearance thro' the floor next to the foot of the stair case; they almost instantly reached the cupola, and the whole roof blazed nearly at one time.

Every piece of timber, and all the wood work of that edifice, both within and without, were consumed. The colonade which joined the main building to the wings was pulled down and the fire did not spread any further.

A quantity of hay which had been placed in the cellar, and to which by some unknown means fire was conveyed, occasioned the conflagration.<sup>222</sup>

The cause of the fire is not certain, but tradition says an old woman with a torch, looking for eggs in the hay-filled cellar, set off the blaze that ruined Tryon's Palace.<sup>223</sup> Soon afterward the east wing was torn down, leaving only the remains of the Palace stables as a poor reminder of that once-magnificent building.<sup>224</sup> The General Assembly, its problem of an empty state house solved at last, lost no time in returning the site to public ownership.<sup>225</sup> Houses soon began to rise on the little eminence which Tryon had selected, and Palace Square was obliterated.

What were the thoughts of the townspeople as they watched the burning building? We can picture the scene a century and a half ago—the church bell clanging on the midnight calm, the towering column of smoke, the skyward flight of sparks like red and angry stars; and, below, on Palace Square, the excited crowd that watched and perhaps cheered as two daring brothers of the Masonic Lodge darted forth with the Lodge jewels, saving them from the flames that threatened the meeting room.<sup>226</sup> Did those standing there remember others who had stood there, too, in by-gone days—to cheer Tryon on his return from Alamance—to defy Martin and drive him from patriot New Bern—to welcome peace and the founding of a new nation? Many who watched as the Palace went up in smoke must have remembered these earlier audiences at the stirring dramas which played

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<sup>222</sup> *The Boston Gazette & Republican Weekly Journal*, April 9, 1798. An almost identical account, lacking the final paragraph, appears in *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), March 19, 1798.

<sup>223</sup> Rev. L. C. Vass, *History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C.*, p. 93.

<sup>224</sup> A. T. Dill, Jr., "Tryon's Palace: A Neglected Niche of North Carolina History," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (1942), 159-160.

<sup>225</sup> Chap. XXIV, Laws of 1798. The public sale or auction was carried out in March, 1799.

<sup>226</sup> Minutes of St. John's Lodge, March 7, 1798.

themselves out before this venerable building. Did they remember these things as the Palace burned?

It was the visible end of an era, as the winter night reddened with the pyre of this once "capital building on the continent of North America."

# ALFRED MORDECAI'S OBSERVATIONS OF EUROPEAN LIFE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO<sup>1</sup>

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT

## INTRODUCTION

After the Revolution the United States practically ceased to have an army. Only eighty men were retained, twenty-five to guard the stores at Fort Pitt, and fifty-five for similar duty at West Point. Later Henry Knox, first Secretary of War under the Constitution, had only 840 soldiers with which to guard the settlers against hostile Indians and to protect the public domain. The expensive lesson taught by the War of 1812 was soon forgotten and the American army was again allowed to decline almost to the vanishing point. The agitation for the annexation of Texas coupled with world conditions demonstrated the need for a larger army. As a result it was decided to send a commission of four men to Europe to contract for the manufacture of arms, to make drawings and notes, and to ascertain the most up-to-date method of warfare. The competition for being a member of this commission was keen. Army officers had little opportunity for promotion, and they often had to remain for ten years in the same grade to be given a higher rank, and then it might be only a brevet commission. Only seldom could an officer be awarded a brevet promotion for faithful and meritorious service.

At this time Alfred Mordecai, although he had finished at the head of his class at West Point in 1823, had been honored with many positions in the army of great responsibility and trust, and had an enviable record, was only a captain in ordnance. To broaden his knowledge in general and to learn more about ordnance in particular, he spent on leave a year, 1833-1834, in Europe. His right to a place on this commission is evinced by the fact that he served on the ordnance board in Washington from 1839 to 1860; was made assistant to the chief ordnance officer in Washington and also inspector of arsenals in 1842; and was head of several of the most important ordnance plants

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<sup>1</sup> These letters are found in the Mordecai Papers in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. These particular letters have been bound and arranged chronologically, and are in volume I.

in the United States. It was only natural that he should be sent to Europe on this commission not only in 1840, but to Europe and the Crimea in 1855-1856.

Benjamin Huger of South Carolina, another captain of ordnance, was also deserving of a place on this commission. He was descended from the noted Revolutionary Hugers of the South; graduated at West Point in 1825, just two years after Alfred Mordecai; made an excellent record in the army; spent some time visiting Europe on leave; was a member of the ordnance board from 1839 to 1846; was chief of ordnance for General Scott's army in Mexico; and received the brevet rank of major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel for meritorious service in this war. Although it was 1855 before he received the rank of major in the United States army, he was a brigadier-general and then major-general in the Confederate army.

Richard Dean Arden Wade of New York was also given a place on this commission, and he likewise was deserving of the honor. He became a second lieutenant in the army in 1820, first lieutenant in 1828, and captain on December 26, 1840. This was the highest rank he ever attained, although he was brevetted major and lieutenant-colonel for meritorious services during the Seminole and Mexican wars.

The officer on the commission who had had the longest army service was Rufus Lathrop Baker of Connecticut. In 1813, during the War of 1812, he became assistant deputy commissary of ordnance. So efficient had he become by 1815, when the army was disbanded, that he was retained as first lieutenant of ordnance, and he was made captain of ordnance two years later. After several years in the artillery he returned to the ordnance branch in 1832 as captain; was promoted to the rank of major in 1838; and was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1851. He was honored with the brevet rank of major and of lieutenant-colonel for faithful service in one grade and for meritorious services in the Mexican War. It was only just that he should be made a member of this commission, and he was the out-ranking member.

What this commission did on its trip to Europe is best told by Alfred Mordecai, in the communications to his wife which follow.

Steamer British Queen

April 1<sup>st</sup> 1840.

My dear wife,

We are now just about to pass through the narrows, & I embrace the last opportunity of sending you my love & farewell kiss, before leaving the waters of our country— I have been so burried in all my movements for some time past that I have scarcely been able to realize the separation we are about to suffer, so thoroughly as when the last plank was cut loose a few minutes since from our vessel—

The wind is not favorable & threatens us with an uncomfortable night to commence with, but there is everything about us to ensure as much comfort & safety as can be procured in our situation—

I wrote you a few lines yesterday, & told you that letters are to be sent *post paid*, under cover to M. & R. Maury—<sup>2</sup> Whilst in Rich'd, & for those who write from Rich'd, my letters may be sent under cover to Col. Talcott<sup>3</sup> who will forward them for me with his—

Major Baker<sup>4</sup> says he feels as if he was here by accident & had just come down to see us off— Several of our friends were here for that purpose— George<sup>5</sup> I took leave of last night & he has returned to you this morning. I envy him the priviledge of seeing you again & of

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless he here refers to the Virginia Maury family made famous by the scientist, Matthew Fontaine Maury. Richard Maury, of Huguenot descent, emigrated to Tennessee in 1810, but his son John Minor was born near Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1795. At the age of twenty-seven he was flag-captain of Commodore David Porter's fleet which destroyed the pirates about the West Indies. He died, on his return, just off Norfolk, Virginia, of yellow fever. At this time he was the youngest officer of his rank in the Navy. His brother, Mathew Fontaine Maury, was born in Spottsylvania County, Virginia, on January 14, 1806, and died in Lexington, Virginia, on February 1, 1873. He became a midshipman on February 1, 1825. He made an enviable record, but a painful accident in 1839 lamed him for life. Being unable to perform the active duties of his profession, he devoted his time to study, to the improvement of the Navy, and to other matters of national concern. He became one of America's foremost scientists. He resigned from the United States Navy and on June 10, 1861, entered the Confederate Navy. At the close of the Civil War he emigrated to Mexico, where he soon became a member of Maximilian's cabinet. He was given the degree of doctor of laws by Cambridge University, and the Emperor of France invited him to become superintendent of the Imperial Observatory in Paris, but he finally became professor of physics in Virginia Military Institute. He stood among the first American scientific writers of his era. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV, 264-266.

<sup>3</sup> He refers to Colonel Andrew Talcott (April 20, 1797-April 22, 1833) whom he had known since they had worked together as engineers in surveying the Dismal Swamp Canal, 1826-1828. He resigned his commission in the Army on September 21, 1836, and spent his full time as an engineer in private industry. He was later engineer on the Mexican Imperial Railway and employed Mordecai in 1865-1866 as an assistant. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Rufus Lathrop Baker of Connecticut became assistant deputy commissary of ordnance on March 12, 1813; was retained as first lieutenant of ordnance on February 8, 1815; was promoted to captain of ordnance on May 1, 1817; was transferred to the 3rd artillery on June 1, 1821; was transferred to the 1st artillery on August 23, 1823; became captain of ordnance on May 30, 1832; was made major on July 6, 1838; and became lieutenant colonel on July 10, 1851. He was brevetted major on May 21, 1827, for ten years of faithful service in one grade, and lieutenant-colonel on May 30, 1848, for meritorious conduct particularly in performance of duties in prosecuting the war with Mexico. He resigned on December 31, 1854. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army from Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 3, 1903*, I, 184-185.

<sup>5</sup> He doubtlessly refers to his brother, George Mordecai, who was born at Warrenton, North Carolina, on April 27, 1801, and died in Raleigh on February 19, 1871. He was a full brother to Alfred, but only a half-brother to Moses Mordecai. He was educated in the classical school of Marcus George of Warrenton, studied law in the office of his brother, was admitted to the North Carolina bar in 1822, and began to practice in Raleigh, where he soon rose to the head of his profession. In 1840 he was elected president of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, and in 1845 of the Bank of North Carolina. He was a man of benevolence and public spirit and was interested in all that pertained to the welfare, progress, and prosperity of his city. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 442-443.

kissing our dear little children— I know you will not let them forget to call papa in their sweet prabble—

farewell again— I have strong hopes that we shall be back by the time we have appointed, say in Decr, for I know we shall all be anxious to return— as the vessel was cast loose I could not help wishing it were from London instead of New York—

I had a letter this morning from Sister Caroline,<sup>6</sup> to whom I shall also send a line by the pilot—

a long farewell— your affte Alfred

To Mrs Alfred Mordecai

Richmond

Virginia

Steam Ship British Queen

In the Eng. channel, Wednesday

April 15<sup>th</sup> 1840.

Congratulate me, my dearest love, on the near prospect of deliverance from this purgatory; I hope that to-morrow morning I shall have the satisfaction of breakfasting in Portsmouth<sup>7</sup>— It is absolutely little less than cruel to send one to sea who suffers so much as I do from it— for about 10 days I could scarcely hold up my head & up to this time I have not partaken of one regular dinner since the day we sailed— That day was marked, (as you will no doubt have learned,) by an unfortunate accident, in the upsetting of the pilot boat as she left the vessel; I am afraid the report of the accident made you feel some uneasiness about me, from the mere association; but I hope not. My letter by the pilot to you as one to sister Caroline, in answer to one from her received that morning were I fear too much drenched to

<sup>6</sup> Caroline Mordecai was the sixth and youngest of six children born to Judeth Myers and Jacob Mordecai. Her mother died in Warrenton, North Carolina, about 1796. She married Archilles Plunkett in 1820, a teacher by profession. She remained true to her father's religion until late in life when she became a Unitarian. She had her ups and downs in life, but her husband had the most spectacular life. He was born and reared on the island of Santo Domingo. Three of their family slaves warned them of the impending slave uprising, but the family, these three slaves, and a few pieces of silver alone escaped capture and death. When Jacob Mordecai had what he thought would care for him the remainder of his life, he sold his school in Warrenton to Thomas P. Jones and Joseph Andrews in 1818, but, although they had a good school well attended, they could not meet the payments so in 1822 they closed the school and returned the property to Mordecai. They opened another school in the same neighborhood. On December 1, 1822, Achilles Plunkett opened a school in the old Mordecai building. He got off to a good start, but died in January, 1824. Caroline Plunkett and her stepson continued the school until the close of the year. In 1825 the Reverend Elijah Brainerd and the Reverend C. C. Brainerd purchased the Mordecai school property, but C. C. Brainerd died in 1827. After a year of running the school alone, Elijah Brainerd returned it to Mr. Plunkett. It was offered for sale in 1830, but not until 1834 was it sold to William Plummer. Mrs. Plunkett then went to reside at her home, which perhaps she had built on the east side of her father's old home. In this house she continued her school for several years. She was buried in a small plot back of her house. Lizzie Wilson Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton*, pp. 139-145; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXI (1923), 187.

<sup>7</sup> Portsmouth, England, a seaport in Hampshire, is situated on Portsmouth Harbor and the English Channel. It is made up of Portsmouth, Portsea, Landport, and Southsea. It is the principal naval station of England and the strongest fortress, has a large garrison, and boasts a fine harbor. The dockyard, the most important in the kingdom, is located at Portsea. Part of the naval establishment is at Gosport, opposite. The church of St. Thomas a Becket is notable. The city rose to importance in the thirteenth century and was strongly fortified in the sixteenth century. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 821.

have reached their destinations— Our voyage since has been uninterruptedly prosperous & our progress steady; nothing can exceed the comfort & convenience of the ship; there is plenty of room & to spare, great attention on the part of the steward & his posse; good humor has prevailed among the passengers & there has been every thing to render the voyage pleasant & easy to those who are not afflicted with sea sickness— The perfect confidence & security felt by all in the safety of the ship is the most remarkable circumstance about the voyage, such ease & liberty prevailing at all times that it is difficult to imagine we are on the broad ocean, and not making a trip up the Chesapeake Bay or the Sound— On Saturday last the weather was nearly calm, & since that time I have been much less uncomfortable than before, but always sufficiently so to make the sight of land this morning most agreeable; even at this moment my head is confused & my hand with difficulty guides the pen— indeed I write solely for the purpose of having a letter ready to despatch from Portsmouth for the first packet, in hopes, (not very strong) that it may reach you before that which I shall write you by the return of this ship— My companions have enjoyed the trip very well, Major Wade<sup>8</sup> being the only one sick & he only for a short time— I must break off until I get ashore. *Evening* after a beautiful day & a fine run up the channel, we are now making steady in smooth water, & I feel so much better as to be tempted to talk to you a little more though I dare say that my letter will be old before it reaches you, as we are just too late for the Great Western which was to sail this afternoon from Bristol— To-day we have been occupied & amused with winding up the affairs of our little community by presenting thanks to the ship's officers &c.; a piece of plate to each of the officers in the boat which picked up the drowning man on the first day of our voyage, & a contribution for the crew of the boat— If I were only as near to N. Y., after having completed the objects of our mission, as I am to Portsmouth how joyful I should be— indeed I want very much to hold you & our dear little children once more in my arms; but I will set you a good example of cheerfulness & I hope, in constant occupation & variety, to find less time on shore to indulge in regrets & vain wishes than I have had here— good night, my dear, & every blessing [upon] you—

April 16<sup>th</sup>

[Por]tsmouth— Thursday morning. As we anticipated we reached Portsmouth early this morning & got ashore in time to take a comfortable breakfast, & after a good bath I feel myself much more like a

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<sup>8</sup> Richard Dean Arden Wade of New York became second lieutenant in the artillery on October 27, 1820; transferred to the seventh infantry on June 1, 1821; transferred to the third artillery on October 16, 1822; was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant on September 10, 1823; was raised to the rank of captain on December 26, 1840; and was brevetted major on November 6, 1841, for gallantry and successful service in the war against the Florida Indians, and lieutenant colonel on September 8, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Morlino del Rey, Mexico. He died on February 13, 1850. *Heitman, Army Register*, I, 991.

man, tho' still not without some giddiness in the head & some remains of an uncomfortable sensation about the chest, which will go off I hope with a good walk which we are now about to take, & a good dinner after it— we shall go up to London to-morrow Easter day Good Friday— Farewell for the present, & believe that you are tenderly loved by

Yr husband      A. Mord

To Mrs Alfred Mordecai  
Care of H. Hays Esqr  
Philadelphia

London, Sunday Evening  
April 19<sup>th</sup> 1840.

My dear love,

Once more in beautiful, admirable, *clean* England, & in the center of magnificent London, (for I am just opposite to St. James's Palace,<sup>9</sup>) you imagine me perhaps perfectly contented & happy; but I assure you I should be much more so if I had you near me to enjoy the fine things I see in the day time & to talk them over with at night— The women I meet remind me constantly of you, by contrast, & the chubby, neatly dressed children of my own, by resemblance— We all agree that, (in spite of a sea voyage,) the women are all coarse & ugly, but they are perhaps the only creatures animate or inanimate, that we have found fault with during the four days we have been in England— *four* days! it seems impossible that the time should not be longer, & but 2 of them in London whilst we seem to have been all over it— I wrote to you on the last day on board the British Queen & finished my letter at Portsmouth to go by the Liverpool packet but it is very likely you may receive this first, as I shall keep it for the Queen's return— Suffice it to say that we had a very favorable voyage, tho' I suffered exceedingly the whole time from my invincible enemy. & we landed in Porthsmouth on the 15<sup>th</sup> day— We spent the day in Portsmouth, to refresh & to see the fortifications, troops, &c, familiarizing our strangers a little to English ground— Nothing could be more charming than the weather then & since; soft & mild, such as you may perhaps be enjoying at this very time, & the spring, tho' called backward, seems to me almost or quite as far advanced as when I left you in Rich<sup>d</sup>, this day 4 weeks & the grass is quite green, the forest trees budding & the fruit trees, many of them in bloom— In spite of

<sup>9</sup> St. James' Palace was erected in London by Henry VIII and was enlarged by Charles I. It was damaged by fire in 1809 but was later restored. Though no longer occupied by the sovereign, it gave its name originally to the British court. The picturesque brick gate toward St. James' Street and the interesting presence-chamber date from Henry VIII, as does the chapel, which is known as the Chapel Royal. The apartments of state are handsomely decorated. It is situated in St. James' Park of eighty-seven acres. Henry VIII acquired this land in exchange for land in Suffolk. The Hospital of St. James which owned it was pulled down and St. James' Palace was erected on the site. It is the first of a series of parks extending from near the Thames at Whitehall to Kensington Palace, two and a half miles east and west. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 883.

the annoyance of dust raised by a strong wind blowing in our faces, we all enjoyed the journey up to *town*, on the top of the coach— To me nothing is more exhilarating, as you may remember my describing it formerly, & it has lost none of its charms— Baker said that he could not have imagined anything like the road, the excellence of the appointments, the rapidity of travelling &c, he “never enjoyed a ride so much in his life”— By the time we had gotten rid of the dust & taken our dinners (at the Royal Hotel, St James’s St) there was just light enough left to take a first little stroll about this part of the city, which lengthened out until we were tired enough to go to bed, & the next day we were not prepared to set out until nearly 1 o’clk, when we tried to find Mr Stevenson,<sup>10</sup> who, however, had gone down into the country— We then occupied ourselves the rest of the day, with our bankers &c, in “the city,” winding up with a night English meal at Dolly’s famous beef steak house; & returned home thoroughly fatigued again. The magnificence of some of the shops in the city perfectly astonished us, accustomed as Huger & I have been before to such things— the immensity & magnificence of London defy the power of habit in making things familiar— To-day (Sunday) still soft, hazy weather, & *Easter* Sunday, brings out an immense population into the parks & streets— in the morning I called to see Mrs Wilson Miss Edgewillis (sister) who received me in a very friendly manner & enquired after you— & Mrs Marx, who is just going out of town for 10 days— Frank Marx is not in town, which I regret, as he is well disposed & might be useful whilst we have leisure— The afternoon we devoted, by the kindness of Mr Vaughan,<sup>11</sup> to the beautiful Zoological Gardens—<sup>12</sup> The weather is so pleasant that nearly all the animals were enjoying it in the open air; the early flowers, jonquils, primroses, cowslips, hyacinths &c are in full bloom, & the whole scene is gay & splendid, such as can be found only in this *neat* country— You see that I am not less charmed than before with every thing English— The country certainly suits me admirably & I have only to wish that whilst I remain in it, my purse could be better proportioned to the demands on it— but you need not fear that any thing will induce me

<sup>10</sup> Andrew Stevenson was born in Virginia in 1784, and died there on January 25, 1857. He studied law and soon became eminent in that field. He served several terms in the lower house of the legislature, serving as speaker for one term; served in Congress from December 1, 1823, to June 2, 1834, when he resigned; was speaker of the House from 1827 to 1834; was minister to England from 1836 to 1841; and on his return became rector of the University of Virginia and devoted the rest of his life to the duties of that office and to agricultural pursuits. *Appletons’ Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 680.

<sup>11</sup> John Apthorp Vaughan (October 13, 1795-June 5, 1865) graduated from Bowdoin College in 1815; worked in a banking house for his uncle William in London; operated a plantation in Jamaica for a while; became a rector; and was secretary of the Protestant Board of Foreign Missions from 1836 to 1842. He resigned and moved to Georgia, but moved again to Philadelphia in 1844, where he served as superintendent of the school for the blind from 1845 to 1848. He was professor of historical theology in the Philadelphia Divinity School. He was quite a prolific writer on church literature. *Appletons’ Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 268.

<sup>12</sup> Regent’s Park lies on the north side of London and covers 472 acres. Around this park is a drive nearly three miles long and an inner circular drive encloses the Botanical Gardens. At the north end are the Zoological Gardens, to which a broad, fine avenue leads along the center of the park. *Encyclopaedia Americana*, XVII (1938), 591.

to prolong the time absolutely necessary, my absence from you & all I love at home— I will not promise to write to you as fully as I used to do to my sister, especially on this ground which I have travelled over, for I hope when we really get to work that I shall have little time to do any thing but rest in, after the labours of the day— even now I am encroaching a little on the hours of sleep, for we shall have probably a fatiguing day tomorrow in seeing the vagaries of "Greenwich Fair" on each Monday—

*Tuesday Apl. 21*— After devoting a part of yesterday morning to making enquiries & arrangements for our outfits (in the course of which we went through Stow & Martin's rooms where I procured my locket) we crossed London Bridge<sup>13</sup> & took the rail way for Greenwich—<sup>14</sup> The most remarkable thing about the fair is the vast crowd of people assembled there, nearly all of the middle & lower classes of trades people, servants &c— There is no great fun in going over these things again, but the magnificent buildings of the Hospital<sup>15</sup> I was very willing to visit once more & my companions were delighted with. Early in the afternoon we returned to town in a steamer, meeting at every moment others going down crammed with people, the evening being the great time— After dinner we made our visit to a Theatre & managed to get through an hour or two with

<sup>13</sup> Fourteen road-bridges cross the Thames within London County. Of these the London Bridge is of most importance. It connects the city with Southwark and Bermondsey. The old bridge, famous for many years with its rows of houses and chapel in the center, was completed early in the thirteenth century. It was 308 yards long, and rested on twenty narrow arches through which the tides form dangerous rapids. It stood some sixty yards below the existing bridge, which was built of granite by John Rennie and his son, Sir John Rennie, and completed in 1831. It was widened in 1904 by means of Corbels projecting on either side. There was no bridge below London Bridge until 1894, when the Tower bridge was opened. This is a suspension bridge, with the central portion between two lofty and massive stone towers, consisting of bascules which can be raised by hydraulic machinery to admit the passage of vessels. There are also several tunnels beneath the river. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1941) XIV, 349.

<sup>14</sup> Greenwich is a metropolitan borough of London. It was noted in the reign of Ethelred and the Danish Fleet was stationed here (1011-1014). The two most important buildings are the hospital and the observatory. It has a river frontage of four and a half miles, the Thames making two deep bends, enclosing the Isle of Dogs on the north and a similar peninsula on the Greenwich side. To the south of the hospital is Greenwich Park of 185 acres. It was enclosed by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and laid out by Charles II, and contains a fine avenue of Spanish chestnuts planted in his time. It contains the Royal Observatory, built in 1675. From it each day at one o'clock the exact time is electrically sent out. From it longitude is reckoned. The new magnetic pavilion, located some 400 yards east of the main building, was completed in 1899. It was erected away from the main structure on account of the iron used in the main building. South of the park lies the open common of Blackheath, mainly within the borough of Lewisham, and in the east the borough includes the greater part of Woolwich common. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, X (1941), 865.

<sup>15</sup> Greenwich Hospital is the term used to designate a certain plot of ground and buildings. It still bears that name although in 1869 it became a royal naval college. On this site once stood Greenwich House, a royal residence, as early as 1300 granted by Henry V to Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, from whom it passed to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who improved it and named it *Placentia*. Many British rulers were born in this building, and it was the principal royal residence for many years. It was pulled down by Charles II, and the west wing of the present hospital was designed by Inigo Jones and erected on the site. Parts designed by Sir Christopher Wren were built by Queen Anne and King William. It was assigned to certain great officers of state and in 1705 it was opened to seamen as a hospital. Its painted walls and portraits of noted admirals are excellent. In it is the Royal Naval Museum. Formerly 2,700 retired seamen were boarded, and 6,000 out-pensioners received stipends out of its funds, but by the act of 1865 liberal pensions were granted to those who were willing to accept them in lieu of board. By the act of 1869 they were compelled to leave and it was devoted to the accommodation of the students of the Royal Naval College, while the Infirmary was granted to the Seamen's Hospital Society. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, X (1941), 865.

Macreade's Hamlet<sup>16</sup> & Power at the Haymarket,<sup>17</sup> a very pretty little neat house— but it is poor sport to all of us, & a visit to the opera will, I think, content me in that line— Nothing is more tiresome to me now-a-days— On our return from Greenwich I found a note from Mr Stevenson requesting us to meet him this morning at breakfast which we are about to do— & one from Mrs Wilson asking me to appoint a day this week for dining with her—

*Friday morning*— Although constantly moving about & very much fatigued, it seems to me that we make but little progress towards our main object— Mr Stevenson is full of *words* & of self importance, but has promised to do all he can for us & we are to go there this morning after breakfast to get his answer from the ordnance Dept— Some little difficulty may be made on account of the unpleasant state of things in relation to the foundary question which occupies a good deal of attention here— In the mean time we are busy getting our outfits & seeing sights; the latter, tho' not quite a twice told tale to me in all cases, is rather tiresome, & so fatiguing that after dinner (which we don't get through with until near 9 o'clk), we are much disposed to go off to bed—

Yesterday, through the kindness of Mr Vaughan, we had a very interesting day; a visit to the stupendous public docks & warehouses of London, was followed by one to the Tunnel where a letter to Mr Bromel enabled us to see the *works*, as well as the merely public part— The operations having advanced to within 50 ft of the wharf on the north side, we have actually crossed the river underneath— it is expected that next year this wonderful work will be opened for foot passengers— Major Baker & I also effected, on Wednesday, a journey to the ball of St Paul's, which my rheumatism prevented me from making before; this is merely for the day &c— I ought not to omit to tell you that I spent an hour, one evening, at Mr Wilson's & Mrs W. asked me again about you & our beautiful child, & (when I told her there were two) whether the second is as beautiful as the first— I have not ventured to ask for hers, as I believe she lost it—

*Sunday Morning*— We found on friday that Mr S. had procured the letters we require but too late to do anything out of town on that day & Saturday not being a show day at Woolwich<sup>18</sup> we put off our visit

<sup>16</sup> William Charles Macready (Macreade) was born in London on March 3, 1793, and died in England on April 27, 1873. He made his first appearance in his father's theatre in Birmingham, England, in 1810. In 1816 he appeared in London in Covent Gardens, and by 1837 he had advanced to the front rank of his profession. He then took charge of Covent Gardens Theatre and put on Shakspeare's plays. After two seasons he abandoned it and played in the provinces and in Paris. He made several visits to America. In 1851 he left the stage. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 638.

<sup>17</sup> The Haymarket was established as a market in 1644 on the site now partly covered by the Criterion restaurant and theatre and Lower Regent Street. The theatre stands in the Haymarket opposite Charles Street. With the exception of Drury Lane no theatre in London is as rich in theatrical tradition as "the Little Theatre in the Haymarket." It was built in 1720, 1820, and 1880. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 488.

<sup>18</sup> Woolwich is a borough in Kent, England, situated on the Thames nine miles east of London. It is noted for its arsenal. It contains factories of guns, gun carriages, and ammunition, barracks, and a royal military academy for engineering and artillery. Woolwich became an important naval station and dock yard in the sixteenth century. The dockyard was closed in 1869. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 1070.

until to-morrow— we therefore devoted Friday to the Queen's service at Windsor, & had an opportunity of seeing the Royal person out for a drive & the state apartments of her truly regal castle—<sup>19</sup> They have been improved since I saw them before & they are truly worthy of the sovereign of this great country— In going down on the Great Western Rail Way we had also an opportunity of seeing some thing of that work, the best of its kind I have ever seen; travelling at the rate of about 30 miles an hour we seemed to move very moderately; with it the steadiness & evenness of the motion, & in comfort and elegance the carriages surpass our cars more than a London charriot does a hackney coach— Yesterday we gave to the Tower<sup>20</sup> & its Establishments & in the evening I dined at Mr Wilson's where I met Capt Beaufort & Capt Fox (who married Mrs W's sisters) & young son & Mrs Edgeworth just arrived from Ireland on their way to Italy— N.B. There has not been a drop of rain since we landed in England, & the weather now has as much the appearance of continuing dry as it had a week ago—

*Tuesday Morning* I have little to add for you except that I am thoroughly fatigued, & scarcely able to walk with any comfort, tho' just out of bed— I made one or two visits on Sunday & took a stroll in the afternoon in Hyde Park<sup>21</sup> to see the magnificent equipages

<sup>19</sup> Buckingham Palace is the London residence of the sovereign and is situated at the western end of St. James' Park. It was settled by an act of Parliament in 1775 upon Queen Charlotte, and was henceforth known as the "queen's house." It was remodeled under George IV; and the eastern facade, ball room, and some other portions were added by Queen Victoria, who began to occupy it in 1837. The chief facade is 360 feet long, but is architecturally uninteresting. The state apartments are magnificently adorned and furnished, the grand staircase, the throne-room, and the state ball-room being especially notable. There is a priceless collection of French buhl and other furniture, and the picture-gallery contains a number of old and modern masterpieces. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 191.

<sup>20</sup> The ancient palace-citadel Tower of London is situated on the Thames at the southeast angle of the old walled city of London. The Roman wall ran through the site. It consists of a large and irregular agglomeration of buildings of different periods, inclosed within battlemented and moated walls. While a stronghold of some kind existed earlier on the site, the history of the Tower begins with William the Conqueror. The chief buildings are the work of the Norman kings and Henry III, and no important additions were made after Edward I. When it ceased to be a royal residence it became famous as a state prison, and is now a national arsenal. The royal mint was located there in the Middle Ages. The Tower had four gates: the Iron, Water, and Traitors' gates on the Thames side, and the Lions' Gate at the southwest angle. In the middle of the inclosure rises the square and lofty White Tower, the keep of the Medieval fortress. It is characterized by its four tall angle-turrets with modern crowning. In the White Tower is the venerable Chapel of St. John, which is unsurpassed as an example of the earliest type of Norman architecture. In the halls above is shown an admirable collection of medieval arms and armor. The buildings of the inner inclosure include twelve towers, with many of which are associated memories of historic captives, executions, and crimes. In the Record or Wakefield Tower are kept the crown jewels of England. In the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, in the northwest angle, and the little cemetery adjoining, are buried most of the celebrated persons who suffered death within the Tower precincts or on Tower Hill. The buildings are for the most part severely plain, in rough masonry of small stones, their great interest lying almost wholly in their manifold associations. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 1004-1005.

<sup>21</sup> Hyde Park is situated in Westminster, London, two and one-fourth miles southwest of St. Paul's. It is one of the largest parks of London, extending from Westminster to Kensington, and covering an area of about 390 acres. It originally belonged to the manor of Hyde, the property of the monks of St. Peter, Westminster, which fell into the hands of Henry VIII at the dissolution of the monasteries. During the Commonwealth and after the restoration a large park was leased to private holders. In 1670 it was inclosed with a wall and restocked with deer. It is now the principal recreation ground of London, and frequented by rich and poor. It has nine carriage entrances and many gates for pedestrians. The gate at Hyde Park corner at the southeast and the Middle arch at the northeast are noteworthy. The first was built in 1828 from designs of Decimus Burton, and comprises three arches with a frieze about the central arch, copied from that of the Parthenon of Athens. The Marble arch was intended as a monument to Nelson. It was erected by John Nash in 1828 in front of Buckingham Palace, and was moved to the present site in 1851. Since the seventeenth century this park has been the favored resort of fashionable society, especially from May to the end of July. Now it is often the scene of political and other popular demonstrations. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 521; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XIV (1941), 358-359.

which turn out on that day as the like is not seen anywhere else; & after that I rested for the next day which notwithstanding was a most fatiguing one— it was devoted to our first visit to Woolwich & a walk round the Arsenal &c, in which we were accompanied by Capt Griffiths to whom Mr Wilson gave me a letter— To-day is to be a grand funeral for Genl Sir Alex Dickson, but I shall remain in town to recruit for to-morrow when I propose to make another visit there— I am perfectly well, except that my feet hurt me very much—

I shall send this letter by Col. Heth who goes in the British Queen— Please say to Dr Hays that I send him by the same a little package containing the surgical instruments he wished for, & one that I have added which was not on his order, as he showed me one of the kind with which he was not satisfied—

*Tuesday evening*— I have passed the day with Major Baker in attending to such business, public & private as we could transact in town, & as I shall go to Woolwich to-morrow & may not return the same day I must close my despatch this evening & send it to Col. Heth— I am ashamed to let him go without some other memento for you than this letter, but really if you knew how my time is taken up you would pardon the apparent want of attention— I know too that my journal is very meagre, but I have explained & you must not measure my love by this evidence of it— Nothing would give me so much pleasure as to sail to-morrow in the British Queen again, for I long to embrace you & our dear children & I do not find that my inclination for the duty assigned to me increases with the lapse of the time devoted to it— as yet indeed we have been able to make only a few preliminary steps, & we hope that our progress will be more rapid in future— In spite of my love for England I am very anxious to get out of it, not only because it will bring me nearer to you, but because every sovereign I spend, (& they go like dollars with us) I almost fancy I hear my little ones crying for “bread & raiment”— Economy is impossible— Fairwell— I need not bid you think often of your loving husband A. Mordecai

To Mrs. Alfred Mordecai  
Care of Henry Hays Esqr  
Philadelphia  
Steamer British Queen

London— May 3<sup>d</sup> 1840. Sunday

What a beautiful place St James's park is on a clear bright May morning like this! in the heart of this immense wilderness of a city to walk quietly by the side of a clear lake (as it may be called) diversified by some pretty little islands & enlivened by water fowls— The trees around dressed in their new spring foliage almost secluding the buildings except to admit a glimpse of the turrets of Westminster

Abbey,<sup>22</sup> The parks of the surrounding palaces & monuments, while the walks are enlivened by the well dressed populace enjoying their Sunday promenade & listening to the bands of music playing at guard mounting or in marching the soldiers to church— There is a life & *nature* about it very different from what is met with in the formal gardens & walks of the continental cities which I have seen, beautiful as these too are in their way— I was strolling alone & sadly too, in spite of the scene & the loveliness of the weather, for these things soften the heart, & make one wish for some loving soul to enjoy them with— I thought how delightful it would be to have you, my dearest wife, hanging on my arm at such a time & place— it is only in such situations that I can permit myself to think of you or that I can be reminded of you by association &, my usual occupations are too common place & professional to call up any images but those of the ordnance office & my desk there— I sent you two sheets (meagre ones I fear) by the British Queen, & the three days that have relapsed since closing them have been devoted exclusively to business, having been passed at Woolwich (the seat of the Royal arsenal & other Mily establishments by Huger & myself whilst the other two gentlemen visited Chatham,<sup>23</sup> another Mily & naval establishment— at Woolwich we met with great civility on the part of several officers to whom we were accidentally introduced— Lt Denison of the engineers to whom Bache<sup>24</sup> gave us a letter) showed us the works, &c, at the dock yard & invited us to dinner, & Col Dundar the Inspector of artillery & manager of the part of the arsenal in which we are particularly interested devoted a great deal of time to us, gave us all the information we asked for, & has invited us all to go down & dine with him next Wednesday— We are in fact in the way of making acquaintances of just the kind we require, but we shall be too much straightened for time to make all the use of them we could wish.

*Tuesday— May 5<sup>th</sup>* The whole of Sunday was passed (after writing the above) just as you have so often seen me pass it in Washington at my table making figures on every scrap of paper I could lay my hands on, to calculate guns—

Monday pretty early we took *our own carriage* & went out like

<sup>22</sup> Westminster Abbey is a famous church in Westminster, London. It was founded on the site of an earlier church constructed by Edward the Confessor, and rebuilt in the thirteenth century by Henry III and Edward I, and has been enlarged at various times. It is 513 feet long and seventy-five feet wide. The height of vaulting is 102 feet. It is ornate and the interior is very impressive. Its main fame comes from the fact that England's most famous men are buried here. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 1057.

<sup>23</sup> Chatham is in Kent, England, twenty-five miles southeast of London. It is one of the chief military stations and naval arsenals in England. It is strongly fortified by the Chatham lines. Its extensive docks, wharves, and mills have grown up gradually since it was founded by Queen Elizabeth. It also contains extensive barracks for infantry, artillery, and engineers. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 239.

<sup>24</sup> Doubtless he refers to Alexander Dallas Bache, who was born in Philadelphia on July 19, 1806, and died in Newport, Rhode Island, on February 17, 1867. He graduated from West Point in 1825; became an outstanding physicist—was professor of natural philosophy and chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania from 1828 to 1841; was the organizer of Girard College in 1836, and its first president; served as superintendent of the Coast Survey from 1843 to 1867; and became a writer of prominence. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 106.

gentlemen on a visit to the powder mills & small arms manufactory at Waltham abbey,<sup>25</sup> 12 miles off as we had appointed some days before with the directing engineer Col. Woody— The weather continued beautiful & we had a charming drive through a beautiful country, as all the country is— Col W. & his family are right good, kind hearted English people, & after seeing the works we had a pleasant dinner & evening, & got back home at 12 o'clk— Nothing can be more agreeable than an English house when inhabited by people who are free from the stiffness too often met with among those who are afraid of their dignity— Col— W. has passed a great part of his life in foreign service, in the West Indies &c; I remembered very well seeing him at West Point the last year of my cadetship, but what is very extraordinary *he* remembered perfectly not only my name, but other circumstances connected with his visit to the class to which I belonged, which he mentioned to Baker & Huger<sup>26</sup> when they visited him the other day, previous to our going out there together— To-day I have been rummaging book-stores for Mily Books, & making one or two visits— I found that Mrs Wilson had gone this morning to Ireland without my having had an opportunity of seeing her (except for a moment in a shop) since I dined there—

*Sunday*— almost a whole week & not a word to you, my dearest— you will imagine rightly that I have not been doing much to interest you; in fact I have been absent from town a part of the time & at other times too much fatigued or too much occupied or too little amused to make it practicable or entertaining to write to you— Let me see—: on Wednesday Baker & Huger went to pay their respects to the Queen<sup>27</sup> at the Levee, & as only two could be presented at one time by the same ambassador I having little curosity on the subject, went down to Woolwich to see what I could pick up there before dinner, for we were all to dine there with Col. Dundar whose civilities, to us without any claim or any but a casual introduction, have been really remarkable— The other gentlemen joined me after the levee & we had a very pleasant dinner party; consisting of the Col & M<sup>rs</sup> D, with a few of the

<sup>25</sup> Waltham Abbey or Waltham Holy Cross is a town in Essex, England, situated on the Lea, twelve miles from London. The abbey was founded by King Harold, who was buried in the church. The venerable nave, which has now been restored and is used as a parish church, is interesting as an example of the early Norman style prior to the conquest. Eventually gunpowder mills were erected in the neighborhood. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 1048.

<sup>26</sup> Benjamin Huger of South Carolina became a cadet at West Point on July 1, 1821; was brevetted second lieutenant of the third artillery on July 1, 1825; became captain of ordnance on May 30, 1832; and was made major on February 15, 1855. He was brevetted major on March 29, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct at the siege of Vera Cruz, Mexico; lieutenant-colonel on September 8, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico; and colonel on September 13, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chapultepec, Mexico. He resigned from the army on April 22, 1861, and became a major-general in the Confederate States Army, 1861-1865. He died on December 7, 1877. Heitman, *Army Register*, I, 551-552.

<sup>27</sup> Queen Alexandrina Victoria (May 24, 1819-January 22, 1901) was Queen of England from June 20, 1837, until her death. She was the only child of the Duke of Kent, the fourth son of George III, and succeeded William IV, the third son of George III, on the British throne. On February 10, 1840, she married Albert, prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, but he died on December 14, 1861. Among her many other duties she found time to do some writing for the press. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 1036.

neighbours— We remained at Woolwich, in pursuit of our business, that night & the greater part of Thursday, returning to town in time to dine with Mr Vaughan, whose previous invitation we had been obliged to decline— The only stranger, besides, ourselves, was Mr Brunel<sup>28</sup> the engineer of the Tunnel, a very talkative old gentleman, who had a good deal to say about the U. States where he commenced his career as an engineer, & after dinner he gave us a dissertation on the Tunnel & entertained us until a late hour—

Having now completed whatever we could do in an official way, without too much delay here, we determined to get ready for a start this morning for the north, & with that view we devoted Friday & Saturday to completing our equipment & settling our bills &c, in the course of which operation I can recollect nothing to interest you— Last evening we passed a few hours at Mr Babbage's<sup>29</sup> conversations to which a letter from Bache procured us invitations— Instead of a meeting of scientific & literary men, as I expected to find it, I was surprised to see the room filled chiefly with ladies, making it just an ordinary & quizzes & talking party— there were very few persons in the rooms when we entered & I had a good opportunity of seeing Lady Lovelace,<sup>30</sup> once Ada Byron, whom Mr B. pointed out to me— she is not handsome, but has a good face, a little distinguished by hair mole on her upper lip— There may be some likeness to her father, especially in the nose and the general form of the face, but not striking I think— The only other person who was pointed out to me, that you would consider distinguished, was Dickens,<sup>31</sup> a young man whom Baker recognized by his picture— He was evidently an object of marked observation, by the ladies especially, & could only but feel that he was so, tho' I could not say that there is anything of the coxcomb visible in his manner, or at least not much— he is very likely however to be spoiled unless he has an uncommon share of common sense—

<sup>28</sup> Sir Marc Idambard Brunel was born in Hacqueville, Eure, France, on April 25, 1769, and died in London, England, on December 12, 1849. He emigrated from France to the United States in 1793, where he designed and erected the Bowery Theater, New York; and was appointed chief engineer of New York. He settled in England in 1799; completed machinery for making ships' blocks in 1806; and constructed the Thames Tunnel from 1825 to 1843. His son Isambard Kingdom Brunel (April 9, 1806–September 15, 1859) was also a noted engineer and naval architect. He worked in England on railways and ships. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 189.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Babbage was born near Teignmouth, Devonshire, on December 26, 1792, and died in London on October 18, 1871. He became a noted English mathematician; was one of the founders, secretaries, and vice presidents of the Astronomical Society; and was professor of mathematics at Cambridge from 1828 to 1839. He is chiefly known as the inventor of the calculating machine which, after many years of toil and a large expenditure of money, he failed to perfect. He was an author of many mathematical and economics works. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 104.

<sup>30</sup> Augusta Ada Byron Lovelace, Countess of, was born on December 10, 1815, and died on November 29, 1852. She was the daughter of Lord Byron. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 625.

<sup>31</sup> Charles Dickens was born in England on February 7, 1812, and died there on June 9, 1870. His father John Dickens was clerk in a navy paymaster's office and then reporter for a newspaper. After receiving an elementary education in a private school, he served as clerk for an attorney, became reporter for the *London Morning Chronicle*, and began to print his stories in the *Monthly Magazine*. He soon began to print his stories in book form, which made him one of the world's foremost novelists. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 324.

We found it impossible to get off this morning, as some of our things did not come home until late last night, & we are therefore devoting this day to packing & arranging for a comfortable start to-morrow— Can you guess why I thought particularly of you when I was packing my trunk?—

I forgot to mention a very interesting entertainment which we had through Mr Vaughans kindness also in attending on Friday evening, a lecture by Farady<sup>32</sup> on galvanism, illustrated by some beautiful experiments— He is a charming lecturer, rapid, clear & ingenuous; & his appearance is also in his favor—

We have news from the U. S. direct to the 10<sup>th</sup>, April & from Halifax 16<sup>th</sup>, but no letters; I hardly expected any however, but hope to receive some before I leave England which will be in a fortnight—

It is well worthy of remark that on *Friday* we had the first shower since we landed, more than *three weeks*— since then it has been April weather;

*Birmingham*—<sup>33</sup> May 13<sup>th</sup>— we came here day before yesterday, by the rail way; an easy journey of 112 miles in 5 hours; but the consequence of the change of weather & perhaps of lightening my under clothes a little during the late warm season, has been to bring back a regular attack of rheumatism, under which I suffered, very severely night before last— by keeping my bed, however nearly all day Friday & taking some medicine I find myself much better to-day & hope to conquer the enemy soon by casing myself again in flannel

Birmingham June. 2<sup>d</sup> 1840.

I have to hold the pen for your husband my dear M<sup>rs</sup> Mordecai, as the Rheumatism still has possession of his arms, and hands, and will not allow him to write even as well as *usual*; Ever since he wrote to you from here, on the 13<sup>th</sup>— inst; he has had more or less of this Rheumatism, which as times has given him a great deal of pain and is the more distressing as it deprives him of the use of his hands— but, though a very painful disease, like sea sickness it is not dangerous, and only requires a good stock of patience to get rid of it—

He begs me to say to you that though he has suffered a great deal of pain— it has been greatly alleviated by the great kindness he has experienced from the persons at whose house we are— particularly

<sup>32</sup> Michael Faraday was born in England on September 22, 1791, and died in the same country on August 25, 1867. This famous English physicist and chemist began work as a bookbinder, but upon hearing some of Sir Humphry Davy's lectures determined to devote his time and talent to the study of chemistry, and in 1813 he was appointed Davy's assistant in the laboratory of the Royal Institute. He was made director of the laboratory in 1825 and professor of chemistry by the institution in 1833. He made noteworthy discoveries in chemistry, but his greatest work was in the fields of electricity and magnetism. His most amazing discoveries were magneto-electric induction, the magnetization of light, and diamagnetism. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 380.

<sup>33</sup> Birmingham, England, is known the world over as a center for the manufacture of hardware. It was built on a site of an old Roman station, and is mentioned in the Domesday Book. It was taken by Prince Rupert in 1643; was the scene of the riot against Priestley in 1791; and there the Chartist riots took place in 1839. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 158.

from the lady of the house— We are at a very comfortable English *hotel*—. Every thing exceedingly neat and clean, and the landlady attends to him as she would to a relative— The servants are excellent, and vie with each other in showing attention to him—. And I have done all in my power to make him a kind nurse tho' a rather rough one—. I mention particularly what care is taken of him, as good nursing is the best, at all events the most soothing thing in his complaint; but he has also the best Medical attendance the place affords—. And with a little more patience, and fine weather, I have no doubt but the next steam packet will carry you the information that we have gone to some Watering place in the South of Europe; to wash out all Rheumatic affections, and to enjoy ourselves after our confinement here.

Major Baker and Wade have gone on to Sweden without us, as our party was so large it could bear division—. And we did not think it prudent for Capt M: to go to a Northern climate—.

Knowing how anxious you are about your children— and for fear you should imagine by your husbands not writing himself that he is much worse than he really is, I am particularly anxious of telling you the *Exact truth*—. His case has been one of severe inflammatory Rheumatism—. but it has been confined entirely to the limbs—. It has been exceedingly painful—. he was getting much better for two or three days last week, but had another attack about three days since— the effect of which still deprives him of the use of his limbs— He is again recovering to day, and if the Great Western would only delay sailing a few days I have no doubt he would be able to hold his own pen—. So just let me recommend to you what I have already recommended with very good effect to him,— a little *patience*—.

In a few weeks, after the receipt of this on the arrival of the next steamer you will get letters from him, telling you of his recovery, & our further progress—. Capt M: desired me to say he received all your letters, including that sent by the Great Western—. The one you wrote first and *did not* put into the mail came 2<sup>nd</sup>—. And that you are mistaken in thinking you lost a set of pay accounts as having left you two sets, as we have no idea of staying longer than December—. He did not forget that yesterday was the anniversary of his wedding; or that Laura will be three years old the day this letter leaves this country— He sends a kiss for the little girls, to which please add one for me— and would send many other kind messages but I have told him my sheet was full & I would be obliged to put this into one of the new post office envelopes— which may be something of a curiosity with you;— and as I am writing I will take this opportunity to send my love, and have him to make his own speech by next Steamer—.

I beg you will believe me most sincerely yours

Benj Huger.

You may be sure I have made use of the leisure time in reading to him all the books I could find on the novel subject of *Cannon*— his head has never been at all affected— it is only the extremities which obstinately refuse to move.—

Birmingham

June 11<sup>th</sup> 1840

My dearest wife

I am using the first opportunity which is allowing me of assuring you of my convelescence & of endeavouring to remove the painful impression which must have been made on you by Capt Huger's letter by the Great Western— It is just a month to-day since my arrival here & since my disease shewed itself in a decided manner; previously to that day I did not suspect the true cause of the languor & fatigue & sometimes pain, which I suffered in London, where nothing but the continued dry weather enabled me to keep up. I have suffered intense pain, my case being a servere one of inflammatory rheumatism or rheumatic fever; but it has been, I believe, judiciously treated so as to keep it entirely from the head & heart & other vital parts, & the fever being now subdued for nearly a week I may consider myself safely convalescent— the physicians give me strong hopes of being able to travel in the course of another week, & if so we shall probably pursue our journey to the north to join our comrades at Stockholm or St Petersburg, but of this you will hear more by the British Queen, & perhaps almost as soon as by this opportunity, tho' I am unwilling to omit any chance of your hearing speedily from me.

The pain which I have suffered & the vexation caused by so inconvenient & annoying a delay in our business here, sometimes seem too much for my strength, & I wept like a child to think of the distress which Capt Huger's letter would cause at the very time when perhaps you stood most in need of all the consolation & support which could be given to you— Fervently do I trust that your hour of trial may be passed in safety; & that I may soon have the happiness to hear that you are well— I could not help some times wishing for you tender care, but indeed I am thankful that you have been spared the pain of witnessing my sufferings, which would have been to partake of them without relieving me— Nothing could have been more fortunate, under the circumstances, than my coming to this Hotel, (The New Royal Hotel,) for the kindness of all the people, from the Landlady to the "Boots" has been unremitting; every thing that I could ask has been done for me, & every thing that could be anticipated by them has been attended to, without asking— The Landlady, Mrs Lambley, has really been like a mother to me in her attentions— she is not one of the common class of English inkeepers who are generally persons that have belonged to the class of upper servants but these were respectable palis people, & she is quite a lady— She comes to see me several

times a day, sits with me when Huger goes out, & attends herself to my needs &c— indeed I could not have been more fortunate—

Huger has been a fine friend scarcely leaving me a moment, except to take exercise for his health— Until last night he has slept in my room & has been always ready at my calls, which were sometimes frequent, for I required all the relief which could be afforded by changes of posture in my limbs, &c, which I was unable to move without assistance— he has most assiduously & kindly performed for me all the offices of a nurse, & always cheerfully, notwithstanding the vexation which he must experience from this delay, & in a place offering but few attractions— He would not leave me & I could not urge him to do so, for indeed I should have been forlorn without him. Major Baker & Wade sailed for Sweden about 12 days ago & are, I hope, pursuing successfully our business there, but it must be very inconvenient for them to be separated from us, as neither of them speaks any foreign language—

To-day I am, for the first time during my illness, nearly dressed, tho' have been often sitting up, wrapped in blankets; but for a pain in one knee I should be almost well, which, as I have been mending, but 4 or 5 days, is doing as much as I could expect. The medicine which seems to have produced this rapid improvement, since the abatement of an active fever, is the *iodide of potassium*, which I mention for the benefit of Ben Etting for whom I have a fellow feeling— if he has not tried it I would strongly recommend his doing so, under proper advice.

I have been much reduced, & (as you may perceive by my writing, perhaps,) I am still very weak, but I doubt not being able to give you much better accounts by the next steamer packet— In a few days I shall have the pleasure of hearing again from you, by the Queen; I hope for the best tidings & I beg you to imitate my example & not anticipate evil— my love to your mother & other friends; many kisses for our sweet little darlings, of whom & of their dear mother I think very very often, & long most earnestly to embrace them once more— I have not, as you may suppose, written to any one but you, & I trust to you to keep my dear mother & those around her informed of my situation. Believe me dearest most truly

Yr affte husband  
A. Mordecai

per packet Ship  
Siddons— 13 June.

M<sup>rs</sup> Alfred Mordecai  
Care Henry Hays Esqr  
Philadelphia, U S.  
Via: Liverpool to New York

The paper this morning announces a packet of the 20<sup>th</sup> Apl from N. York by which I am confident of getting letters from you, but they

will be sent first to London, & I cannot receive them for some days— We are now closing our letters to send by the Halifax steamer which we understand leaves Liverpool on the 15<sup>th</sup>— I am impatient to hear of you & our dear little ones & all at home; I cannot bear to think how long it must be before I can once more embrace you, my dear wife— we must remain here a day or two & then visit some iron foundaries in this quarter of the country, & perhaps go to Scotland, before embarking for the continent, which we propose to do in less than a fortnight— farewell again; I am not in spirits to write much—

Give my love to your mother & remember me to all my other friends in Phil<sup>a</sup>— thousand kisses to our little darlings— & do not fail to write often to me & let your letters take their chance of finding me— I shall soon be anxious about you— would that I could be near you in your hour of trial— it will perhaps be past, & I trust happily, before you receive this letter, but I know your good mother will write to me immediately— farewell again, my dearest—

Your loving husband

A. Mordecai

As I have written to no one but you you must send the enclosed sheet to Richd, tho' it is really not worth the trouble & postage, except to shew how I am getting on— this page you may keep to yourself.

To Mrs. Alfred Mordecai  
Care of Hy. Hays Esqr  
Philadelphia Pa

George Inn, "Land of Green Ginger."

*Kingston upon Hull*

June 20<sup>th</sup> 1840

You see my dear wife that I have at length escaped from my tedious confinement at Birmingham, & am making some progress towards the continent— In hopes, that the Liverpool Packet of the 13<sup>th</sup> might arrive before the British Queen, I wrote by the former to tell you that I was on the recovery from my painful illness; & since then I have continued to improve daily & to gain strength & the use of my limbs. Tho' not very rapidly yet I think securely— My appetite is good & I suffer no inconvenience except the stiffness of my joints— Having tried myself with a few short drives in the environs of Birmingham, (some of which, by the bye, are remarkably pretty,) I made my arrangements to leave there day before yesterday. a few hours travelling, in a comfortable car, on excellent rail roads, took me to Sheffield<sup>34</sup> (80 miles) without fatigue & we arrived there by 3 o'clk in time to visit Rogers's establishment, which Huger had not

<sup>34</sup> Sheffield, a parliamentary and municipal borough on the Don, Sheaf, and other streams, is the chief seat of English cutlery manufacture, and is renowned for its scissors, knives, razors, tools, rails, instruments, armor-plates, castings, surgical instruments, machinery, and axes. Firth College, St. Peter's Church, St. George's Museum, Corn Exchange, and Music Hall are the most noted buildings. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 924.

seen— as it was not convenient to carry any things with us at this time, (I shall move as my expenses at Birmingham had reduced my cash in hand to a very small amount) I contented myself with buying you a couple of pair of scissors & myself a knife, though there are many tempting things in the way of cuttlery & plate— We remained at Sheffield until 11 the next day, when we took coach for this place & thanks to the long days, we were comfortably housed here by sunset i. e. by a quarter past 8. distance about 70 miles, & this with a *two-horse* coach having 6 outside & generally 4 inside with a proportionate quantity of baggage— such is the excellence of the roads. I am obliged, of course, to take an inside place, although the day was fine; so that I could not enjoy the journey as much as usual, but I could still see that the valley of the Don is distinguished, or rather characterized, by the beauty & fertility, & neatness of cultivation which mark all the agricultural parts of this charming country; charming in all but its “accused climate,” as Alfieri<sup>35</sup> calls it, to which however all its charms are in a very great measure due— there are few objects of special interest to the romantic traveller, on this road; indeed I remember none but the remains of the castle of Koninsmark, where Athelstane<sup>36</sup> was laid out for dead & resuscitated— in *Ivanhoe*<sup>37</sup> you remember—

I bore the journey very well & find myself this morning none the worse for it— Huger has gone out to make arrangements for our embarking this afternoon for Gottenburg, & in leaving England I shall bid you adieu for some time, as my letters, if any, cannot be forwarded to me until I reach Berlin, about the end of July; there I trust to hear of your well doing, as I have already two days ago: for on the day I left Burmingham I received your two letters by the packet & the British Queen, accompanied by several others, one from Sister Ellen<sup>38</sup> & one from Emma—<sup>39</sup> I regret exceedingly your disap-

<sup>35</sup> The celebrated Italian dramatist Count Vittorio Alfieri was born of noble parents in Piedmont on January 17, 1749, and died in Florence on October 8, 1803. At the age of thirteen he began to study civil and canonical law, but soon abandoned it; at the age of fourteen he came into possession of great wealth; and roved over Europe from 1767 to 1773. In 1775 his play *Cleopatra* was successfully performed. His bold vigorous, lofty, and almost naked style founded a new school of Italian drama. His works were published in thirty-five volumes, thirteen of them being his posthumous works. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 37.

<sup>36</sup> Athelstane in Scott's *Ivanhoe* was the Thane of Coningsburgh, and suitor of Rowena. He was called the “Unready” from the slowness of his mind. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 90.

<sup>37</sup> *Ivanhoe* is a historical novel by Sir Walter Scott, published in 1820. The scene was laid in England during the reign of Richard I, 1189-1199. It received its title from its hero, Wilfred Knight of Ivanhoe. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 536.

<sup>38</sup> “Miss Ellen” Mordecai was a unique character about Warrenton, North Carolina, but she could have been called a typical lady of the middle of the nineteenth century in the eastern part of North Carolina. She was the third child of Jacob and Judeth Myers Mordecai. About 1796 her mother died and her father several years later married his wife's sister Rebecca Myers. In a unique style she wrote what she called a “History of Hastings,” which was really a history of Warrenton. She never had this book published. She was an admirer of Maria Edgeworth, with whom she corresponded for years. She remained a maiden lady during her long life of usefulness. She was her father's principal assistant in his school and was well read in literature. Her manuscript on the great conflict within her life before she became an Episcopalian was never published. She was a remarkable character, possessed marked intelligence and a strong attractive personality. In her ninety-fourth year she died at the seashore, in October, 1884. Montgomery, *Old Warrenton*, pp. 13, 16, 138, 139-43.

<sup>39</sup> By his first wife Judeth Myers Mordecai, he reared six children, Moses, Rachel, Ellen, Solomon, Samuel, and Caroline. By Rebecca Myers Mordecai, the sister of his former wife,

pointment in getting my letters by the Queen, in which I was very little to blame: for we all sent our letters to Col. Heth, not to take with him to Washington or any other place, but merely to throw into the letter bag on board the Steamer. He told me he should stop a day in Phila to see his daughter & I therefore gave him the package for Dr Hays to leave with her— however it is no matter now—

I am glad to hear of Sally's safety & beg you will make my congratulations to her & the Dr on their new accession to their family, & also to Becky on the *prospect* of having one; tho' you need not word it in that way— How anxious I am to hear of you— I had *almost* began to persuade myself that I could not continue abroad with any prospect of usefulness, might as well return home; but now I must content myself & hope for the best.

I wish you would thank Sister Ellen & Emma for their letters & say that I will write before long, perhaps from St Petersburg— it would be of no use to write sooner— Send Irvin word that you have heard from me & tell him that I should have written but for my misfortune

If you should not have presented my pay accounts [by] the receipt of this letter you may do so, either to the paymaster in Phila, if there is one, or if not perhaps you had better enclose them to Col Talcott at Washington & ask him to have them cashed for you; I shall write to him by this opportunity— I have rec'd the letter for Mr Arfevedson's house in Stockholm, but I see Mr A. was on board of the unfortunate Poland—

I am delighted at the good account you gave of our dear children, & I long indeed to caress them & you again— give them many kisses for me, & do not fear to tire me with talking of them— I cannot remember that I have any special instructions for you, except to take care of yourself & not to be too anxious about me— once more & for a long time, I must say farewell, & may good fortune attend you—

Give my love to yr mother & remembrances to all the family; & write to my mother or send my letters to her—

Huger is very well; his wife has gone to S<sup>o</sup> Ca, which is the reason you have not heard from her—

Ever yr affte husband A. Mordecai

To

M<sup>rs</sup> Alfred Mordacai  
Care Henry Hays Esqr  
Philadelphia  
Steamer British Queen

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whom he married several years after the death of his former wife, he reared seven children, George W., Alfred, Augustus, Julia, Eliza, Kennon, Emma, and Laura. Emma, the next to the youngest child in the family, must have gone with her father to Virginia, where he moved about 1820. About three miles north of Richmond he bought Spring Farm, now called Bloomingdale. Some years later he moved into the city. Emma seems to have spent much of her time about Raleigh, North Carolina, and in 1885 she was living there. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXI (1923), 187; XXXV (1927), 20.

Gothenburg,<sup>40</sup> June 24<sup>th</sup> 1940.

The day two years of *her* interment, to whom the former journal of her dear Alfred was addressed.

Safely landed on the continent of Europe again, my dear wife, as is sufficiently evinced by all the objects around me, if I had been even unaware of the voyage: look for instance at that pony they are harnessing to a sort of gig in the stable yard, & see the wooden hames lying on his shoulders without a collar to relieve their pressure; look too at the dirty equipage, so different from the style of such things in England—

I wrote to you from Hull to go by the Br. Queen, & I now write in the hopes of sending my letter by the steamer for Halifax which is to sail from Liverpool on the 1<sup>st</sup> July also— if very lucky my letter will reach Liver<sup>1</sup> in time otherwise, you will get it by the next packet. We sailed from Hull on Saturday afternoon, in the steamer “Innisfail” a small but strong boat, tho’ slow, & about 2 o’clk on Tuesday morning, but in broad day light we entered the Christiania Fiord, for the purpose of landing a mail at that place: I kept my birth the greater part of the time, thinking it the best place for me in my crippled state, but the weather was fine, & that circumstance combined perhaps with the medical treatment I had recently gone through, prevented me from suffering from sea sickness, more than to be sufficiently uncomfortable to take away my appetite— We had a very civil set of passengers, several of them English gentlemen going to Norway & Sweden to *shoot & fish* during the summer. After a glimpse of the bare rocks of Norway & the sandy shores of the “Skaw” (or Cape Skagen) we came on Tuesday evening in sight of the still barren & rocky shores of Sweden, at the entrance of the Gotha river, & by 11 oclk whilst it was still quite light, we were at the wharf at Klippan, about 3 miles below Gothenburg— Here the custom house officers soon came aboard, & after a slight & civil examination of our luggage, we were at liberty to dispose of ourselves— Notwithstanding that it had rained heavily about sunset I determined instead of passing the night again on board the steamer, to run the risk of going up to Gottenburg in an open boat— We accordingly engaged one, & by dint of oars & sail we were not long in reaching the town. Although it was now midnight overcast there was no darkness, but such a light as you may have had on the same day half an hour or so after sunset; & by 1 o’clk, when we put out our candles to go to sleep it seemed almost as if the sun was about to rise again, as indeed it must have done soon after 2.— at the very first glance, even by the twilight, we could realize the great change

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<sup>40</sup> Gothenburg or Gottenburg, Sweden, together with Bohus, form a maritime laen in Sweden. Goteborg is a seaport and the capital of this laen. It was founded by Gustavus Adolphus about 1619 at the mouth of the Gota. Its commercial importance dates from the Napoleonic wars. It is noted for its manufacture of sugar, machinery, cotton, and beer. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 450.

we had made in our situation: the style of building, the streets roughly paved like our own (at Richmond say,) but without side walks, the rough & dirty passages of Mrs. Tod's Hotel, with the stone stairs leading to our rooms, the bare appearance of the rooms themselves, without carpets, but with huge Russian stoves, like inside chimneys in a corner of each, with no superfluous furniture, but that required for our absolute wants, all showed that we were no longer in comfortable England. The best rooms in the Hotel were all taken, & after my hazardous midnight row, to avoid the ship's birth I was almost appalled to be shewn a little curtained place, scarcely so wide as my berth, where I was to sleep— But we did not complain, as it would have been indeed unreasonable to do, seeing the cheerfulness with which the people of the house roused themselves *at* so late an hour to make us as comfortable as they could, even lighting a fire to air my sheets by;— when by sliding out a part of my bedstead the “flicka” had increased its width to nearly a yard, I found myself able to pass a **very good** night, & am happy to think myself rather better than worse after my exposure— indeed I have walked much more to-day than I have done before since my illness,— & I find my limbs getting decidedly more supple— My breakfast too, of good coffee with rich cream, light bread & smoked salmon, I did full justice to, after several days of nearly fasting— Whilst we were at breakfast, one of our fellow travellers Mr Barclay a scotch gentleman living here, came to see us & in the name of his brother invited us to dine at his country house to-day— more civility than we should have experienced in a year in England— after breakfast we went to pay our respects to his brother & family, (the former unable to walk in consequence of a fall from his horse,) I found them living in a very handsome house, evidently fitted up in the best style of the place, the walls hung with pictures, & the table covered with books prints &c— This being what is called here *midsummer* day, or St John's day,<sup>41</sup> is a great holiday— all business is suspended, the shops shut & the people all who can going into the country to enjoy themselves & see the lads & lasses dancing & amusing themselves, as on a May-day in England— We are struck at once with the extreme *civility* (not *servility*, but politeness) of all classes of people up here— as Mr Murray the American consul said whilst walking with us, the frequency with which you are obliged to take off your hat becomes quite burdensome— but the manner seems to be an emblem of the *thing* itself, & we cannot but remark the cheerfulness with which every service seems to be performed— The people are not handsome, but on the contrary, hardfeatured & yet this cheerfulness lends them to me an agreeable expression of face— If we have not the luxuries of

<sup>41</sup> St. John's or Midsummer Day is celebrated on June 24. This was the day of the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist. On midsummer eve it was formerly the custom to kindle the fires (St. John's fires) upon the hills in celebration of the summer solstice. Various superstitious practices and wild festivities were long observed on this occasion. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, V, 3757.

England, at least we have not to *pay* as if we had them— three men, for instance, rowed our boat last night as many [mile]s & then brought our heavy luggage on their shoulders [som]e distance to the inn, & for this service they demanded but “two dollars, rigsgeld” say 40 cents!, & were quite delighted when another “dollar” was added for “drink money”— as Huger says, if we had been kept 6 weeks here instead of at Birmingham, we should have got rich—

Here is a great deal said about “Sweden & the Swedes” after a few hours acquaintance, but these superficial things are obvious at a glance & strike most when first seen; besides I have nothing to do but to scribble until Huger comes in & Mr Barclay’s carriage calls for us— We have taken our places in a little steam boat which leaves early to-morrow morning, to go through the lakes & the Gotha canal<sup>42</sup> to Stockholm<sup>43</sup> a picturesque voyage of which I will tell you more from the latter place, & now I will let you off after sending my loves & kisses to you & our darlings (three?) & hoping that it will not be very long before I hear of you again—

Ever & in all climes  
Yr loving husband  
A. Mordecai

To

M<sup>rs</sup> Alfred Mordecai  
Care Henry Hays Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Philadelphia.

Stockholm, June 30<sup>th</sup> 1840.

The Day Alfred was born

My dear wife.

I have almost as much pleasure in writing to you from this Northern Capitol as I hope you will have in hearing of my safe arrival, in better ease than I had perhaps any right to expect after so recent & severe an illness & a journey of a thousand miles— I wrote to you from Gothenburg in hopes of my letter reaching Liverpool in time for the steamer of to-morrow, & this I hope will go by same packet which may arrive before the Great Western, although I think it doubtful—

<sup>42</sup> The Gota is a river in Sweden about fifty miles long, draining Lake Vener. A series of locks enable large vessels to surmount the falls of Tollhattan. The river flows from the south end of the lake due south to the Cattogat, which is entered by two arms enclosing the island of Hisingen. The eastern prong forms the harbor of Gothenburg. This canal, leading from Gothenburg to Stockholm, is only one of the many canals in this vicinity. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, X (1941), 539.

<sup>43</sup> Stockholm, Sweden, is not only the capital of the country, but it is the principal emporium of the commerce of the central and northern parts of Sweden, and has extensive and varied manufactures. With the surrounding suburbs, which are really a part of the capital, Stockholm is quite a large place. The massive royal palace, 380 by 400 feet, is very interesting, especially on the inside. The Riddarholms-Kyrka, the old church of the Franciscans, is a large medieval building with Renaissance and later modifications, which is interesting because for centuries it has been the burial-place of kings and noted men. The city also contains the National Museum, the Northern Museum, and the Royal Library, and it is the seat of the Swedish Academy. The city was founded in the thirteenth century, was several times besieged, and was taken by Christian II in 1520. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 959.

Our journey or voyage from Gothenberg here was not unamusing-, something like a trip on the canal from Harrisburg to Pittsburg, omitting the Rail Road part- but this with its peculiarities, I will endeavour to give you an idea of when I have more time, this letter being merely intended to inform you of my arrival here- We reached here yesterday morning, having left Gothenburg on the 25<sup>th</sup>, & I found myself on my arrival, much better than I had been at any time before, partly attributable, I suppose, to the satisfaction of having finished a journey of the result of which I had great doubts, especially as I had committed some imprudence in walking, to see the celebrated Cataract of Trollhattan-<sup>44</sup> I was yesterday awake & in motion, 20 hours, from 4 in the morning until 12 at night- Mr Hughes<sup>45</sup> took early possession of us & is as kind as possible- he received yesterday a letter from his daughters, (which he read to us) describing the awful disaster on board the Poland, in a very full and simple manner; & the poor father was so much affected as "To give us a greet" for sympathy-, to-day I am a little stiff but not unwell, & have been looking at the artillery mill & the King's summer palace &c- but I shall reserve myself the rest of the day, as we may probably go to the Foundaries to-morrow- In the pay accounts which I left with you I put myself down at *Finspong* on this day, & it is somewhat remarkable that I should have come so near it- we shall be there, if not tomorrow, in a day or two- We are very comfortably, & indeed grandly, lodged here & our visit is considered quite a National compliment, so that we meet with quite a distinguished reception-

I must not talk too long, but refer you to the continuation of my Journalizing letters- we shall be here yet perhaps two weeks, & then to St Petersburg- which puts off perhaps some weeks later than I thought our arrival in Berlin where only I can expect to hear from you, anxious as I am to do so-

God bless & preserve you-

Y<sup>r</sup> affte husband

A. Mordecai

M<sup>rs</sup> Arfevedson is in Sweden, but has not yet reached Stockholm-  
M<sup>rs</sup>. Alfred Mordecai  
Care Henry Hays Esqr  
Philadelphia

<sup>44</sup> Trollhattan is a town in Sweden forty-five miles northeast of Gothenburg. It is on the banks of the Gota at a point where that river descends 108 feet in the course of nearly a mile by the famous falls of Trollhattan (six in number), and several rapids. The setting of the falls is not striking, but the great volume of water, nearly 18,000 cubic feet per second, renders them most imposing. The narrowed river here surrounds several islands, on either side of one of which (Toppo) are the first falls of the series, Toppo and Tjuf. These are forty-two feet in height. The water power is used in rolling mills, a cellulose factory, and other works. The electric works supply power to Gothenburg and other near-by towns. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XXII (1941), 491.

<sup>45</sup> Christopher Hughes was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1786, and died there on September 18, 1849. He became secretary to the United States legation in London on February 3, 1814, and was transferred to Stockholm on September 26, 1816. When Jonathan Russel returned in 1818, he left Hughes in charge, and for the next thirty-five years the United States had no minister in Sweden. He was made charge on January 20, 1819; was transferred to the Netherlands on July 15, 1825, with the same rank; returned to Sweden on March 3, 1830, as chargé; and remained there until September 9, 1841. He was recommissioned in 1842, but returned to the United States in 1845. He carried the Treaty of Ghent to the United States in 1815. He was a welcome guest in the best society of Baltimore and was admired for his wit and humor. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 302-303.

*Stockholm, June 30<sup>th</sup> 1840.* Arrived in a new country, very different from that which I have just quitted, I must endeavour to give you, as much in detail as I can, an account of what I have seen: I therefore take up my narrative at the point where I had just finished writing to you in *Goteborg*, when Mr Barclay called in his brother's carriage to take Huger & myself into the country: observe, as you go down stairs how all the hall floors are strewed with pieces of *fir tops*, chopped fine— a common practice in the North for the sake perhaps of the odour which the green branches exhale when crushed, & which is probably preferable to the compound of smells in stairs & passages used by many different families & consequently not very scrupulously cleaned by any of them— Our road, (which not being a high road was not very smooth after those of England,) lay over barren rocky hills with, here & there a few settlements & cultivated spots in the little valleys, but the weather was pleasant & after escaping from our steamer the drive was quite a treat— Mr Barclay's country seat is a very pretty place on the banks of one of the numerous lakes which lie imbedded among those hills, & it was originally improved with a great deal of pretension by the retired merchant who built the house— he had workmen brought from Italy to decorate with carved & moulded ornaments the interior of his wooden house, & to form terraces &c, ornamented with statues busts & clipped trees in imitation of the Italian style—, all of which has rather an added effect in a climate where fire was comfortable in the evening of a midsummer day— We found a small party assembled for dinner, apparently a family party, except two officers of the army— with one exception, I believe, they spoke either English or French, the former being a good deal cultivated at *Goteborg*— Mrs Barclay is a Swede but speaks English perfectly well & is a very kind, pleasing person— We had a dinner in which, as you may suppose, there was little peculiar to the country— Before dinner a stand was set out with raw herring (Dutch), cheese, radishes, bread & butter, & a bottle of "Finkel," a sort of whiskey flavored with annis, & resembling the amiable Cordial, tho' not so sweet— of this each guest partook slightly just before going to dinner— At table the only peculiarity I observed was that most of the guests took bonny clabber with cream & sugar in place of soup for the first course, tho' the latter was also served for those who preferred it— a walk about the grounds after dinner occupied us until it was time to return to town the distance being about 6 miles, & we reached our hotel again about 10 o'clk, passing on the way many little carts, chaises &c, containing people returning from the holiday enjoyment of the day— at every settlement there was a pole dressed like our May poles about which they dance, I believe, & make a May day of it— these we afterwards saw also at every little village & farm house in the interior— a sleepless night, if night it could be called, rendered it

unnecessary to wake me at 4 in the morning to go on board the steamer for our inland journey— it is now 9 o'clock & I am writing by the bright light of day— but our tea is coming up—

*July 1<sup>st</sup>* Mr Hughes came in at tea & sat with us until 11, (for he is a great talker) so that we had only time to pack up & get a few hours sleep before we were called to go on board the steamer for Nor[r]köping<sup>46</sup> (Norchipping) where I am now writing: but I must take you back to the little vessel in which we embarked from Gotenborg. Our route lay at first up the Gotha river the banks of which, like the shores of the Baltic, are rocky & barren, except in a few valleys; but in the afternoon we turned out of the river to commence the ascent through the canal of Trol[l]hattan, by a series of remarkable locks, cut through solid rock; & this great labour they are going over again for the purpose of enlarging the locks & canal to correspond with the rest of the navigation eastward— At these locks we left the steamer & taking a little boy for our guide, proceeded to view the Falls of Trol[l]hattan, formed by the waters of the great Wenern Lake, (the largest in Europe except lake Ladoga,) discharging themselves into the Gotha river— the whole fall is 140 feet, but there is no very great *pitch* like that of Niagara, but rather a series of rapids extending about a mile & a half, through a narrow channel between high rocky bands, covered with fir trees in many parts— it forms altogether a very grand & romantic scene, tho' it is not easy for an American to fall into the extacies with which English travellers describe their feelings at the veiw— the upper & greatest rapid, (where the mass of waters is divided by a large rock which is reached by a neat suspension bridge,) produces that awful impression of resistless force & unmeasured power which, with me, is the principal feeling excited by this ceaseless motion of a large body of water— The walk & the fatigue might recall my visit to Niagara, when also I was just sufficiently recovered from a serious illness to be able to drag my limbs along: I was not sorry therefore to rejoin my boat & remain on board the rest of the day: about 10 o'clock we entered the Wenern Lake & soon stopped for the night at Wenersborg— on a point of land projecting into the lake near the village was a very pretty camp of instruction, whose snow white, bell-shaped tents aided in forming a very pretty scene: **We could not** but laugh to think of the hour of the day, when we saw the troops on evening parade & the men exercising themselves in firing at a target. Having passed a day on board our little steamer I must give you some

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<sup>46</sup> Norrköping, one of the leading manufacturing cities in Sweden, is situated in the laen of Linköping, on the Motala at its juncture with the Bravik. On account of its manufactures of cotton goods it is sometimes called "the Swedish Manchester." *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 743.

notion of the vessel & the mode of life on board. Being intended for canal navigation the boat is scarcely larger than you have seen on the Pennsylvania canal, perhaps 100 feet long & 20 broad, but her arrangement & internal economy are very different-. The after part, instead of being one room, is divided into 8 little cabins, with a passage through the centre, & in each of these are two beds by night & sofas by day, with a little table, a basin & pitcher, &c. in short a miniature state room, & in this apartment, about 7½ feet by 6 was our only refuge from the open deck in bad weather- The centre part was of course taken up by the engine, & the arrangement forwards was curious enough: first the "Salon" or eating room in which were 3 tables for 4 persons each, & which was converted at night, by means of hammocks into a sleeping apartment for those who were not fortunate or rich enough to have a separate cabin- this opened into a bar room or ante room occupying half the width of the boat & communicating with the *kitchen* which took up the other half of the width; in front of these again are two *forecastles*, one for the men & the other for the women to sleep in; you may imagine the extent of these accomodations; The deck is lumbered up with goods, baggage & we even took on board a large carriage & a sulky with 10 (swedish) wagon & cart loads of furniture belonging to a colonel who was removing with his family to Stockholm- For meals we dined 3 times a day into the "Salon," where we found the table always set out in the same manner: viz, cheese, raw herring or salmon, slices of cold beef or veal, or dried rein deer ham, & above all, a bottle of *finkel* a glass of which is an invariable prelude for the Swedes; this was merely the relish- The meal itself was always nearly equally substantial, whether it were breakfast, dinner or supper, tho' the dinner was the most abundant- at dinner we had generally, first a plate of mutton fricassee or boiled beef; then a cup of mutton broth or a dish of bonny clabber or of strawberries & cream or a sort of soup made with arrow root sweetened, to which raisins were added & a few macaronis swimming in it, what else I know not- This was the only dish of which I found it impossible to take more than one taste- all the rest I went through heroically, in spite of my recent dieting & of the sugar & fennel tops &c, with which even the meats were generally dressed- After the soup we had a plate of roast beef or fried sausage meat or something of the kind & sometimes a pudding, or pancakes alternated with stewed gooseberries- at Breakfast perhaps beef steak & potatoes, & at supper, fish (fresh), or eggs; of the latter they brought once 13 for us two, all fresh & mainly boiled. We could have very good coffee at almost any time & plenty of rich fresh cream to put with it, so that altogether considered we did not fare badly notwithstanding the unfavorable anticipations created by our guide book with regard to "salt mutton broth with sweet currant dumplings"-

The greatest difficulty we had was to sleep in the night time; even tho' overcast there was always light enough to read by, & by the time we had composed ourselves after the boat stopped, broad, day light would shine in through the thin curtain of our little window, & the boat was generally under way about 2 or 3 o'clk in the morning. Our second day's voyage was across the great Wenern lake where we were sometimes nearly out of sight of land in every direction, but the weather was fine & our little vessel went smoothly on until we entered the locks of the West Gotha canal, a fine work, by which we ascend to the Willen<sup>47</sup> lake which is on the summit of the line & about 300 yds above the sea— Near the West end of this Lake twilight again overtook us & we stopped at a landing place called Wassbacken, where we amused ourselves a little (between 11 & 12) in looking at the construction & equipments of the little wagons & carts which brought our Swedish Colonel's luggage to the landing place— As we ascended to the higher ground the country became more cultivated & sometimes opened out into wide fields bearing fine crops of rye, barley & potatoes— The farm buildings are necessarily large & numerous, to cover their cattle & store of food in the long & severe winters— They are almost universally of wood, many of hewn logs, & they are painted red Houses covered with tiles, or the meaner kinds with turf or thatch— at every stopping place or lock, women & children came in numbers to offer their milk, cream—, eggs, butter, strawberries &c; all looking cheerful in spite of their poverty; The women dressed in striped gingham or homespun, of their own manufacture, a good deal like the poorer class in the South or West of our country; their heads covered with a handkerchief, & their feet generally with nothing— Their politeness, & that of all classes here, is perfectly astonishing; their hats or rather caps are almost as much in their hands as on their heads, & in saluting or at parting, it is impossible to make too many bows; the first lesson taught to little boys seems to be to salute & I saw a little fellow about 6 acquit himself very gracefully— The women too curtesy very often & are hardly outdone by the men as you may suppose— We had some 10 or 15 passengers, several ladies & most of them Swedes, & every morning we had an opportunity of observing the ceremony of salutations gone over— One part of the man's equipment puzzled me at first; a bag of morocco or worsted work, like a large lady's reticule, hanging about the neck; but the eternal Meerschaum & the abominable fumes of tobacco soon introduced me most disagreeably to the use of these appendages— Well, our 3<sup>d</sup> day's voyage took us through the Wilen lake from which we descended by a canal into the Wetttern, the navigation of which is a great bug bear on this

<sup>47</sup> Wetttern Lake, next to Wenern Lake in size in Sweden, is situated southeast of Lake Wenern and its outlet is by the Motala Elf to the Baltic. It is connected with Lake Wenern by the Göta Canal, 290 feet above sea level. The lake is eighty miles long and contains 733 square miles. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 1058.

journey, for being some 80 miles long, its waters become sufficiently rough with a southerly wind to toss such a bark as ours very inconveniently about— its surface when we passed was however almost unruffled, & a 3 hour's sail took us to the eastern shore at the entrance of the East Gotha Canal— on the western side of the lake is a very picturesque old castle which, although ruined internally, is as fine an object in the landscape as ever, its white walls towers & battlements being, to all appearance, perfectly well preserved— at the canal we again left our steamer to make its way through a number of locks, & hiring a Norse boat, which stood ready for us, we proceeded to view the Steam Engine Manufactory at Nistala, landing by the way to visit the tomb of Admiral Von Platen to whom the completion of the canal is mainly due— the resting place of his family is prettily situated in a wood of weeping birch on the banks of the canal his own tomb being marked merely by a slab with his name, without age or date according to his own directions— he wished it to be said perhaps as of Wren<sup>48</sup> in St Paul's— "If you seek for his monument look around you"— Having rejoined our boat we proceeded through the beautiful lake Boren (on which is Ulfosa a fine country seat belonging to Count Stjerneld "Shjrnall" the present minister of foreign affairs,) & a canal into the lake Ronen, the descent to which is by a magnificent flight of locks forming a water staircase down the side of a steep hill— on the east side of this lake we lay by again at a landing called Norsholm, & early the next morning descended by a continuation of the canal to the Baltic at Mern. This canal is in all respects a grand work not surpassed by any that I know & equalled by few, either in magnitude or merit of execution— so poor a country could hardly have borne the expense but that the labour has been chiefly performed by soldiers— We saw two regiments at work on the enlargement of the Wettern, or Trol[1]hattan part of it, & one evening I remember we passed by one of their works just at the hour for stopping the labours of their long day. (16 hours work) it was very pleasing to hear these rough peasants, when assembled for roll call, break forth with one voice into their evening hymn, the effect of which in the open air & at a little distance was better than all that the Pope's choristees could make to all eternity— this was a custom introduced, I believe by Gustavus Vasa,<sup>49</sup> & still maintained in many regiments, if not generally in the army— From Mern we sailed down an arm of the sea, close under the walls of an ancient castle famous in Swedish history,

<sup>48</sup> Sir Christopher Wren was born in England on October 20, 1632, and died there on February 25, 1723. After receiving his education at Oxford he was professor for years, part of the time at Oxford. He was an outstanding engineer and architect. Although he was the architect of many large buildings, his greatest work is St. Paul's in London. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 1071.

<sup>49</sup> Gustavus Vasa or Gustavus I was born in Sweden on May 12, 1496, and died in Stockholm on September 29, 1560. He ruled Sweden from 1523 until his death. He was the son of Erik Johansson of the house of Vasa. He received a careful education chiefly at the court of his kinsman. He favored the Reformation against the Catholic Church, and in 1527 persuaded the Diet to place in his hands the lands of the Catholic Church, and to grant liberty to preach the new doctrine. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 469.

(Stegeborg) but nothing indicated that we were in the Baltic, for except in one or two places the navigation is so hemmed in by the immense number of islands that the water is almost always smooth, & you seem to sail in a lake or river— proceeding thus smoothly we entered towards evening our last canal & stopped at Soder Telge, where a lock opens a communication with Matar Lake— This proved to be the most beautiful of all our lakes, studded as it is with islands (1000 in number) which, instead of the bare & rocky aspect of those which border the Baltic, are beautifully wooded with the weeping birch, & the aspen, &c, intermixed with the darker & well contrasted fir & pine woods— Many of these islands too have pretty country seats & even villages on them, & in Sweden no village or even a small hamlet seems to be without its large church with pointed spire or square high tower, all resembling each other very much, & of a style in accordance with that of the other buildings— As a light fog cleared off the sun shone out on the spires & white buildings of Stockholm, the approach to which in this direction is exceedingly beautiful. The islands on which the city is built are not flat, but variously elevated so as to show amphitheatres of buildings in several directions, & these being all stuccoed, & generally in large blocks or squares, the effect is very fine— The King's palace one of the most extensive in Europe & of a noble exterior, is visible at a great distance on this side & adds much to the beauty of the scene—

June 29<sup>th</sup>

Our friends had not expected us quite so early, (we had left Lorder Telge at 4 & arrived at Stockholm about 8,) but we soon found our way to the "Hotel Gausie" in the "Dröttuings Gatan" (Queen's Street) where they were lodged, & it is hard to say whether we were most pleased at the successful termination of our voyage, (a somewhat hazardous one for me) & a reunion with them, or they at seeing us again after being left long in doubt whether it would be in the power of one of us to join them at all in this region— We found, as I told you before, that they had been received with distinction at Stockholm, & the way made easy for us to do all that our limited time would allow— About 12 we called on our Minister Mr Hughes, who took possession of us for the rest of the day, & made it a very busy & pleasant one— We called on the Russian Ambassador, Count Matusewies, who was very civil, & who lives in a grand hotel— then on Mr Aifrudson whom we did not see, than at the palace to see about a presentation to the crown prince, (Major Baker & Wade having been presented a few days before to the King,) we then dined with Mr H, meeting Baron Wabrendorff, the proprietor of one of the principal foundaries of cannon— after dinner we went to see an Exposition of National industry, a very respectable show of manufacturers for a country in which arts of this kind have been but lately fostered— We then took carriages & drove out a few miles into the country to pay

our respects to Count Tsjerneld (the Minister of foreign affairs) & had an opportunity of exercising our French with Mde la Contesse, a very fine looking & pleasing woman— by the time we again reached our quarters it was nearly 11 & at 12, after 20 hours activity, & a sleepless night on board the canal boat, I was glad enough to turn in, nor was it surprising that I should be scarcely able to move the next day—

*June 30<sup>th</sup>* After breakfast however it was decided that we must see the artillery manoeuvres, so a carriage was called, & I hobbled down to it in my slippers— Having looked for several hours at the Drill we drove into the King's park, a beautiful & extensive wooded drive which has been formed by the present King who has built there a very pretty summer palace in the french style, which we visited throughout— The curiosities of this place (Rosendal) are two magnificent vases of Swedish porphyry which stand in the gardens, one of them is 9 ft high & 12 ft in diameter if I remember rightly, the other perhaps still higher but of a different form— I will try & bring you models of them in the stone of which they are made. The rest of this day I passed at my lodgings to recruit, declining even a drive in the park in the evening with count or Baron Somebody or other who called for us in his *English stage coach* & four he himself driving— an odd sort of wild fancy, but really a stylish looking equipage—

At the Hotel Gausie we are lodged quite magnificently— The house was formerly occupied by the French Ambassador, & our rooms are probably the principal suite, being on the first floor. There is a large ante room with gilt cornice, mirrors & pier tables, a sitting room which has been richly decorated with gilt & arabesques & frescos, the pannels being filled up with mirrors or with Hangings of blue Satin damask— The chairs & sofas are covered with crimon satin Do, & the porcelain stove with gilt mouldings is quite ornamental— Then we have two large chambers communicating with the other apartments & all very grand, & hired for a mere trifle, in comparison with English prices, tho' certainly not attended with English comforts: We have our coffee & tea in the house, but go to our eating house for dinner— I have brought you now pretty fairly, tho' perhaps somewhat tediously, to this present

*July 1<sup>st</sup>*. When we started at 6 o'clk for Norköping, on our way to the foundaries of Stafajo & Fuispong, on board the steamer "Courteir," which is arranged as good like the other, but is larger & neater & indeed quite comfortable, except that she begins to rock a little as the wind rises & we approach the opening of the gulf in which Norköping lies— so here I will stop for the present—

Stafajo July 3<sup>d</sup>— Soon after I stopped writing on the 1<sup>st</sup> we reached Narköping, quite a pretty town, well situated, on a river which in running through the town & serves to move mills for the manufacture of cloth, flour & other things, not quite so active as a place of the kind

would be with us but respectable— Our valet who is an old travelling courier & a very useful person, found us a pretty good inn where we passed the night very comfortably; & the next morning, having hired a carriage, to keep as long as we please, & engaged post horses we set off for Stafajo— previously we had sent a *forebud* or messenger to order horses to be in readiness on the road at the several post stations, as is the custom, & by him we sent also a note to Baron Riddlestolhe the proprietor of Stafajo, informing him of our projected invasion of his territory as he had invited us to come to his house. The distance is about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  Swedish or 18 Engl. miles & the roads being (as generally we are told in this country) very good, our 3 horses in 3 relays, were not long in performing the journey— The system of posting here is curious: Each farmer is obliged to furnish at a post house a certain number of horses, on certain days, according to notice given him by the post master, & with them he sends a man or boy to bring the horses back from the next stage, the distance being generally 7 or 8 miles— it seems somewhat oppressive, but we are told they do not complain of it, as travelling perhaps is not very frequent, & they are paid, tho' very moderately, for the horses which are kept waiting, whether a traveller requires them or not; or probably they are not called out unless required, hence the use of the "forebud"—

Our ride possessed little interest, being except in the immediate neighbourhood of Norköping, through a wild country of rocks & fir or pine woods, to which the approach to the Baron's Chateau offers however an agreeable contrast. The house is situated on the border of a pretty lake, in the midst of a large park, & the buildings are all so neat & in such good order that one can hardly realize that they belong to a foundry except for the cannon on which some of the men are at work out of doors— The proprietors of these foundaries are Nobles of great landed estates, owning mines &c, & they reside at their works a considerable part of the year, & attend personally to the management of them— Baron R. for instance has here an estate of 50,000 acres of land, much of it to be sure rocky & uncultivated, but this forms but an inconsiderable part in *extent* of all his territory— The house is a large, but rather plain country house, very comfortable, & containing accomodation for many guests: The family now present consists of himself, madame & two daughters, one of them Baroness Hamilton, a very sweet woman, with 5 fine children. The Baron & the ladies speak french & their manners are so simple & kind that we found ourselves immediately quite at home—

We were soon at work viewing the fine establishment of the foundry, & after an excellent dinner in the Swedish style we devoted ourselves to business with the Baron, making a small contract for guns & preparing drawings &c— We found staying here a very intelligent Russian officer, Capt. Kowdriaffsky, the inspector of cannon

for Russia, who has resided in Sweden about 3 years, & was consequently very useful to us in explaining &c— how would you like a 3 years' residence in Sweden?— To-day I have kept myself housed from the rain, drawing & talking, leaving it to the other gentlemen to examine the place more in detail— My rheumatism does not worry me much, except that it restrains all my movements & makes me fear the least exposure, so that I am obliged to be very careful of myself— The weather unfortunately is very cool, *cold* I almost should say, & it has rained almost every day, until to-day, when it has rained a great deal—

*July 4<sup>th</sup>.* I awoke this morning with a good deal of pain from my joints, the consequence of the wet weather yesterday; but the bodily suffering was small in comparison with that which was recalled by this (now) sad anniversary, & the thought of the sad family group in my mother's house, mourning their irreparable loss— But there was little time for me to indulge my own feelings—

After *two* breakfasts, (for the Baron insisted on our eating something before starting,) we took a reluctant leave of the amiable family whom we shall probably never see again, & departed for Finspong where we arrived in time for dinner; after rather a pleasant drive, tho' the morning was very uncomfortable— When the sun does come out it gives a sensible heat, but we have not been fortunate enough to see much of it— The proprietor of Finspong is an attendant on the royal household & resides very little on his estate, but we found that his manager was prepared to receive us & had provided lodgings for us, in a building attached to the Chateau— after taking our dinner at the inn & drinking a glass in honor of the day & another "to our wives & children," we proceeded to view the establishment which is now in the course of being, in great part, rebuilt— This is one of the oldest & largest foundaries in the country: it belongs now to Counts Gylsenstolpe ("Ulenstolpe"); the estate is about as large as that of Stasfjo, but probably more valuable: The chateau, a very large, & quite a splendidly looking building was commenced in 1667 by an old Dutchman, named De Geer, who was very wealthy and became quite a distinguished man, & the present proprietors are his descendants in the female line— Here we should have been without a tongue, but for our valet, & the good fortune of meeting a Sardinian officer who speaks French—

*July 5<sup>th</sup>— Sunday*— A good night's rest left me much refreshed this morning, & a fine day allowed us to walk about with pleasure— We first devoted several hours to the furnace to see a large casting made, & afterwards went thro' the rooms of the chateau— They form quite a grand suite of apartments, well furnished & hung with portraits & other pictures— in one wing is a chapel in which services are performed for the workmen &c; in the other a theatre; the house is unfortunately

placed being, with true Dutch taste, stuck on an island in the lowest part of the grounds, but the latter have been very prettily laid out & are kept in good order, considering that the proprietors have so little taste for residing here.

*July 8<sup>th</sup>*— Sunday evening & Monday morning we gave to drawings of guns, machinery &c: Mr Hughes was kind enough to write to us that a steamer is to depart next Sunday for Petersburg, & we are hastening our movements to meet it— having therefore sent on our forebud to prepare horses for us, we left Finspong about 2 o'clk for Aker (Oker): this day our route lay through a pretty wild country of pine forests & rocks, with but few intervals of open or cultivated land found on some of the lakes with which the country abounds— The road, tho' not a high road, (as evinced by the unusual number of gates,) is excellent & our old courier Schuler understands how to make the most of the sturdy little Swedish horses, dashing down one hill, & up another sometimes to the great annoyance of the poor owner who sits behind the carriage— I must say however that we had but one instance in which there seemed to be any serious remonstrance on the part of the owner, & that not much regarded by our driver, who seemed to treat the peasants with sovereign contempt, & does not mind giving a fellow the lash if he does not give room enough to pass on the road. It is surprising how well one gets along with this system of taking the common horses of the farmers & putting them to work together without having been previously accustomed to it: we never found any material impediment from this cause, & we travelled regularly about 7 or 8 miles an hour, including stoppages— there was no detention unless we arrived, as we did once, before the time for the horses to be ready; by means of the "forebud" too, notice is sent on to prepare meals & beds, or if you are going to a private house, to send word, of your approach & this may be done the day before if you choose. Then the cheapness of this mode of travelling is remarkable; we have a very good carriage & harness which we hired in Norkoping for about \$1 20/100 a day; then we have the forebud & his horse, 3 horses for the carriage & a man to take them back, all for less than 10 cents a mile. Leaving Finspong, as I said, at 2 we arrived before 9 at Stensjo, (54 miles) where we were lodged in the *court house*— it seems that the innkeeper has the privilege of using this building when the court is not in session, so we were put into the small rooms belonging, I suppose, to the Judge & clerks, whilst our valet had a bed in the court room; the lock up rooms in the lower story, which were vaulted, with iron doors, were used for meat cellars, &c.

Making a pretty early start the next morning we reached Aker by 4 & found dinner ready for us at a very neat inn, at the foundry our journey was pleasanter than that of the day before, the country being more cultivated & the pine & fir forests being replaced by the beau-

tiful birch woods, with their white stems & drooping branches. Aker is one of the principal cannon foundaries, or rather I may say one of the *three*— The proprietor, Baron Waluendorff, (who had reached home an hour, or two before our arrival,) is a widower without children, but he lives very handsomely; & his grounds are perhaps more neatly arranged & better improved than either of the others; the estate is about 30,000 acres, & most of it good land— After dinner the Baron joined us & we soon commenced our visit to the works, which done we found ourselves very pleasantly established at his mansion— He was for many years in the diplomatic corps, & speaks English very well & is, of course, a man of accomplished manners, & apparently of very fine disposition, tho' as different as may be from our good friend, at Stafsjö—

To-day we devote to work, tho' I should not pretend so much merit in the result, for I am very good for nothing, fatigued & overcome with slight exertion— it is surprising, however, how well I have gotten along, for our carriage is only half closed, that is by a caleche top, & an apron, & unfortunately we have had always (except yesterday) to start in the rain, & there have been frequent showers during the day— a beautiful clear afternoon gave us an opportunity for a pleasant drive through a part of the Aker estate; & promises a fine day for our journey to-morrow—

*July 10<sup>th</sup> Stockholm* The promise was not false— the sun rose bright & clear, & the air was like that of our own pleasant spring & autumn days, warm but bracing; the first really fine day that I have seen since we left London— After finishing our examination of things at Aken & seeing 2 of our own guns cast, & after an excellent dinner, we took leave of our kind host & departed for Stockholm at 3 o'clk— Under some displeasure of the peasants, for hard driving, our courier made the 50 miles in about 6 hours, & we were comfortably lodged again, about sunset, in our former apartments at the Hotel Garui— Our tour has been very satisfactory & exceedingly agreeable in all respects; treated every where with kindness & attention & maintaining among ourselves perfect good humour & good will, we have not experienced the slightest interruption to our enjoyment— I even find my health & strength improving in spite of the exposure & fatigue, & a few such days as yesterday would set me up again completely; but those I cannot hope for until I approach southern latitudes—

*July 10<sup>th</sup>*— Had our interview with count Gyleustolpe, to arrange about making some guns at Finspong— dined with Mr Hughes— walked about town a little, to visit the shops &c— visited the Mily Hospital— Bevzilius was invited to dine with us, but is unfortunately out of town.

*July 11<sup>th</sup>*. Capt Löven, of the Guards, called after breakfast to go shopping with us,— walked about an hour with him, & went amongst

other places, to the Porphyry shop, where they sell a variety of pretty things of that material— it is very costly on account of the difficulty of working— bought a plate for your centre table—

At half past 11 Mr Hughes called for us, agreeably to appointment to pay our respects to the Crown Prince & we found his Royal Highness a very handsome unpretending, pleasant man— he was dressed in his uniform of Measter General of Artillery, a neat & rather plain costume; we talked *ordnance* a little, complimented the Swedish artillery &c, & after about a quarter of an hour's conversation, were dismissed with a bow; but he gave us an invitation, through Mr Hughes, to dine with him next Tuesday— In the ante room we had the good luck to meet Professor Schroeder of the University of Upsala,<sup>50</sup> which we intend visiting to-morrow, & he is to give us a letter to the under Librarian, he himself being the principal Librarian—

After dinner, L. E. at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6, we took a carriage to drive to the palace of Drötningsholm;<sup>51</sup> about 7 miles from town— It is beautifully situated on one of the wooded islands of Lake Mälän,<sup>52</sup> which is here so thickly interspersed with islands as to have the appearance of a beautiful, calm river, with bold banks, reminding us even of our own Hudson in some parts— The palace is a fine large building, with the usual long suites of rooms, covered with gilding, paintings &c, but possessing nothing in this way of peculiar merit— the grounds are beautifully planted, & altogether it has quite a regal appearance—

On our return home, about 10 o'clk Mr Schroeder had the kindness to call himself, & bring us a letter to the Librarian at Upsala— a piece of kindness & attention quite Swedish. I was glad to have some of the memoirs & pamphlets which Dr Hays gave me, to leave at Upsala for him—

July 14<sup>th</sup>— Stockholm— After two active days work we returned last evening from our visit to Dannemora.

On Sunday we made an early start, & our *driving* courier, not heading the poor peasant's remonstrances took us to Upsala (50 miles) by 12 o'clk— We entered the cathedral during service & were

<sup>50</sup> Upsala, a laen in eastern Sweden, and its capital have the same name. It is situated on the Fyris and is the seat of a noted university and archbishopric. The university was founded by Sten Sture in 1477. It has a library of more than 250,000 volume, collections of coins and minerals, botanical garden, museum, and observatory. The cathedral was founded in 1260, but it has been altered. Among the radiating choir-chapels is that of Gustavus Vasa, adorned with historical frescoes, and containing the king's tomb with sculptured figures of himself and his first two wives. Its dimensions are 359 by 103 feet, with a length in transept of 136 feet and height of vaulting of 90 feet. The towers were planned to be 388 feet high, but they have reached only about half that height. The side portals and exterior of the choir are very fine. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 1021.

<sup>51</sup> Drottingholm (Queen's Island) is a Swedish royal palace near Stockholm, on the island of Lofö in Lake Malar. It was built for Queen Hedwig Eleonora (died 1715), and was improved by Oscar I. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 339.

<sup>52</sup> Malar (Maelar, Malaren) is a lake in eastern Sweden, connecting with the Baltic at Stockholm. It contains about 1,200 islands, and is about eighty miles long. Stockholm is located on the borders of this lake. The entire country is interspersed with lakes and islands. Not a great distance from this area is the largest lake in Europe, Lake Ladoga. It is in northwest Russia between the governments of Viborg, Olonetz, and St. Petersburg. It receives the waters of lakes Saima, Ilmen, Onega, and others, and has the Neva for an outlet. Its length is 130 miles, average width 68 miles, and it contains 6,996 square miles. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 584, 645, 1055.

struck with the resemblance to the catholic manner of worship, a resemblance much encouraged, if not caused, by the character of the building, a large, lofty gothic pile, such as the splendor of Catholicism alone has produced or can maintain— Here are the relics of St Eric<sup>53</sup> preserved in a silver gilt coffin; & more interesting the vault of Gustavus Vasa, in a chapel the walls of which are covered, (one can hardly say *decorated*) with paintings in fresco, representing the principal events of the hero's life— here also is the tomb of Linnaeus,<sup>54</sup> marked by a neat & appropriate porphyry tablet— After dinner Mr Schroeder's letter procured us admission to the Library, which consists of about 100,000 volumes, including many manuscripts; among the latter is a remarkable copy of the New Testament, (written about 1200 years ago,) on purple parchment in letters of gold & silver— it is in the Gothic language— The present king has built a very handsome new library which is not occupied as yet but which we also visited—

Upsala stands on an elevated situation in the midst of an extensive & fertile plain, on which are seen some Lumuti with which tradition assigns the names of Odin,<sup>55</sup> Thor<sup>56</sup> & Freya,<sup>57</sup> the three great deities of the old Leandinavians— The town of Upsala is small & undistinguished except by its associations, & the seat of the University— Linnaeus's house & garden are pointed out, & in the Museum of the Botanical garden is a fine statue of him by Bystroun, a modern Swedish sculptor—

Leaving Upsala about 4 we rested for the night at Osterby where are the great forges of Mr Tharum, one of the principal proprietors of the great Daunemora mine— This estate at Osterby is a most magnificent one, having a palace & an extensive village on it— These iron masters do things on a great scale in this country—

<sup>53</sup> Saint Eric died near Upsala, Sweden, on May 18, 1160. He was elected to the throne of Upper Sweden in 1150. In 1157 he undertook a crusade against the heathen Fins, part of whom he conquered and baptised. Soon after his return to Upsala he was attacked by a Danish prince, Magnus Hendrikson, and fell in battle. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 365.

<sup>54</sup> Carolus Linnaeus (Karl von Linné) was born in Sweden on May 13, 1707, and died in Upsala, Sweden, on January 10, 1778. This celebrated Swedish botanist and naturalist founded the Linnean system in botany. He made a journey to Lapland in 1732; resided in the Netherlands, 1735-1738; and became professor of medicine (later botany) at Upsala University in 1741. His writings are varied and noteworthy. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 614.

<sup>55</sup> Odin, in Norse mythology, was the chief god of the Ases, corresponding to Anglo-Saxon Woden. He was the source of wisdom and the patron of culture and heroes. He was attended by two ravens and two wolves. He was surnamed the "All-father," and sits on the throne Hlidskjalf. He is devoured by the Fenris-wolf in Ragnarok. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 752.

<sup>56</sup> Thor was the second principal god of the ancient Scandinavians. He was the son of Odin, or the supreme being, and Jördh, the earth. He was the god of thunder and the champion of the gods and was always called to their assistance when they were in straits. He was the friend of man and the slayer of trolls and evil spirits. He always carried a heavy hammer (Mjölnir), which as often as he discharged returned to his hand of itself. He possessed a girdle which had the virtue of renewing his strength. He was represented as a powerful man, in the prime of life, with a flowing red beard. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 993.

<sup>57</sup> Freya, in old Norse mythology, was the daughter of Njord and the sister of Frey. Her dwelling was Folkvang. Her chariot was drawn by two cats. To her with Odin, whose wife she is according to later mythology, belonged those slain in battle. Freya was the goddess of fruitfulness and sexual love. Her brother Frey was the god of the earth's fruitfulness, presiding over rain, sunshine, and all the fruits of the earth, dispensing wealth among men. He was especially worshiped in the temple at Upsala, Sweden. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 413.

Yesterday morning we visited the mines & my three companions descended into them, to the depth of about 500 feet- I regretted exceedingly that my rheumatism prevented my accompanying them, the bottom of the mine being very cold & wet, & partly covered with ice- I could therefore only see the excavation from a balcony above, but I did not, on this account, lose the whole benefit of my labour in travelling, for the mine is not a single small shaft from which galleries run under the earth, but an immense excavation which being open at top allows a person to see the manner of working by looking down from above-

I have been interrupted by persons calling in, the last being Count Matusewietz, the Russian Minist[er] who called to bring us some letters for [St] Petersburg- It is now time to dress for dinner with the Crown prince, from whom an order [to] that effect came this morning before we were dressed- As the mail closes before we can get back I must break off abruptly in order to despatch this in time for the Great Western- We sail to-morrow for St Petersburg-

Farewell- Love to all & many kisses to the children-

Yrs afftly A. Mordecai

M<sup>rs</sup> Alfred Mordecai  
 Care Henry Hays Esqr  
 Philadelphia  
 Great Western

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Blair House, Past and Present: An Account of Its Life and Times in the City of Washington.** By The United States Department of State. (Washington: Department of State. 1945. Pp. 78. \$1.00.)

The Blair House, at 1651 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C., across the street from the White House, was purchased in 1942 by the United States "as a guest house for distinguished visitors from other countries." President Truman and his family lived there for the first few weeks of his administration.

The house was built in 1824 for Dr. Joseph Lovell, Surgeon General of the Army, best remembered for his encouragement of Dr. William Beaumont, great pioneer experimenter in the field of human digestion. In 1836 the house was purchased by Francis Preston Blair from Kentucky, a member of President Jackson's "kitchen cabinet." Montgomery Blair, a son, was President Lincoln's Postmaster General. The Blairs, described at the outbreak of the Civil War as "perhaps the most influential family in the country," continued to own the house until 1942.

The original two-story brick structure has been altered considerably through the years. Two additional stories have been added, many internal details have been changed, and the furnishings have kept step with the times, though considerable silver and furniture go back to 1836. Since the United States took it over every effort "has been made to preserve untouched the essential character of the house."

Miss Katherine Elizabeth Crane, who wrote this guide book, has done solid research in order to recreate the story of the house and of the people who lived in it. The volume is attractively printed and sixteen good photographs by Jean St. Thomas are reproduced by a gravure process. The marginal summary notes are a useful device which makes an index unnecessary. Arrangement of the plates would be improved by exchanging the first and the last ones; as it is now, in Plate 2 one does not know which is Blair House.

Edward P. Alexander.

Colonial Williamsburg,  
Williamsburg, Va.

Our Georgia-Florida Frontier, the Okefinokee Swamp, its History and Cartography. By Albert Hazen Wright. Volume I, Studies in History Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14. (Ithaca, New York: A. H. Wright. 1945. Pp. vi, 40; iv, 20; vi, 46; iv, 26; iv, 44; iv, 47.)

The Okefinokee Swamp is of special interest to the botanist, the zoologist, the ornithologist, and all other natural scientists—and even to the delvers into history, cartography, and etymology. It is into the last three categories that Albert Hazen Wright fits his interests and discussions in this collection of studies.

As to the name, Mr. Wright finds from an examination of 192 maps and accounts seventy-seven different spellings; he has chosen as the correct one Okefinokee. From this point on, Mr. Wright seeks to relate to the Swamp all human activities which have gone on in the Swamp or in its vicinity. In his investigations he questions the location of various historical happenings heretofore placed in other regions. He raises the enquiry as to whether Ponce de Leon did not land somewhere near the mouth of the St. Mary's River, which is one of the rivers draining the Swamp. He also believes that the probable location of the battle of the Great Marias of De Narvaez was the Okefinokee; likewise, the battle of the Great Morass of De Soto was the Okefinokee. The Rio de May of the French was not the almost universally accepted St. Johns River but the St. Marys or possibly the Altamaha, and, therefore, the location of old Fort Caroline must be moved northward.

Apart from these controversial matters, Mr. Wright discusses the Indian nations who were related in their occupation to the Swamp or its environs—the Creeks and the Seminoles and their wars and treaties. Incidentally he makes an excursion into the question of the old ruins on the coast of Georgia, whether they were Spanish missions or old "sugar houses." In this discussion he seems to have failed to discover the book on that subject, *Georgia's Disputed Ruins* (1937). This lapse may be due to the fact that Mr. Wright wrote his narrative in 1922, and in the light of subsequent knowledge, he did very little revision before its ultimate publication.

Mr. Wright has thoroughly acquainted himself with the old maps and records of the Spanish and the French, and he made various trips to the Swamp between 1909 and 1922. His schol-

arship is impressive, but his style of writing is dull and difficult. His text is encumbered with many citations of sources (imperfectly done in most cases), which might well have found their resting places in footnotes. There should have been included a bibliography, where complete information could have been given for the many works cited. On the cheerful side, there are a great many attractive photographs of scenes in the Swamp and clear reproductions of numerous old maps.

E. Merton Coulter.

The University of Georgia,  
Athens, Georgia.

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*Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences.* Edited by George Rosen. Volume I, No. 1 (New York: Henry Schuman. January, 1946. Pp. 182. Illustrations. Quarterly. \$7.50 a year.)

The initial number of this new *Journal* contains ten original articles, along with an introduction, "What is Past, is Prologue," by the editor. In addition, four others, Edwin Ackerknecht, Max Fisch, John F. Fulton, and Josiah C. Trent, constitute the editorial board. There is an array of consulting editors—forty-three in number—of which twenty are from the United States and the rest represent twenty-two other nations.

Thus the new publication is launched upon a broad basis of world interest and its inclusion of the "Allied Sciences" gives it an import not heretofore emphasized in the title of similar magazines. Modern medicine always has stressed its dependence upon and collaboration with the auxiliary branches of general science, such as biology, physics, and chemistry, not to speak of its own special subjects of anatomy, physiology, pharmacology, and pathology, taught in all medical schools and regarded as essential scientific requirements for a professional career. The *Journal*, therefore, should have a wide appeal to all those who are concerned with the history of medicine in its every phase. It announces its devotion to "the prompt publication of work relating to all aspects of the history of medicine, public health, dentistry, nursing, pharmacy, veterinary medicine and the various sciences that impinge on medicine."

Of the twelve contributors to the first issue only five are doctors of medicine; one is a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons;

one is a doctor of dental surgery; two are doctors of philosophy; one is a graduate in pharmacy; and two are not accredited with degrees. Among the authors are several well known writers on medical history, both lay and professional. The most famous is the foremost historian in the medical field, Charles Singer, M. D., of England, "whose many books . . . are universally recognized as the most authoritative of their kind." Of local interest are papers by Professor Loren C. MacKinney, Ph. D., of the University of North Carolina, and Josiah C. Trent, M. D., now at the University of Michigan, recently of the Duke University School of Medicine.

In this brief review it would be inexpedient to comment upon all the articles contained in this number of the *Journal*. Each one would be worthy of separate criticism, based upon its merit and the importance of the subject. Two of prime interest should justly be mentioned. Heading the list, both in position and in significance, is Singer's "Some Galenic and Animal Sources of Vesalius," in which the master anatomist is shown to have "protested too much and too often that he alone described only the parts of man," whereas "he dissected far more animals than men"; even this of itself is not regarded as reprehensible since "for investigating many points, animal bodies are better adapted than human, and dissection of animals could be conducted in his own chamber." This is reminiscent of the day when the church and then existing society and civilization condemned dissection of the human body. The "reflexion" is raised "that privacy must have been the pressing need of this noisy, bustling, exhibitionist genius." Singer has presented the strongest and I believe the first imputation against the Father of Anatomy, for his extravagant claims, and blames him most for accepting without investigation the old physiology of Galen, which was not derived from a study of human anatomy.

"Animal Substances in Materia Medica," by Professor MacKinney, is, as stated in its subtitle, "a study in the persistence of the primitive," and embodies a comprehensive story of the use of animal parts, secretions, tissues, and blood as remedies for disease, beginning with the earliest superstitions and continuing to the present; ending with a reference to the use of "animal plas-

ma for blood transfusion" as "one of the most recent discoveries of our war time medical experiments." The author concludes with a faithful observation: "Twentieth century man, despite his superficial veneer of scientific civilization, still has a fundamental kinship with his apparently primitive ancestors of the genus homo sapiens."

Altogether this copy of the *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, gives promise of becoming a valuable publication and its quarterly appearances will be welcomed. Its expressed aim is not "to compete with" but to "supplement" the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, the only other American journal now in this field. The reviewer may hope that it will in some degree fill the place of the older *Annals of Medical History*, unfortunately suspended a few years ago.

Hubert A. Royster.

Raleigh, N. C.

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Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement. By George E. Mowry (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 405. \$4.00.)

Theodore Roosevelt's association with the Progressive movement is a study in historical ironies. There was at bottom little congeniality between him and the western forces of discontent that expressed themselves in Progressivism. For all his very real humanity and generous sense of justice, Roosevelt belonged essentially to the right in politics. In Bryan and his followers he had seen only crackpot malcontents. His spiritual companions were the bold and successful, confidently at home in their environment. Probably he never fully understood the bitter and unsure anger of the disinherited. Certainly he could never have found the implacable moral earnestness of a La Follette comfortable as he did the urbane self-assurance of a Lodge. Though he spoke loudly, and no doubt sincerely, of malefactors of great wealth, it was a slender stick indeed that rapped their knuckles during his presidency. Only with respect to the limitation of judicial powers did he take a really radical position, and even here one wonders whether he sees the reformer of institutions in the interest of justice or the self-willed man striking impetuously at a force he could not control.

Nor was he fitted to be a leader of lost causes. There have been few more eminently practical politicians than Roosevelt. His forthright speech belied an almost timidly keen "sense of the possible" which restrained always his political acts. And yet this ardent and practical Republican partisan disrupted his party to become the leader of a set of forces for which he had little real sympathy in an almost quixotic crusade of exceeding moral earnestness, directed against some of his closest friends, including the man whom he had placed in the presidency to succeed him and who had sacrificed his own political future in an inept attempt to follow Roosevelt's path.

The consequences were no less ironic. In his endeavor to recapture the presidency in 1912, he sacrificed an almost certain chance to recover it in 1916, and brought it about that his bitterest enemy led the Nation to victory in 1917-18 while the hero of San Juan Hill fretted impotently. More important, he led the progressive forces from the Republican Party not into victory or even independence, but merely into a futile political isolation from which a few survivors straggled back with another Roosevelt twenty years later. In doing so he destroyed the growing liberalism of the Republican Party and left it to return to that reactionary stultification from which it had been perhaps his greatest achievement to free it.

George Mowry's thorough and readable book explains Roosevelt's paradoxical association with the brief career of the Progressive party as well, doubtless, as history ever can. It is, he points out, neither a biography of Roosevelt nor a history of the Progressive movement, but it is an important contribution to both. There is a sound evaluation of the forces that produced the phenomenon of Progressivism and a detailed account of the events in Taft's administration that alienated from him the progressive forces he might have led and that formed them into a self-conscious and semi-independent bloc in Congress. Roosevelt's own political course from his return from Africa to his final abandonment of the Progressive party in 1916 forms the central theme of the book, and is treated with clarity and competence. Mowry's account has special interest because it is based principally on the Roosevelt papers, not previously exploited for

this period. In view of the extensive documentation of the period existing in other sources, it is perhaps not surprising that the new materials used by the author enrich the details rather than alter the interpretation of the accounts previously available. Roosevelt's earnest, if perhaps not always welcome, efforts to support Taft's administration during the first year of his return from Africa and the importance in producing the final break between them of Taft's initiation of the anti-trust suit against the United States Steel Company receive an increased and well-supported emphasis; La Follette's charges of betrayal by Roosevelt in 1912 are very effectively refuted; and Roosevelt's own lack of interest in the Progressive party as a continuing institution after it had served his purpose in 1912 is made clear; but the work does not, in general, undertake to revise earlier views.

Dr. Mowry has written an excellent monograph for which the reviewer can have little but praise. There are a useful biography and an unusually good index.

Dan Lacy.

The National Archives,  
Washington, D. C.

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The Correspondence of Bayard Taylor and Paul Hamilton Hayne. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Charles Duffy. (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1945. Pp. ix, 111. \$2.00.)

Of the forty-six letters appearing in this volume, the twenty-seven written by Hayne are here published for the first time. The nineteen letters by Taylor include five that have hitherto been unpublished, eight that have previously appeared in fragments, and six that have been published in their entirety. The texts of the letters by Hayne are based upon the originals which form a part of the Bayard Taylor Collection at Cornell University. The originals of those by Taylor are scattered, seven being in the Huntington Library, one each at Yale and Duke universities, and one in private hands, while the whereabouts of the remaining nine are undiscovered by the editor.

The correspondence began in 1859 and continued until Taylor's death in 1878. Hayne was the prime mover in the exchange, inaugurating it, re-establishing it after the Civil War, sustaining it when it began to flag, and resuming it after the lapses caused by Taylor's absences abroad. Obviously it was a case of

Hayne writing to Taylor and the latter replying to Hayne. As a consequence, Hayne's letters are the longer and more intimate and the more interesting, despite the fact that his unceasing and uncritical laudation of his more successful contemporary becomes at times slightly pathetic.

From a historical standpoint these letters are significant in that, in addition to revealing something of the contrast between the careers of the two writers, they shed light upon the different conditions under which Northern and Southern men of letters worked in the post-Civil War period. Taylor's vitality and virtuosity were, of course, exceptional, as were Hayne's intermittent illnesses and narrower capabilities; but behind these, the milieu in which each worked is strikingly illustrated.

In the North, Taylor had the advantage of access to a book-buying public and to editors and publishers, he could frequent the society of writers, and he was able to procure lectureships and literary and journalistic engagements. As a result, the late sixties and the seventies saw his already swollen reputation enhanced by more than a dozen books, while his lecturing proved so profitable that he was able to build a house in something of the grand style amid the scenes of his childhood and there entertain with seignorial dignity many of the leading literary lights of the time.

Hayne, in the South, during these same years was enduring the evils of Reconstruction and finding to his sorrow that the period was not one in which his fragile poetry could flourish. The war had dislocated his way of living and disrupted the old economy which might have sustained him. To escape the poverty that had come to his native city, he established himself in a small cottage in the pine barrens of Georgia and from this retreat poured forth petulant outcries against the fate that had befallen his "section." He speaks of the South as having been reduced to a sort of Ireland, and he considered emigrating to Europe or to South America. A kind of loyalty kept him in the South, but he knew, even better than Taylor, that the readers were in the North, and that it was there and there only that opportunities for literary men existed.

James W. Patton.

North Carolina State College,  
Raleigh, N. C.

Public Men. By J. T. Salter. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. xx, 513. \$4.00.)

To that large body of readers who enjoyed Mr. J. T. Salter's previous offering, *The American Politician*, *Public Men* will come as a worthy successor to the original volume.

*Public Men* is a collection of biographies, sketches, and pen portraits of twenty-seven statesmen, ambassadors, politicians, and demagogues in recent and contemporary national, state, and civic life in the United States. An introduction and final "interpretation" by Mr. Salter is thrown in for good measure. The result is an excellent book that should attract attention among the politically literate persons in this country.

It should be added, however, that the quality of a book such as this, by twenty-eight different authors, is bound to vary greatly. Murray Seasongood's critique of Governor John W. Bricker is one of the best evaluations of a contemporary political figure the reviewer has ever read. David D. McKean's indictment of Mayor Hague will meet with the enthusiastic approval of most progressive citizens of New Jersey; Wilfred E. Binkley's evaluation of Wendell Willkie is a beautifully written and thoughtful interpretation of the meaning of Willkie's public career. On the other hand, the three or four worst articles are very bad indeed by comparison with the best.

The sketch of President Truman by Edward A. Harris is, unfortunately, neither very penetrating nor revealing. The article was written before Mr. Truman assumed the presidency, and a postscript was simply added to bring it up to date.

Journalists and professors divide about evenly the task of writing these sketches. On the whole, it must be concluded that the latter have done the best writing; certainly their articles are far and away more thoughtful and interpretative than those written by the journalists.

Although this book is no attempt to whitewash the American public leader, it does leave one with a feeling of gratitude to find at least a few words uttered in his behalf. No serious person would deny the magnitude and complexity of our present international and domestic difficulties; their immensity precludes any such ostrich-like attitude. On the other hand, unless we are will-

ing to abandon the democratic process in government, we might as well realize that it is through such leaders as are described in *Public Men* that we will have to work out our destiny. In his concluding essay, "The Voters' Politician," Mr. Salter has said some very trite but also some very wise things about American politics and politicians, which should be required reading for all the alarmists and the editorialists of the *Saturday Review*.

Like *The American Politician*, *Public Men* is attractively printed and bound; there is also an excellent index, which greatly enhances the value of the book for reference purposes. The reviewer noticed only one typographical error and a few other scattered and inconsequential factual mistakes.

Arthur S. Link.

Princeton University,  
Princeton, N. J.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, for the past eleven years executive head of the State Department of Archives and History, has been granted a leave of absence until June 30, 1947, in order to plan and set up a special project of the National Archives, Washington, D. C. Mr. Henry Howard Eddy, a native of Vermont and recently from New York State, has been elected to serve as acting director during Dr. Crittenden's absence.

The Moore County Historical Association has purchased the Shaw house, an old homestead of pre-Revolutionary War days, near Southern Pines. This house will be restored and used as a museum in which will be displayed articles depicting the early life of Moore County. Mr. Leland McKeithen is president of the Association.

In an effort to establish a museum of relics and souvenirs of all wars in which Stanly County men have fought, W. H. Morrow, Sr., A. Max Gantt, Staton P. Williams, Brevard S. Garrison, Shearon Harris, James W. Dixon, George H. Bruton, and J. C. Holbrook have been appointed a committee to perfect the organization. The Board of County Commissioners at their July meeting voted to turn over the two-story community building and some of the equipment to the local veterans' organization for that purpose. The museum will be open to the public without charge Mondays through Saturdays each week.

The Methodist Historical Society of the Southern jurisdiction has placed a marker and plaque at the Jacob Shook home at Clyde where the Methodist bishop, Francis Asbury, preached. Dr. E. H. Nease of Greensboro and Bishop Clare Purcell of Charlotte participated in the program.

The Genealogical Society of Utah is now continuing the project of micro filming the early county records of North Carolina. Mr. James M. Black, representing the Society, is working in cooperation with the State Department of Archives and

History, which will receive copies of the films when they are completed. The project was initiated before Pearl Harbor but was interrupted because of the war. The Genealogical Society and the State Department of Archives and History hope to continue the work until all of the early county records of North Carolina have been microfilmed.

On August 15 the Catawba County war memorial center was dedicated at Newton. Governor R. Gregg Cherry delivered the principal address at the dedication. The center includes the remodeled Jacob Barringer house and a remodeled American Legion building. A granite monument on which is a bronze plaque bearing all the names of Catawba County men who lost their lives while serving in World Wars I and II was unveiled by Mrs. A. L. Dellinger, gold star mother of World War I, and Mrs. Cecil Arndt, gold star mother of World War II.

In August the board of directors of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, Inc., held a meeting in Blow-  
ing Rock at which time plans were made for the annual meeting to be held in Raleigh in December. A luncheon was held in connection with the meeting.

The first issue of the *Journal of Research* has just been published by the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro. The purpose of the journal is to promote greater interest and activity in scientific research by the faculty and graduate students of the college. Dr. Charles L. Cooper is editor and Dr. Roger K. Williams and Professor Robert E. Martin are associate editors.

*The North Carolina Historical Review* has received a copy of Volume I, Number 1, of *The American Croatian Historical Review*, published at Youngstown, Ohio. This journal is a monthly and Vincent L. Knaus, an attorney of Chicago, Illinois, is editor. Some of the aims of this publication are stated as follows: "To call to the attention of the American people the noble deeds of our early Croatian and Slav missionaries who labored on this continent long before the United States was organized and

formed; . . . To publish historical documents concerning Croatians, in order that they may be preserved for future generations in our libraries; [and] to show what contributions Croatian and Slav peoples have made toward the progress of our America."

Elon College celebrated Founders Day September 16 commemorating the fifty-seventh anniversary of the opening of the college. Dr. Jesse H. Dollar, pastor of the Congregational Church, Newport News, Virginia, and pastor elect of Elon College Community Church, and Dr. John D. Truitt, pastor of the Suffolk Christian Church, Suffolk, Virginia, delivered addresses. Mr. G. C. Mann, president of the Alumni Association; Dr. L. E. Smith, president of Elon College; Mr. W. C. Elder, chairman of the Alumni Memorial Gymnasium Fund; and Mr. James F. Darden, secretary of the Alumni Association, also delivered addresses.

Mr. C. W. Paskins, a graduate of Eastern Illinois State Teachers College, University of California, and Duke University, has been added to the staff of the history department of Elon College.

Professor Bradley D. Thompson returned to Davidson College in September to resume his duties as associate professor of history. Professor Thompson was granted a leave of absence in January, 1945, and since last September he has been a member of the staff of the history department of Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia.

Dr. Rena Andrews, for the past three years a member of the staff of the history department of Winthrop College, has become assistant professor of American history at Meredith College. Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace will be the acting head of the department of history at Meredith College during the present year.

Miss Christiana McFadyen, assistant professor of history of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, who has been awarded the Wolf fellowship at the University of Chicago, is on leave of absence for the coming year in order to pursue her work toward the doctor's degree. Her place is being filled this year by Dr. Catherine E. Boyd. Dr. Boyd is on leave of

absence from Cedar Crest College, Pennsylvania, where she is professor and head of the department of history and political science.

Mrs. Margaret M. Heflin, who has been an instructor in history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina for the last two years, has resigned to join her husband, Dr. Woodford Heflin, who goes to the University of Mississippi this year as associate professor of history. Dr. Heflin served two years in the United States Army in India.

Miss Zoe Swecker, a graduate of Woman's College, University of North Carolina, will be an instructor in history at the Woman's College in the place of Mrs. Margaret M. Heflin, who has resigned.

The Henderson County Historical Association is sponsoring plans for celebrating the centennial of Hendersonville during the second week in July, 1947. A pageant entitled *Our Town* will be a feature of the program.

The Henderson County Historical Association and the Woman's Club of Hendersonville are sponsoring the publication of "The Story of Henderson County," written by Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, a member of the executive board of the State Department of Archives and History. This publication is due to come from the press within the next few months.

Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, member of the executive board of the State Department of Archives and History is writing "The History of Polk County," which is being published weekly in *Tryon Bulletins* and *Polk County News*. Interested citizens of Polk County hope to publish this series of articles in book form at an early date.

The Durham-Orange Historical Society and the Bennett Place Park Commission have perfected plans for the erection of a memorial stone bench on the Bennett Place Park. The bench will be a memorial to Mrs. Samuel Morgan, who, with her husband, gave lavishly to the historical spot where General Joseph

E. Johnston surrendered his Confederate army to Union General William T. Sherman.

The John Hoyle Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Hickory, at its meeting on September 10, had as its guest speaker Mr. Latta B. Rattledge, president of the Ney Memorial Association. Mr. Rattledge spoke on the life and death of Peter Stuart Ney.

On September 29 at Third Creek Church near Charlotte, memorial services were held for Peter Stuart Ney. Dr. Howard Ronthaler, president of Salem College, preached the memorial sermon, and Senator Clyde R. Hoey delivered an address.

Mr. Malcom C. McMillan has resigned his position as instructor of history at the North Carolina State College and has accepted a position as assistant professor of history at Birmingham Southern College in Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. Kenneth Dale Raab has been appointed instructor in history at North Carolina State College.

The North Carolina Society of the Descendants of the Palatines is developing a genealogical collection in the public library at New Bern. Most of the membership dues are expended toward that end. The Society is devoting its activities to the genealogy of the families who settled in New Bern in 1710.

The Wachovia Historical Society of Winston-Salem has received, as a donation from Mr. Bowman Gray, a collection of early North Carolina maps. Among them is a copy of the Collet map. These maps have been hung for a temporary exhibit in the recently restored Salem Tavern.

The annual meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina Friends was held in August at Guilford College. Dr. D. Elton Trueblood, former dean of the chapel at Stanford University and now professor of philosophy at Earlham College, spoke on the subject "Robert Barclay, the Early Quaker Theolog-

ian." The Society has announced the publication of a booklet entitled "Inner Light" by Dr. Elbert Russell of Duke University.

Miss Frances Williamson, a member of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History, resigned effective October 1, to accept a position with the federal government.

Books received include Louis B. Wright, *An Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America, 1701*, (San Marino, California, 1945); John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, D. C. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137, 1946); and Charles Callan Tansill, *The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1865-1885* (Washington, D. C., Georgetown University Press, 1946).

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Fletcher M. Green is Kenan professor of history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Miss Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert is an associate professor of English at Guilford College, Guilford College, North Carolina.

Dr. Arthur S. Link is an instructor of history at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

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## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

Dr. Clement Eaton is a professor of history in Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania.

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Dr. Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, who died on May 28, 1945, was a professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Mr. Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., is an associate editor of the *Virginian-Pilot*, Norfolk, Virginia.

Dr. James A. Padgett's address is 406 A Street, S. E., Washington, D. C.

Dr. Arthur S. Link is an instructor of history at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden is director of the State Department of Archives and History and secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. Aubrey L. Brooks, a practicing attorney and immediate past president of the State Literary and Historical Association, is the author of *Walter Clark: Fighting Judge*. His address is Southeastern Building, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Dr. Norman Foerster's address is Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Mrs. Charlotte Hilton Green is the author of *Birds of the South* and *Trees of the South* and the weekly newspaper column, "Out-of-Doors in Carolina." Her address is 3328 White Oak Road, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton is in charge of the North Carolina collection in the Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dr. Jonathan Truman Dorris is a professor of history and government in State Teachers College, Richmond, Kentucky.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green is Kenan professor of history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

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